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Divorce in Later Roman Law*

ANTTI ARJAVA

In few issues has the contrast between the early and the later Roman Empire been considered so great as in the case of divorce. The pagan society has been characterized as one of frequent and totally accepted divorces, whereas the Christian emperors are praised or blamed for having introduced severe restrictions. This has even been regarded as the strongest impact of the Christian doctrine on Roman private law.¹

But it has also been proposed that the whole question of a new morality in Roman society is more complex. The social and ideological evolution of pagan culture has been seen as parallel to the rise of Christianity, often facilitating it and sometimes shaping its form and content. On the other hand, the practical influence of the new religion on people's behaviour has been questioned.²

In this article I am not trying to deny all Christian influence on Roman legislation on divorce. I am, however, suggesting that it cannot be the whole truth. After briefly discussing the allegedly favourable pagan

* I owe many useful references and suggestions to Dr. Judith Evans Grubbs (Sweet Briar College).

¹ M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht II*, 1975², 175.

² P. Veyne's article in *AESC* 33 (1978) 35-63, has been influential, though it has met with some criticism. See also e.g. A. Cameron, *JRS* 76 (1986) 266-71; J. Evans-Grubbs, *Munita coniugia: The Emperor Constantine's Legislation on Marriage and the Family*, Diss. Stanford (UMI) 1987; R. MacMullen, *Historia* 35 (1986) 322-343; K. Thraede, *Frau*, *RLAC* 8, 197-269. In legal history a vast literature exists on the question of a possible Christian influence, with no satisfactory final results so far, see e.g. M. Sargenti, *SDHI* 51 (1985) 367-91.

attitudes I will present the view that our knowledge of the later development is insufficient and even some existing evidence has hitherto been neglected. Consequently, no unambiguous interpretation is possible.

Seneca (Benef. 3, 16, 2), Martial (6, 7; 10, 41), Juvenal (6, 224-230) and Tertullian (Apol. 6, 6) tell us that the contemporary Roman *matronae* freely sought divorces whenever they wished. The idea of a liberal pagan society is largely based on the reports of these satirists. But they attest only that this practice was possible, not that it was approved of – quite the contrary: it was vehemently criticized. There is no doubt that divorces, especially those sought by women, were always seen as an offence in Roman society.³

Preparing the prosopography of senatorial women M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier has counted 27 certain and 24 possible divorces known to us between B.C. 10 and A.D. 200. A large number of them are imperial or otherwise politically motivated. Moreover, their number seems to decrease from the Julio-Claudians towards the end of the period and, according to her, the documentation cannot explain the development. She links the change in habits to that discussed by Veyne: a pre-Christian shift in Roman morals.⁴

What is absolutely clear, however, is that during the Principate divorce was legal. The latest explicit statement comes from the early 3rd century (Alex. Sev. CI 8, 38, 2).⁵ But though permissible, divorce was not without its consequences. In unilateral divorce the culpable party was determined, and if there were children, the wife could lose up to half of her *dos*. Smaller *retentiones* could be withheld *propter mores*, and if these were on the husband's side, he had to pay the *dos* back without the usual period of grace (Boeth. In top. Cic. 4, 19 PL 64, 1075-6; Ulp. Tit. 6, 9-13; Fr. Vat. 107; 121; D. 24, 2, 6; 24, 3, 39). Thus, in the normal situation, wives could not divorce without financial penalty whereas men could.

³ Cf. D. 4, 4, 9, 3 and Verrius ap. Fest. 281 (*'repudium'*).

⁴ M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Acta Class. Univ. Sc. Debrecen.* 17-18 (1981-82) 168-71. It should be clear that statistics like these can only be regarded as suggestive.

⁵ The Diocletianic CI 5, 4, 14, which is sometimes mentioned in the same connection, has plainly been taken out of context and may concern paternal authority in divorce rather than freedom of unilateral repudiation. Both these rescripts can naturally be seen as opposing growing popular practices.

However, additional arrangements were often made in the dotal pact in anticipation of a future divorce (Fr. Vat. 106; 114; D. 23, 4, 17; 24, 3, 45; 45, 1, 19). It was evidently possible to agree that the wife would leave the whole *dos* (Fr. Vat. 120; D. 23, 4, 2; 24, 3, 48).⁶ If such contracts were becoming more common it would indicate an increasingly stringent attitude towards divorce. But that is something we cannot know. We should not forget that the legal documentation of the later 3rd century is fragmentary at best. Only those rescripts which were taken to the Justinian Code 300 years later have been handed down to us, and they were taken out of context, heavily abridged and sometimes emended.⁷ These problems are particularly clear in the case of divorce: most 3rd century legislation was obsolete in the 6th century and had no place in the Code. Thus, we have no direct evidence to determine whether the legal consequences of divorce had remained the same during the century. It is quite possible, for the passages taken to Fr. Vat. (above) imply that there had been no radical changes at the time of its compilation (probably in the 310s).⁸ The liberal laws and allusions to *retentiones* by later, "classicizing" emperors (see below) also support this view. But the fact should not be underestimated that for about a hundred years before 331, imperial legislation on divorce is not available for us.

It is generally assumed that Constantine only began to take action against divorce in 331, and that may be so. But it has to be remembered that from the first five books of the Theodosian Code only about one third of the

⁶ It should be noted that Fr. Vat. 120 is quite fragmentary in the manuscript and has been reconstructed by Mommsen. For these passages of Digest cf. the following footnote.

⁷ The fear of Justinian emendations is a constant threat to every theory that seeks antecedents to the later legislation in the 3rd century. This applies to a very significant rescript of Diocletian (CI 5, 12, 24): "*Si dotem marito libertae vestrae dedistis nec eam reddi soluto matrimonio vobis in continenti pacto vel stipulatione prospexistis, hanc culpa uxoris dissoluto matrimonio penes maritum remansisse constitit, licet eam ingratham circa vos fuisse ostenderitis.*" The rescript does not focus on divorce but on patronal rights. Consequently the Justinian compilers may well have substituted '*hanc*' for e.g. the original '*retentiones*'.

⁸ F. Raber, RE Suppl. X, 235-40.

original text is preserved.⁹ The fragmentary manuscript T (lost in a fire in 1904) did not contain the crucial title *De repudiis* (3, 16) at all, and consequently only the two constitutions which were included in the Visigothic Breviarium Alaricianum (compiled in 506) are known. We do not know what other constitutions there were besides those.¹⁰ And even the complete Code hardly contained all of the original legislation.

Under these circumstances we should be wary of arguing *ex silentio*. As early as 321, Nazarius had extolled Constantine's virtuous laws: "*Pudor tutus, munita coniugia*" (Paneg. Lat. 10, 38). Even a panegyric requires, if not exceptional measures, at least something to have happened. In the extant Constantinian moral legislation before 321 there is in fact very little to substantiate Nazarius' claims.¹¹

In any case a very outspoken law was enacted in 331 and unilateral divorce was clearly penalized (CT 3, 16, 1). A wife could be repudiated only for adultery, sorcery or procuration, a man for homicide, sorcery or destruction of tombs. The penalty for a woman was loss of her *dos* or even all of her property (the wording is somewhat ambiguous) and exile. A man would lose the *dos* and could not remarry. As can be seen, there was no such thing as equality between the sexes, nor would the divorcing husband have had any right to the *dos* even under classical law.¹² The striking omission is to any mention of divorce by mutual consent.¹³ This continued to be allowed throughout Late Antiquity, thus forming an important link with earlier tradition and leaving a wide gulf between secular legislation and ecclesiastical doctrine.

⁹ Th. Mommsen in Prolegomena to his edition of the C. Theodosianus, xxxviii.

¹⁰ One may compare the titles 3, 5 and 3, 30, which were partially preserved in T and reveal the omissions of the Breviarium. We can suspect that in 3, 16 there was at least one other constitution (see below).

¹¹ Cf. A. Ehrhardt, ZRG 72 (1955) 170 on Constantinian laws mentioned by Eusebius but not preserved in the Codes.

¹² He could have kept an eighth if he was able to show some moral flaws in his wife (Tit. Ulp. 6, 12), cf. above.

¹³ That this omission is intentional, is usually assumed, Kaser, op. cit. 179; Evans-Grubbs, op. cit. 61. In view of the later development it is probable though perhaps not absolutely certain.

The next development is not recorded in the Codes as we have them, but it is revealed by an unknown Christian writer, the so-called Ambrosiaster:

Ante Juliani edictum mulieres viros suos dimittere nequibant, accepta autem potestate coeperunt facere quod prius facere non poterant: coeperunt enim cottidie licenter viros suos dimittere. Ubi latuit fatum tantis temporibus? Timore, credo, legis occultabat se. (Quaest. de utr. test. 115, 12 CSEL 50, 322)¹⁴

Here are at least three interesting points. The writer apparently believes that the Constantinian marriage laws were much more effectively enforced than those of e.g. Augustus. Particularly women who sought divorce had caught the pious observer's eye. And it becomes clear that Julian, the defender of traditional Rome, and someone who was very fond of repealing Constantine's laws, was opposing him even in this detail.

We should now raise the question whether Julian's edict was again revoked and the Constantinian law restored when he was out of the way.¹⁵ No revocation of the statute is extant but that could quite plausibly be attributed to the fragmentary preservation of the Code. However, Ambrosiaster seems rather to mean that after Julian there was no change in the situation up to the date he was writing, which was probably little after 374.¹⁶ This interpretation receives a great deal of support from certain passages of the Church Fathers, written between 385 and 420, which have not previously been cited in this connection.

¹⁴ CT 3, 13, 2 is probably a part of this edict, see Kaser, op. cit. 176 A. 20.

¹⁵ This is still the subject of some debate, but probably the more common assumption has been that Julian's edict was revoked, recently e.g. C. Castello, *Acc. Roman. Cost. Atti V conv. int.* (1983) 270. Among the scholars who believe that it remained in force are H. J. Wolff, *ZRG* 67 (1950) 262, A. Merklein, *Das Ehescheidungsrecht nach den Papyri der byzantinischen Zeit*, Diss. Erlangen 1967, 69-70 and R. Bagnall, *Church, State and Divorce in Late Roman Egypt in Florilegium Columbianum* (ed. K.-L. Selig and R. Somerville), 1987, 41-61, 43. Kaser, op. cit. 176, mentions the edict but does not discuss its subsequent fate. Evans-Grubbs, op. cit. 59-61, evidently has some doubts.

¹⁶ For Ambrosiaster and the date see O. Heggelbacher, *Vom röm. zum christl. Recht* (Arbeiten aus dem Iur. Seminar der Univ. Freiburg Schw. 19), 1959, 6.

...nec sterilem coniugem fas sit relinquere, ut alia fecunda ducatur. Quod si quisquam fecerit, non lege huius saeculi, ubi interveniente repudio sine crimine conceditur cum aliis alia copulare conubia...sed lege Evangelii reus est adulterii, sicut etiam illa, si alteri nupserit. (Aug. nupt. et concup. 1, 10 CSEL 42, 223)

Ceterum aliter se habere iura gentilium quis ignorat? ubi interposito repudio sine reatu aliquo ultionis humanae et illa cui voluerit nubit et ille quam voluerit ducit. (Aug. bon. coniug. 8, 7 CSEL 41, 197)

Dimittis ergo uxorem quasi iure, sine crimine, et putas id tibi licere, quia lex humana non prohibet; sed divina prohibet. (Ambr. in Luc. 8, 5 CChr 14, 300)¹⁷

...qui per effrenatam libidinis voluptatem absque fornicationis causa dimissis uxoribus, in alia volunt transire coniugia. Quod idcirco se credunt impune committere, quia humanis et saeculi legibus id videtur permissum... (Chromat. in Matth. 24, 1, 4 CChr 9A, 310)

Nec eam feminam quae per repudium discessit a marito, licet vobis ducere vivo marito. (Aug. sermo 392, 2 PL 39, 1710)¹⁸

Sed et vos moneo, viri... non commisceri adulterino corpori... nec dare hanc occasionem divortii mulieribus. (Ambr. Abr. 1, 25 CSEL 32/1, 519)

In the first four passages the bishops clearly indicate that the human law of the empire was disturbingly liberal, and in the last two they at least

¹⁷ That the divorce is unilateral is attested a little later when Ambrose calls the wife *repudiata*. The terminology remains regrettably ambiguous. Even if *repudium* as a legal term often signifies only the document (*libellum repudii*) and not specifically a unilateral desertion (cf. Nov. Th. 12 and CI 5, 17, 9), at least most of the present examples plainly refer to precisely the practices that Constantine wanted to forbid.

¹⁸ A little further in the text it is indicated that *per repudium discedens* is really the active party in the divorce; it is perhaps somewhat less certain in the case of *repudio discedens* (Aug. bon. coniug. 29, 32 CSEL 41, 227).

attest that among their flock practices exist that would have been most illegal if the Constantinian divorce law were in force.¹⁹ This would in fact not be exceptional. In their decisions the Fathers and the Church Councils often imply that it is quite possible e.g. to commit adultery without suffering the harsh official punishment.

However, there is also some ambiguous evidence from the eastern part of the empire from the same period:

Μὴ γάρ μοι τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς ἔξωθεν κειμένους νόμους ἀναγνῶς, τοὺς κελεύοντας διδόναι βιβλίον ἀποστασίου, καὶ ἀφίστασθαι. Καὶ οἱ τῶν ἔξωθεν δὲ νόμοι οὐχ ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲ προηγουμένως τοῦτο τεθείκασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ κολάζουσι τὸ πρᾶγμα· ὥστε καὶ αὐτόθεν δείκνυται, ὅτι ἀηδῶς πρὸς ταύτην ἔχουσι τὴν ἀμαρτίαν. Τὴν γοῦν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἀποστασίου γινομένην γυμνὴν καὶ ἔρημον χρημάτων ἐκβάλλουσι, καὶ ὅθεν ἂν γένηται τῆς διαλύσεως ἢ πρόφασις, καὶ τῇ ζημίᾳ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦτον κολάζουσιν· οὐκ ἂν οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ἐπήνουν τὸ γινόμενον. (Joh. Chrys. hom. de lib. repudii 1 PG 51, 219)

τοῖς τῆς μητρὸς δὲ νῦν δικαιώμασιν ἰσχυρῶς αἱ θυγατέρες κέχρηται κατὰ τῶν ἀγνωμόνων καὶ ἀπίστων ἀνδρῶν, ὥστε σοι πανταχόθεν ἡ καταφρόνησις τῆς γαμετῆς ἀδύνατος, καὶ ἀρχαίοις νόμοις τοῖς θείοις καὶ νέοις τοῖς ἀνθρωπικοῖς δεδεμένῳ. (Aster. Amas. hom. 5, 5)²⁰

When Chrysostom mentions that the secular laws disapproved of divorce and punished a wife who sought divorce with the loss of her property, it can hardly be identified with the old *retentiones*, even if some exaggeration is allowed. It could clearly fit the Constantinian law or some modification of

¹⁹ Additional statements making similar claims are found e.g. in Aug. adult. coniug. passim CSEL 41, 347-410, and Basil. Ep. 188, 9 and 199, 35 (Lettres, ed. Y. Courtonne, Coll. Budé 1957-66, vol. 2, 128-9/161). Jerome gives a similar impression in his story of Fabiola, whose divorce as he describes it would not have been permissible according to CT 3, 16, 1 (Ep. 77, 3). Unfortunately, the occasion cannot be dated more precisely than to the second half of the 4th century; Fabiola is mentioned only in Jerome's epistles 64 and 77, see e.g. PLRE.

²⁰ Homilies I-XIV. Ed. C. Datema, Leiden 1970, 47.

it. As regards the second passage, the context makes it probable that Bishop Asterius is referring to some secular restrictions of divorce, which are not specified.

But on the whole both Asterius' and Chrysostom's homily make it clear that this morality is something which their male audience does not put into practice in their daily life. They reject their spouses for the slightest reason and "change wives like clothes", as Asterius puts it. One gets the impression that excuses are often sought, no doubt primarily by accusing the wife of immoral conduct. But it is not clear whether the excuses are meant for secular or ecclesiastical authorities or just for neighbours.

The legal reality in the empire evidently showed more temporal and local variations than our meagre sources indicate. We do not know how accurate the bishops' information was about imperial legislation. But in the correspondence of Gregory of Nazianzus (Ep. 144-5)²¹ there is a most interesting piece of evidence, because it also involves secular authorities. In 382 A.D. a certain Verianus sought a separation between his daughter and her husband, and the governor had asked his friend Gregory to make some investigations into the case. The bishop regarded the matter as delicate but wrote:

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἥδιστα ἂν γνώμην ἔδωκα τῷ υἱῷ Οὐηριανῷ πολλὰ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ παραδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ κυρῶσαι τὸ ἀποστάσιον, ὃ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀπαρέσκει πάντως νόμοις, κἂν οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἑτέρως κρίνωσι.

When speaking of "our laws", which were more restrictive, Gregory can refer either to surviving local custom or to Biblical commands. But "the laws of the Romans" are different, and the two letters reveal that although both the bishop and the governor disapprove of the divorce, they have no legal means to prevent it. Details are not given but the crucial point seems to be whether the girl is more loyal to her parents or to her husband, which indicates a unilateral repudiation.²²

In view of the evidence presented above it seems quite certain that

²¹ Ed. P. Gallay, Coll. Budé, 1967, tom. 2, 35-7.

²² As Merklein, op. cit. 47-48, appositely remarks, "mutual consent" could often be only technical: even an unwilling spouse would have been inclined to consent unless he/she wanted to drag the divorcing party through the courts. Here this is apparently not the case.

the Constantinian ban on unilateral divorce was not restored after Julian. If any restrictions existed at all, they had to be in a much milder form which we can no longer reconstruct. Thus for 60 years in the late 4th and early 5th centuries, under many Christian emperors, in the most productive period of Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine, there were no great obstacles to divorce in Rome.

Many observers obviously found this situation quite unsatisfactory. In 407 an African Council condemned all remarriages by divorced persons and decided to ask the emperor to enact a law against this misdemeanour (Reg. eccl. Carth. exc. can. 102 CChr 149, 218, cf. p. 325).²³ It is doubtful whether this request was heard at all. At any rate the bishops' wish was very incompletely fulfilled, when in 421 a new decree was passed. It distinguished between three grades of reasons for unilateral divorce (CT 3, 16, 2). Wives especially met with increasing difficulties. For unfounded divorce they lost both their *dos* and the *donatio ante nuptias* and they were exiled.²⁴ If they could show some minor reasons (such as, presumably, the spouses' adultery), the penalty of exile was reduced to celibacy for life. Only for very heavy reasons (*magna crimina* of the husband) could they go unpunished and even then remarriage was forbidden for five years to leave no doubt about their motives. Husbands had much more freedom, for they had lost their wives' *dos* even in the old days. This was the only major setback if a husband divorced for "minor reasons" ("*ut solet fieri, femina morum levitate displiceat*", as the *interpretatio* later in the 5th century put it). Loss of the *donatio* and a lifelong ban on remarriage were imposed in the case of totally unfounded repudiation.

This law was promulgated in the western empire and took practical effect in the east probably only in 438, when the Theodosian Code was published.²⁵ Next year Theodosius II revoked it and restored the classical freedom to divorce, obviously with the old *retentiones* as sole punishment

²³ The canon speaks explicitly only of deserted spouses who were considered capable of remarriage even in the Constantinian law

²⁴ It is interesting to note that in the Constantinian law the marriage gifts from the bridegroom's side were not yet mentioned. In the Principate their value was quite modest, but it increased in the later empire until the *donatio* totally replaced the wife's *dos* in the early Middle Ages, see D. Herlihy, *Medieval Households*, 1985, 15-16, 50, 73-74.

²⁵ Kaser, *op. cit.* 176.

(Nov. Th. 12; 14, 4). This would seem to confirm that the old Constantinian law had not been in force in the eastern empire before 438. It is quite improbable that such a pious Christian emperor as Theodosius would have revived forgotten ancient practices if divorce had been prohibited since Constantine, i.e. for over a hundred years.²⁶

As for the Theodosian statute, it was evidently published in the west only in 448 with his other *Novellae*.²⁷ The next year saw a new emendation. A long list of grounds was given that justified unilateral divorce (CI 5, 17, 8). But even the lack of grounds brought with it only a loss of *dos* and *donatio* and additionally five years' celibacy for the wife. It is hard to say how far this compromise was acknowledged in the west, but soon after Theodosius had died the western emperor Valentinian III in 452 re-enforced his father's more severe CT 3, 16, 2 from the year 421 (Nov. Val. 35, 11).

Once more it must be stressed that this history is based on existing laws and contains potentially important gaps. The same applies to later developments, although a certain status quo seems to have been reached. In 497 an eastern law of Anastasius explicitly approves of divorce by consent (CI 5, 17, 9). The liberal eastern tradition continued in the early 6th century when Justinian introduced some new legal grounds and maintained the mainly financial penalties (CI 5, 17, 10-11; Nov. Just. 22, 3-19). But later in his reign, celibacy is again imposed on divorcees and both sexes are for the first time treated in the same way; now even divorce by consent is prohibited (Nov. Just. 117, 7-14; 127, 4; 134, 11). This latter restriction was again removed in 566 by his successor Justin II, who was softened by unfortunate couples who flocked to him for help (Nov. Just. 140).²⁸

Development in the west can be traced in the collections of Roman law that were made mainly in southern Gaul for the Roman subjects of the Germanic kings around the year 500. The *Breviarium Alaricianum* contains the strict constitutions CT 3, 16, 1-2 from the Theodosian Code, logically omitting Julian's edict and perhaps some unknown laws. Of the Theodosian Novels the *Breviarium* similarly omits c. 12, which had proclaimed freedom to divorce. *Edictum Theoderici* 54 follows Constantine's CT 3, 16, 1 as far as

²⁶ Cf. Evans-Grubbs, *op. cit.* 61.

²⁷ Cf. Nov. Th. 2 and Nov. Val. 26.

²⁸ K. Visky believes that Justinian's legislation did not correspond to the common opinion and therefore met with failure, *RIDA* 23 (1976) 262-64.

permissible grounds are concerned – penalties are not mentioned. *Lex Romana Burgundionum* 21 similarly adopts the Constantinian rule but begins with an explicit approval of divorce by consent.

Thus, legal theory in the western provinces seems to have remained more hostile to divorce than in the east, coming close to the old scheme of Constantine.²⁹ The new Germanic population had even more determined attitudes in its own laws: women could not divorce, and among the Burgundians they were drowned in a bog if they tried; husbands could escape with financial penalties (e.g. *Lex Burg.* 34; *Lex Visig.* 3, 6, 1). Mutually consented divorces are attested by *Formulae* in Gaul at least up to the 8th century, despite increasing legislation by the Carolingians.³⁰

If someone had asked the bishops about Christian influence in secular morals, they would have confessed that it was indeed negligible. The Constantinian ban on divorces had been short-lived. Over two hundred years after Constantine's conversion Justinian tried in vain to prohibit divorces by mutual consent. In the west legislators were more in favor of restrictions. However, only unilateral divorces were affected, and even then remarriage was in many cases possible, especially to men. Serious new attempts were made only in the Carolingian empire, half a millennium after Constantine.

If an early 3rd century classical Roman jurist had observed the same development, he would probably have had mixed feelings: the old stumbling block of Roman society, wives who sought divorce, was being removed at last, but only with the side effect that husbands, too, had new difficulties. He would evidently have blamed Christianity – or would he?³¹

A “Christian influence” can have two quite distinct meanings: the political and/or spiritual power of bishops among the governing circles on the one hand, and a genuine penetration of Christian doctrine into the popular morals on the other. We can fairly safely assume that the laws tell us little

²⁹ The can. 25 of *Conc. Agath.* (506 A.D.), CChr 148, 204, implies, though, that the secular law was not particularly well enforced.

³⁰ J.-A. McNamara - S. F. Wemple, *Marriage and Divorce in the Frankish Kingdom*, in *Women in Medieval Society*, ed. S. M. Stuard, 1976, 100ff. (with references).

³¹ The Christian influence on divorce laws has caused much theorizing among legal historians. Part of the literature is listed by Evans-Grubbs, *op. cit.* 64 n. 36, and Kaser, *op. cit.* 175 A. 11, earlier literature by Wolff, *op. cit. passim.*

about the latter aspect. There can hardly have been a common opinion about moral issues in the different social strata and geographical areas of a large empire, and even if such a thing had prevailed (e.g. after "Christianization") the population at large could not directly initiate legislation. In the case of divorce it would be particularly difficult to explain the fluctuating legislation by shifts in popular opinion. Thus our evidence mainly reflects ideals embraced by the court or the upper classes at most.

Taking Constantine first, he was clearly one of those emperors who since Augustus had shown a lively interest in regulating his subjects' morals. His concern for the purity and well-being of upper-class families is reflected in his legislation, which predominantly promotes old Roman conservative values.³² But these same values could often be linked up with later Christian teaching. In his efforts the emperor found a welcome ally in the Church, and we need not even question his religious sincerity (although we can, of course).

The Christian writers maintained that divorce was one of the ideological differences between them and pagans. As usual, they were exaggerating and forgot that they were not the first ones who tried in vain to prompt Romans into moral reform. I have earlier noted that distaste for (female) divorce was a traditional feature of Roman society. But it was left to Constantine to forbid it. In fact, this is one of those very few cases where later Roman moral legislation does not simply follow pagan traditions.

Constantine would hardly have enacted his law if it had not been supported by the Church and been a positive gesture towards its leaders.³³ On the other hand, he would certainly not have assented to their demands if it had been detrimental to the state. Demography had already played a part in Augustan policy towards the family. It was hardly ignored by Christian emperors.³⁴ It was important to get people to marry and produce legitimate

³² This tendency is discernible in my material for a thesis on women in later Roman law. Similar conclusions have been reached by Evans-Grubbs, *op. cit.* 242ff. and cf. Bagnall, *op. cit.* 51-2.

³³ Evans-Grubbs, *op. cit.* 80 (following Sargenti) stresses, perhaps rightly, the role of the law's official addressee, the Christian praetorian prefect Ablabius.

³⁴ This is clearly stated in 458 (Nov. Maj. 6, 5) when all widows are ordered to remarry. It is quite in line with Augustan policy and in startling contrast to Christian ideology.

children. 300 years of experience had shown that Romans could not be compelled to marry. Perhaps they could at least be prevented from dissolving their marriages.

Be this as it may, it seems that the Constantinian family policy met the same fate as the Augustan: his later successors were less active in their moral emphasis. Perhaps even ecclesiastical support was losing its strength. In the Christian congregations during Constantine's reign there was probably some old idealism, sense of seclusion and community left, which upheld morals and church discipline. But as Romans were being Christianized, Christians and their habits were becoming irrevocably Romanized at the same time. The celibate Church Fathers eventually became a moral minority even in their own flock.³⁵ This may in part help to explain why many "Christian" emperors after Julian were not eager to restrict divorces, although the political power of the Church had grown even greater.

The fluctuating legislation in the 5th century shows the incapacity of the eastern and western governments to take a uniform stand on divorce. Religious conviction seems to have played a minor role. It is difficult to believe that the eastern emperors or their advisors had been less convinced Christians than their western colleagues. One explanation may lie in the cultural tradition. The eastern legal schools (and also apparently the eastern court) preserved a scholarly, respectful attitude towards classical jurisprudence and its old urban, upper-class values, whereas in the west legislation was more quickly adapted to new social conditions and thinking.³⁶

This leaves us with the last problem, which proves to be the most difficult: why was legislation against divorce again passed in the west in 421 and thenceforth enforced? We cannot exclude the possibility that the western lawgivers were more effectively influenced by their spiritual advisors and at the same time less loyal to the ancient juridical traditions. This would then have been the origination of the western legal tradition. However, other contributing factors can be sought.

As noted above, Roman legislation is no direct source for shifts in lower-class morals. But an important qualification has to be made. Evidently in the political and social upheavals of the later empire more people who were not from the traditional urban upper classes entered government. Thus,

³⁵ This is illustrated by Evans-Grubbs, *op. cit.* 75-78, using Basil. Ep. 188, 9 and Innoc. Ep. 6 PL 20, 495-502.

³⁶ E.g. Kaser, *op. cit.* 26-27, 32-33; E. Levy, ZRG 49 (1929), 240.

it is possible that in Late Antiquity the ruling class was adopting morals that had previously been more typical of the provincial, rural and perhaps poor urban population or at least that these norms of behaviour were more often taken into consideration in the laws.³⁷ Such development, though not easy to prove and certainly not easily defined, would eventually focus the attention on lower-class behaviour after all.

In practice, we have little evidence of lower-class attitudes towards divorce in Antiquity, for they are not attested in literature or in epigraphy.³⁸ But it has usually been assumed on the grounds of modern comparisons and of deductive reasoning that divorce was much less common outside the Roman nobility, which had both the financial means and political reasons to dissolve its marriages.³⁹ We can also cite the traditional total incapacity of Germanic women to initiate divorce, which certainly cannot be attributed to Christian influence.

It must be stressed that the influence of popular morals on the law of Honorius and Constantius III in 421 is purely a hypothesis. It gains some strength in the later 5th century when the central government had collapsed and the Gallo-Roman jurists commissioned by the Germanic kings were excerpting statutes from the old Codes. Is it only by chance that provincials chose the Constantinian restrictions, which most closely resembled archaic habits, habits which also appeared in the laws of their new Germanic neighbours?⁴⁰

Naturally this interpretation is not without its problems. The bishops would not have used so much energy to fight divorce if it had not been a common phenomenon in their flock, although it is hardly clear which social strata they were mainly addressing in their homilies.⁴¹ The Egyptian papyri show that men and women were relatively freely divorcing from Hellenistic to Byzantine times and this behaviour had few traces of imperial

³⁷ This possibility is brought out by Evans-Grubbs, *op. cit.* 247ff. though not in connection with divorce.

³⁸ Cf. I. Kajanto, *REL* 49 bis (1969) 99-113.

³⁹ Evans-Grubbs, *op. cit.* 249; Kajanto, *op. cit.* 102.

⁴⁰ In the new kingdoms Roman laws applied only to people of Roman descent, while Germans clung to their customs.

⁴¹ The theological treatises are apparently meant for a more educated audience.

or Christian influence.⁴² Evidently in some areas the popular opinion about divorce was more tolerant than in others, but through the homilies we only catch glimpses of the differences. And certainly in any society the same actions can be morally reprehended and yet nevertheless be commonly practiced.

The unequal treatment of the sexes is an underlying thread in classical Roman attitudes, late imperial legislation and pagan Germanic traditions. Double standards were not sanctioned by the church, for it has to be said to the bishops' credit that in this respect they were honestly egalitarian and demanded equal morals for both sexes – in vain, however. It is remarkable that e.g. the Merovingian legislation on divorce is actually Germanic in content and not Christian.⁴³

As can be seen, the divorce laws cannot be explained by any one factor. But they should clearly be studied in the wider context of the whole Late Ancient legislation on the family. One connecting aspect is the protection of the interests of children in divorce which is mentioned in Nov. Th. 12, CI 5, 17, 8, 7 and Nov. Just. 117 and forms a link with the legislation on remarriage and other subjects.⁴⁴ Thus, divorce could be one of those cases where secular and religious motives converged to create “Christian Late Antiquity”.

So far it is probably safe to assert only a few things: distaste for unilateral divorce had roots even in the upper classes in the Principate, it was probably stronger in the lower classes, it fitted well into Constantine's family policy, it received strong support from ecclesiastical authorities but it never effectually prevented individuals from divorcing.

We shall conclude by considering who primarily felt the effects in this complex history. We have seen that in practice women met with more severe restrictions, but in principle the laws applied to both sexes. Did women gain or lose?

It is surprisingly difficult to assess the financial consequences of a divorce (and so the force of the restrictions), for they would depend on the

⁴² Merklein, *op. cit.* 81-2, 102-6; Bagnall, *op. cit.* 57-61.; Kaser, *op. cit.* 51. The evidence is admittedly scarce.

⁴³ McNamara - Wemple, *op. cit.* 99-100.

⁴⁴ This is stressed also by Bagnall, *op. cit.* 51-3.

relative value of the *dos* and *donatio* in the total property of the persons concerned. Similarly, an impending celibacy would have a wholly different significance for people in varying situations and at different ages. It is quite possible that women who sought divorce were not only morally but also quantitatively a greater problem for the contemporary upper-class society of the day than men. Since Seneca and Juvenal, male observers had paid special attention to women, and Ambrosiaster agreed: the liberty of divorce was liberty for women. The reason may have been the same as today. When a marital conflict became acute the weaker partner was the one who had fewer options. And if only the *dos* or part of it or even celibacy was at stake, it would not restrain a wealthy elderly lady for long.

But the possibility of divorce had an effect on firm marriages, too. This effect was based on the fact that the wife's property, at least the *dos*, was usually governed by the husband. Consequently, she had little to lose in divorce, while the husband had to stay alert to prevent his wife's wealth from slipping out of his hands – and such fears were well known (e.g. Apul. Apol. 92). Thus the freedom to divorce limited the husband's power even if the actual threat was never uttered. When divorce was more or less restricted it evidently weakened the position of propertied women, whose wealth would have offered them the opportunity to lead an independent life.⁴⁵

But men could also initiate divorce. That became clear in the passages from Asterius and John Chrysostom cited earlier. Augustine gives some examples of the reasons men had for dismissing a wife: if she was poor, ugly, infertile or too ill to be able to have intercourse (adult. coniug. 2, 16, 17 CSEL 41, 403). In the next passage he admits:

Incomparabiliter quippe numerus est amplior feminarum, quae cum pudice adhaereant maritis, tamen si dimissae fuerint a maritis, non differunt nubere.

The statement shows that rejected wives were not outcasts and could remarry if they wished. This was essential, for it was not good for a woman to remain unmarried in the Mediterranean world, unless she was a rich heiress – or joined an ascetic Christian community. Thus, in the lower classes wives

⁴⁵ In the 4th and 5th centuries Rome saw an increasing number of well-to-do widows, taking full advantage of the new ascetic habit, often perhaps with mixed motives (cf. Nov. Maj. 6, 5; Hier. Ep. 77, 4; 127, 3).

had less use for the freedom to divorce. At least some of them may have gained from an increased stability of marriages – if the law could be enforced in a man's world. And considering the mortality rates, there was an all too common way out of marriage besides divorce. For many ordinary women in Antiquity divorce as well as widowhood was clearly a human tragedy rather than an emancipatory victory.

Caligatus, tubicen, optio carceris, and the Centurions' Positions; Some Remarks on an Inscription in ZPE 71 (1988)*

CHRISTER BRUUN

In one of this year's issues of the ZPE some new inscriptions from Asia Minor were presented by T. B. Mitford.¹ Among them there is one that records the military career of a praetorian soldier who died as a legionary centurion after having served for 27 years. This inscription from Pazar in Cappadocia contains several interesting features which have a certain importance for the Rangordnung of the Roman army. It runs as follows:

M. Caesius / M. f. Pol(lia tribu) Verus / Pollentia, (centurio) / leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae). Militavit in coh(orte) IX / praetoria ann(is) XVI. Ordinatus tubi- / cem (sic), item optio at car-/carem factus est. Mili-/tavit evocatus annis / VII. Centurio factus / est in leg(ione) V Mac(edonica). Fuit or-/dine in sexta hastatus / posterior. Stipendia ac-/cepit caligata XVI, evo-/cativa VII, centurioni-/ca III. Militavit annis / XXVII. Vixit annis XXXXI. / M. Caesius Atimetus et / M. Caesius Limen liberti et / heredes eius ex testamento f(aciundum) c(uraverunt).

(ZPE 71 [1988] 176f. no. 12)

* I would like to thank Prof. Heikki Solin and Mr. Mika Kajava who read the manuscript, as well as Mr. Olli Salomies for many useful suggestions. Any errors are my own.

¹ T. Mitford, Further Inscriptions from the Cappadocian Limes, ZPE 71 (1988) 167-78 and plate XVI for the inscription treated here.

In his comment on the inscription Mitford deals with several questions, namely the *gens Caesia* and possible family connections of the soldier, the movements and whereabouts of the *legio V Macedonica*, and the ranks of *optio* and *evocatus*.² However, I think there is still more to be said about the two latter questions, as well as on others that Mitford did not touch upon.

1. *Caligatus*

There can be no doubt about the strict hierarchy in the Roman army, or of the great difference in rank between the common soldier and the legionary centurion.³ Still, authoritative scholars have advanced arguments, mostly based on epigraphic evidence, that the term *caligatus* was used as a common denomination for both soldiers and centurions (derived from the Roman military boot, the *caliga*, which gave the emperor Gaius his nickname). If this were true, it would have at least some consequences for the hierarchy of the army, as the latest advocate of this theory, J. F. Gilliam, has pointed out.⁴

Scholars of the same opinion include Mommsen and De Ruggiero,⁵ while von Domaszewski and Dobson among others have thought that *caligatus* referred only to soldiers below the rank of centurion.⁶ The question whether centurions could be called *caligati* or not has not yet been definitively settled. This is due to ambiguous evidence, and here epigraphy

² Mitford 177f. He tentatively dates the inscription to the reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, but on this see below.

³ See e.g. G. Alföldy, *Das Heer in der Sozialstruktur des römischen Kaiserreiches*, *Römische Heeresgeschichte*, Amsterdam 1987, 29-31; E. Sander, *Zur Rangordnung des römischen Heeres: die gradus ex caliga*, *Historia* 3 (1954/55) 96.

⁴ J. Gilliam, *Milites caligati*, *TAPA* 77 (1946) 183-91, especially 183 (= *Idem*, *Roman Army Papers*, Amsterdam 1986, 43-51).

⁵ See bibliography in Gilliam 43, also A. Passerini, *DE IV* (1949), s. v. *legio 590*, who is only partly convinced.

⁶ A. v. Domaszewski - B. Dobson, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*², Köln 1967, 2; also Sander 96; Durry, *Les cohortes prétoriennes*, Paris 1938, 95.

plays a key role.⁷ There are twelve cases listed by Gilliam in which *caligatus, officia in caliga* and the like are encountered, and the present inscription can now be considered an additional example (since Gilliam's paper was first published, other cases of *caligatus* have appeared, too. For them see below).

The period of service of Caesius Verus is described in a detailed, tripartite way which has, in fact, never been encountered before in inscriptions: 16 years of *stipendia caligata* are followed by 7 years of *stipendia evocativa* and 4 of *stipendia centurionica*. This formulation seems to indicate that centurions did not belong to the *caligatus* category.

But perhaps this conclusion can be contradicted by pointing to the fact that the service was interrupted by seven years as *evocatus* (and the *evocati* could not be called *caligati*, as they served *in calceo*, not *in caliga*⁸). Therefore, it would only be natural to list the years as centurion separately, under another denomination.

Be that as it may, it might be useful to proceed and briefly survey the evidence concerning attestations for *caligatus* that Gilliam singled out as being of crucial importance for his case.⁹

We shall deal with two inscriptions, the first of which reads as follows:

L. Cornelio Catoni (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) qui et caligatus stip(endiorum) XIII ...

(CIL VIII 2848)

⁷ The unresolved state of the question is indicated by the reprinting of Gilliam's paper (n. 4 above) with Addendum p. 442. Gilliam's opinion is also cited by R. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, Ann Arbor 1971, 184 and 213. The epigraphic evidence is dealt with by Gilliam 187f. He also carefully scrutinizes the literary evidence on *caligatus*, and shows that it is inconclusive concerning our issue (pp. 184-87).

⁸ Gilliam 190.

⁹ Gilliam 189f. Mention is also made of CIL VI 37264, which I will not discuss here. As Gilliam states himself, the textual tradition is uncertain. Moreover, the inscription seems rather to demonstrate that there was a difference between *caligatus* and *centurio*, cf. Passerini 594.

There has been some discussion over the meaning of *caligatus* in this inscription. Many scholars have treated the word as a supernomen, Kajanto among them.¹⁰ To Gilliam, however, it seemed possible that *caligatus* denoted Cornelius Cato's military position; here was a centurion who also called himself *caligatus*, *centurio qui et caligatus*.¹¹

But surely, if we deal with a term denoting military status and not with a name, as I think is the case (it would e.g. be very uncommon to list the agnomen after the military rank), the interpretation preferred by Gilliam cannot be correct. The meaning of *qui et caligatus* must refer to Cato's earlier career, meaning "who once served as a common soldier, a *caligatus*". If we understand the expression as *qui et (fuit) caligatus*, it corresponds to a normal pattern in Roman inscriptions. It hardly needs stressing how common it is in these kinds of inscriptions to indicate the stages of advancement the person in question has passed through. The idea in this case seems to have been to point out that Cornelius Cato had worked his way up from the lower ranks, rather than being immediately awarded a centurion's commission as was often the case for an *eques Romanus*. I think this argument can be made more plausible by an epigraphic parallel. From Rome comes an inscription, dating roughly from the same period, around AD 200¹², which gives :

*T. Ael(io) Malco tectori eq(uitum) praetorian(orum) coh(ortis) III
pr(aetoriae) qui et urb., antistes ...*

(CIL VI 2256 = VI 32456 = D 2090)

This inscription has, admittedly, caused some perplexity, too¹³, but nobody has seriously considered the word *urb.* as a supernomen, and generally

¹⁰ I. Kajanto, *Supernomina. A Study in Latin Epigraphy*, Helsinki 1966, 18 regards *caligatus* as an agnomen alluding to social position, "the rank where he began his career". For earlier views see Gilliam 188.

¹¹ Gilliam 188 and 190.

¹² CIL VIII 2848 is dated by Gilliam 188 to around AD 250, which is perhaps a little too late (cf. praenomen), while the inscription from Rome belongs to the end of the II century (H. Solin, *ANRW II. 29, 2* [1983] 680).

¹³ See e.g. comments by Henzen (on CIL VI 2256) and Dessau (D 2090).

it is believed that *qui et urb.* should mean *qui et urb(anicianus)*, i.e. the soldier had begun his career in the urban cohorts.¹⁴

The other important piece of evidence that Gilliam points to is a morning report of the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* from Dura Europos (PDur. 82). This list written on papyrus records the strength of the Roman forces on the premises. Among some 900 *mil(ites) cal(igati)* are specifically listed 9 *ord(inarii)*, 7 *dupl(icarii)* and 1 *sesq(uiuplicarius)*. As the common opinion is that the 9 *ord(inarii)* were centurions, Gilliam states that they are thus marked as *caligati* without a doubt. They are, of course, centurions of an auxiliary cohort, and Gilliam therefore considers the possibility that this conclusion would not be valid for legionary centurions. But he is inclined to believe that no differences in terminology existed.¹⁵

On this point new evidence does not shed any new light (the other occurrences of *caligatus* in Fink, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, are inconclusive¹⁶), but all the same I think the case of PDur. 82 could be reconsidered. As Gilliam duly remarks in a note, what PDur. 82 col. i lines 1-3 actually list are men of three different service branches, namely infantry, camel riders, and normal cavalry:

*vi. Kal. Apriles n(umerus) p(urus) mil(itum) cal(igatorum) dccccxxiii
in his ord(inarii) viiii dupl(icarii) viiii sesq(uiuplicarius) i. drom(edarii)
xxxiiii in his sesq(uiuplicarius) i. eq(uites) ccxxiii in his dec(uriones)*

¹⁴ Dessau, loc. cit.; M. Durry, *Les cohortes prétoriennes*, Paris 1938, 110 n. 9; D. Breeze, *The Organization of the career structure of the immunes and principales in the Roman army*, BJ 174 (1974) 253; N. Blanc, *Gardes du corps ou stucateurs? Les tectores dans l'armée romaine*, MEFRA 96 (1984) 729f. This inscription is not mentioned by H. Freis, *Die cohortes urbanae*, Köln 1967.

¹⁵ Gilliam 187-91. The document is easily accessible in R. Fink, RMP no. 47 p. 183ff.

¹⁶ *Caligatus* occurs in several of the papyri published by Fink, namely no. 47 ii, 50, 54, 59, 61 and 73. Perhaps of interest is no. 59 (= PSI XIII 1308, commented upon by Gilliam, CPh 47 [1952] 30 = RAP 70), called by Fink a "Monthly Summary of a Naval Century" from the middle of the II century. It seems to be a list of *immunes* (*gubernator, faber, ascita*), followed by *caligati*. This could be a new indication that *caligatus* is used in opposition to higher ranks, but the papyrus is too damaged to permit a sure conclusion.

v dupl(icarii) vii sesq(uipticarii) iiii. / coh. XX Palmyrenorum Severianae Alexandrianae ...

It was clearly the intention of the list to give a distinctive nomination for each of the three service branches. For the infantry not many possibilities existed. To use *pedites* would have been the only other possibility I can think of, but whatever term is used, the commanding centurions would have been grouped together with the common soldiers, just as the decurions were listed together with all the other *equites*.

The point I wish to make is that the wording we find in PDur. 82 and other similar documents is only the result of the special circumstances in which they originated. From these documents it does not follow, in my opinion, that a legionary centurion, nor an auxiliary one from Dura Europos, would have cared to call himself *caligatus* in an inscription, nor count his service years as *stipendia caligata*. To my mind, such a proposition does indeed seem somewhat far-fetched, considering the hierarchical stratification of the Roman army. Perhaps now the new inscription from Cappadocia does make it easier to accept the fact that centurions were not classified as *caligati* unless under very special circumstances.

2. Recruitment

The stone set up by the heirs of Caesius Verus informs us that he died at the age of 41 after having served for 27 years. This means that he was enlisted in the praetorian cohorts at the age of 14, which constitutes something of a record; Durry mentions 5 men who enlisted at the age of 16, one as young as 15.¹⁷ (We may compare the available evidence for legionaries: Forni lists 513 soldiers for whom the recruiting age is known. Only 6 of them went into the army below the age of 15¹⁸).

The normal age of enlistment in the praetorian cohorts was between 18 and 20.¹⁹ Our case is all the more strange as the praetorians were an elite

¹⁷ Durry 262. A further praetorian enlisted at 15 in AE 1984, 59.

¹⁸ G. Forni, *Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano*, Milano-Roma 1953, 135-41.

¹⁹ Durry 262.

force; some soldiers became members of this unit only as the result of a promotion from the legions.²⁰ It is possible to think that the inscription is an error, but this is not very profitable, and the text contains other peculiarities, too, that cannot be explained away in the same way (e.g. the promotion from *optio carceris* to *evocatus*, see below).

If an explanation for Caesius Verus' early recruitment is needed, it might be provided by assuming a recommendation of some sort. It is well known that patronage was important in the Roman army, not least for new recruits.²¹

3. Rangordnung: *tubicen*, *optio carceris*

During his service as praetorian, Caesius Verus was twice promoted, first to *tubicen* (trumpeter), then to *optio carceris* (camp prisonguard): *ordinatus tubicem item optio at carcarem factus est*. Mitford states that the rank of *optio* belonged to the highest grades below the centurionate, and often eventually led to a promotion to centurion.²²

It is true that our man later became a centurion, but all the same the preceding rank is not correctly understood. Caesius was *optio carceris*, which is quite another thing than the much higher *optio*. The latter rank belongs to the *principales*, the "ranks in the century" („taktische Chargen"), whereas the *optio carceris* until now has been considered a junior staff officer with pay-and-a-half (or perhaps even normal pay. The authorities give different hierarchies for the lower grades of non commissioned officers).²³ The term

²⁰ Durry 245-50. 262. Inscriptions that testify to advancements from other units are e.g.: CIL VI 210. 1609. 2759. 9391. 32549. 32578. AE 1927, 120.

²¹ G. Watson, *The Roman Soldier*, Bristol 1969, 37f.; Idem, ANRW II. 1 (1974) 496.

²² Mitford 177f.

²³ Von Domaszewski - Dobson 2. 27 and VI-VII. (the *op. carceris* is a *principalis* among the lowest ranks); Sander 96-100 seems to consider posts like *op. carceris* as no real *principales*, but just *immunes*; Breeze, *Organization* 245f. uses the term junior staff officers for ranks like *op. carceris*; in his scheme they are *principales* with pay-and-a-half, thus already in D. Breeze, *Pay Grades and Ranks below the Centurionate*, JRS 61 (1971) 130-35. But later he seems to have changed his opinion: the *op. carceris* was

optio was used for a number of posts, such as *optio valetudi(nari)* (CIL IX 1617) or *optio convalescentium* (CIL VI 1058), and there can be no doubt that they differ in rank from a true *optio*.²⁴

Actually Caesius Verus is the fourth *optio carceris* from the praetorian cohorts that we know of. To v. Domaszewski only one was known (AE 1894, 33 = D 9069), and as their existence seems to have gone unnoticed by authoritative works on the *immunes* and *principales* of the Guard in recent times,²⁵ they shall briefly be listed here:²⁶

1. C. Vedinacus Dexter, *mil. coh. II pr., optio carcaris* (D 9069)

2. Aurelius Titus, *mil. coh. VII pr. (centuria) Victoris, opt(io) garcaris* (sic) (Eranos 12 [1912] 190 = AE 1914, 253) evidently III century²⁷

possibly just an *immunis* with normal pay (D. Breeze, Note on the use of the Titles *optio* and *magister* below the Centurionate during the Principate, *Britannia* 7 [1976] 129).

²⁴ Breeze, Titles *optio* and *magister* 127-29.

²⁵ Explicitly on their absence from the praetorian cohorts see Breeze, The Career Structure below the Centurionate during the Principate, ANRW II. 1 (1974) 439; cf. Breeze, Titles *optio* and *magister* 128.

²⁶ It seems unwarranted to include the fragmentary CIL X 1763, cited by Sander 99: *-ninus / [mil.] chort. VI / [pr. ta]b. tesser(arius) / [carc]er fisci / [cur.]* etc. The emendation to *[carc]er* is by no means certain. [*Signif]er* is a better alternative, and such an emendation is also possible considering the layout of the inscription, as I have verified from a photograph kindly provided by Heikki Solin from his files for the Supplement of CIL X.

²⁷ The inscription has been tentatively dated to the I century by B. Mattson, who recently re-edited it though not in a very satisfactory way (*Opusc. Rom.* 11 [1976] 120 no. 31). The existence of a *centuria Victoris* in the I century is not a strong argument for such an early date, especially when considering that the *coniunx* of Aurelius Titus is named Aurelia Ursa. The *gentilium* speaks in favour of a dating to the III century, as does the cognomen *Titus* (see O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen*, Helsinki 1987, 164-66).

3. Aelius Florus, *mil. coh. V pr. (centuria) Vitalis, op(tio) kark(eris)* (II lapidario Zeri di Mentana 87 nr. 34 = AE 1983, 48) first half of III century²⁸

4. M. Caesius M.f. Pol. Verus, *mil. coh. IX pr., ordinatus tubicen, optio ad carcarem, evocatus, centurio leg. V Mac.* (ZPE 71 [1988] 176 no. 12) II century

It might be added that three *optiones carceris* are known from the urban cohorts, some from the *vigiles* as well (but the abbreviations OPCA, OPC, OPTC etc. have not convinced everybody), while in the legions soldiers are called *carcerarii legionis*.²⁹

One of the interesting features of our inscription is that it lists two lower ranks of *principales*, both *tubicen* and *optio carceris*, in the same career. They are obviously listed in order of promotion. In the classic Rangordnung of v. Domaszewski the two ranks are listed as belonging to the same group, but preference is given to the *tubicen*.³⁰ At first glance, then, the present inscription would make it possible to improve the Rangordnung on a minor point.

However, the situation is more complicated than this, because the relevance of the structures and patterns in the Rangordnung has been questioned from various quarters since it was first published in 1905. According to Sander, the posts of *tesserarius*, *optio* and *signifer* (the „taktische Chargen“) were basically equivalent in rank, and this conclusion should perhaps also be applied to lower grades, although Sander is not very explicit on that point.³¹ On the other hand, Breeze has tried to bring the discussion of the NCO-posts onto a new footing by bringing the distinction

²⁸ As suggested by L. Polverini, who first published the text.

²⁹ *Optiones carceris* in the urban cohorts: D 2117. 2126. 3739. Generally on the titles used DE II. 1 (1900) 113 s.v. *carcer*; F. Lammert, RE XVIII (1939) 808. A new *miles car(cerarius) leg(ionis)* in AE 1978, 730.

³⁰ Von Domaszewski - Dobson 27.

³¹ Sander 100, commented upon by Dobson in v. Domaszewski - Dobson VI-VII, who above all stresses the importance of applying chronological criteria to the Rangordnung. This is done in the present paper, as much as all the inscriptions studied belong to the period II century – end of the Severan dynasty.

of pay grades to bear in this question. On v. Domaszewski's three stages of junior staff officers, „taktische Chargen”, and senior staff officers he writes: “...the three groups of posts do not constitute separate stages on the *cursus*, but only have the general usefulness of grouping together posts of similar status and/or function. Separate stages, if any indeed formally existed, are more likely to be found in the pay grades.”³²

Before dealing with the possible consequences that the Cappadocian inscription has concerning our picture of the Rangordnung, it is necessary to say something about the other rank in the text, the *tubicen*. *Tubicines* are generally far better known than *optiones carceris*, and this is true for the praetorian cohorts as well: they appear for instance in some *laterculi* (CIL VI 2375. 2379. 2382).³³ Concerning the rank of *tubicen*, it has always been thought that it was the highest rank of the three different kinds of trumpeters in the Roman army, the *tubicines*, the *cornicines*, and the *bucinatores*.³⁴ Vegetius, for example, writes *Tubicines, cornicines et bucinatores qui tuba vel aere curvo vel bucina committere proelium solent* (Veg. 2. 7) and *Habet praeterea legio tubicines, cornicines, bucinatores* (Veg. 2. 22). Furthermore, we have two official lists where *principales* of different rank are listed, presumably in hierarchical order (CIL III 7449 from AD 155; VIII 2564 from late Severan times, cf. D 470). In these inscriptions the *tubicen* always precedes the *cornicen*.

Now, however, a recent discovery gives a different order: in a list of more than one hundred naval soldiers from Ravenna ten different classes of *principales* and *immunes* can be discerned. Among them is a group of two *cornicines*, which ranks higher than three *tubicines*.³⁵

The contradiction cannot be explained by chronological factors, as all the evidence, including the inscription from Ravenna, belongs to a period

³² Breeze, *Organization* 245; cf. *Idem*, *Pay Grades* 131. 134.

³³ F. Lammert, RE VII A (1939) 754f. s.v. *tubicen*. The largest survey of *tubicines* is in Cauer, 'de muneribus militaribus centurionatu inferioribus', Eph. Ep. IV, 377f.

³⁴ Most recently the question has been treated by M. Speidel, who also provides a thorough treatment of the *bucinatores*, see M. Speidel, *Eagle-Bearer and Trumpeter*, BJ 176 (1976) 123-63 (= *Roman Army Papers I*, 1984, 3-43), espec. 160 for the hierarchy.

³⁵ G. Susini, *Un catalogo classario ravennate*, StudRomagn 19 (1968) 291-307 = AE 1985, 401.

from the mid II / early III century. The navy might of course have adopted a somewhat different Rangordnung for its trumpeters, as it did for some ranks.³⁶

It would therefore seem wise primarily to regard the new Ravennate evidence as pertaining to the navy. But it might have some bearing on the legions and the Rome cohorts.³⁷ As stated above, Sander has argued that the „taktische Chargen“ and the senior staff officers constituted groups of soldiers who were equal in rank. Von Domaszewski himself depicts a similar situation for the lower ranks among the *principales* of the *vigiles*: there were no fixed Rangunterschiede for the *immunis tribuni*, *secutor*, *codicillarius*, *exceptor* and *librarius*.³⁸ Perhaps there is reason to question a strict Rangordnung among *aeneatores* in the legions and Rome cohorts, too.

Should we also consider the *optio carceris* as belonging to the same category? Our inscription places this rank above that of *tubicen*, while for the urban cohorts we know that in one case the *optio carceris* ranked above the *secutor* and *optio valetudinari*, but below such low posts as *singularis* and *beneficiarius tribuni* in the early II century (CIL IX 1617 = D 2117). It has recently been thought that the rank of *optio carceris* varied according to the military unit. He is sometimes considered an *immunis* with a normal pay (D 2117), sometimes a *principalis* with pay-and-a-half.³⁹ This again may be taken as an indication of a fluctuating Rangordnung.

In our case, considering also Caesius Verus' further advancement to *evocatus*, the rank of *optio carceris* would certainly seem to belong to the *principales sesquiplicarii*.

4. *Evocatus*

After serving for 16 years in the Guard, our man continued his

³⁶ Ch. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy 31 B.C. - A.D. 324²*, London 1969, 56-61.

³⁷ Susini 304f. writes «Secondo alcuni l'ordine seguito da Vegezio nel nominare i suonatori rispetterebbe una gerarchia, che peraltro il catalogo ravennate modificherebbe antepoendo i cornicines ai tubicines». But such a definite conclusion is hardly warranted.

³⁸ Sander 96-100; v. Domaszewski - Dobson 13.

³⁹ Breeze, *Titles optio and magister* 129.

service as an *evocatus*, i.e. a member of a special force that did not belong to any of the normal army branches.⁴⁰ One distinction has already been noted above: the *evocati* served *in calceo*, not *in caliga*. Furthermore, the *evocati* received *salaria*, not *stipendia* like the regular soldiers and centurions. There are, however, exceptions to be found on this point, i.e. *evocati* who speak of *stipendia*.⁴¹ Our inscription provides one more such case.

There is a further detail in connection with the *evocatio* of Caesius Verus that does not correspond to normal practice, and one that is of greater relevance. Caesius was chosen from the praetorian cohorts, and this is indeed almost the only way to join the *evocati*. But his rank when receiving the *evocatio* was surprisingly and unprecedentedly low.

D. Breeze has studied the promotion from *principalis* of the praetorian cohorts to *evocatus*, and states that this usually took place among holders of senior staff posts, such as *beneficarii praefecti praetorio*, *cornicularii tribuni* etc., posts that were many steps higher than the junior staff post held by Caesius. Exceptions are to be found, though: during the I century two cases of promotion from the „taktische Chargen“ (*optio*, *signifer*) to *evocatus* are recorded. Later, although the material is much richer, only one similar case is known.⁴²

But even a *signifer* or a true *optio* were of much higher standing than an *optio carceris*.

How should this baffling situation be interpreted? Perhaps Mitford in the ZPE was right after all when he equated the *optio carceris* with the true *optio*? But against such an assumption stands the evidence for the existence of the *optio carceris* as a separate, distinctive post, not to speak of the common use of *optio* for other tasks. Clearly, these ranks were not equivalent to a true *optio*.

One consideration must be to take notice of the chronological aspect. Perhaps the inscription is much earlier than has been thought and belongs to the I century, when irregularities in promotions were more frequent?⁴³

⁴⁰ DE II. 3 (1922) 2173-76 s.v. *evocatio*; Durry, 117-26.

⁴¹ Listed in DE II. 3 (1922) 2175.

⁴² Breeze, *Organization* 247. The exceptions are D 2060. 2086. 2143.

⁴³ The full nomenclature of Caesius Verus might also point to an earlier date, cf. the results achieved by M. Clauss, *Zur Datierung stadtrömischer Inschriften: tituli militum praetorianorum*, *Epigraphica* 35 (1973) 55-95. The fact that Caesius Verus died as a centurion of the V Macedonica in Cappadocia could be

But another tentative explanation comes to one's mind when remembering the unusual beginning of Caesius Verus' career. If he benefited from a recommendation at the outset, perhaps a similar act of patronage might explain his unprecedented entry into the *evocati* later on.

Nor did his advance stop there. Seven years later he became a centurion of a legion. Such a promotion is often regarded as nothing unusual for an *evocatus*. Still, it is far from being the rule. According to E. Birley, for about 280 known *evocati*, a promotion to centurion is known for about 12%.⁴⁴

5. *Fuit ordine* ; general remarks on the career of the centurions

The last part of Caesius Verus' career is described by the sentence *centurio factus est in leg(ione) (quinta) Mac(edonica)*. Then his position among the centurions is specified: *Fuit ordine in sexta hastatus posterior*. *Ordo* is a synonym for *centuria*, and *esse ordine* in this case means serving as a centurion, an expression hitherto unknown, as far as I know. The meaning of the whole sentence is that Caesius Verus was the lowest ranking of the six centurions in the sixth cohort of the legion.

The formula used to express Caesius' position as centurion provides the incentive for some minor comments on a recent work by M. P. Speidel. In short, Speidel shows that besides the complete expression *centurio legionis X cohorte sexta hastatus posterior* there existed a more idiomatic way of expressing the centurion's position among his 60 colleagues or so in the legion: *centurio legionis X sextus hastatus posterior*. Therefore, when numerals appear in inscriptions, one should read e.g. *VI (sextus) hast. post.* and not *VI (sexta) (cohorte) hast. post.*, an explanation once proposed by Mommsen and often subscribed to.⁴⁵

fitted in with earlier known operations of that legion in the east (see Mitford 178). But, on the other hand, his detailed *cursus* as *immunis (principalis)* speaks against a dating to the I century; Sander 88f. and 95f. points out that the first complete career inscription which includes the NCO posts is from the early II century. Probably the present inscription is to be dated to that period, too, rather than to the eastern campaign of L. Verus as Mitford suggested.

⁴⁴ E. Birley, *Evocati Aug.: A Review*, ZPE 43 (1981) 29.

⁴⁵ M. Speidel, *The Centurions' Titles*, Epigraphische Studien 13 (1983) 43-46.

Speidel's explanation is most welcome, because it has important consequences for many cases where misinterpretations of complicated military titularity has caused confusion until now.⁴⁶ However, it would seem that Speidel's theory is not applicable to all the cases he lists, a fact that is suggested in the light of the present inscription. The formula *in sexta (cohorte) hastatus posterior* makes it certain that Mommsen's hypothesis holds true in some cases. Speidel mentions three inscriptions where we find similar constructions with *in* + numeral; I suggest we fill in (*cohorte*) rather than accept expressions like *militavit in secundo principe posteriore*:⁴⁷

CIL VI 3584 = D 2656: ...*militavit (centurio) in II (secunda) (cohorte) pr(inceps) post(erior)*).

CIL XIII 6728: ...*ab imperatore o]rdinibu[s adscriptus ?] in X (decima) (cohorte) pil (us) p[r(ior)]*).

IGLS 9187: ...*militavit an(nos) XXI usqu(e) in IV (quarta) (cohorte) hast(atu)s post(erior)*).

These changes in no way diminish the general value of Speidel's theory.

Caesius' inscription thus has some significance for the understanding of the centurions' titles and ranks. Of greater importance, however, would seem to be another inscription published by T. Mitford in the same issue of the ZPE:

*D(is) M(anibus) / P. Turrano / P. f. Papir(ia tribu) Be-lluno Severo.
/ (Centurioni) leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris) VI (sexto) h(astato)
pr(iori) et leg(ionis) / IIII F(laviae) V (quinto) pr(incipi) pos(teriori).
/ Vix(it) ann(is) XLI. / Ex heredum / cur(avit) Turranos /
Epaphrodeitos lib(ertus) eius.*

(ZPE 71 [1988] 171 no. 2 from Satala)

⁴⁶ See Speidel, *The Centurions' Titles* passim, e.g. among the inscriptions in need of revision no. 2 (CIL III 195), no. 3 (CIL III 263), no. 6 (D 4311), no. 32 (BRGK 27 [1937] 107).

⁴⁷ The following three inscriptions are no. 8, 12, and 20 in Speidel, *The Centurions' Titles*. Speidel argues for his solution citing Cic. ad Brut. 1, 8, 2: *octavum principem duxit* (p. 53).

Mitford correctly expands most of the abbreviations for Turranius' rank (but it is incomprehensible why he writes that Turranius was *h(astati) pr(ioris) (optio)* of the leg. XV Apollinaris.⁴⁸ This soldier had been a centurion in two legions: (*centurio*) leg. XV Apol. VI (*sextus*) *h(astatus) pr(ior)* and (*centurio*) leg. IV *F(laviae) V (quintus) pr(inceps) pos(terior)*, indeed a fine example of how Speidel's theory worked in actuality.

What is most noteworthy in this inscription is that both centurionates are specified. When Turranius was transferred to his new legion, he was moved to a centuria of another order, from the sixth to the fifth. He was also given a new place among the centurions of his cohort, the fifth place rather than the third place that he had held in his previous cohort.

The present inscription is virtually unique in the way it specifies this transfer, and has considerable importance for the discussion of the Rangordnung of the centurions. It is clear that the centurions of the first cohort constituted the highest level, led by the *primus pilus* (usually it is assumed that they could collectively be called the *primi ordines*. But the scarceness of our material has not permitted unanimity to be reached regarding the hierarchy among the other centurions and it has even been suggested that the centurions of cohortes II-X in the legion were of equal rank, differing only in seniority.⁴⁹

Assuming that the transfer from the command of one centuria to another was a promotion, which has not been proven, many elaborate schemes have been suggested for these supposed promotions. A common feature of all these theories is that they are mostly proven wrong by our inscription because they assume too strict a scheme.⁵⁰ In the case of Turranius, the transfer seems indeed to have meant a promotion, as he is moved upwards, in the direction of the I cohort. But there seems to be no

⁴⁸ Mitford 172.

⁴⁹ See Dobson's comment in von Domaszewski - Dobson XXIII-XXV; Idem, ANRW II. 1 (1974) 407f.; also Passerini, DE IV (1949) 591-94; E. Birley, Carnuntum Jahrbuch 1963/64, 21-33.

⁵⁰ The various suggestions are presented in detail in the literature mentioned in n. 49. There is now a very recent contribution by K. Strobel, Bemerkungen zur Laufbahn des Ti. Claudius Vitalis, Tyche 2 (1987) 203-09, who discusses CIL VI 3586 = D 2656. He proposes a modified version of von Domaszewski's theory of „Stufenavancement“ and „Staffelavancement“. Even if the scheme might still be too complicated, the case of Caesius Verus does fit into it.

special relation between the centuria he belonged to, and the new one he is posted to; Turranius moves from *hastatus* to *princeps*, and from one of the *priores* to one of the *posteriores*. The only rule that seems to impose itself is that every post in a higher cohort ranked over the post in a lower cohort (perhaps with the exception of the *primi pili* of cohorts II-X), and that transfers, when they were intended as promotions, were made accordingly.

6. *Ordinatus*. Conclusions regarding the career of Caesius Verus

In this final section we return to the career of Caesius Verus. There is one more item in his inscription that might be worth paying attention to, namely the expression used for the first promotion: he was *ordinatus tubicen*. The term *ordinatus* might be a mere participle, a synonym of *factus est*, but I suggest that it has some further significance, that it is used as a technical term.

The significance of the terms *ordinatus* and *ordinarius* in connection with the status of centurions and other soldiers has been much discussed.⁵¹ It is not possible in this paper to cover all the aspects of this question, it must suffice to discuss the cases where *ordinatus* is used for soldiers below the rank of centurions.⁵² We know some cases where *ordinatus* is combined with a special rank (the cases where *ordinatus* stands alone will not concern us here, as those cases are thought to be centurions):

CIL XI 20 ...*miles coh. XII urb. et coh. IIII pr., ordinatus architec(tus)*...

⁵¹ The best study is still F. Gilliam's, *The ordinarii and ordinati of the Roman Army*, TAPA 71 (1940) 127-48, now in *Idem, Roman Army Papers*, 1-22 with Additions p. 442. It also contains a full bibliography on this question. Among others Gilliam 134f. points to some inscriptions where he holds that *ordinatus* is used as a mere participle, e.g. (*centurio*) ... *ordinatus ex eq. Rom. ab domino Imp.* (CIL V 7865. 7866).

⁵² I hope to be able to return to this whole question soon in the future. I now think that the categories that should be distinguished are a) centurions called *ordinarii*, b) soldiers with special posts called *ordinarii*; actually only *medici* are known, c) centurions called *ordinati*, d) soldiers with special posts called *ordinati* (the group treated here), e) *ordinati* without further specification.

CIL VI 30715 [-] *ordinatus*

CIL VI 130 *ord. custos vivari coh. praet.*

CIL VI 2379 = VI 32520 list of praetorians with several cases of MO, expanded by some to stand for *m(ensor o(rdinatus)* ⁵³

As can be seen, only two cases are certain *ordinati*, while for two the expansion is not sure. To this group can be added a new inscription⁵⁴ :

AE 1979, 89 ...*mil. coh. III pr. ...plumba(rius) ordina(tus/rius)*

Even if the expansion in the new case is not sure, it fits well into the current explanation for the use of the epithet *ordinatus*: it was used in order to distinguish members of the army's technical specialists from their civilian counterparts.⁵⁵ In support of this theory one can point to many *architecti, mensores* as well as *plumbarii* outside the army; however, I would still like to question this explanation strongly. Firstly, for a *tubicen* there seems considerably less risk of being confused with a civilian counterpart, even though some ceremonial *tubicines* actually did exist in Rome (D 2707a = CIL IX 3609, D 6285 = CIL X 6101, D 6286 = CIL X 5393). Secondly, only a very small minority of the technicians in the army used the epithet *ordinatus*. Why is that if it was thought a necessary mark of distinction? Thirdly, *ordinatus* is mostly encountered in epigraphic circumstances, where nobody would think of the task as being civilian, and no distinction would therefore be needed.⁵⁶ This also goes for Caesius Verus' epitaph, where surely *ordinatus* is not needed in order to point out that he was a *tubicen* in the army!

If the present explanation for the use of *ordinatus* is not accepted,

⁵³ Expansion in v. Domaszewski - Dobson 25, but doubted by Gilliam, *The ordinarii* 147f.

⁵⁴ Published by S. Panciera, *Actes du VII^e Congrès International d' Epigraphie Greque et Latine*, Bucuresti-Paris 1979, 432.

⁵⁵ Gilliam, *The ordinarii* 147f.

⁵⁶ This point is made by Gilliam, *The ordinarii* 146 n. 79.

what then was the reason for its use? I would tentatively suggest that it might have been a mark of distinction of some kind, or indicated a recommendation or the working of the mechanism that led to the appointment or promotion. Among the mechanisms in the administration of the Roman army, a special process might have existed, still unknown to us, an *ordinatio* that led to the epithet *ordinatus* being used for various posts in the lower ranks.⁵⁷

It might even be that *tubicen ordinatus* was the rank Caesius Verus received when he was recruited, and that the hypothetical *ordinatio* referred to this special and, considering his age, rather unusual event.

I think this explanation for the meaning of *ordinatus* can be strengthened by the other extreme features encountered in Caesius' career. He was enlisted at 14, perhaps already then *ordinatus tubicen*, or, benefiting from some kind of protection, reached that stage later on. He did not hold any of the higher ranks *in caliga*, that must be admitted (if indeed the *optio ad carcerem* is equal to the *optio carceris*). But he had not fallen out of favour in high places when he was picked as an *evocatus*, nor did his career stop before he reached a legionary centuriate.

Taken all together, the indications of patronage help explain his cursus, his promotions and, perhaps, the epithet *ordinatus*.

* * *

A last minute discovery turns up the epitaph NSA 1916, 105 no. 104 from Rome: *D(is) M(anibus) L. Magio Marcellino mil. coh. III pr. (centuria) Herenni, tubice (sic) ordinato, M. Volusius Maximinus h. f. c.* This second case of a *tubicen ordinatus* should be added to the short list on pp. 38f. and it strengthens the argument that we are dealing with a technical term (and not with a participle) in the case of Caesius Verus.

⁵⁷ *Ordinatio* is found for instance in Vegetius, where it has meanings like “arrangement” or “battle order” (cf. 1. 26, 2. 1, 2. 4, 2. 7, 2. 9, 2. 17, 2. 23, 3. 14, 3. 15, 3. 19, 4. 2, 4. 45).

Five Notes on the Appendix Vergiliana

EDWARD COURTNEY

Culex 407 *semper florida pinus*.

This is usually emended to *tinus* for two reasons: (1) a pine is too large for the gnat's grave-enclosure; not very convincing, especially when one looks at some of the other things planted by the shepherd. (2) *semper florida* does not suit it. See however Paul. Nol. carm. 21, 298 *pinus enim semper florente cacumine perstans* (he certainly means the pine since he derives an etymology of the name Pinianus from it, and he uses its evergreen nature to make an allegorical point). This is perhaps a reminiscence of the Culex, and if anyone is still sure that that passage is corrupt, at least the corruption can be given a terminus ante quem.

Ciris 46 *dona meo multum vigilata labore*.

This seems to be imitated by Walter of Speyer, MGH Poet. Lat. Aevi Carol. 5, p. 23, 201 *dona soporis...multo vigilata labore* (noted in the index p. 770); he flourished around 1000 A.D. Could he have seen the Graz fragment when that was complete? Or the ancestor of the Z-group of manuscripts? Or something else?

Ciris 89 *quidquid et ut quisque est tali de clade locutus*

As Housman (addenda to note on Manil. 3, 103) explains, *ut* means *utut*. Since the parallels which Housman quotes are not particularly close, it may be worth while to adduce Plaut. Bacch. 1087 *quiquomque ubi* (*ubique*

B) *sunt, qui fuerunt quique futuri sunt posthac*, where *ubi* means *ubi ubi*; *ubi ubi* was in fact conjectured by Renaissance scholars.

Catalepton 13, 5-6 *valent, valent mihi ira et antiquus furor
et lingua qua † assim † tibi.*

The best emendation of this (though Nemethy's *par sim* is not much inferior) is Scaliger's *sat sim*, 'a tongue to make me a match for you'; if this became *atsim*, the scribes would have thought that they were just modernising the spelling. Compare Lucil. 1147 *cui, si coniuret, populus vix totus satis sit*; Plaut. *Persa* 27 *quasi Titan cum is belligerem quibus sat esse non queam?*; Verg. *Aen.* 7, 470 (*Turnus ait*) *se satis ambobus Teucrisque venire Latinisque.*

Copa 5 *quid iuvat aestivo defessum pulvere abisse?
quam potius bibulo decubuisse toro!*

This punctuation was adopted by Goodyear, BICS 24 (1977) 122, but with reservations about its Latinity, so it may be as well to list such occurrences as I can find of *quam* with a comparative where we might expect *quanto* (Hofmann - Szantyr, *Lat. Syntax* 164 restrict this to late Latin, e.g. Luxorius, *Anth. Lat.* 348 R. 1). These are Liv. 4, 57, 6 *exemplo fuit...quam gratia atque honos opportuniora interdum non cupientibus essent*; Val. Fl. 7, 336 *o nimium iucunda dies, quam cara sub ipsa / morte magis!*; Mart. 9, 34, 8 *cernite quam plus sit Caesaris esse patrem (quam plus is also in the manuscripts of Calp. decl. 47, but the text is corrupt)*; Stat. *silv.* 2, 2, 60 *o quam...fortior, Urse, fores!*, 5, 3, 219 *quam tuus ille dies, quam non mihi gloria maior!* (= *quanto minor gloria mihi*). This question verges on a similar problem at Hor. *carm.* 1, 11, 2 *ut melius*, where editors have long quoted Plaut. *Truc.* 806 as a parallel. I will not linger over the highly suspect text at Cic. 2 *Verr.* 5, 57, but one may note that *malle* can be modified by *ut, quam* or *quanto* (see TLL s. v. 203, 53-56).

Philosophisch orientierte Ansätze einer Sprachtheorie bei Gorgias, Isokrates und Epikur*

SIEGFRIED JÄKEL

Die theoretische Beschäftigung mit dem Phänomen Sprache ist auch in der Antike eine durchaus bekannte Erscheinung. Grundsätzlich aber geschah das im rein formalen Strukturbereich, und wo Inhaltliches angesprochen wurde, dann nur in den Fragen der Richtigkeit und Falschheit einer vorliegenden, wirklich vorhandenen und mit Worten auch eindeutig beschreibbaren Realität.

Dennoch aber gab es - gleichsam in der sprachphilosophischen Subkultur der Antike - auch Denker, die sich mit den rein formalen Fragestellungen die Struktur betreffend nicht zufrieden gaben, die also in der Sprache nicht nur ein Mittel der Beschreibung einer vorhandenen Wirklichkeit sahen, sondern die einen anspruchsvolleren Wahrheitsbegriff entwickelt hatten, an dem sich Sprache zu versuchen und zu erproben und ihre Möglichkeiten zu zeigen hatte. Einer von ihnen war zweifellos Gorgias, der Sophist, den man zu unrecht in der gängigen Interpretationsliteratur zu einem bloßen Rede- und Wortkünstler herabgewürdigt hat.

In seiner Lobrede auf Helena benutzt Gorgias die Gelegenheit, über die Funktion und die Wirkungen der Sprache (*λόγος*) seine eigenen Theorien aufzustellen. Nachdem er im § 9 das Wort als Mittel der Dichtkunst gewürdigt hatte, das beim Leser oder Hörer die Identifikationsmöglichkeit

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mit den jeweiligen Emotionen der literarischen Helden bewirkt und so Furcht, Mitleid oder Sehnsucht hervorruft, und in § 10 die Wirkungskraft des λόγος im Bereich des kultisch gebundenen Rituals, des religiösen Zaubers, vorgestellt hatte, wendet er sich im folgenden § 11 dem grundsätzlichen Verhältnis von λόγος oder Sprache und Weltgeschehen zu. Dabei soll unter Weltgeschehen offenbar im Wittgensteinschen Sinne alles verstanden werden, 'was der Fall ist'. Der Abschnitt liest sich so:

ὅσοι δὲ ὅσους περὶ ὅσων καὶ ἔπεισαν καὶ πείθουσι δὲ ψευδῆ λόγον πλάσαντες. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πάντες περὶ πάντων εἶχον τῶν (τε) παροιχομένων μνήμην τῶν τε παρόντων (ἔννοιαν) τῶν τε μελλόντων πρόνοιαν, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως ὁμοίος ἦν ὁ λόγος, οἷς τὰ νῦν γε οὔτε μνησθῆναι τὸ παροιχόμενον οὔτε σκέψασθαι τὸ παρὸν οὔτε μαντεύσασθαι τὸ μέλλον εὐπόρως ἔχει· ὥστε περὶ τῶν πλείστων οἱ πλείστοι τὴν δόξαν σύμβουλον τῇ ψυχῇ παρέχονται. ἡ δὲ δόξα σφαλερὰ καὶ ἀβέβαιος οὔσα σφαλεραῖς καὶ ἀβεβαίοις εὐτυχίαις περιβάλλει τοὺς αὐτῇ χρωμένους.

In der Paraphrase lautet der Text: Wer immer wem immer über was auch immer in überzeugender Weise eine Mitteilung gemacht hat oder eine Mitteilung macht, kann das nur, indem er einen λόγος bildet, ein Wort formt, das eigentlich die Wahrheit nicht trifft. Mit anderen Worten: Alles, was der Fall ist (ὅσοι, ὅσους, περὶ ὅσων) kann nur in Worten zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, die an der eigentlichen Wahrheit der Welt (die der Fall ist) vorbeigeht. Weiter heißt es gleichsam als Begründung für die eingangs aufgestellte Behauptung: Denn wenn alle eine klare Vorstellung davon hätten, was geschehen ist, was geschieht und was geschehen wird, würde das Wort nicht so beschaffen sein, wie es jetzt ist, nämlich an der Wahrheit vorbeigehend; eben nicht so, wie es für alle diejenigen der Fall ist, die keine Vorstellung von der Vergangenheit haben, die die gegenwärtigen Verhältnisse nicht erkennen (oder durchschauen), und die auch das Künftige nicht vorhersagen können. Für alle diejenigen offenbart das Wort seinen fiktiven Charakter (εὐπόρως ἔχει), d.h. das die Wahrheit verfehlende Wort findet leicht seinen Weg in die Fiktion, oder anders gesagt: Mehr oder weniger alles, was gesagt wird, hat nach dieser Theorie des Gorgias fiktiven Charakter, es führt zu keiner Wahrheit, sondern nur zu Meinungen (δόξαι), die eher den Charakter einer Vermutung über die Wirklichkeit haben, an denen sich unser Denken

und unsere Seele, d.h. unser Wollen orientiert (ὥστε περὶ πλείστων οἱ πλείστοι τὴν δόξαν σύμβουλον τῇ ψυχῇ παρέχονται), sodaß wir eben deshalb den Zufällen des Glücks ausgeliefert sind.

Hinter dieser zutiefst pessimistischen Einschätzung der Sprache bei Gorgias steht an sich ein sehr hoher Wahrheitsanspruch, der sich mit der bloßen Beschreibung einer Wirklichkeit nicht begnügt, der auch nicht nur die dieser Wirklichkeit zugrunde liegenden Motivationen hinterfragt (aus der Sicht des Sprechers), sondern für den die Welt mit allem, was der Fall ist, als objektive Instanz gesehen wird, die sich sprachlichen Erklärungsversuchen und Deutungen zu entziehen scheint. In einem der nächsten Paragraphen seiner Schrift ist Gorgias offenbar noch weiter gegangen (§ 17), indem er das Wort mit der Furcht gleichsetzt in seiner Auswirkung auf den Menschen: So wie die Furcht den Menschen gleichsam blind macht, ihn der Fähigkeit des klaren Denkens beraubt, sodaß er zuletzt das, was die Furcht auslöst, den Gegenstand der Furcht, nicht mehr sieht und erkennt, so schließt Gorgias gleichnishaft auf das Wort und folgert, daß das Wort den Sprecher, der es gebraucht, vom Wesen des Gegenstandes, den es bezeichnet, eher trennt, als es ihm etwa näher bringt.¹

Ein anderer Ansatz sprachtheoretischer Reflexion findet sich bei Isokrates, einem Schüler des Gorgias, der zum Teil mit dem gleichen Begriffsapparat wie sein Lehrer arbeitet, doch diesen mit anderen Akzenten versieht. Auch sein Erkenntnisbegriff ist approximativ; auch für ihn erfüllt die δόξα eine Art Wahrheitsfunktion, die Meinung, die sich nach den jeweiligen Umständen immer wieder neu bilden muß, um eine Weiterentwicklung zu ermöglichen. Auch Isokrates ist weit davon entfernt, einem platonischen Idealismus zu huldigen, für den es nur eine einzige, feststehende Wahrheit gibt, die man nur als Idee fassen kann, und die um ihrer selbst willen gesucht wird, ohne dadurch die Probleme des Lebens und der Realität lösen zu können. Entsprechend sieht er die Funktion der Sprache und des Wortes. Wo es darum geht, Konkretes zu beschreiben, etwa die Vorzüge von Salz und Bienen darzulegen, findet der λόγος leicht seinen Weg: τῶν μὲν γὰρ τοὺς βομβυλιοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα βουλευθέντων ἐπαινεῖν οὐδεὶς πώποτε λόγων ἠπόρησεν. (Isocr. Hel. § 12) In der

¹ Vgl. dazu Verf., The Helen-Speech of Gorgias. Some Aspects of the Reception of Archaic Myths in Later Times, Grazer Beiträge 14 (1987) 111-121.

Paraphrase lautet der Satz so: Von all denen, welche die Bienen und das Salz und anderes Derartiges mit ihrer Rede preisen, ist keiner um Worte verlegen, d.h. findet jeder den Weg zu den richtigen Worten.

Auf der abstrakten Ebene aber, wo ethische und aesthetische Werte dargestellt werden, ist es viel schwieriger, mit dem Wort das Richtige zu treffen, so als ob die Sprache nicht an dieses hohe Ziel heranreichen würde, sodaß man sich immer wieder von neuem darum zu bemühen hat: οἱ δὲ περὶ ὁμολογουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἢ καλῶν ἢ τῶν διαφερόντων ἐπ' ἀρετῆ λέγειν ἐπιχείροντες πολὺ καταδεέστερον τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἅπαντες εἰρήκασιν. (Isocr. Hel. § 12) In der Paraphrase: Diejenigen aber, die versuchen, darüber etwas auszusagen, was nach unser aller Übereinstimmung das Gute und das Schöne ist und was aufgrund seiner Tauglichkeit das Allgemein-Übliche (das Durchschnittliche) überragt, sie alle haben es viel schwerer, mit ihrer Rede das Wesen der Dinge (τὰ ὑπάρχοντα) zu treffen. So gehört nach des Isokrates Meinung auch eine andere Geisteshaltung dazu, je nachdem, ob man über das Salz spricht oder über abstrakte Begriffe der Moral oder Aesthetik: οὐ γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἐστὶν ἀξίως εἰπεῖν περὶ ἑκατέρων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μικρὰ ῥάδιον τοῖς λόγοις ὑπερβαλέσθαι, τῶν δὲ χαλεπὸν τοῦ μεγέθους ἐφικέσθαι. (Isocr. Hel. § 13) In der Paraphrase: Es gehört auch eine andere Einsicht dazu, über diesen oder über den anderen Gegenstand zu sprechen; die konkreten Erscheinungen sind sprachlich leicht so darzustellen, daß sie dabei besser erscheinen, als sie es in Wirklichkeit sind, d.h. daß die sprachliche Darstellung nicht nur ihrem Wesen gerecht wird, sondern dieses noch idealisiert, wohingegen die Größe und die Bedeutung der anderen Dinge im Bereich des abstrakten Denkens mit dem Wort schwer zu erreichen sind. Während für seinen Lehrer Gorgias die Sprache – wie es am Ende der Helena–Rede heißt – ein παίγνιον, ein Spiel ist, das gewissen Regeln zu folgen hat und damit eine eigene Welt repräsentiert, die als solche nicht ernst genommen werden darf, die nur als gleichnishaft zu gelten hat, räumt Isokrates der Sprache im konkreten Bereich doch eine adäquate Aussagefähigkeit ein, die er allerdings auf der abstrakten Ebene entschieden in Frage stellt. Hier liegt für Isokrates die eigentliche Aufgabe der Sprache, die darin besteht, sich an den hohen geistigen Themen zu versuchen und zu bewähren, obwohl trotz allem immer noch ein unsagbarer Rest zurückbleiben wird; und damit sieht er auch in ihr ein approximatives Mittel, sich dem Eigentlichen zu nähern, ein Mittel, das freilich nur eine δόξα – Bildung erlaubt, die in ihrer Gültigkeit relativ ist und auf den Augenblick bezogen bleibt.

Hatten sowohl Gorgias als auch Isokrates in ihren Reflexionen das Phänomen der Sprache lediglich an ihrer Leistungsfähigkeit gemessen, die von ihnen bezeichneten Objekte adäquat darzustellen, so findet sich bei Epikur ein vollkommen anderer Ansatz einer Sprachbetrachtung, der bis heute weitgehend singulär geblieben ist und deshalb besondere Beachtung verdient. Gleich zu Beginn des Briefes an Herodotos (37,6 ff.) wird die Frage nach dem Wesen und der Leistungsfähigkeit der Sprache gestellt im Hinblick auf erkenntnistheoretische Zielvorstellungen. Und dabei fällt auf, daß für Epikur Sprache vor allem erst einmal ein phonetisches Phänomen ist. Er fragt nämlich nicht danach, was den Worten, den λόγοι, zugrunde liegt, sondern nach dem, was den Lauten zugrunde liegt: Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑποτεταγμένα τοῖς φθόγγοις, ὃ Ἡρόδοτε, δεῖ εἰληφέναι. In der Paraphrase: Zunächst, mein Herodotos, muß man begreifen lernen, welcher Sinn den menschlichen Lauten zugrunde liegt. Daß Epikur hier tatsächlich in seiner Sprachtheorie so etwas wie eine phonetische Semantik zu begründen scheint, zeigt sich auch an der Terminologie, die er bei seiner These von der Entstehung von Sprachen (Herod. Brief & 75 f.) verwendet, wo er für 'sprechen' den Ausdruck τὸν ἀέρα ἐκπέμπειν verwendet, d.h. 'Luft herauslassen', nämlich aus dem Mund, zwischen den Zähnen; denn so werden Laute gebildet.

Man hat sich über die Jahrhunderte hinweg daran gewöhnt, in der semantischen Beschreibung von Sprache in den Wissenschaften ausschließlich vom Wort auszugehen und so hat man über die epikureische Anweisung und Anleitung zu einer phonetischen Semantik hinweggelesen. Phonetik wurde und wird natürlich als ein besonderes Fach, als eigene Disziplin an den Universitäten entwickelt, doch blieb sie in ihrer Beschreibung auf das rein lautliche Phänomen beschränkt, ohne daraus ernstliche semantische Konsequenzen zu ziehen. Die folgenden Ausführungen des Epikur zeigen indes deutlich, daß er das Phänomen Sprache in ähnlicher Weise als ein σύμπτωμα τῶν συμπτωμάτων gesehen hat wie das der Zeit, das keiner Erklärung bedarf und das sich jeder rationalen Kategorisierung entzieht, weil es sich für die Sprechenden aufgrund der Evidenz ihrer Phonetik gleichsam von selbst versteht. Dieser Gedanke wird dann von Epikur in demselben Brief § 38 noch näher ausgeführt: ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἐννόημα καθ' ἕκαστον φθόγγον βλέπεσθαι καὶ μηθὲν ἀποδείξεως προσδεῖσθαι. In der Paraphrase: Notwendigerweise also muß man sehen, wie der ursprüngliche

Gedanke an jedem Laut hängt – und so auch keiner Erklärung bedarf.² Dieser Vorstellung liegt offenbar ein Lernprozeß zugrunde, wie er sich am Kleinkind in der muttersprachlichen Umgebung vollzieht. Dieser Prozeß ist ein rein phonetischer: Mit bestimmten Lautbildungen werden bestimmte Wertungen und Verhaltensweisen, Gefühle und Emotionen verbunden, spontan vermittelt und kritiklos im Prozeß der Nachahmung sich zu eigen gemacht. Der muttersprachliche Lernprozeß ist somit kein rationaler, der über das Denken geht, sondern ein emotionaler, der jeder rationalen Überlegung und Kontrolle entbehrt.

Für wie grundlegend und wichtig Epikur diese Einsicht hielt, geht schon aus dem Umstand hervor, daß er seinen Brief an Herodotos nach einer kurzen Einleitung eben mit dieser Feststellung beginnt, denn da die Sprache ja auch das Mittel ist, dessen sich Epikur selbst in seinen Mitteilungen bedient, liegt ihm offenbar daran, über seinen Begriff von Sprache keine Zweifel aufkommen zu lassen. In diesem Zusammenhang mag es nicht abwegig sein, sich wieder einmal die Tatsache ins Gedächtnis zu rufen, daß Epikur – obzwar selbst Athener – in den ersten 35 Jahren seines Lebens nicht im muttersprachlichen Athen gelebt hat, sieht man von dem einen Jahr ab, das er als athenischer Bürger in Athen zu verbringen hatte, um sozusagen seiner Wehrpflicht zu genügen; es war übrigens das gleiche Jahr, in welchem auch Menander seinen Kriegsdienst ableistete, 322-321. Von daher mag sich nicht nur sein etwas besonderes Griechisch erklären, sondern auch jene typische Sprachempfindlichkeit, die all jenen zu eigen ist, die längere Zeit in einer nicht muttersprachlichen Umgebung leben. So hat es den Anschein, daß das *πρῶτον νόημα*, das sich – gleichsam apriori vor aller Erfahrung – beim

² Wie bereits angedeutet trifft diese Auffassung von der Sprache Epikurs auch weitgehend auf seine Zeitauffassung zu, die er jenseits aller Symptome ansiedelt, und die nach Sextus Empiricus für ihn so etwas wie das Sympton aller Symptome gewesen ist. So liest man etwa im Herod. Brief § 73: ...καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο (das Phänomen 'Zeit') οὐκ ἀποδείξεως προσδεῖται, ἀλλ' ἐπιλογισμοῦ, ὅτι ταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ταῖς νυξὶ συμπλέκομεν καὶ τοῖς τούτων μέρεσιν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς πάθεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀπαθείαις, καὶ κίνησι καὶ στάσεσιν... Als Paraphrase: Denn auch das Phänomen 'Zeit' bedarf keiner Erklärung, lediglich der Überlegung, daß wir es mit dem Wechsel von Tagen und Nächten verbinden und mit unserer Teilhabe an den entsprechenden Zeitabschnitten - in gleicher Weise wie wir mit dem verbunden sind, was wir erleiden und was wir nicht erleiden, mit den Bewegungen und mit den Stillständen (Pausen), die dazwischen liegen.

Vollzug des muttersprachlichen Lernprozesses einstellt, in die Richtung dessen weist, was Epikur sonst in seinen Schriften die *πρόληψις* genannt hat.³

Versucht man, den epikureischen Begriff der *πρόληψις* auf seine sprachtheoretischen Erwägungen auszudehnen, so sind die Konsequenzen, die sich daraus im Bereich der hier erörterten phonetischen Semantik ergeben einigermaßen beunruhigend. Es würde nichts anderes bedeuten, als daß die ursprünglich gemachte emotionale Erfahrung, die mit dem erstmals vernommenen Laut verbunden war, späterhin jederzeit durch eben diesen Laut erneut abrufbar wäre, ohne daß derjenige, der diesen Vorgang erleidet, sich selbst dessen deutlich bewußt wäre.⁴ Somit wäre in der *πρόληψις* auf der sprachlichen Ebene die latente Art eines Vor-Urteils zu sehen, eine eigentlich positiv zu wertende *δόξα* – Gebundenheit, die bereits im bloßen Gebrauch der Muttersprache vorliegt.

Jedenfalls stellt Epikur in seinem Menoikeus-Brief (§ 124) bei der Behandlung der Frage nach den Göttern dem dort positiv gewerteten Begriff der *προλήψεις* die eindeutig negativ gewerteten *ὑπολήψεις ψευδεῖς* gegenüber. Aus dieser Gegenüberstellung scheint hervorzugehen, daß die *προλήψεις* etwas Vorgegebenes – fast 'Natürliches' – sind, wohingegen die *ὑπολήψεις* später entstehen, und zwar in bewußt lügnerischer Absicht.

Einen weiteren Aufschluß über den Begriff der *πρόληψις* erfährt man am Ende der *Κύριαι Δόξαι* (K.D. 37 und 38), und zwar im Zusammenhang mit Epikurs Definition der Gerechtigkeit. In K.D. 33 hatte Epikur die Existenzberechtigung einer Rechtsidee entschieden bestritten (*οὐκ ἦν τι καθ' ἑαυτὸ δικαιοσύνη*), wie überhaupt jedes starre Denksystem, das auf der Vorstellung von den platonischen Ideen basiert, von ihm abgelehnt wird. So existiert auch die Idee der Ungerechtigkeit für ihn nicht: (K.D. 34) *ἡ ἀδικία*

³ Vgl. zu dem umstrittenen Begriff der *πρόληψις* die Arbeit von A. Manuwald, Die Prolepsislehre von Epikur, Diss. Bonn 1972.

⁴ In ähnlicher Weise hatte Platon seinen Begriff der *ἀνάμνησις* verstanden, der im Erfahren der Welt jene vor der Geburt geschaute Urgestalt wieder heraufbeschwört. Wir wissen, daß Epikur mit den platonischen Schriften bekannt war und so hat er von daher einige philosophische Grundbegriffe aufgenommen, sie dann aber einer anderen Bedeutung dienstbar gemacht oder jedenfalls stark modifiziert seinem Gesamtbild der Welt eingefügt. Vgl. dazu auch weiter unten.

οὐ καθ' ἑαυτὴν κακόν. Anstelle dessen führt Epikur den Begriff des 'Keinen-Schaden-Zufügen' im aktiven wie im passiven Sinne ein (μὴ βλάπτειν ἢ μὴ βλάπτεσθαι). Diese zunächst negative Formulierung des 'Keinen-Schaden-Zufügen', d.h. niemanden schädigen und von keinem Schaden erleiden, findet in K.D. 36 ihre positive Entsprechung in dem Begriff des τὸ συμφέρον. Zugleich definiert Epikur auch den Staat als eine κοινωνία, ein Gemeinwesen, und vermeidet dabei wohl mit Absicht offizielle Begriffe wie den der πολιτεία u.ä., deren Verwendung durch die Schriften eines Plato und Aristoteles semantisch schon vorbelastet ist.

Das συμφέρον ist also das, was den einzelnen Mitgliedern einer Gemeinschaft (d.h. des Staates) von Nutzen sein soll. Die Passage lautet wie folgt: K.D. 37

ἐὰν δὲ νόμον θῆταί τις, μὴ ἀποβαίνη δὲ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίας, οὐκέτι τοῦτο τὴν τοῦ δικαίου φύσιν ἔχει. κὰν μεταπίπτῃ τὸ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον συμφέρον, χρόνον δὲ τινα εἰς τὴν πρόληψιν ἐναρμόττη, οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἦν δίκαιον τοῖς μὴ φωναῖς κεναῖς ἑαυτοὺς συνταράττουσιν ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ πράγματα βλέπουσιν.

In der Paraphrase: Wenn jemand ein Gesetz erläßt, und sich dabei nicht danach richtet, was dem Wohle aller, der Gemeinschaft aller nützt, so ist das gegen die Natur des Rechtes. Und wenn sich dasjenige, das im Einklang mit diesem Recht das für alle Zutragliche gewesen ist, ändert, auch wenn es eine zeitlang mit dem im Einklang stand, was das allgemeine Sprachempfinden für richtig hielt (εἰς τὴν πρόληψιν ἀρμόττειν), so verliert es den Charakter des Richtigen nichtsdestoweniger in den Augen all derer, die die Sache selbst betrachten (εἰς τὰ πράγματα) und sich selbst nicht verwirren lassen durch leere Begriffe (φωναῖς κεναῖς) durch leere Laute, durch Stimmen ohne Inhalt.

Die πρόληψις ist offenbar die natürliche Instanz eines normalen und gesunden Sprachverstandes – oder eines Sprachvorverstandes, der apriori schon festliegt. Aber diese Instanz kann nach der Auffassung Epikurs seine Autorität verlieren, wenn zwingende Umstände eintreten, etwa fundamentale Veränderungen in der Umweltsituation, die das bisher Richtige im Sinne der Zutraglichkeit für alle Mitglieder der Gemeinschaft plötzlich als falsch erscheinen lassen. Dann bedarf es des Mutes zur Änderung der Gesetze: K.D.

Ἐνθα μὴ καινῶν γενομένων τῶν περισσώτων πραγμάτων ἀνεφάνη μὴ ἀρμόττοντα εἰς τὴν πρόληψιν τὰ νομισθέντα δίκαια ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων, οὐκ ἦν ταῦτα δίκαια. ἔνθα δὲ καινῶν γενομένων τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκέτι συνέφερε τὰ αὐτὰ δίκαια κείμενα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τότε μὲν ἦν δίκαια, ὅτε συνέφερον εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίαν τῶν συμπολιτευομένων· ὕστερον δ' οὐκ ἦν ἔτι δίκαια, ὅτε μὴ συνέφερον.

Die Gerechtigkeit hat also nach der Auffassung von Epikur einen relativen Charakter und kann nicht als platonische Idee festgeschrieben werden, weil sie sonst ihre Eigentlichkeit nicht erfüllen kann, zum Nutzen der Mitglieder einer Gemeinschaft zu wirken; so muß sie den stets sich wandelnden Verhältnissen in der Welt (τὰ πράγματα) Rechnung tragen. Dieser Gegensatz von einerseits φωναὶ κεναί (leere Begriffe) und τὰ πράγματα (die sich verändernden Lebensumstände) zeigt deutlich, in welcher Weise sich hier bei Epikur auch seine Platon-Kritik äußert.

Diese leeren Begriffe (φωναὶ κεναί) in der Terminologie des Epikur mit den platonischen Ideen in Verbindung zu bringen, wird auch noch durch eine Passage des Herodotos-Briefes nahe gelegt und gleichsam auch aus der naturwissenschaftlichen Sicht des Epikur untermauert: Im § 67 definiert Epikur seinen Begriff von der Seele als etwas Körperliches, und beginnt danach den platonischen Begriff der Idee etwas genauer zu untersuchen. Dabei zeigt es sich, daß aus seiner naturwissenschaftlichen Sicht das 'An-und-für-sich' der platonischen Idee nicht unkörperlich gedacht werden kann, es sei denn als etwas Leeres (καθ' ἑαυτὸ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι νοῆσαι τὸ ἀσώματον πλὴν τοῦ κενοῦ). Und das Leere vermag weder etwas zu tun, noch etwas zu erleiden (τὸ δὲ κενὸν οὔτε ποιῆσαι οὔτε παθεῖν δύναται), sondern es sorgt aus der Weltsicht Epikurs nur für den Raum, in dem sich die Körper schneller oder langsamer bewegen können (ἀλλὰ κίνησιν μόνον δι' ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς σώμασι παρέχεται).

Es lohnt sich, in diesem Zusammenhang überhaupt einmal jene Stellen aus den K.D. näher zu betrachten, an denen bei Epikur Begriffe wie φωνὴ κενή oder auch δόξα κενή oder gar κενοδοξία auftauchen. Es ist dies der Fall in den Nummern 29 und 30, und zwar im Zusammenhang mit seiner

Lehre von den Begierden (ἐπιθυμίας).⁵ Bekanntlich unterscheidet Epikur drei verschiedene Kategorien von Begierden. Zur ersten Kategorie zählt er jene Triebe, die natürlich und notwendig sind (φυσικαὶ καὶ ἀναγκαῖαι); damit sind offenbar die elementarsten Lebensbedürfnisse des Menschen gemeint – wie Speise und Trank, hinter denen vor allem der Selbsterhaltungstrieb steht. Die zweite Kategorie der Begierden bezeichnet Epikur als 'natürlich und nicht notwendig' (αἱ δὲ φυσικαὶ καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖαι). Damit ist u.a. sicher der Sexualtrieb gemeint, sofern er nicht nur der Selbsterhaltung der Gattung zu dienen hat. Über den Inhalt dieser beiden Triebkategorien herrscht auch weitgehend Übereinstimmung. Nicht so eindeutig ist die Auffassung von der dritten Triebkategorie, über die sich Epikur folgendermaßen äußert:

αἱ δὲ οὔτε φυσικαὶ οὔτε ἀναγκαῖαι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ κενὴν δόξαν γινόμεναι.

Geht man bei dem Begriff der 'leeren Meinung' (κενὴ δόξα) von der oben aufgezeigten Bedeutung aus, die in kritischer Absicht auf die platonische Idee verweist, so scheint Epikur hier eine Art von Begierde (ἐπιθυμία) im Sinne zu haben, die – da sie weder im physischen noch in dem durch die menschliche Physis bedingten, aber nicht notwendigen Bezirk liegt – im rein ideellen Bereich zu suchen ist. Da stellt sich nun die Frage nach der Idee, die dadurch zum Ideal wird, daß sie von der Umwelt zur einzig richtigen, d.h. zur einzig wahren Idee erklärt wird. Dieser Prozeß bezeichnet die Geburtsstunde jeder Ideologie.

Nach den Gesetzen des Herden- und des Geltungstriebes strebt jedes Mitglied einer Gemeinschaft danach, es in ihrer Mitte zu höchstem Ansehen zu bringen; solange nun die Zielvorstellungen und Ideale einer Gesellschaft sich an den sachlichen Problemen einer Zeit orientieren, ist solch Streben auch zum Nutzen für jede Gemeinschaft. Wenn aber die Zielvorstellungen als

⁵ Vollkommen ungerechtfertigt ist es – wie es sich in der Forschung der letzten Jahrzehnte eingebürgert hat – bei Epikur von einer 'Lustlehre' zu sprechen. Die Lust (ἡδονή) ist in der Vorstellungswelt Epikurs niemals ein Gegenstand der Lehre, sie hat vielmehr den Charakter eines Vollzuges. Sehr wohl aber kann man bei ihm von einer Lehre der Begierden und Wünsche sprechen; davon handeln die beiden hier erwähnten Paragraphen 29 und 30.

Ideale in einem abstrakten Bereich festgeschrieben werden und in einer realitätsentfremdeten Autonomie zur herrschenden Ideologie werden, die sich nicht mehr an der Physis, an der durch die Natur bedingten Verhältnisse orientiert, dann trifft das zu, was Epikur in § 30 seiner K.D. folgendermaßen beschreibt:

ἐν αἷς τῶν φυσικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, μὴ ἐπ' ἀλγοῦν δὲ ἐπαναγουσῶν, ἐὰν μὴ συντελεσθῶσιν, ὑπάρχει ἡ σπουδὴ σύντονος, παρὰ κενὴν δόξαν αὐταὶ γίνονται, καὶ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν οὐ διαχέονται ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κενοδοξίαν.

„Wann immer natürliche (d.h. körperliche) Begierden im Falle ihrer Nichtbefriedigung keine Schmerzen verursachen, so bleibt manchmal doch eine heftige Gespanntheit (ein heftiger Drang) zurück. In diesen Fällen orientieren sich diese (an sich) natürlichen Begierden an einem leeren Ideal (d.h. an einer Meinung, die keinen Realitätsbezug hat), und sie sind nicht etwa wegen ihrer eigenen Natur nicht zu befriedigen, sondern aufgrund einer von Menschen (künstlich) geschaffenen Ideologie.“

Was Epikur hier beschreibt ist die Verfremdung – oder gar die Prostitution – der natürlichen Triebe, die nicht mehr ihre Erfüllung finden im spontanen Vollzug, sondern die durch eine künstlich vom Menschen geschaffene, die Wertskala der Umwelt prägende und beherrschende Idee gleichsam gefiltert sind, und die so ihre unmittelbare Natürlichkeit verloren haben. Und so hat man hier als Gegensatz zur κενοδοξία (die – wie oben ausgeführt – dem modernen Begriff der Ideologie entsprechen dürfte) die φύσις, die Natur, zu sehen.

Eine Bestätigung dieser Gegenüberstellung von φύσις und κενοδοξία ist gleichsam ihre Aufhebung im Hegelschen Sinne, die sich auf der Ebene der ἡδονή – Erfahrungen vollzieht, wie sie Epikur in K.D. 9 und 10 näher erklärt:

εἰ κατεπυκνοῦτο πᾶσα ἡδονή, καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ περὶ ὅλον ἄθροισμα ὑπῆρχεν ἢ τὰ κυριώτατα μέρη τῆς φύσεως, οὐκ ἂν ποτε διέφερον ἀλλήλων αἱ ἡδοναί.

Hier definiert Epikur das Phänomen der Lust als eine mögliche Verdichtung zur Idee (κατεπυκνοῦτο), die Raum (ἄθροισμα) und Zeit

(χρόνω) überschreitend die Totalität der menschlichen Natur zu ergreifen vermag (τὰ κυριώτατα μέρη τῆς φύσεως) und die im einzelnen erfahrenen ἡδοναί zum ἓν einer, eben der ἡδονή-Erfahrung verschmelzen läßt. Auch erinnert die Formulierung πᾶσα ἡδονή an entsprechende Definitionversuche der Idee bei Platon und steht offensichtlich der Vielheit einzelner erfahrener ἡδοναί am Ende des Satzes gegenüber.

Diesem Bild von der ἡδονή als Idee, die den Charakter der Wahrheit annimmt, steht dann in K.D. 10 das verfremdete Bild einer Pseudo-Idee der ἡδονή gegenüber, gleichsam ihr ideologisches Gegenbild.

Εἰ τὰ ποιητικὰ τῶν περὶ τοὺς ἀσώτους ἡδονῶν ἔλυσεν τοὺς φόβους τῆς διανοίας τοὺς τε περὶ μετεώρων καὶ θανάτου καὶ ἀλγηδόνων, ἔτι τε τὸ πέρας τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐδίδασκεν, οὐκ ἄν ποτε εἴχομεν ὅ τι μεμψαίμεθα αὐτοῖς, πανταχόθεν ἐκπληρούμενοι τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ οὐθαμόθεν οὔτε τὸ ἀλγοῦν οὔτε τὸ λυπούμενον ἔχουσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ κακόν.

Der Ausdruck τὰ ποιητικὰ τῶν περὶ ἀσώτους ἡδονῶν steht ganz offensichtlich als negative Entsprechung dem in K.D. 9 als Ideenbild aufgestellten Begriff der πᾶσα ἡδονή gegenüber. Dies zeigt sich einmal am Gebrauch des Plurals τῶν...ἡδονῶν, der anzeigt, daß es sich hierbei um einzelne, durchaus unterschiedliche ἡδοναί handelt, die nicht zur Einheit einer ἡδονή – Erfahrung verschmelzen können. Zum anderen zeigt es sich an der Genetiv-Abhängigkeit der ἡδοναί von den τὰ ποιητικὰ, wobei τὰ ποιητικὰ sich ebenfalls als Gegensatz zur Gewachsenheit der φύσις darstellt. Τὰ ποιητικὰ bezeichnet im Denken Epikurs offenbar jene künstlich geschaffene, ideologisch manipulierte Ebene, auf der es keine spontane Direktheit mehr gibt im Vollzug der ἡδονή, sondern auf der – der dritten Triebkategorie zufolge – sich die ἡδοναί den gesellschaftlichen Ansprüchen und ideologischen Werten unterzuordnen haben und so ihre Reinheit und ihre Unschuld verlieren. Daß Epikur diese hier angesprochene Ebene der τὰ ποιητικὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν als negativ wertet, zeigt auch die Qualität des Personenkreises, denen er ein solches Verhalten zuweist: περὶ τοὺς ἀσώτους.

Sucht man übrigens im Text der K.D. nach konkreten Beispielen für eine derartige Erscheinung, so wird man auf die in K.D. § 7 genannten Begriffe zurückgreifen können, wo Epikur von Menschen spricht, die ἔνδοξοι und περίβλεπτοι sind, weil sie gerade in jenem ideologisch fixierten Wertesystem befangen sind, dem sie alle ihre ἐπιθυμῖαι unterzuordnen

verstehen. Dabei ist in der von diesen Menschen gesuchten δόξα im Sinne der Berühmtheit und des öffentlichen Ansehens aus der Sicht Epikurs eher ein ambivalenter Begriff zu sehen (7 ἔνδοξοι καὶ περίβλεπτοὶ τινες ἐβουλήθησαν γενέσθαι, τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀσφάλειαν οὕτω νομίζοντες περιποιήσεσθαι).

Es ist nicht auszuschließen, daß Epikur mit seinem Begriff der τὰ ποιητικά die sogenannte menschliche Kultur und Zivilisation seiner eigenen Zeit angesprochen hat, vor allem, wenn man an Aussprüche denkt wie das Fragment 163 bei Usener: παιδείαν δὲ πᾶσαν, μακάριε, φεῦγε τὰκάτιον ἀράμενος.

Πᾶσα παιδεία steht hier als Begriff offenbar für die Bildungswerte seiner eigenen Zeit, die vor allem auf der homerischen Tradition der alten Mythen beruhten. In anderem Zusammenhang stellt Epikur gerade diese alte Welt der Mythen als einen Komplex dar, der dem aufgeklärten, naturwissenschaftlichen Denken zu weichen habe, weil er nicht seinem humanitären Ziel diene, die Menschen von Furcht zu befreien. Gegen Ende des Herodotos-Briefes werden von Epikur die alten Mythen dafür verantwortlich gemacht, daß das Phänomen 'Furcht' noch immer eine große Macht über die Menschen ausübe, nicht zuletzt auch die jeder Logik entbehrende Furcht vor dem Tode.

Diese grundsätzliche Bildungs- und Kulturkritik Epikurs läßt sich übrigens auch bei seinem Zeitgenossen, dem Komödiendichter Menander, erkennen, mit dem Epikur im Athen der Jahre 322/21 seinen Militärdienst ableistete. Bei Menander heißt es beispielsweise (Koerte, Men. fr. 534):

ἀγωνίαι δόξαι φιλοτιμίαι νόμοι
ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐπίθετα τῇ φύσει κακά.

Diese vier hier gegeißelten Feinde der Natur stellen die Basis dar für all das, was Epikur in seinem Begriff der τὰ ποιητικά zusammenfassend andeuten wollte. Dem sucht er seinerseits ein neues Humanitätsideal entgegenzusetzen und die bis zu seiner Zeit so verhängnisvoll wirkende Autorität der alten Mythen zu untergraben, um sie durch das zu ersetzen, was er φυσιολογία nennt, d.h. die Naturwissenschaft. Dieser Gedanke findet sich ausgesprochenermaßen in K.D. § 12:

Οὐκ ἦν τὸ φοβούμενον λύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν κυριωτάτων μὴ κατειδόμενα τίς ἢ τοῦ σύμπαντος φύσις, ἀλλ' ὑποπτευόμενον τι

τῶν κατὰ τοὺς μύθους. ὥστε οὐκ ἦν ἄνευ φυσιολογίας ἀκεραίουσ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀπολαμβάνειν.

Ein weiteres, von Epikur kritisiertes Phänomen, das als Beispiel für eine leere Idee im Sinne der κενοδοξία dienen kann, ist die Ideologie der Schönheit, im modernen Sinne eine ästhetische Kategorie, die – der jeweiligen Mode unterworfen – eine Leerform darstellt, um darin jeden nur möglichen Inhalt begehrenswert erscheinen zu lassen. Das Fragment 512 bei Usener liest sich so:

προσπτύω τῷ καλῷ καὶ τοῖς κενῶς αὐτὸ θαυμάζουσιν,
ὅταν μηδεμίαν ἡδονὴν ποιῇ.

In der Paraphrase: Ich spucke auf 'Das Schöne' und auf alle diejenigen, die es bewundern ohne damit etwas anfangen zu können (κενῶς), solange es nicht den Vollzug der ἡδονή fördert.

Doch zurück zum Ausgangspunkt dieser Überlegungen und zu den Ergebnissen, die ein Blick in die sprachtheoretischen Ansätze bei Gorgias, Isokrates und Epikur erbracht haben: Während für Gorgias das Wort einer Sprache immer nur gleichnisweise die Sache trifft, die es bezeichnen will, und von daher gesehen nur fiktive Relationen subjektiver Prägung vermitteln kann, und sich somit zu den Gegenständen der Welt immer auf Distanz hält, sodaß es sich die Gegenstände untertan macht, und damit dem, der das Wort gebraucht, die Möglichkeit bietet, ihr seinen eigenen Willen aufzuzwingen, hatte sein Schüler, Isokrates genauer differenziert: Für ihn gibt es Bereiche, in denen das Wort sehr wohl seinen richtigen Weg findet und zu eindeutigen Feststellungen gelangt, Bereiche der konkreten Welt. Andere aber, wie die ethisch-ästhetische Welt, entziehen sich der eindeutigen Darstellungskraft der Sprache, und das Wort findet dort immer mehrere Wege zu diesen Gegenständen, und in diesem Lichte ist auch der Beitrag des Isokrates zu sehen, den er zum Thema 'Helena' liefert. Epikur hatte dem gegenüber einen vollkommen anderen Ansatz zu einer Sprachtheorie gefunden, indem er auf den phonetischen Charakter der Sprache als emotional-inhaltlichen Ausdruck verwies und von daher zeigte, daß jedem muttersprachlichen Wort bereits ein semantisch vorgeprägtes Wertgefühl innewohnt. Darüberhinaus ließ sich zeigen, daß sein ἡδονή – Begriff, sein Begriff von den Meinungen, ein weitgehend ideologisch geprägter ist, und daß das Phänomen Sprache mit seinen vorgeprägten Wertungen in ständiger Auseinandersetzung mit den sich

immerfort ändernden Umweltsituationen stehen muß, um der Realität gerecht zu werden und sich zum Wohl der Menschheit auszuwirken, und wie groß andererseits die Gefahr ist, daß Sprache der bloßen Festschreibung von Ideen dient, die sich dann zu einer Ideologie verdichten, nach der sich die ganze Umwelt und alle sozialen Werte zu richten haben, sodaß die spontane Wahrheit einer privaten Empfindung der Vorherrschaft des Kollektiv-Gefühls einer die Gesellschaft prägenden Ideologie weichen muß.

The Idea of Fate in Poggio Bracciolini

IIRO KAJANTO

In Arctos 1986, I have discoursed upon Poggio Bracciolini's (1380-1457) idea of Fortune, which had a very prominent place in most of his works.¹ The cognate idea of Fate, *fatum*, is far less conspicuous in Poggio. Nonetheless, his conception of, and attitude to Fate, is worth enquiring into, especially as in contrast to Fortune, the post-classical history of Fate has so far been given scant attention.²

A History of the Idea of Fate

Apart from the spinning goddesses of Greek mythology, *Moirai*, who in Latin were called *Fata* and *Parcae*, in classical Roman literature Fate appeared as an indistinct and sinister agency, which led humans towards preordained goals, usually death and misfortunes. It was less often conceived of as a benevolent power.³ In philosophy and in writings influenced by philosophy, *fatum* corresponded to Greek εἰμαρμένη. In Cicero's famous definition, *fatum* is *ordo seriesque causarum, cum causae causa nexa rem ex se gignat*.⁴ It was especially the Stoics who appropriated and developed the

¹ Fortuna in the Works of Poggio Bracciolini, Arctos 20 (1986) 25-57.

² Cp. V. Cioffari, Fortune and Fate from Democritus to St. Thomas Aquinas (1935); Idem, Fortune, Fate, and Chance, Dict. of the Hist. of Ideas 2 (1973) 225-36, with bibliography.

³ I. Kajanto, God and Fate in Livy (1957) 12sq.; H. O. Schröder, Fatum (heimarmene), RAC 7 (1969) 523sqq.

⁴ Div. 1, 125.

idea of εἰμαρμένη.⁵ In stoic philosophy, Fate is a manifestation of the logos or ordering principle of the world, which can be given different names according to the particular point of view. It can be called Providence or nature⁶ or Jupiter and the other gods⁷ or *fatum*.⁸ Fate is an inexorable law which determines private and public matters.⁹ Human will is unable to alter the course of Fate.¹⁰ The wise man, however, can find peace of mind by freely submitting himself to Fate.¹¹ In particular it was Seneca who transmitted these Stoic ideas to posterity as well as greatly influencing Poggio's conception of Fortune.

Fatum / εἰμαρμένη still gained in importance after astrology's great expansion during the first centuries of the Christian era. The influence of the stars was rationalized by resorting to the Stoic doctrine of συμπάθεια τῶν ὄλων, Harmony of the Universe.¹² Everything in the universe was interconnected. Hence even a small change in the configuration of the stars could affect events on earth. It was especially Manilius that propagated astral determinism. His saying *fata regunt orbem, certa stant omnia lege*, sums up this philosophy.¹³ In later antiquity, astrological *fatum* had become so common that according to Augustine, when people hear the word *fatum*, they inevitably understand by the word the influence of the position of the stars at the moment of birth or conception.¹⁴

The Christian Fathers faced a similar task in regard to Fate as they did concerning Fortune. But it was easier to solve. In Stoic philosophy, God and Fate had been identified. The Fathers only had to substitute a Christian

⁵ Sources in H. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* 2 (1903) 264-98; W. Gundel, *Heimarmene*, RE 7 (1912) 2627-34; M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa* 1-2³ (1971-72) 101-6.

⁶ Seneca, *nat.* 2, 45.

⁷ Seneca, *benef.* 4, 7-8.

⁸ *Ibid.* 4, 7, 2.

⁹ Gellius 7, 2, 5, quoting Chrysippus; Seneca, *prov.* 5, 6-7.

¹⁰ Seneca, *nat.* 2, 36.

¹¹ Seneca, *epist.* 117, 1, quoting a poem of Cleanthes.

¹² Gundel, *op. cit.* (note 5) 2030-34; Schröder, *op. cit.* (note 5) 543sqq.

¹³ *Astronomica* 4, 12. The whole passage down to line 118 describes Stoic determinism.

¹⁴ *Civ.* 5, 1.

God for a Stoic deity. Hence Augustine argues that the pagans, who used the word *fatum* about chains of causes in fact ascribed it to the will and power of supreme God.¹⁵

For the post-classical history of *fatum*, it was the elaboration of Boethius in his Consolation of Philosophy that became the seminal influence. Boethius distinguishes Providence and Fate. Providence is the divine reason itself, *fatum* proceeds from Providence as the local and temporal order inherent in the things of this world.¹⁶

For the medieval Schoolmen, it was Boethius rather than Augustine who provided the model for explaining the idea of Fate. According to Albertus Magnus, *fatum* is the chain of causes that flows from Providence and extends to all created things.¹⁷ Aquinas discusses Fate in several connections.¹⁸ For Aquinas there is nothing fortuitous in the world. Events that seem accidental are ascribable to a superior cause, which cannot be the stars. It can only be divine Providence. Like Boethius and Albertus, he asserts that *fatum* exists only in created things. According to his definition, considered from the point of view of causation (*causaliter*), Fate is identifiable with God's power or will, but as to its essence (*essentialiter*), it is comprised of a series of secondary causes.¹⁹ He thus combined Augustine's and Boethius' theories.

The humanists, when they tackled *fatum* as a philosophical problem, did not go beyond the Scholastics. Poggio's mentor Coluccio Salutati, in his *De fato et fortuna*, 1396,²⁰ admitted that *fatum* was not easily reconcilable with contingency and the freedom of the will.²¹ He rejects

¹⁵ Loc. cit.

¹⁶ Op. cit. 4, 6, 1-13. For the mainly Neo-Platonic sources of this doctrine, see H. R. Patch, *Fate in Boethius and the Neoplatonists*, *Speculum* 4 (1929) 62-72; *Idem*, *Necessity in Boethius and the Neoplatonists*, *Speculum* 10 (1935) 393-404; P. Courcelle, *La consolation de philosophie dans la tradition littéraire* (1967) 203sqq.

¹⁷ *Summa theol.* 1, 17 q. 68 = *Opera omnia* 31 (1894) 695.

¹⁸ Recorded in the note on *Summa theol.* 1 q. 116, 1, edited by Petrus Caramellus (1952) 545.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* q. 116, 2.

²⁰ Printed first in 1985 a cura di Concetta Bianca.

²¹ Op. cit. 4.

the Stoic identification of Fate with God²² but assigns the first cause of everything to God and divine Providence. *Necessitas fatalis*, because it flows from God's Providence, first exists in heaven and after that in the inferior (or secondary) causes, ordering and controlling everything that is under heaven. In this sense, *fatum* is the classical chain of causes.²³ But though *fatum* is the providential ordering of things, something is left for contingency and free will. Because *fatum* originates from the first cause or God, who controls the actions of our will, *fatum* can be said to initiate our actions, but not without our free cooperation with God.²⁴ It is inherent in the nature of the will that is free.²⁵

This is, however, only one aspect of the post-classical history of *fatum*. In non-theological and non-philosophical writings, which during the Renaissance increasingly imitated classical Latin language and phrases as well as the ideas of classical authors,²⁶ Fate too was more often than not a classical and not a Christian agency. In funeral inscriptions, e. g., death was often imputed to *Fatum* or *Parcae*.²⁷

Fate, God, and the Stars in Poggio

It is evident from the very infrequency of the references to *fatum* that Poggio attached much less importance to this idea than he did to *fortuna*. In the whole corpus Poggianum there are only about 40 passages in which *fatum* suggests an agency. Nor is there much consistency in Poggio's ideas of Fate.

²² Ibid. 25.

²³ Ibid. 22sq. *necessitas ista fatalis, prout a Dei providentia est, prius est in celo et exinde est in inferioribus causis... fatum sit necessitas a Dei providentia fluens, cuncta dirigens et gubernans que sub celo sunt et efficiuntur.*

²⁴ Ibid. 52.

²⁵ Ibid. 65 *Naturale, igitur, necessarium et inevitabile voluntati est quod agat libere et, cum ipsa non sit prima causa sed secunda, etiam de sui natura, qua secunda est, necessarium habet sequi primam causam semper tamen libere et secundum exigentiam sue nature.*

²⁶ Cp. I. Kajanto, Poggio Bracciolini and Classicism (1987) 19-27.

²⁷ See I. Kajanto, Classical and Christian. Studies in the Latin Epitaphs of Medieval and Renaissance Rome (1980) 41-48.

In fact, most of the various meanings and interpretations of *fatum* outlined in the preceding chapter can be encountered in Poggio's works.

The most significant passages in which Poggio ascribes the course of events to Fate are found in his letter to his friend Niccoli, dated 28. 12. 1430.²⁸ In this letter, Poggio bitterly denounces Florence's unjustified aggression against the neighbouring town of Lucca. It is probably due to Poggio's emotional opposition to the war that he attributes its origin to Fate. Though the future is uncertain, he writes, one can guess that the present tempest will lead to a major shipwreck and to an end determined by *fata* :

*Superiora nos certe regunt, mi Nicolae, quibus cum vires nostre obsistere nequeant, nostrum est communem, quecunque a deo oblata fuerit, equo animo perferre rerum conditionem. Arduum quippe est contraire fatis...*²⁹

He thus seems to equate Fate and God's will, to which we have to submit. This is the approved Christian position on the idea of Fate. Resigning oneself to unescapable Fate is, however, a Stoic doctrine, too, amply documented e. g. in Seneca.

A little later in the letter, referring to the debates in Florence which preceded the decision to go to war, he writes:

*Vicit tamen maior pars meliorem,*³⁰ *cupiditas rationem superavit, ut vim suam exerceant fata, quibus ex levi favilla universam Italiam terramarique bello flagrantem conspiceremus.*³¹

According to strict logic, this is of course somewhat defective. Beginning the war was due to the aggressive spirit in certain leading sections in Florence. It was this human factor which allowed Fate to exercise its power and to involve Italy in a major war. Perhaps this is explicable as a juxtaposition of

²⁸ Lett. 1, 197-200.

²⁹ Ibid. 197.

³⁰ This is a quote from Livy 21, 4, 1.

³¹ Op. cit. 198.

the human and supernatural factors, which is found in many other passages in Poggio.³²

But Poggio does not leave the matter at that. He again blames his countrymen, who as individuals were intelligent and judicious, for their collective stupidity in engaging in war of which they have little experience. However, he tries to exonerate them by imputing the war to Fate:

*Sed tamen, quod coeperam, volo fatis ista potius tribuere quam ascribere inertie nostrorum, licet astrorum predictiones nostra stultitia comprobemus.*³³

Because this cannot be changed, we should not overly fret over politics.

There can be no doubt that in this passage Poggio identifies *fata* with the influence of the stars. Poggio's mentor Salutati was one of the stern opponents of astrology.³⁴ Poggio, however, seems to have had some belief in astrology, though this was never very pronounced.³⁵ The passages suggesting astrological ideas are in fact few. In 1447 in a letter to Pietro Tommasi, a Venetian physician, he writes:

*De Astrologis vero que scribis et astrorum vi tibi assentior, quamvis isti theologi predictionibus repugnent, et Deum preesse eorum fatis dicant, mutareque illorum minas.*³⁶

This is not very clear. Because Tommasi's letter to Poggio is not extant, we do not know about his position on astrology. However, as a physician he may have had a professional interest in astrology, which was by tradition closely associated with medicine.³⁷ Poggio seemingly rejects the

³² See my paper (note 1) 40 and below.

³³ Op. cit. 199.

³⁴ De fato et fortuna 105-23. L. Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science 3 (1934) 516sq. cites passages from Salutati's Correspondence critical of astrology. But see note 38.

³⁵ Cp .E. Walser, Poggius Florentinus (1914 = 1974) 196 and 235sq.

³⁶ Ton. 9, 399.

³⁷ See J. Tester, A History of Western Astrology (1987) 23sq. and passim (see index).

reservations of the theologians, who maintained that God presided over the stars and could, if he so deemed, change the future foretold by them. This would make him an adherent of strictly deterministic astrology. But it is not certain that Poggio discloses his own convictions here. He may only have humoured his friend. Even Salutati, whose opposition to astrology is beyond doubt, was not always consistent. There are passages in his correspondence which are favourable to astrology.³⁸

Another important reference to astrology is found in a letter from 1438.³⁹ In modern terms, he discusses here the perennial question of nature vs. nurture. He had received a letter from Cencio De' Rustici, who seems to have belittled the influence of the stars upon well-endowed natures strengthened by intellectual and moral education. Poggio modifies this by asserting that before a child has acquired good manners and sufficient humanist education the stars may have a decisive influence:

plus sidera et celos valere arbitror ad disponendum animum nostrum quam hominum precepta et suasiones. Nisi enim sive deus sive sidera aut celi nobis faveant posteaquam in lucem editi sumus... nisi nos accomodatos ad percipiendam virtutem in lucem educant, frustra atque inanis ferme omnis erit parentum affectio et cura.

He mentions Cicero's depraved son as an example of the failure of paternal education. On the other hand, many men have surpassed their fathers in fame though no particular care has been given to their education. Hence he concludes that *natura ipsa sola dux esse videatur hominibus ad virtutem*. But Poggio is no educational pessimist for he continues: *Sed hanc ipsam* (scil., nature) *fateor adiuvari plurimum posse studio et domestica cura*.

What Poggio is referring to here is a well-known doctrine of natural astrology. The position of the stars at the hour of birth or conception influenced the composition of the neo-nate's temperament and hence his propensities and the formation of his character, which in turn affected the shaping of his life. Even people who repudiated judicial or divinatory astrology believed in natural astrology or the influence of the stars upon physical nature. This was a doctrine approved by the Church, e.g. by

³⁸ Thorndike, op. loc. cit. (note 34) and 206.

³⁹ Lett. 2, 336.

Albertus Magnus⁴⁰ and Aquinas,⁴¹ the two luminaries of Scholasticism. But Poggio is not very emphatic. Besides the stars, a child's disposition is also ascribed to God or simply to nature. The same idea is repeated in *De Nobilitate*, 1440.⁴²

The other references to astrology are of little importance. In a letter from 1456,⁴³ Poggio mentions a position of Saturn, which he suggests helped him to make up his mind to leave the papal curia.⁴⁴ But the meaning of the passage is not completely clear and the connection between Saturn's position and his decision is not unequivocal. In *De Varietate Fortunae*, Poggio records celestial and other omens foreboding fateful events. Comets were always thought to portend great public misfortunes and especially the deaths of rulers.⁴⁵ The death of Giangaleazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan, in 1402, and the disastrous civil wars that followed it, had been foretold by a comet, *stella crinita*.⁴⁶ Poggio comments upon this by remarking that these phenomena have always been thought to portend something for great men. The ancient historians have told us about that. The death of Pope Martin V and the troubles of Eugenius IV's reign were foreboded by the cry of an owl, the falling down of bells in four pontifical churches, the gate of *Sancta Sanctorum* hit by lightning, and an eclipse.⁴⁷ Poggio remarks that this shows *magnorum virorum curam celestibus esse*.

Considering the size of Poggio's literary production, the references to astrology are very few and not unequivocal. If he had a firm belief in the

⁴⁰ Op. cit. (note 17) 696.

⁴¹ Op. cit. (note 18) q. 116, 1.

⁴² Opera omnia 1, 75 *virtus nulla parentum eruditione, sed divino quodam numine favoreque percipitur, ac serie occulta fatorum*.

⁴³ Inedit. 94 Walser 539.

⁴⁴ *Ex tuis brevissimis litteris cognovi Saturnum esse hoc anno retrogradum et chorea illa agere, qua plus retrocedunt quam proficiscantur: hoc ego iam dudum presagio, cepi consilium ex tempore magis necessarium quam voluntarium curie relinquende*.

⁴⁵ Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 2, 9, 90; cp. Claudian, *Bell. Goth.* 243 *nunquam caelo spectatum impune cometem*.

⁴⁶ Op. cit. 64sq.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 86. Walser, Op. cit. (note 35) 235sq. interpreted this and other similar passages as evidence of Poggio's superstition. But Poggio may have quoted the omens simply for literary effect.

stars, he would surely have mentioned them in more than just a handful of passages. Like the majority of people until the Scientific Revolution in the 17th century destroyed the theoretical foundations of astrology, he may have given some credence to natural astrology, but about divinatory astrology he probably shared the scepticism of Petrarch⁴⁸ and Salutati.

To return to Poggio's letter to Niccoli about Florence's unjustified war against Lucca, his explanation of the causation of the event is not quite consistent. Florence's aggression is primarily imputed to the stupidity of the majority of her citizens. To mitigate the blame on his compatriots, he attributes the war to Fate, too. But the uncertainty of his ideas in this particular case is revealed by the fact that Fate is first juxtaposed with God and then with the predictions of the stars. In his *Hist. Flor.*, he repeats the two-level explanation.⁴⁹

Blaming Fate for events that were in reality due to humans is found elsewhere in Poggio, too. In a letter from 1448 he wrote that Florence's internal dissension and the unsuccessful pursuance of the war against Venice could be imputed to *fata*, which one can blame without fear, and to the excessive love of power of the Venetians.⁵⁰ In *De Varietate Fortunae*, Poggio tells the story of the downfall of the house of the Guidi, Counts of Casentinum in Tuscany. Through miscalculation, the last count lost the friendship of Florence and went into exile.⁵¹ In explaining his motives, Poggio compounds rational and supernatural factors. The count may have entertained hopes or been stung by the insults of the Florentines or been led by *fatum*, which is thought to dominate mortal affairs. He remarks that *fatum* could be safely blamed for the family's ruin. Then he accuses Fortune, which shows that here there was little difference between these two ideas.⁵²

⁴⁸ For Petrarch's attitude, see especially *Epist. famil.* 3 No. 8. But Thorndike, *Op. cit.* (note 34) 220sq. maintains that Petrarch's hostility to astrology has been exaggerated.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.* 254: after peace had been concluded with Milan, one would have expected the unwarlike Florentines to enjoy a long period of peace, *sed aut fatis ita iubentibus, aut civium, quibus Reipublice damna questui erant, libidine, novis calamitatibus aditus est patefactus.*

⁵⁰ *Ton.* 9, 362.

⁵¹ *Op. cit.* 109sq.

⁵² See my paper (note 1) 40.

Poggio does not seem to have given serious attention to the problem of Fate's nature. The standard Christian interpretation of *fatum* as identical with or flowing from God's will is recorded with particular emphasis in his fourth funerary speech in memory of Lorenzo de' Medici, 1440:

*Nulli igitur diem proferre licet, agimur enim fatis, atque fatum inevitabile est. Sed ne forte quid erroris in verbo capiatur, non hic fatum secundum stoicorum morem accipitur, sed per fatum dei voluntatem intelligo. Fato ergo, hoc est divina voluntate omnes morimur.*⁵³

But this is the only passage clearly representing the Christian view. The clarification of the meaning of Fate may owe something to the fact that this was a *laudatio funebris* in memory of a great man. The few juxtapositions of God and Fate are mostly insignificant. In addition to the letter to Niccoli discussed above, there is a letter from 1439 in which a child's death is attributed to *fati necessitas*, which should be borne with courage, and to God, whose decisions are always to be considered good.⁵⁴ It is worth noticing that *fati necessitas*, which is a common phrase in Latin literature,⁵⁵ is to be faced with the Stoic virtue of fortitude but God's decision with Christian humility. In an undated letter he deplores the fact that God has not allowed them to have peace while the end of the war will be due to *fata*, but this is only an expression of emotional attitude.⁵⁶ On the other hand, God and Fate are explicitly separated in *De Varietate Fortunae*. Considering that the majority of the Popes were unworthy, Poggio wonders whether the immense power of the papacy was due to divine Providence *or* Fate and chance.⁵⁷ A few lines earlier, he had described the Popes as *Fortune miranda potestas*, which shows how small the difference between Fortune and Fate in reality often was. But through the mouth of his interlocutor Luscus, he evades the question by arguing that all Papacies, even the evil ones, were

⁵³ Opera omnia 1, 279.

⁵⁴ Lett. 2, 356.

⁵⁵ E.g. Cicero, Phil. 12, 30: it denotes a natural as opposed to a violent death.

⁵⁶ Ton. 11, 95.

⁵⁷ Op. cit. 80 *Deine providentia ac nutu tanta imperii moles, an fato casuque temere ducatur.*

ascribable to God's will and infallible order, which may be unknown to us but to which we have to resign ourselves – the usual Christian answer to the problem of evil. However, in an earlier passage Poggio wrote that the infamous Baldassare Cossa had been elected Pope (John XXIII) *fatis cogentibus, nullo suo merito*.⁵⁸

All this suggests that Poggio did not much care about the problem of God and Fate. His Christian faith cannot be called in question, but the ideas he had learnt in his classics were equally dear to him. The choice of one or the other of the supernatural explanations was often dependent upon the context. Papacy was too sacrosanct to be explained only as a sport of Fortune and Fate, although the vicissitudes of the Popes occupied a prominent place in *De Varietate Fortunae*. On the other hand, a condottiere's rise to Papacy stretched the credibility of a Christian interpretation. Hence it could more easily be ascribed to ineluctable Fate.

Classical Fate in Poggio

In the majority of cases, *fatum* in Poggio's works has classical features. He probably mostly used it as a literary motif, especially to suggest ineluctable doom or death. Thus Ladislas of Durazzo, King of Naples, dies before attacking Florence in 1414 *fatis volentibus, quibus hominum consilia sepius interrumpuntur*.⁵⁹ Bernabò, Signore of Milan, dies amidst great prosperity: *vim fatorum effugere nequivit, fortune tum maxime, cum blandiri videbatur, opera deceptus*,⁶⁰ where the very juxtaposition of *fatum* and *fortuna* bears evidence of the literary nature of the reference.⁶¹ A little later there is a similar passage. Luigi Alidosi, a just and beloved Signore of Imola, was destroyed by Fate. Although he had been forewarned by the apparition of his dead father, *nequaquam tamen urgentem fatorum vim exuperare quivisse*.⁶² Classical literature gives plenty of examples of the idea that Fate

⁵⁸ Ibid. 59.

⁵⁹ Hist. Flor. 196.

⁶⁰ Var. fort. 62.

⁶¹ In describing his death in Hist. Flor. 84, Poggio writes that a just death overtook him *fatis volentibus*.

⁶² Var. fort. 71sq.

is inevitable even though one is aware of it.⁶³ But *fatum* also suggests impending doom of which its victims are unaware. Pope Urban VI did not know *quam acerba fata delicias suas Butillum* (his nephew, whom he tried to advance) *manerent*.⁶⁴ The same phrase recurs in another context⁶⁵ and in another form.⁶⁶

Wars and political troubles could be imputed to Fate.⁶⁷ In classical fashion, it suggests premature death: *fata interceperunt*.⁶⁸ Leonardo Bruni's death is ascribed to *fatorum iniuria*.⁶⁹ For *fati necessitas*, see above p. 68.

The above examples show clear traces of the imitation of classical phrases. In some cases, the expression is traceable to a definite source. The phrase *fata viam invenient*, used in a letter,⁷⁰ is a quotation from Virgil, *Aen.* 3, 395. In his discourse on Caesar and Scipio, he writes that Scipio was elected to wage war in Hispania *tanquam fatis ipsum ad Carthaginiensium bellum deposcentibus*.⁷¹ According to Crevatin, Poggio was here following Florus, *epit.* 1, 22, 37, though Florus refers to the command in Africa: *cui iam grande de Africa nomen fata decreverant*. Livy too describes Scipio as *fatalis dux huiusce belli*.⁷²

One passage may be discussed in more detail. Braccio da Montone, whom Poggio in a letter mentions as a superb example of the sport of

⁶³ E.g. Livy 1, 42, 2 *nec rupit tamen fati necessitatem humanis consiliis* ; 25, 16, 5 *nulla tamen providentia fatum imminens moveri potuit*.

⁶⁴ Var. fort. 57sq.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 81.

⁶⁶ Hist. Flor. 85 *ignari quem finem datura essent fata*.

⁶⁷ Lett. 2, 118 a. 1431 *bellum timeo, video enim nos fatis agitari, que timeo ne aliquid contra nos moliantur*; Inedit. 85 Walser 529 a. 1454 *Fuit olim fatum nescio quod ut ee respublice dissiderent, que antiqua societate et federe fuerant coniuncte*; De infelicitate principum, Opera omnia 1, 417 *his quoque felicitas defuit, quibus fato datum fuit, ut in suis urbibus decederent e vita insulse plebis iudicio....*

⁶⁸ Funeral speech in memory of Cardinal Zabarella, Opera omnia 1, 255; Lett. 2, 7 a. 1424; cp. Quintilian, inst. 6 pr. 1.

⁶⁹ Opera omnia 1, 663.

⁷⁰ Ton. 12, 142, undated.

⁷¹ Edited by Giuliana Crevatin, in: Poggio Bracciolini 1380-1980. Nel VI centenario della nascita (1982) 318.

⁷² 22, 53, 6.

Fortune,⁷³ is in *De Varietate Fortunae* represented as a soldier of fortune, who puts his trust in Fate and Fortune:

*Erat in eo, prout in viro militari, nulla religio, nullus Dei neque timor, neque cultus, omnia fato fieri putante.*⁷⁴

The phrase may have been lifted from Cicero, *nat. deor.* 3, 14,⁷⁵ though by it Cicero means Stoic εἰμαρμένη. Braccio's trust in Fate and Fortune and Poggio's own ironical comment are combined in:

professus sepius sequi se fortunam ducem rerum suarum, fatumque esse inexuperabile. Sed tamen quam brevi et inanem spem et infidam fortune societatem sensit !

It is of course not possible to know whether Poggio had firsthand knowledge of Braccio's beliefs or whether he depicted him as a typical warrior. The latter alternative seems to me more probable. This is confirmed by the fact that the description of Braccio's irreligion was modelled upon Livy's famous characterization of Hannibal: *nihil veri nihil sancti, nullus deum metus nullum ius iurandum nulla religio.*⁷⁶ Regarding the idea of Fate, Poggio separates the subjective and objective aspect. Subjectively, Braccio believed that he was a favourite of Fate. *Fatum* and *fortuna* are here virtually synonyms. A similar conviction was not rare in professional warriors and adventurers. In describing his beliefs, Poggio thus showed fine psychological understanding. But objectively he viewed Braccio as a victim of the same fickle power of Fortune that constituted the main theme of his *De Varietate Fortunae*.

⁷³ Lett. 2, 7sq.

⁷⁴ Op. cit. 74.

⁷⁵ See *Thes.* 1. Lat. VI. 1, 365, 65 for further parallels.

⁷⁶ 21, 4, 9. I owe this remark about the Livian parallel to Professor P. G. Walsh.

Juxtaposition of Fate and Human Agency

The preceding discussion suggests that for Poggio *fatum* was mainly a literary figure with a distinctly classical flavour. The fact that *fatum* was often introduced into the text to give it an emotional touch explains why it was sometimes combined with human agency. Thus he leaves it to the judgement of his readers whether the military setbacks of Pope Eugenius IV were imputable to *fatum* or to self-seeking councillors or to avaricious prefects.⁷⁷ The Pope was warlike *seu natura ad id propensa seu fatorum vi seu hominum culpa*.⁷⁸ There are similar remarks in his history of Florence.⁷⁹ For further cases, see p. 67.

D. J. Wilcox has given due attention to "the existence of two levels of interpretation within the presentation of a single event",⁸⁰ though he views the problem from a somewhat wider angle. He wonders whether Poggio may have taken the technique from Tacitus, who by this device avoids having to make his own choice between alternative interpretations. The passage from ann. 1, 9-10, which Wilcox mentions, does not, however, relate to a rational against a supernatural interpretation of events but to the people's different opinions of Augustus. In Tacitus there are, it is true, passages which combine Fate and the human factor, e.g. hist. 5, 10 *qui ubi fato aut taedio occidit*, and especially ann. 4, 20 *unde dubitare cogor fato et sorte nascendi, ut cetera, ita principum inclinatio in hos, offensio in illos, an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis...* But Poggio otherwise shows little influence from Tacitus. He is not quoted at all in the discourse on Fortune in *De Varietate Fortunae*.

⁷⁷ Var. fort. 98.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 122.

⁷⁹ Op. cit. 202. Peace was concluded *seu fatis volentibus, seu quia pacis nomen plurimos movebat*.

⁸⁰ *The Development of Florentine Historiography in the Fifteenth Century* (1969) 149.

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With a few exceptions, Poggio's works have been reprinted in facsimile in 1962-69, *Opera omnia* 1-4 a cura di R. Fubini. Most of the editions used are very old, including the first publication of Poggio's principal works in 1510. The following abbreviations have been used:

Hist. Flor. = *Historia Florentina*, 1715, reprinted in *Opera omnia* 2.

Lett. 1-2 = Poggio Bracciolini *Lettere I. Lettere a Niccolò Niccoli* a cura di Helene Harth, 1984; *Lettere II. Epistolarum familiarium libri* a cura di Helene Harth, 1984.

Ton. = T. de Tonellis, *Epistolae* 1-3, printed in 1832-61, reedited by Helene Harth (partly), reprinted in *Opera omnia* 3.

Var. fort. = *De varietate fortunae*, printed in 1723, a separate reprint in 1969. A new edition is being prepared by I. Kajanto and O. Merisalo.

A New Catalogue of Roman Upper-Class Women

MIKA KAJAVA

Marie-Thérèse Raepsaet-Charlier: Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial (I^{er}-II^e s.). 2 voll. Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres, Fonds René Draguet, tome IV. Aedibus Peeters, Lovanii 1987. X, 810 p. & 4 p., 72 tableaux généalogiques. BEL 2. 980.

Recent and past discussion on the women of antiquity has very often laid the major emphasis on the scope they had to carry on their own initiatives, to use personal power and to gain an accepted social position in society. Or, to put it in another way, the research sometimes concentrates on the lack of women's influence in politics and business, and rightly so, if the subject is viewed objectively. The position of women in the Roman society was of course largely regulated by class and rank, and standards of living and law were influenced by barriers and limits between the classes. On the whole, women of superior orders had a much better starting point to begin with in their lives, but even among the nobility apparent power was still something that was quite different from the real power which was upheld by the law. One cannot deny that Roman senatorial women, even those at the very top of society, were most likely to achieve lasting fame and position through either scandals or personal virtues, which were subsequently likely to be reported by writers. Apart from women's evident economic power such as landownership or, say, their presence as *patronae* of various kinds, and so on, the supreme power always lay in men's hands. But it would be naive to claim that women had no share in important political decisions. As is also sufficiently clear from the literature, an effective way to exercise an influence on those who made the final decisions at various levels of the administration was through

personal relationships, i.e. marriage, family connections and friendship. Though not always plainly on record, this factor should not be underestimated nor misunderstood. In order to delineate a framework of these family links and personal contacts a large-scale systematic research is called for, that is, a prosopography registering senatorial women and their relatives. And here is it now, Dr Raepsaet-Charlier's massive work in two volumes with thousands of names, persons, lineages and genealogies. Without such lists a great number of "ordinary" wives and daughters of senators would remain as bare names on inscriptions and pages of historians. Not all of them were Agrippinae or Messalinae, but a reliable picture of an entire social class cannot be created without admitting that all its members were in principle of equal status. The appearance of the present prosopography is a very welcome event, because many earlier catalogues were either totally devoted to men or at the most women were recorded marginally in relation to their husbands and fathers. In PIR¹⁻² and RE women have their own entries, as they also do in PLRE, but they are often short in comparison with those of their male relatives, and sometimes even totally absent.

Raepsaet-Charlier's work has been elaborated on the basis of her doctoral thesis from 1977 (Brussels). After that date she has published a number of articles relating to senatorial women, notably on their honorific titles, marriage and divorce. And marriage is also the central theme of this prosopography, not only in the way it casts new light on the social reality of upper-class Roman couples, but also because of problems in dating in general. In the absence of other information the marriage together with the husband's career constitutes a very useful criterion for a more or less precise dating. But, unfortunately, it often happens that iterated marriages and divorces are nowhere placed on record, and the ages when senators married could also present considerable variation (cf. recently Syme, *Historia* 36 [1987] 318ff.). As the catalogues also reveal, two important facts are closely linked with marriage, viz. senatorial endogamy and the tendency to strive for social differentiation (cf. intr. ix). Of course, exceptions occur in this respect, but they are mostly very instructive.

In an introductory section where the definitions and limits of the material are discussed, the author starts from a very essential subject, i.e. the Augustan legislation regulating senatorial marriages (p. 2ff.). The period from the enactment of *lex Iulia* in 18 BC is a *terminus post quem* for the whole catalogue. The legislative process originated in Augustus' measures must have been brought to a conclusion within a few years, and so it is only

for technical reasons that the year 10 BC is here chosen to be the chronological starting point. The second part of the law, as it is preserved in Paulus' *Digesta* (23, 2, 44) concerns the female descendants of senators (...*senatoris filia neptisve ex filio proneptisve ex nepote filio nato [nata]*...). Chastagnol's assumption that this could be an addition from Antonine time is here criticized with sound arguments, notably by referring to the SC of Larinum from the year 19 AD (AE 1978, 145) and to its juridical and formal similarities with the so-called 'addition'. And citations from Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio point in the same direction (cf. pp. 4-5).

As regards the legislation concerning senators' wives and their membership in the *ordo* (Ulp. dig. 1, 9, 8), one must agree with the author that it should be attributed approximately to the epoch of Marcus Aurelius. Here, too, the author has taken a different stand from Chastagnol, who dates these regulations reported by Ulpian to Caracalla's time. But Raepsaet-Charlier has good reasons for disagreeing. The author had already treated these questions in some earlier articles but now with more complete material and with additional arguments she is likely to be right.

The catalogue itself, the *anonymae* included, registers 901 senatorial women. All those who were either certainly or probably members of the *ordo* are listed in alphabetical order, i.e. daughters of senators, even if they had married a man of equestrian rank, and senators' wives, no matter if their father did not belong to the *ordo*. Mothers and sisters of senators are also included in case the senators in question were not *homines novi*. This is a good principle, and it is consistently followed here. If the woman is only thought to be senatorial, she is listed as *incerta* and her name is printed in Italics. As the author is well aware, these *incertae* form a rather problematic group. In many cases it is obviously only a matter of personal judgement that a certain lady has been either added to the catalogue or omitted from it. This concerns above all women with no indications of senatorial status, like many proprietors of *fistulae aquariae* and the brick producers or the Vestal Virgins. To cite one instance, Attia Campanilla (n^o 123) is an *incerta* approximately from the 3rd century (she is known from a *fistula*), but the senatorial [Aurel?]ia Severiana (BullCom 1941, 191, nr. 29; also a *fistula*) from around the Severan period is not included. It might be better to list both as *incertae* or to leave both aside.

The honorific titles are a good indication of one's belonging to the senatorial class. On pp. 16-18 the author presents their use and chronology in a clear and concise way. As regards the Christian *clarissimae*, they are in

principle excluded for chronological reasons (cf. p. 17, n. 8), but there is still e.g. Numisia Fonteia Vera (n^o 580) from the coemeterium Praetextati (ICVR 14513). As regards Domitia Heraclia (n^o 325) and her sarcophag (the lid is preserved) found on the Via Appia, there seems to be nothing in the inscription (ICVR 15374) nor in the relief decoration to suggest that Heraclia was a Christian (I have examined the fragment in the Museo Nazionale of Naples).

Names and identities are always a crucial problem, and the same is also true with the present catalogue. Postulated persons and hypothesized family connections are often based on onomastic evidence. Who is to be left out of the list and who is to be regarded as an *incerta*? It is of no use to go into details here, the final decision being after all something of a personal opinion and, furthermore, the disputable cases being so numerous. In general the author's criteria are reliable and her arguments well-reasoned. Of course, the existence of many other women could be assumed, especially for onomastic reasons, but it would be like tilting against windmills to find and get to know every possible person. It is better to apply common sense and, to be sure, in this respect Raepsaet-Charlier has done a research worthy of admiration. The mere energy and time required for a work of this magnitude is considerable.

As stated above, the catalogue registers the senatorial women of the first two Imperial centuries. The terminating year around 200 AD has been properly chosen because under the Severan period (and naturally also earlier) the position of the Senate gradually became less important and the equestrian order was gaining more and more prominence in many parts of the Roman society. The alphabetic list includes 855 women known by name even if at times fragmentary, and 46 *anonymae*. Each name is followed by various references and sources and by a "liens familiaux" section. The entries are clear and well-composed, but they could have been even more informative if the "liens familiaux" had also included the daughters and sisters of each lady. Another minor but sometimes disturbing point is that the numbers of the footnotes are so small that it is rather difficult to find them in the text itself. Some kind of symbols might also have been of use in separating the different types of *incertae* from each other. The persons are classed according to the gentilicium. As regards the order followed, it is of course faultless, but in a couple of cases it could have been chosen by an alternative method. E.g. Attia Cervidia Vestina (n^o 208) is listed after 'Cervidia', that is, her father's gentilicium (thus also in PIR² C 681a), but to collocate her under the name

'Attia' could also be justified. N^o 623: Polla An[tonia?] (or some other gentilicium beginning with *An-*) is listed under 'Polla', but perhaps she should have been placed after the n^o 46 (Alliaria) (even if she is PIR P 408). The names of the relatives given in each entry are of course not always their full names nor do they need to be so. But the name forms are sometimes inconsistent in so far as the abbreviations, usually very carefully indicated, are now and then neglected (cf. e.g. n^o 221: *Tib.* instead of *Ti.* and *Cl.* instead of *Claudius/a* : "fils" and "fille"; the same is true with a number of other *Ti. Claudii/ae*, too). As is necessary in this kind of work the catalogue is followed by a copious bibliography and useful thematic indices.

While the two volumes were in print and also after their publication new relevant studies and sources have come to light (cf. e.g. PIR² N-O and many important articles), but I will not tackle them here. In the following it is my purpose to present a short selection of observations on the material, mainly from the onomastic point of view. That the names are particularly important in discovering new identities, is self-evident. A considerable number of persons figuring on the pages of this prosopography are postulated "d'après l'onomastique". Following these lines I will also make a couple of new proposals of identification.

1: The name form (Accia Marulla) recently proposed by Vidman, PIR² N 57, is somewhat improbable. If she ever had such a name, the cognomen should rather be *Marullina*.

3: (Acilia) Faustina. The name should be written [Acilia] Faustina (cf. XIV 2484). As regards the problematic identification of M. Acilius Vibius Faustinus (PIR² A 86) with M'. Acilius Faustinus (Roxan II 123), cf. now Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen*, Helsinki 1987, 386, n. 117.

4: Here it might have been appropriate to express clearly that the inscr. IGUR 160 presents not one but two priestesses called Μαλίολα (I A, 14-15). As the author states on p. 255, one of these might be Cornelia Manliola (n^o 286).

14: Iunilla's brother Capito Aelianus (PIR² C 412) is here presented with the name 'Dec. () Capito Aelianus' and in stemma X as 'Dec. (Aelius) Capito Aelianus' (Stein, PIR² C 412, also opted for 'Aelius'). But his praenomen was not *Decimus* (as it is e.g. in R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy*, Oxford 1986, 307), the abbreviation *Dec.* of the *Fasti* naturally referring to the month December (Vidman, FO², Cbd 27). For possible

adoptive fathers (certainly not an Aelius), cf. Vidman 65 and Syme, *ibid.* 307f.

15: *Aelia Licinia Petili[a]*. The last name may also be Petili[a - - -] (cf. V 871).

19: The praenomen of Platonis' husband should be put in curved brackets: (Ti.).

22: For Paullus Aemilius Regillus, quaestor of Tiberius, see Salomies 320f.: perhaps rather a grandson of the consul of 34 BC, whose name, by the way, should be given in the form 'Paullus Aemilius Lepidus' (Salomies 320, with note 105).

31: Aemilia Lepida. The gentilicium is nowhere on record, therefore (Aemilia) Lepida.

34: It might be better to put a question mark after 'Messia'.

41: Quintina's husband also had the cognomen *Piso* (cf. AE 1949, 23). In the stemma XVII his name is given in full, otherwise without '*Piso*'.

42: *Aiace Maxima*. Despite the negative statement of PLRE I 572 ("her name is unusual and should not be confused with the nomen '*Aiacia*'"), her gentilicium is most obviously *Aiacia*. On the fistulae (NSc. 1932, p. 300ff.; in the Museo Nazionale of Naples there are at least three exemplars with the same text) the name is written in the genitive, AIACES MAXIMAES. Phenomena of the kind were common on various instrumentum inscriptions, cf. e.g. XV 8584: [L]arg(i)aes Granillae / c.f. (=A. Ferrua, *Sigilli su calce nelle catacombe [Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane, VIII]*, Città del Vaticano 1986, 31-32, nr. 39). The variation *ae/e* in one and the same text is not at all uncommon, cf. e.g. XV 8470: *Sentiaes/Iustines*. Accordingly, I would read the name "*Aiac(i)es Maximaes*".

45: [Alfia?] Prima. The author is quite right to put a question mark after 'Alfia'. I would even add another one (cf. the discussion in *Tituli* 5, 198-199). We cannot in fact be absolutely sure that P. Alf. Primus (Wiseman, nr. 521) was really an Alf(ius). For the Alfii of Marruvium cf. recently S. Segenni, *Stud. Class. Or.* 37 (1987) 448f.; the *gens Alfena*, *ibid.* p. 461.

64: The second name of Annia Maleca? Avita is probably corrupt. Cf. the names of Iulia Avita Mamaea (PIR² I 649) and Marcius Avitus (PIR² M 217).

78: Iulla (Antonia). Despite the fact that her alleged father and brother used *Iullus* as a praenomen (cf. Salomies 326), I would regard *Iulla* as her cognomen (note that *Iulla* is also otherwise known as an individual

name). Groag, ad PIR² A 800, writes '(Antonia) Iulla'. Another possibility might be to emend LVLLAES of VI 11959 to IVLIAES, but it would be difficult to find an identity to (Antonia) Iulia, daughter of a M. Antonius.

87: (Apronia Caesia) [ou Caesiana]. It is also possible that she was simply called (Apronia L.f.). I agree with the author that Caesennia n^o 169 is another lady.

99: Arria Fadilla. It is very good that all exemplars of one and the same stamp are registered. However, some kind of concordance might also have been of use for the reader, and the same naturally goes for all the other women known from brick stamps as well (the similar cases being quite numerous I will not tackle them in the following). In particular the Ostian stamps of LSO are mainly new exemplars of those already published in CIL XV, Bloch's Supplement or both. At present the catalogues often list the same stamps twice or three times in different places and in consequence do not show which ones are identical.

109: Aṣiatica. The name is fragmentary: [---] Aṣiatica (cf. IGR I 967).

110: [Ar]ria Magia Secundil[la]. The restoration of the first gentilicium is not sure, therefore [---]ria (cf. AE 1938, 177=IGLS III 762).

112: Asinia. As regards the reading of the stamps XV 858-9=LSO 709 and RBS 239 (not 259, as is stated here), it is to be noted that Bloch in fact thought that the two stamps present the same error in common, i.e. ASINIAF instead of ASINIAE. Therefore, the name appears in his index (p. 19) in the form 'Asinia Marcelli' (without 'f.'). Personally I am inclined to think that Asinia had a cognomen, not *Marcell(a)*, because RBS 239 (=XV 859) gives MARCELLI, but *Marcelli(na)* instead. There would be nothing peculiar in the fact that the same name was abbreviated in two different ways [in our case XV 858: *Marcell(ina)*; XV 859: *Marcelli(na)*]. This was quite common in brick stamps. The reading *Asinia f. Marcelli* does not seem very happy to me, because this kind of name form would be exceptional. Firstly, the father's cognomen was very rarely used in filiations and then nearly always for some special reason and, moreover, the indication 'f (*ilia*)' should be found after the father's name. It would also be strange to find a senatorial lady appearing without a cognomen as late as under Antoninus Pius (her sister (?) was Asinia Quadratilla, n^o 115). And finally, would it not be odd if the name of the *domina figl.* were in the nominative on the stamp? The names of the owners of the *figlinae* are regularly written in the genitive.

121: (*Atilia Sabina*). It might have been better to write only (*Atilia*) or at least to put a question mark after 'Sabina'.

127: As concerns Attica's possible link with the Pomponii Attici and Pomponia Graecina, the author is quite right to regard McDermott's hypothesis as very uncertain.

136: The praenomen *L[uc]ia* is possible, but the first name may also have been a gentilicium, e.g. *L[iv]ia*, *L[us]ia* or the like.

143: CIL XV 7129 should be cited: *Belliciae Modeste / v(irginis) V(estalis)* [not *Belliciae Modest(a)e V(irgo) V(estalis)*].

160: [C]aecinia Larga. As regards the much discussed name and origin of the consul of 13 AD, C. Silius P.f.P.n. A. Caecina Largus, is it necessary to think about any kind of adoption? He might ultimately be one of the earliest cases of polyonymy (cf. e.g. Panciera, *L'onon. lat.*, Paris 1975 [1977], 198 and recently Salomies 412). Being a natural son of a Silius, he might have attached to his name the elements 'A. Caecina', but for what reason it is difficult to say. Perhaps the mother was a (Caecinia) [cf. Syme, *Tituli* 4, 406]. As C. Silius (cos. design. 47) was certainly his son, it would be somewhat surprising (though not at all impossible) that the other son (cos. 42) was called C. Caecina Largus (=PIR² C 101). Therefore, it might be that the father of the cos. 42 and the paternal grandfather of Caecinia Larga (n^o 160; she was *A.f.*) was an otherwise unattested Caecina Largus (it has also been thought that C. Caecina Largus, brother of A. Caecina Severus [cos. suff. 1 BC], was the father of the consul of 42 AD). For the origin of Larga and her husband A. Larcius Lepidus Sulpicianus, cf. recently M. W. Baldwin Bowsky, *Historia* 36 (1987) 502ff.

162: The reading of III 1988-89 as proposed by J. Šašel, *Tituli* 5, 563-4, is problematic in so far as we should accept that *Crispinilla mater* had two children with different gentilicia. The same reading is repeated in ILJug. 2077 where, however, the authors state that "potius de duobus fragmentis separatis cogitandum est". Unfortunately, the fragments no longer exist nor are there any photos of them.

166: (Caepia) Crispina. Being the daughter of A. Caepio Crispinus she cannot possibly have been called 'Caepia' (this is the feminine form of *Caepius*). In VI 31765 (cf. AE 1973, 33) she is mentioned by the cognomen only. Her gentilicium was rather 'Caepionia', i.e. the feminine form of *Caepionius* used to denote the female members of the Caepiones (cf. e.g. *Cepo* : *Gebonia* ; *Tappo* : *Tapponia* and *Tenagino* : *Tenagenonia* ; Schulze, ZGLE 303f.; for Tenagenonia cf. Alföldy, *Tituli* 5, 345).

167: Caepia Procula. For the above reasons (cf. n^o 166) it seems to me rather unwise to suppose with Corbier, Schumacher and others that Procula is (“d’après l’onomastique”) the sister of Galeo Tettienus Severus M. Eppuleius Proculus Ti. Caepio Hispo (consul in Trajan’s time). Moreover, *Proculus/a* is not a particularly unusual name.

172: Calpurnia. For the nomenclature of Calpurnii Serranus and Torquatus, see Salomies 329. As the author states on p. 167, n. 1, an intermediary generation between L. Nonii Asprenates, coss. in 36 BC and 6 AD, respectively, is perhaps called for. In VI 1371 the filiation may have been *L. Pisonis [f (iliae)]* instead of ...*[filiae]* (the inscription is no longer extant and it was copied centuries ago).

179: Calpurnia Lepida. The author is right in rejecting Oliver’s strange idea concerning the name and person of the consul ord. of 149, Ser. Cornelius Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus. On the double praenomen of the consul cf. Salomies 414, n. 183. As regards the variation *Sergius/Servius*, it is clear that in the relevant inscriptions Σέργιοϛ was written instead of Σέρβιοϛ, but considering the number of attestations of this phenomenon during the Imperial period, it is difficult to say whether it was always a simple error or whether some other explanation lies behind it, cf. Salomies 48-49, notes 88-89 with additional material.

189: *Carminia App(h)ia*. It would be better to write *Apphia*, without brackets (the same also on p. 545: Flavia Apphia).

198: Casta. As concerns her gentilicium, we should remember the Numidian Iulii Casti of the 2nd century (cf. Le Glay, Tituli 5, 770). In this family the cognomen *Pudens* was also in use: one of the sons of the consul of 165 (himself probably son of the consul of 130 ca.) was called C. Iulius Pudens (PIR² I 504). On the other hand, *Pudens* is found among the African Caecilii Pudentes from the early 3rd century (Corbier, Tituli 5, 743). And what is more, Casta’s husband was also a Caecilius (=Caecilius Classicus, PIR² C 32), a native of Africa, as is the testimony of Pliny (epist. 3, 9, 3).

201-202: The gentilicium (Caucidia) being much less hypothetical than the cognomen (Tertulla), it could be reasonable to put a question mark after the cognomen.

206: Celerina (ou Caelerina). The name was not ‘Caelerina’, that form being only a graphic variant.

214: Appia (Claudia). Weidemann’s emendation ‘Appia’ (Tac. ann. 3, 68, 2) seems to me apposite and it aptly fits the historical context. But what is disturbing here is that ‘Appia’ as a female praenomen would be unexpected.

The Tacitean passage describes the prosecution against C. Silanus (cos. 10 AD) after his proconsulate of Asia in 22 AD. The session presided over by the Emperor took place in the Senate. At the end of it Lentulus the Augur is reported to have recommended a partial relief from the punishment: “*separanda Silani materna bona, quippe alia parente geniti*”. The emendation 'Appia' (cf. above) means that Tacitus calls the daughter of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos. 38 BC) by the name 'Appia'. He may well have done so, but in that case he obviously made an error, or perhaps his source did. I think that she was called 'Claudia Ap.f.', and with her husband's name 'Claudia Ap.f. Silani'. It is to be noted that her brother (PIR² C 185) was homonymous with his father, whilst the sister had the name Claudia Ap.f. Quirini (VI 15626; wife of P. Sulpicius Quirinius, cos. 12 BC; for some reason modern scholars sometimes give her the name 'Appia Claudia').— As regards the name of the consul of 28 AD, it was 'Appius Iunius Silanus', without the praenomen C. (this should also be corrected on p. 287), see Salomies 417.

215: For safety's sake, it would have been better to catalogue Claudia Aesernina as an *incerta*.

229: (Claudia) Callisto. A question mark would have been appropriate after (Claudia). As the author rightly states, her father was perhaps called P. (Antonius?) Claudius Attalus.

236: For various connotations emerging from the Persian name *Mandane*, cf. L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine I*, Paris 1963, 217f.

239: (Claudia) Livia Iulia. CIL VI 5198 with the name 'Iulia Drusi Caesaris' might in theory also refer to her daughter Iulia. She seems to have mainly been called 'Livia' or 'Claudia Livia' followed by the name of her husband. A name with three gentilicia does not seem very plausible to me.

240: (*Claudia Macrinia*). It would be reasonable to add a question mark after 'Macrinia', not necessarily after 'Claudia'.

241: That Alexandra's mother was called Alexandria (n^o 129) seems to be a graphic variation. They were very probably both either *Alexandrae* or *Alexandriae*.

262: Clodia [P]a[tru]ina? (ou [I]a[tr]ina??). This lady has always appeared in prosopographies with one of these “alternative” cognomina, restored by Ramsay (JRS 16 [1926] 214: *Iatrina*) and Groag (PIR² C 1193: *Patruina*). But there is naturally a large number of other possibilities, too, e.g. *Faustina*, *Maximina*, *Paul(l)ina*, *Salonina*, etc.

268: There are still problems to be solved concerning the family connections of the Neratii, notably those between L. Neratius Marcellus (cos. 95; II 125) and his alleged adoptive and natural father, see recently Salomies 384.

278: Fausta (Cornelia). As the author affirms (n. 1), it is not at all certain that *Fausta* was used as a praenomen. To her relatives could perhaps be added (Faustus? Cornelius) [Sulla] Felix, fr. Arv. 21 AD (=PIR² C 1463).

281: The author is right in supposing that Cornelia...Plancina could also be the sister of the consul of 110 and the mother of the consul of 127. It would be most interesting to know more about the elements 'Aemilia Plancina'.

292: Cornelia Sabina. It is not certain that the inscription on the Pompeian amphora Nsc. 1933, 303, nr. 231, here listed as testimony nr. 1, should be attributed to her (*Cornelia Sab*[---]). In fact the amphora shows two texts: [---]sco / *Cornelia Sab* [---] and *M (?) C O / C F* (uncertain). If the letters *C F* were interpreted as an honorific title, the amphora is clearly much later than the life-time of our lady. She has usually been identified as the wife or the daughter of L. Cornelius Pusio Annius Messalla (cos. suff. 90). This is possible, but not absolutely necessary. In the inscription AE 1915, 60 (=Inscr. It. IV, 1, 107) from Tibur there is no indication of *pater, coniunx* or *uxor* and, moreover, the expression *honoris causa* is not particularly typical in dedications between either husbands and wives or parents and children. *H.c.* was usually employed in texts of a more official nature, and the dedicators were mostly slaves, freedmen and various communities (cf. e.g. the instances listed in ILS V, p. 771). Accordingly, if these considerations are followed, her identity should be left undetermined (the fact that they both had the same gentilicium might suggest that she was Messalla's freedwoman).

294: Cornificia. In addition to the name (Aurelia) Cornificia the daughter of Marcus Aurelius may have used other combinations of names as well, as was common among the Emperor's children.

295: *Cornificia Faustilla*. The gentilicium, being deduced from the name of her freedwoman, should be put in brackets (cf. VI 16481).

297: (*Cossonia*). According to the nomenclature of L. Cossonius Eggius Marullus (cos. 184) Camodeca has assumed that his parents were a (*Cossonia*), daughter of L. Cossonius Gallus, and an (*Eggius*), son of L. Eggius Marullus (cos. 111). But would it not be more easy to explain the son's name by changing the names of the couple so that an (*Eggia*) married a

(Cossonius)? As the author states, IX 1248 could well refer to the *familia* of the cos. 184.

302: Crepere[ia]. The name continues: *Crepere[ia ---]* (cf. Pighi IV, 16).

303: *Crispina*. VI 31707 is fragmentary: [---] *Crispina*.

308: For the idea that P. Dasumius Rusticus (cos. 119) would have been adopted by his uncle L. Dasumius (Hadrianus?), as Syme thinks it, see now Salomies 228, n. 203.

309: *Decia (Daecia) Tertulla*. The gent. is naturally *Decia* (VI 1399).

321: I do not think it is probable that Domitia Calvina used the gentilicium (Calpurnia), at least in addition to the elements 'Domitia Calvina'.

325: VI 1404 is also ICVR 15374.

331: [Domit]ia [P]ollia. Her cognomen was not 'Pollia'. The inscription Pais, Suppl. It. 899 from Vercellae is to be read [---]iae / [Apoll]inaris f(i)liae) / [---]dillae. The gentilicium was most probably 'Domitia' and the cognomen '[---]dilla', cf. S. Roda, *Iscrizioni latine di Vercelli*, Torino 1985, nr. 20 (with a good photo).

335: V 4331 is also published in *Inscr. It. X, 5, 1, 118*. She is found in another Brixian text, too, V 8883 = *Inscr. It. X, 5, 1, 108*, cf. Salomies, *Arctos* 19 (1985) 289.

357: Favonia. The inscription is fragmentary: *Favonia [---]* (Solin, *Epigr. Unters.*, nr. 111).

358: Faustina. According to XIV 2484 [---] *Faustina* (cf. above n^o 3 and below n^o 657).

360: Flaminia is also in PIR² F 175.

379: It might have been better not to list the Pedanii Salinatores in the "liens familiaux" section at all. After Gregori's article in *ZPE* 65 (1986) 239ff. it is clear that Sabina was not married to Cn. Pedanius Salinator (PIR P 145).

389: Fulvia Paulina. Cf. the same elements in the name of [B]aebia Fulvia Claudia Paulina Grattia Maximilla (n^o 140; first half of the 2nd cent.).

419: (Hosidia). For the name of her son, cf. Salomies 251, nr. (1): the praenomen *C.* may have been chosen in honour of her maternal grandfather.

420: The inscription is also IGUR I 61.

429: [?Iu]lia [Ap]ronia Saephare. She may have been a relative of the senatorial L. Iulii Apronii etc., who are also known from Lambaesis, cf. PIR² I 159-161, 646-647.

444: Iulia Lupula Arria Fadilla. For onomastic reasons the identification 'Iulia Fadilla' = 'Iulia Lupula' = 'Arria Lupula' seems to me very suspect. Long name forms could naturally be abbreviated, but if a person was called by two totally different names, there would be no recognized identity for him/her, cf. also my remarks in vol. II of the Actes du IX^e Congrès internat. d'épigraphie grecque et latine (Sofia 31.8.-7.9. 1987), in print.

449: The restoration of Fidiana's name in ILAfr. 454 is somewhat problematic. Firstly, the cognomen *Rufa* would be exceptional in the senatorial class. While always being well attested among senatorial and other men, in women's nomenclature it is totally superseded by suffixed derivations (above all *Rufina*). Secondly, as is informed in Tituli 5, 715, RV[FA] is not enough to fill the lacuna before AEMI[---]. Therefore one might think about *Ru[fia]* or even *Ru[filla, -ilia]* (*Rufilianus* appears in the name of [---] Fronto Aemilianus [---] Calpurnius [---] Rufilianus [VII 98 = RIB 320], who seems to show a family connection with our lady, cf. Tituli 5, 715, 739). [PRIS]CA is of course uncertain. According to the reading of Y. Thébert, reported in Tituli 5, 715, the letter C is also questionable. Groag's proposal 'Calpurnia' is not impossible at all (cf. PIR² C 264), but a lacuna would still remain before that name (the short gentilicium 'Ceia' might be possible here, cf. 'Calpurnia Ceia Aemiliana', Tituli 5, 739, certainly a relative).

461: Iulia Taria Strat[o]nice. Cf. also Tib. Iul(ius) Stratonicus from Cappadocia (AE 1968, 507).

463: Either Crispinilla's husband or her stepfather is present in a fragmentary inscription from Gortyn recently published by L. Gasperini, Gortina I (Monogr. Scuola Arch. At. Miss. It. Or. 3), Roma 1988, 333-4, B (fig. 271).

476: It is by no means sure that the first gentilicium of Maxima's husband should be restored as *Ca[ssius]* (cf. VI 37067 and RE Suppl. XIV, 745, 31).

497: The name of this lady was in fact 'Licinia Ç.f. Victorina' and she was *c.m.f.* (not *c.f.*). *Hispella* belongs to the husband's name, cf. my remarks in Tyche 3 (1988).

516: Magia. The name is fragmentary: *Magia* [---] (Pighi IV, 15-16). Her husband was [---]*uricus*, currently identified with Bradua Mauricus

(cos. 191), but a restoration like *[Isa]uricus* would be equally possible. That name is attested in the senatorial album of the same period.

525: Marcia Furnilla, wife of Titus. Two of her slaves are known to us (VI 31768, 36456) but whilst writing this paper H. Solin informed me of the existence of a *libertus*, the first one attested so far. His name is engraved on an unpublished inscription found at Anzio: [*Q.*] *Marcus Marciae Divi Titi lib. Stichus*.

527: [*M*]arciana. She also had a gentilicium: [--- *M*]arciana (VI 1522).

528: [*M*]arciana. The gentilicium probably preceded 'Marciana' (lines 12/13 of I. Eph. 710B): [--- *M*]arciana.

533: The epigraphic evidence strongly points to the conclusion that Matidia's (=Matidia II) first name was 'Mindia'. VI 28804 seems to refer to her sister Vibia Sabina (n^o 802).

535: *Maxima*. The name on VI 32430 seems to be fragmentary: [---] *Maxuma* (sic).

553: As concerns the career of Paetina's husband Rutilius Gallicus, cf. also R. Syme, *Arctos* 18 (1984) 149ff., and W. Eck, *Am. Journ. Phil.* 106 (1985) 475ff.

559: For *Mummia* see now *Arctos* 21 (1987) 37ff.

564: I also think with the author that Woloch's hypothesis of a local genealogy is not a very happy one. From the onomastic point of view it is quite possible that *Mundicia Secundilla* was the daughter of L. Antistius *Mundicius Burrus*. Various ways to explain such a name are available.

573: (*Nonia*?). The name has disappeared: [*Nonia* ?] (*Tarraco*, nr. 137).

580: AE 1937, 164 is also ICVR 14513.

585: *Octavia Lucana* is *M' f.* (not *M. f.*) in AE 1954, 69.

587: *Oscia Modesta Cornelia Valeria*?? *Patruina Publiana*. VIII 23832 gives the following name form: *Oscia Modesta* [---]ia [---]ia *Cornelia Patruina Publiana*. IG XIV 1960 = IGR I 336 is also IGUR 1311.

599: For the variation *Passienus/-ius/Passenus/-ius*, cf. Schulze, ZGLE 213, n. 6.

600: [*?Pa*]ulla. Eck's identification of her husband as Q. Anicius *Faustus* (*Tituli* 4, 218, n. 103) is also made more difficult by the fact that her name [---]ulla might be restored in some other way, too (in *BullCom* 1941, 191, nr. 32 she is called [---]ulla *Fausti*, and on the other hand the name *Paulinus* is found among the descendants of Anicius *Faustus*).

602: Paxaea. VI 36058 does not refer to her. It only records the same gentilicium, not previously known from inscriptions.

605: (*Pedia*) (*Casca* ?). If this woman ever existed (it is Panciera's hypothesis that she did), her cognomen was not 'Casca', because it is a masculine *a*-ending name.

609: New and most important epigraphic evidence concerning Plancia Magna and her family (cf. also n^o 462 Iulia Tertulla and her alleged father C. Iulius...Tertullus) is now provided by R. Merkelbach – S. Şahin in *Epigr. Anat.* 11 (1988) 113-114 (nr. 18 with comments), 119-120 (nr. 28a-b with comments), 132-133 (nr. 57 with a new stemma).

617: XIV 2845 is also in ILS 994.

637: The reading variant *Fidicula* could have been mentioned (there is also '*Fadicula* '), even if *Fadiula* (= *Fadiola*) seems the most plausible alternative.

641: (Pomponia Longina). The cognomen is very hypothetical, therefore a question mark could be put after 'Longina'.

649: Postumia. The name continues: *Postumia* [---] (Pighi IV, 20).

651: Postumia Siria? As the author states, the cognomen proposed by Alföldy, Tarraco, nr. 34, is somewhat strange and unexpected (cf. Hübner, II 4076: "*Postum(ia) / Aem(ilia) Iustina* ", and Dessau, ILS 2297: [---]ia). Alföldy's proposal *Ş[i]ria* shows that the interpretation of the first letter is problematic and yet it is also decisive. Considering the names of her close relatives, I would not exclude the reading *V[a]ria* (what is visible on the photo, Alföldy, Tarraco, Taf. LXII. 3, by no means contradicts this interpretation, cf. in particular the form of the letter V elsewhere in the inscription). One of her grandsons was called T. Flavius Postumius Varus (*praef. urbi* 271). As I have shown in *Arctos* 21 (1987) 37ff., *Varia* could be used as the feminine form of *Varus*. Accepting that she was called 'Postumia Varia', it would be tempting to identify 'Flavia Postu[mia] Varia' as her daughter. This *clarissima puella* is attested as participating in the *ludi saec.* of 204 AD. So far no established place has been found for her in the genealogy. Because Postumia Varia's (?) husband was T. Flavius Titianus, cos. about the year 200 AD, the daughter would inherit the first gentilicium from her father, and the rest from the mother. It might also be that Titianus' wife, the Postumia on the inscription of Tarraco, is the same lady as Postumia Varia *c.f.*, who is known from Urbinum (XI 6076). Unfortunately, this inscription cannot be dated precisely, but she certainly lived in the 3rd

century, possibly in the first half of the century. Admittedly, this last-mentioned identification is very hypothetical.

656: [Pr]iscilla. X 8292 is fragmentary: [--- Pr]iscilla. The cognomen is in fact very badly preserved ([---]iṣcilla) so that in theory it might be e.g. [--- F]uṣcilla as well. However, De Rossi's restoration is by far the most trustworthy.

657: [? Pris]cilla Aciliana. The full name was obviously longer: [---?Pris]cilla Aciliana (cf. XIV 2484).

659: Publia (ou Publilia?) Prisca. 'Publilia' sounds much better than 'Publia', preserved in various Dionian mss.

666: (Roscia) Pacula. The gentilicium has disappeared from V 4342 = Inscr. It. X, 5, 1, 136: [Roscia] Pacula (the full name is [Roscia] L.fil. [P]acula).

667: The praenomen of Bassa's grandson was not *M.* but *Sergius*, cf. Salomies 162f. (with note 417).

670: *Ruffia Marcella*. As the author rightly points out, she was certainly related to Lusius Rufia Marcella (n^o 513), perhaps she was one and the same person. Marcella's husband 'Sabinianus' is, on the other hand, only a name on the Sardinian inscription X 7586 (Carales). However, some useful information comes from Britain, where a man called Q. Lusius Sabinianus functioned as imperial procurator of the province probably in the Antonine period (see A. R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain*, Oxford 1981, 294). Several factors might link him with Marcella (despite the fact that he was of equestrian rank), but uncertainties concerning the chronology and the fact that the names in question are not particularly distinctive render any identification pure guesswork.

677: Sab(inia?) Quinta. V 8110, 288 (brick stamp) is here cited incorrectly as *Sab* [...] *Quinta C.f. Must. Aug.* The text runs *Sab. C.f. Quintāe Mus̄. Auḡ.*

686: Satria Galla. After her first marriage to Domitius Silus, she became the wife of Piso the Conspirator. It is generally believed that the marriage produced a child called Calpurnius Galerianus (his name thus in Tac. hist. 4, 11; 4, 49). The name *Galerianus* is a problem. There is no evidence that it was inherited from the paternal side (cf. PFOS II, st. XXII), nor is it attested among the known Satrii of the Early Empire. *Galerianus* as an adoptive name is also excluded. We could in theory suppose that Piso was sometimes married to a Galeria and their son was called Galerianus after the mother. Of Piso we know that earlier he had married Cornelia

Orestina/Orestilla (n^o 285). On the wedding day, about 38 AD, Cornelia was abducted by Caligula, but later she and Piso continued to live together. There is no positive evidence to suggest that Piso was married a third time. So it is very probable that Galerianus' mother was Satria Galla. One solution to explain the emergence of the name *Galerianus* might be an emendation of Tac. ann. 15, 59: *Gal<er>ia* (or perhaps *Gale<ri>a*). If the letters *er* (*ri*?) were dropped, it is easily understood that in ms. writing *Galia* (*Galea*?) and *Galla* were very likely to be confused with each other. If the cod. Medic. II presents a corrupted form (note that *Satria* is also an emendation from *Atria*), she was in fact called 'Satria Galeria', this style being quite possible in the nomenclature of the time. The first century shows many parallels of names in *-anus* deriving from the gentilicium of the mother.

690: *Secunda*. V 4364 = Inscr. It. X, 5, 1, 152 is fragmentary: [---]
Secunda.

694: [?Sembro]nia Laeta. A great number of other restorations of the gentilicium also suggest themselves (cf. Pighi IV, 14).

705: *Servaea Flavia Stianilla Valeriana*. *Flavia* is abbreviated in VIII 11337 (=238): *Fl(aviae)*. The stone is said to show *Fl*, which is to be read as either *F^l* (*aviae*) or *Fl* (*aviae*).

724: That the abbreviation *Stat.* stands for *Stat(ia)* is very probable (cf. VIII 2746), but in theory e.g. *Stat(ilia)* cannot be excluded (it was, however, usually abbreviated to *Statil.*).

742: The appearance of the praenomen *Servius* among the descendants of P. Cornelius Dolabella (cos. 55) may not solely be due to the marriage of a certain P. Dolabella to the family of the Sulpicii Galbae (Groag's hypothesis). For the use of *Servius* among the Cornelii of the Imperial time, see Salomies 177.

748: *Surdini[a]*. VIII 1223: *Surdin[ia]*.

749: Ta[rri]a? Cornelia Asiana (ou éventuellement Tampia?). There are also other ways of restoring the gentilicium.

754: In order to explain the emergence of the elements 'Terentius Gentianus' among the Hedii Lolliani of the 2nd and 3rd cent. it might be sufficient to postulate one marriage only, most probably that between (Terentia, n^o 753) and the consul of 114. Otherwise we should assume that Lollianus Avitus (cos. 144) married his cousin.

776: *Valeria Polla*. VI 28244 certainly belongs to another lady called 'Polla Valeria' (thus not strictly speaking a homonym). And can we ultimately be sure that the Valeria Polla recorded in VI 9125, 9127, 9349 is

the same person as the *domina figl.* on XV 235 = LSO 245 of early Antonine time?

785: Vedusia. The author is right to point to the fact that the paternal gentilicium was now and then omitted in daughters' names. Therefore, her name could have been (Statilia) Vedusia.

786: Venu[leia]. In XI 1433 = Inscr. It. VII, 1, 17 the name continued in the lacuna: Venu[leia ---]. (A. Neppi Modona, Inscr. It., opted for Venu[leiiis ---]).

790: Verulana Gratilla. It is not necessary to read 'Verulania' instead of 'Verulana'.

795: *Veturia Gratilla Thais*. The name *Thais* may suggest some connection with the East, cf. the senator Veturius Paccianus of the later 2nd cent., honoured at Epidaurus and possibly also present at Corinth (see J. H. Oliver, Tituli 5, 595). Another exponent of the Veturii, the κράτιστος Veturius Quintianus certainly had very close ties with Athens (Oliver, *ibid.* 593).

796: Vibenn[ia]. The name continued: Vibenn[ia ---] (Pighi Va, 23a).

804: *Vibia Se[rena ?]*. In addition to *Se[rena]* there are also other possibilities to restore the cognomen (or perhaps there were two gentilicia, though this is less probable), cf. XII 5804.

819: Vitia. Still another question mark could be added before the inscr. VI 29095: *Ossa / Vitiae / Chelidonis*, listed as testimony (2).

822: The element 'Appuleia', being strongly hypothetical, should be followed by a question mark.

After these comments some words of a more technical nature might be apposite. Both volumes are very accurate and elegant, what else should we expect? However, no book, in particular if it is of this size, can be free from minor slips, either a printing or some other error. When reading the volumes, I have noticed the following small errors: p. 69 (under the name of Commodus Pompeianus): the number of the testimony (V. Caracallae 3, 8) is (7), not (4). – p. 118 (l. 9 from below): n. 119 (not 118). – p. 185 (n^o 194): *Iunoni* [not *Iunon(i)*]. – p. 201 (n^o 215): *Asinia* is n^o 110 (not 109). – p. 204: Ἀρχιέρεια (not Ἀρχιερεία). – p. 208: μητροπόλεως (not μετροπόλεως). – p. 211 (l. 2): Πουσινιανός (not Πουσονιανός). – p. 216 (l. 4 from below): *Apicata* is PIR² A 913 (not PIR¹). – p. 269 (n^o 304, l. 13 from below): *Crispus* (not *Priscus*). – pp. 319-20 (n^o 367): in the Suetonian passage *delicatam* (not *delicata*) and *Flavio* (not *Flavia*). – p. 325 (l. 4 from

below): Ἀρχιέρεια (not Ἀρχιερεία). – p. 351 (l. 9 from below): p. 694 (not 494). – p. 368 (bibl. of n^o 428): Gaertringen (not Gaetringen). – p. 398 (bibl. of n^o 464): Groag, RE...n^o 129 (not 229). – p. 453 (l. 3 from below): 396 (not 596). – p. 479 (l. 11 from below): VI 32411 (not 31411). – p. 494 (n^o 609): θυγάτηρ (not θυγάτηρ). – p. 517: Claudius Gallus should be “beau-perè?” (not “beau-frère?”). – p. 522 (l. 9): *pulchritudine* (not *-i*). – p. 527 (l. 10): 945 (not 975). – p. 545: Agathus (rather than Agathos; husband of Frontina). – p. 560 (l. 10 below): ὑπάτων (not ὑπατῶν). – p. 578 (l. 9): 694 (not 494). – p. 603 (l. 3): XV 7554a-b (not 7553). – p. 616 (l. 4): Iunia (not Iulia). – p. 642 (l. 5 from below): X 4635 (not 4625). – p. 646 (n^o 824): testimonies (15)-(16): *Inscr. Cret.* I, XVIII (not XVI). – p. 649 (l. 6): *pantomimos* (not *pantominos*). – p. 705 (bibl.): Balsdon (not Baldson). – p. 746 (l. 9): angrenzenden (not angrenzende). – p. 793 under 'Teidia Polla': VI 21363 (not 12363; note, however, that her name was '[---]a Teidia '). – As for the genealogical tables of vol. II, there are some small divergences from the text: n^o 311 (*Didia*) in st. XXXV (cf. vol. I, p. 275: “au fils de son frère”). – In st. XIV the son of Cn. Domitius Corbulo (D 141) should be “D 142 cos. suff. 39” (not D 141 pr 17, etc.). – Domitia Lepida's number (n^o 326) is erroneously '325' in the stemma 'J.-Cl'. One further point concerning the second volume: consulting the tables would have been made easier and handier if the number of the stemma had been printed on the first blank side of each folding sheet.

After these remarks, which by no means diminish the high quality of Raepsaet-Charlier's work, there is not much to be said, at least nothing negative. What is especially pleasing is the author's careful and critical analysis of many difficult identities such as those of the female members of the Volusii Saturnini (n^o 270, 492) or of the Neratii from Saepinum (n^o 566ff.; cf. n^o 268). A careful and mature deliberation between two or more alternative solutions is a virtue in prosopographical studies. In this respect Raepsaet-Charlier's research is a remarkable achievement. To sum up, this catalogue is not only a basic collection of Roman senatorial women, it will also be a general reference book for anyone interested in the upper-class political and social life of the first two Imperial centuries.

Zu Bedas Predigten

BENGT LÖFSTEDT

Die Predigten Bedas wurden zuletzt von D. Hurst im *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* Bd. 122 (Turnhout 1955) ediert. Diese Ausgabe ist etwas besser als diejenige der Evangelienkommentare (wozu s. Verf., *Arctos* 21 [1987] 61-72), aber bei meiner Arbeit an der Erstausgabe von Sedulius Scottus' Matthaeus-Kommentar habe ich doch Einiges am Texte zu verbessern und am Quellenapparat zu ergänzen gefunden. Da Sedulius seine Quellen in der Regel wörtlich zitiert und sein Kommentar in zwei Handschriften aus dem 9. Jh. überliefert ist (Berol. Phill. 1660 und Vindob. 740), sind seine Bedazitate für die Konstituierung von Bedas Text von Interesse.

1. Zum Texte

173, 107 f. ...*cum et eisdem sanctis dicat apostolus...* Dies muß bedeuten 'da der Apostel von denselben Heiligen sagt', und man würde *de* vor *eisdem* erwarten. Wenn Sedulius Scottus diese Stelle aus Beda zitiert (cod. Berol. fol. 119^f), schreibt er auch ...*de eisdem...*, und deshalb möchte ich *de* bei Beda hinzufügen. Allerdings findet sich im Mittellatein eine Konstruktion *dicere alci* 'von jemandem sagen' (s. Verf., *Corp. Christ. Ser. Lat.* 133 C S. IX f. und *Arctos* 15 [1981] 80 f.), aber ich kenne keine Belege bei Beda.

228, 121 f. *In cuius indicium* (mit Sed. Scott., cod. Berol. f. 185^v, statt *iudicium*) *divinae discretionis ipse quoque angelus...*

238, 184 ff. *Adfuit quondam confortaturus suo spiritu ecclesiam <,> cum ab infidelibus premeretur et ad publicum venire ac dilatari* (mit einigen Hss. und Sed. Scott., cod. Berol. f. 190r, statt *dilatate*) *prohiberetur.*

Die folgenden Druckfehler seien korrigiert: 35, 108 ist *peperit* statt *perperit* zu lesen; 35, 134 *nascendo* statt *nescendo* ; 45, 304 *infirmitas* statt *inflrmitas* ; 64, 166 *cunctis* statt *cunstis* ; 182, 155 *praeterita* statt *praterita* ; 228, 125 *Insuper* statt *Insiuper*.

2. Quellen

5, 124 f. *fortior cui minorato paulo minus ab angelis omnia subiecta sunt sub pedibus eius* : Hurst verweist auf Psalm. 8, 6-7, aber der erste Teil stammt aus Psalm. 8, 6, der letzte aus Psalm. 8, 8.

10, 117 f. *umbram habebat lex bonorum futurorum, non ipsam imaginem rerum* : Hebr. 10, 1. - 125 f. *lavit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo* : Apoc. 1, 5.

11, 156 f. *Apparuit...Dominus Abrahae in valle Mambre* : Gen. 18,1.

14, 5 *inter filios Dei computari* : Sap. 5, 5.

18, 162 f. *ex aqua et Spiritu sancto renascimur* : Ioh. 3, 5.

19, 207 *mediator Dei et hominum* : I Tim. 2, 5 (auch 44, 286 f. und 52, 1).

20, 230 f. *tamquam sponsus suo procedat de thalamo* : Psalm. 18, 6.

28, 278 (vgl. 30, 345) *superbis resistere et humilibus dare gratiam* : Iac. 4, 6; I Petr. 5, 5.

30, 340 *divites dimittit inanes* : Luc. 1, 53. - 341 *humiles exaltat* : Luc. 1, 52.

34, 85 f. *in plenitudine temporum* : Eph. 1, 10.

36, 143 f. *Dei...virtus et sapientia* : I Cor. 1, 24.

38, 50 *ut profiterentur singuli in suam civitatem* : Luc. 2, 3.

41, 175 f. *ille, quem caelum et caeli caelorum non capiunt* : III Reg. 8, 27.

42, 206 *magnus pastor ovium* : Hebr. 13, 20.

44, 261 *ut filii lucis ambulemus* : Eph. 5, 8.

46, 5 *solem iustitiae* : Mal. 4, 2; auch 55, 114; 182, 171; 329, 26.

54, 90 f. *homines...qui ad imaginem Dei facti sunt* : Gen. 9, 6.

57, 204-6 *Non est enim personarum acceptor Deus, sed in omni gente qui timet eum et operatur iustitiam acceptus est illi* : Act. 10, 34-35 (nicht 35-36).

65, 193 f. *nemo esurit...nemo sitit* : vgl. Apoc. 7, 16.

71, 133 *stolis fulgent albis et palmas in manibus habent* : Apoc. 7,9.

72, 146 *oculis insipientium visa sunt...*: Sap. 3, 2.

77, 133 f. *cum...novissima inimica destructa fuerit mors* : I Cor. 15, 26. - 156-158 *non ultra corpus quod corrumpitur adgravat animam, non terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum* : Sap. 9, 15.

78, 201 f. *omni custodia servant suum cor* : Prov. 4, 23.

85, 206 f. *ne mordentes et comedentes invicem consumamur ab invicem* : vgl. Gal. 5, 15.

106, 33 f. *oblatus...Patri pro nobis in hostiam odoremque suavitatis*: Eph. 5, 2. - 35 f. *sacerdos...in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech* : Hebr. 5, 6 al. (auch 319, 30 f.).

110, 204 *ad imaginem Dei et similitudinem* : Gen. 1, 26. - 205-207 *per mortem...destrueret eum, qui habebat mortis imperium* : Hebr. 2, 14.

122, 99 f. *de domo ac familia David* : Luc. 2, 4.

127, 289 *unxit lapidem Iacob et erexit in titulum* : vgl. Gen. 28, 18.

143, 84 f. *sanctus Spiritus super Dominum in columbae specie descendit* : vgl. Luc. 3, 22.

157, 30 f. *omnia in mensura et numero et pondere disponit* : Sap. 11, 21.

160, 176 f. *fidelis...et iustus est, ut remittat nobis peccata nostra et mundet nos ab omni iniquitate* : I Ioh. 1, 9.

182, 154 f. *nec ego te...condemnabo; vade et amplius noli peccare* : Ioh. 8, 11. - 155 f. *quoniam misericors et pius est, praeterita peccata relaxat* : Sir. 2, 13.

186, 65 *domus orationis* : Is. 56, 7 al. - 72 *civitas regis magni* : Psalm. 47, 3; Matth. 5, 35.

191, 257 *in terra viventium* : Psalm. 26, 13.

201, 17 f. *erat cotidie docens in eo* (scil. templo): Luc. 19, 47.

204, 138 *una fides* : Eph. 4, 5.

206, 216 f. *ne in lapidem offensionis et petram scandali offendant* : I Petr. 2, 8.

208, 35 f. *conloquamur ad invicem psalmis hymnis canticis spiritalibus* : Col. 3, 16.

215, 27 *superliminari mediis asperso* (scil. sanguine) *in postibus* : vgl. Ex. 12, 7.

216, 59 *corporis sui, quod est ecclesia* : vgl. Col. 1, 24.

223, 107 f. *timeamus in ipsa (scil. lingua), in qua benedicimus Deum et Patrem, maledicere homines* : vgl. Iac. 3, 9.

257, 136 *de virtute in virtutem* : Psalm. 83, 8.

268, 60 f. *quamdiu sunt in corpore, peregrinari se a patria sua et regno cognoscunt* : vgl. II Cor. 5, 6.

270, 126 f. *omne gaudium existimabant, cum in temptationes varias inciderent* : Iac. 1, 2.

276, 166 *fides non ficta* : II Tim. 1, 5.

282, 83 *si dignum paenitentiae fructum faceret* : Matth. 3, 8.

286, 247 *septimus ab Adam Enoch* : Iudas 14.

294, 163 *in psalmis, ubi nos canimus 'laudate Dominum'* : vgl. Psalm. 112, 1 al.

308, 269 *duo primitiarum panes* : Leu. 23, 17. - 281 *quinquagesimus (statt -a) annus in lege iubeleus* : vgl. Leu. 25, 10 f.

310, 341 f. *super harenam fundamentum...posuerit* : vgl. Matth. 7,26.

313, 66 *filius irae* : Eph. 2, 3.

316, 205 f. *illi, qui exaltatum pro signo serpentem aeneum aspiciebant, sanabantur* : vgl. Num. 21, 9.

317, 247 f. *cuius (scil. Spiritus sancti) unctione signati sumus in die redemptionis* : vgl. Eph. 4, 30.

323, 210 *primum altare holocausti aere coopertum est* : vgl. Ex. 27, 2. - 213 f. *altare incensi auro tectum...ad adolenda tymiamata erat statutum* : vgl. Ex. 30, 1 ff.

327, 346 ff. *non in operibus iustitiae, quae ex nobis habere potuimus, sed in miseratione et misericordia* : vgl. Tit. 3, 5.

358, 21 f. *timorem suum, quod est initium sapientiae* : vgl. Sir. 1,16.

359, 29 f. *ut in eodem suo templo...ipse et venire et mansionem facere dignetur* : vgl. Ioh. 14, 23.

361, 110 *et ego vitam aeternam do eis, et non peribunt in aeternum* : Ioh. 10, 28.

363, 188 ff. *Salomon...templi opus...septem annis perfecit, octavo autem hoc anno, decima die mensis septimi...dedicavit* : vgl. III Reg. 6, 38; II Par. 5, 3.

364, 236 *quasi de vivis lapidibus* : vgl. I Petr. 2, 5.

366, 288 ff. *completa ergo dedicatione templi ignis de caelo descendens oblatas Domino hostias devoravit* : vgl. II Par. 7, 1.

Aspects of the Textual History of Poggio Bracciolini's *De varietate fortunae*

OUTI MERISALO

In this article, it is my intention to try to assess the general lines of the textual history of Poggio Bracciolini's *De varietate fortunae* as far as it can be gauged from the evidence of the manuscripts of the work. I shall not touch upon the reception of the work here.*

De varietate fortunae, Poggio's largest work after *Facetiae*, was promulgated in early 1448, as it appears from a letter to Antonio Panormita.¹ It is a rather heterogeneous amalgam consisting of four books loosely connected by the theme of the fickleness of Fortune. This theme is illustrated by the physical decay of Ancient Rome (book I), by contemporary and recent history (books II and III) and by the travels to India of Niccolò de' Conti (book IV). The compilation of the work probably took some fifteen years, from c. 1432-1435 till 1448, though the vicissitudes of contemporary history had already suggested the idea to Poggio in the early 1420s.² So far, 51 mss. containig the whole of the work or parts of it have come to my notice. As many as 44 of them are certainly from the 15th century. Only three are certainly non-Italian. The integral version is found in 27 mss. whereas book IV is found on its own in 17, and part of book I, a detailed description of the ruins of Rome in the 1420s, in four mss. Two mss. contain only the first

* This article is a slightly modified version of a paper read at the 9th Congress of Neo-Latin Studies in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, in August 1988.

¹ H. Harth, ed. Poggio Bracciolini, *Lettere* 3. - - - Firenze 1987, 3.2.9., February 1448: *Edidi quatuor libros De varietate fortune*.

² See I. Kajanto, *Poggio Bracciolini and Classicism. A Study in Early Italian Humanism* (AASF B 238), Helsinki 1987, 36-37.

three books. One 16th-century ms. contains a fragment from book I and the whole of book IV. The particular favour enjoyed by books I and IV depends probably on the specific nature of the subjects treated, though one might imagine that the numerous episodes related in books II and III on the Popes and Italian patrician families would have interested e. g. compilers of works with a strictly local interest. As far as I have been able to find out, books II and III do not circulate on their own, but always in company with book I.

The original plan for the work might only have comprised the books two and three which both cover a period prior to the death of Pope Martin V (1415-1430). Two books on the variety of fortune were ready in 1443,³ and the work in its final extension was achieved by 1448 (see note 1).

So far, it seems that there are basically three versions of *De varietate fortunae*. The first version is found in mss. that can be dated to c. 1450, the last one appears for the first time in mss. datable to the very last years of Poggio's life

The following stemma should not be considered definitive. I hope to produce later a computer stemma by means of the method developed by the team of Dees at the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.

FIGURE.

Dating	Phasis and manuscripts
1448	A (original, as it seems, not preserved)
1450	Vat. Ott. lat. 2134 Gött. UB theol. 136

³ Harth, *Lettere* 2. 10. 17, 14 Sept. 1443: *Composui duos libros de varietate fortunae sed nondum edidi*. This might refer either to book I and II or II and III (for the latter opinion, see e. g. R. Fubini, *Il teatro del mondo---*, Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1980) nel VI centenario della morte, Firenze 1982, 9 n. 21; Kajanto, *Classicism* 38, believes books I and II to have been written first). In any case, book III cannot have been completed at that date, Eugenius IV only dying in 1447. The version A of book III (see below) talks about vicissitudes of contemporaries having been described *uno libro* (Vat. Ott. lat. 2134 f. 58). These words have been omitted in the final version C.

c. 1450	B-o (enlarged version I) Milan, Ambr. G 95 s 4
1450-1459	B (enlarged version II) Vat. lat. 1784 BN lat. 7854 Ricc. 871 (before corr.) Copenhagen KB 4 ⁰ -234 (before corr.) Marc. 3488.
1450-1459	B+C (contaminated version) Venice Marc. 4596 Marc. 2560 Copenhagen KB 4 ⁰ -234 (corrected)
before 1459	C (corrected version) Ricc. 871 (corrected) Vat. Urb. lat. 224 Bodl. Canon. Misc. 557 Bernkastel-Kues, Bibl. Hosp. 157

For this figure, the versions of book III have been used as a basic criterion. A less diversified stemma, containing only phases A and C, B often going with C, is obtained by using the text of book I, on which a detailed computerized analysis with comments is being prepared.⁴

Version A, found in two mss. dated 1450,⁵ represents most probably the earliest form of the text promulgated in 1448. Version B is different from it in the description of the life of Cardinal Giovanni Vitelleschi (d. 1440), the influential favourite of Eugenius IV who died in very obscure circumstances in the Castel Sant' Angelo, victim, as it would seem, of a Medici conspiracy.⁶ In phasis A, there is a rather neutral account of the activity of Vitelleschi, the negative points being presented as hearsay or rumour

⁴ For a summary description of the tradition of book IV, see my article in note 14.

⁵ Both Vat. Ott. lat. 2134 and Gött. UB theol. 136 bear after the text the date 1450 (see below p. 106).

⁶ For Vitelleschi, see L. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste* 2³⁻⁴, Freiburg 1901, 290-295, and E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus. Leben und Werke*, Leipzig-Berlin 1914, 186-189.

(*putabatur, dicebatur* etc.).⁷ In version B, the tone is much more virulent and the text contains more details.⁸ It is interesting that Ambr. G 95 s 4 that represents phasis B-o in our stemma, contains a few more passages absent in other mss. hitherto studied, except for Ricc. 871 where these passages seem to have been erased.⁹ Version C has again the text of version A here but contains otherwise some stylistic and vocabulary changes.¹⁰

The origin of version B is so far obscure. Ricc. 871 contains the autographic corrections of Poggio, and the resulting text is that of version C, which then should be considered the definitive form wanted by the author. The Copenhagen and Marciana mss. have contaminated versions, may be originating in mss. where the corrections of the author had not been introduced with enough care.

It would not seem impossible that version B (and B-o) were by Poggio himself. He was a well-known supporter of the Medici and does not speak too favourably of Vitelleschi in another context.¹¹ Valla accused him of forging a papal order for capturing Vitelleschi and imprisoning him in the Castel Sant' Angelo. After Vitelleschi's death Poggio fell out of favour with Eugenius IV.¹² While revising the text of *De varietate fortunae* sometime in

⁷ See e. g. Vat. Urb. lat. 224 f. 40: *...ferebantur* - Ambr. G 95 s 4 (etc.) *...vulgata erant*.

⁸ E. g. Vat. Urb. lat. 224 f. 39: *hic sumptis a duce militibus*, Ambr. G 95 s 4: *hic animo ad omne facinus prompto s. a d. m. .*

⁹ Ambr. G 95 s 4 f. 179v; Ricc. 871 f. 55.

¹⁰ E. g. Vat. Ott. lat. 2134 f. 43 *nos autem nudo sermone nullo decore*, Ricc. 871 (etc.) *nos autem nullo sermonis decore*.

¹¹ H. Harth, ed. Poggio Bracciolini, *Lettere* 2. Firenze 1984, 2. 9. 14. 36-39, to Scipione Mainenti, Florence April 8-26 1440: *Credo te audisse casum cardinalis Florentini, quem ego addam numero ceterorum. Nolo insectari verbis mortuos, sed miror dei patientiam adeo diu tantam iniquitatem, tantam labem seculi nostri tulisse. Itaque gratias ago, quicumque ii fuerint, auctoribus tanti boni* (i. e. the murder of Vitelleschi).

¹² Walser 187 (Valla); 189 (Eugenius IV). According to Gaspare Broglio, son of the condottiere Tartaglia, in service of Sigismondo Malatesta, the conspiracy would have been organized by Cosimo and Lodovico Scarampi would have falsified the brief (see A. G. Lucani, ed. G. Broglio *Tartaglia, Cronaca malatestiana del secolo XV [dalla Cronaca universale]*, Rimini 1982, 67-68).

the 1450s he might have wanted to ventilate his rancour; upon reflection, he might have wanted to readopt in the end the original, rather neutral account. Even in the reigns of Nicholas V, Calixtus III and Pius II, such obscure manoeuvrings might still not be the thing to be advertised.¹³

The separate tradition of book IV derives from phasis A. So far, only the Paris ms. among the mss. of the whole work, itself representing phasis B, contains the specific variants characteristic of this separate tradition.¹⁴

It is obvious that *De varietate fortunae* was basically considered to be a humanistic text both in its integral form and in the partial versions. An overwhelming majority of the known mss. are humanistic in content: ancient authors, Italian humanists, archaeology. The travels of Niccolò de' Conti appear together with texts on Eastern travel in only six mss. and in no more than two mss. do we find book I together with quite distinctly antiquarian texts. The integral version is found in only one ms. together with purely antiquarian works.

We already mentioned that almost all mss. are from the 15th century. Only three are certainly of non-Italian origin. The work was also copied to some extent in the 16th c., apparently for the last time in an integral version at the beginning of that century. Book IV was copied as late as 1599.

Two of the certainly non-Italian mss. are of German origin. A copy of the text in version C was made for Nicolaus Cusanus (d. 1464), who was a friend of Poggio. This ms., still in its original binding, is now in the library founded by Cusanus in Bernkastel-Kues.¹⁵ The other German ms. is now at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich and was copied by the well-known

¹³ Poggio says himself in the three versions: *Hanc latius explicarem coniurationem, nisi illorum qui in illa intervenisse dicuntur pudor et reverentia a narrando continerent* (Vat. Urb. lat. 224 f. 40).

¹⁴ For these variants, see O. Merisalo, *Le prime edizioni stampate del De varietate fortunae di Poggio Bracciolini*. I, *Arctos* 19 (1985) 96-97.

¹⁵ See J. Marx, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung des Hospitals zu Cues bei Bernkastel m. M.*, Trier 1905. For Cusanus' library, see E. Meuthen, *Die letzten Jahre des Nikolaus von Kues* (Wiss. Abh. d. Arb. gem. f. Forsch. des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 3), Köln-Opladen 1958, and especially C. Bianca, *La biblioteca romana di Niccolò Cusano*, *Littera antiqua* 3. Scrittura biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento, *Atti del 2^o Seminario* 6-8 maggio 1982, Città del Vaticano 1983, 694.

Nuremberg antiquarian Hartmann Schedel (d. 1512) in 1504. It contains, among inscriptions of Italy and Germany, the description of ruins of Rome from book I, textually closely related to the fragment of book I in one of the mss. from the Adriatic coast; as Schedel had studied in Padua, he might well have used this Italian ms., or one related to it, for his *Liber antiquitatum*.¹⁶

At the Burgerbibliothek in Berne there is a ms. written in Gothic cursive on apparently North-Eastern French or Dutch paper datable to the 1450s and 1460s. It contains the first three books in version C. The other texts in the volume are works by Poggio. The outer appearance is rather modest, a feature common to a large part of the mss. preserved.¹⁷

I have not yet had the occasion to examine the ms. Harleian 2500, originally in the library of the Vallis Sancti Martini in Leuven / Louvain.¹⁸ In this ms. a fragment of book I, not identical to either of the previously mentioned, is found together with texts of Livy, Orosius, a work on the history of the Popes and the Kings as well as the chronicle of Ps.-Turpin and Poggio's own *De infelicitate principum*. The ms. is written in Gothic cursive, and it might come from the Low Countries.¹⁹

Among the Italian mss., a majority is to be localized to Central and North-Eastern Italy. It would seem that only one ms. was written in Naples. The library of the Kings of Aragon did not contain this work.²⁰ So far, it seems that the abbey of Casamari was the southernmost place to own our text. In 1459 this library possessed a ms. with book IV and other humanistic as well as geographical texts. The volume is of modest appearance.²¹

¹⁶ For Schedel, see e. g. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* 30, Leipzig 1889, 661-662. Schedel's version is shorter than the fragment in Bodl. d' Orv. 513, and contains many original (most often nonsensical) variants.

¹⁷ See below pp. 105, 107-110.

¹⁸ See *Bibliotheca Vallis Sancti Martini in Lovanio* 1, Leuven 1980, 636-639, no. 140.

¹⁹ The inventory (c. 1500) of the books of Jan Adorne (1444-1511), of Italian descent, living in Bruges, mentions a *lib(er) Poggii Florentini de varietate fortu(n)e ad Nicolau(m) p(a)p(am) q(u)intu(m)* (A. Derolez, *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii* 1. Provincie West-Vlaanderen, Brussel 1986, 8). There seems to be no subsequent information about the fate of this library (*ibid.* 2).

²⁰ The ms. is Venice Marc. 4596 (B+C). For the library of the Kings, see T. de Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona* 1-2, Milano 1947-1952.

²¹ Now BL Add. 25712.

Surprisingly enough, only a few mss. seem to have been written in Rome. I have not yet been able to identify the dedication exemplar of the text, written for Nicholas V. According to the inventory made after the death of this pope, his library contained one copy of *de v(er)itate fortune*,²² also present in the 1475 inventory drawn by Platina.²³ By 1475 another copy of the work had also been acquired. In the oldest part of the Vatican library there are two mss., one of parchment, one of paper, of the integral version (see note 22), and the former is distinctly a prestige ms. The text is, however, in version B, and it would be surprising that the dedicatory copy should have contained that form of the text. The other ms. is rather modest in appearance and has version A. Cases are known of surprisingly simple dedicatory exemplars, so it may not be totally out of the question that this was in fact the copy prepared for Nicholas V.²⁴ There is, however, no external sign to suggest this.

Apparently the ms. made for Poggio's friend Cardinal Domenico Capranica (1400-1458) is also of Roman origin. It contains book IV and texts on the Near East,²⁵ and is of a modest appearance.

Another ms. of definite Roman origin is the one now at the Marciana in Venice. It contains version B.²⁶ It was written in c. 1500.

A considerable number of mss. come from Florence. We may mention the prestige ms. now in the Ottoboni collection at the Vatican

²² The inventory, by Cosimo de Montserrat, is Vat. lat. 3959, f. 29v: *de v(er)itate fortune*. Vat. lat. 1784 as well as Vat. lat. 1785 entered the Vatican Library before 1597, see J. Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI. Recherches sur l'histoire des collections de manuscrits - - - (Studi e testi 272)*, Città del Vaticano 1973, 77.

²³ Vat. lat. 3954.

²⁴ The first ms. is Vat. lat. 1784, the second Vat. lat. 1785.

²⁵ For this ms., Vat. lat. 7317, see A. Antonovics, *The library of Cardinal Domenico Capranica*, in C. H. Clough, ed. *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in honour of P. O. Kristeller*, Manchester - New York 1976, 148. The ms. entered the Vatican library in 1798, and was still present at the library of the Jesuit College of Capranica in 1657, see Bignami Odier 218 n. 7.

²⁶ Marc. 4596.

library.²⁷ It was written, just as another prestige ms. now in the Buchanan collection of the Bodleian library, by the well-known notary Ser Giovanni da Stia.²⁸ The Ottoboni ms. is dated 1450. The text, the earliest copy of version A preserved for us, is in all points identical to that of the equally Florentine ms. now in Göttingen, finished on the 17th of June 1750 by the notary Gherardo di Giovanni del Ciriagio. It has the stemma of either Lionello or Ercole I d'Este, and is most probably the volume mentioned in the 1495 inventory of the books of Ercole I.²⁹ All these mss. are elaborately decorated. Vespasiano da Bisticci provided another luxury ms. for Federico di Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, which later went to the Vatican library together with the rest of the Urbino library. It contains version C in a sort of fair copy as compared to Ricc. 871, see stemma above. The Urbino ms. was written by Nicolaus Riccius Spinosus, or Nicolaus Antonii de Ricciis, in a beautiful *antiqua*, and decorated by Francesco d'Antonio c. 1460-70.³⁰

²⁷ Vat. Ott. lat. 2134. In the 15th century, the ms. belonged to Poggio's friend Bartolomeo Ghiselardi of Bologna (note of acquisition f. 104v). For the formation of the Ottoboni collection and its entry at the Vatican library, see Bignami Odier 55. For the text of the ms., see now I. Kajanto - O. Merisalo, *The 1723 Edition of Poggio Bracciolini's De varietate fortunae*, Hum. lov. 36 (1987), 76-84.

²⁸ For this scribe (c. 1406-1474), see A. C. de la Mare, *New research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence*, in A. Garzelli, ed. *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento 1440-1525* - - - 1, Firenze - Perugia 1985, 425-6 and app. 1, no. 28. 32. For the Buchanan d. 4, see O. Pächt - J.J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* 2, Oxford 1970, 26. I thank Dr. A. C. de la Mare for pointing out this reference to me.

²⁹ Ser Gherardo di Giovanni del Ciriagio (d. 1472), de la Mare, *New Research* (see preceding note) 430 ff., app. I no. 24. 21. For the d'Este stemma, cf. e. g. G. Bologna, *Miniature italiane della biblioteca Trivulziana*, Milano 1974, 64, and D. Fava - M. Salmi, *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca Estense di Modena* 2, Milano 1973, no. 133, tav. XXVI. There is a *De varietate fortune in latino coperto de corame stampato* in the inventory of 1495, see G. Bertoni, *La Biblioteca estense e la coltura ferrarese ai tempi del duca Ercole I (1471-1505)*, Torino 1903, app. II, no. 129. The ms. was only taken to Germany in the 18th century (18th-century note on the second guard).

³⁰ See A. C. de la Mare, *Vespasiano da Bisticci e i copisti fiorentini di Federico, Federico di Montefeltro* 3. *La cultura* (Biblioteca del Cinquecento 30), Roma 1986, 94 and *New Research*, 431-2, app. I no. 53. 45; for the entry of the Urbino library at the Vatican, see Bignami Odier 141. According to Dr. de la Mare, the volume was second hand when Federico bought it, *Vespasiano* 94 and *New Research* app. I no. 53. 45.

Another luxury ms. was made for Francesco Sasseti, a Medici banker who employed Bartolomeo Fonzio for the vast library he started forming from c. 1470 onwards.³¹ It contains book I together with Biondo's *Italia illustrata* and *Roma instaurata*, and thus constitutes one of our genuinely antiquarian mss.

Ricc. 871 is a modest parchment ms. with autographical corrections by Poggio³² changing version B to version C. It might be the volume mentioned in the inventory of books made after his death.³³ A ms. now at the Biblioteca Nazionale of Rome contains *De varietate fortunae* as well as other works by Poggio, and bears at the end his ex-libris.³⁴

There is a ms. at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence which seems to come from Siena. It has the arms of the Siennese family of Martinozzi.³⁵ A member of this family owned e. g. an Aeschylus in Greek as early as 1431.³⁶ In the Biblioteca Nazionale ms., the first three books are in one hand, representing version C, and book IV has been added, apparently copied from a ms. in separate circulation. We have already mentioned that the Berne ms. contains only the first three books (p. 104). To the Martinozzi ms. we may add a ms. with Siennese contents but East Italian paper now at the British Library, where texts by humanists and on Siennese matters appear together with the first three books of our text.³⁷

³¹ The ms. is Laur. 76, 50. For Sasseti's collection, see A. C. de la Mare, *The Library of Francesco Sasseti (1421-1490), Cultural Aspects* (see note 26), 160 ff., Catalogue no. 58.

³² This identification was first suggested by R. Fubini, *Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) nel VI centenario della morte---*, Firenze, 1980, 10. A comparison with mss. known to have been written by Poggio seems to confirm it.

³³ Published in Walser 423: *de varietate fortune in pergameno corio albo coopertum*.

³⁴ Fondo Vitt. Em. 205. In this ms., *De varietate fortunae* is in paper.

³⁵ The arms of Benedetto Martinozzi in Laur. 49, 24 are identical to those in Naz. n. a. 693 and to those in Abbey J. A. 3221 (see J. J. G. Alexander - A. C. de la Mare, *The Italian manuscripts in the Library of Major Abbey*, London 1969, 95-6).

³⁶ The Aeschylus of Niccolò Martinozzi is Laur. 95 sup. 5.

³⁷ BL 8799.

There is a simple ms. now in Parma³⁸ containing book IV and different historical and geographical accounts which seems to have been written on paper produced in Lucca c. 1460.

It would seem that the ms. now at the Classense of Ravenna with part of book IV and different humanistic and religious texts was written in Tuscany early in the 1450s.³⁹ It shows remarkable similarities to an Italian ms. now in Lyon.⁴⁰ The Lyon ms. is, however, a working ms., whereas the Ravenna one is elaborately decorated. The Ravenna ms. belonged in the 16th century to someone from Rimini.⁴¹

Another ms. of Tuscan origin seems to be the one now in Durham, N. C. (Duke University Library); it was written on Tuscan paper by a scribe named Paulus in c. 1450-60.⁴² It contains the integral version in phasis C as well as texts by Filelfo, and translations from Demosthenes. It is a genuine working ms., with very little decoration and rather informal Italic.

It seems that *De varietate fortunae* was particularly popular on the Adriatic coast and in the North-East of Italy. The number of mss. that can be localized to these parts include both volumes with the integral version and a great number of copies of book IV, one of book I. In a way Schedel's volume that we mentioned earlier would belong to this group, since his Paduan connection was most probably decisive for the text of his copy of the description in book I. They are for the most part working manuscripts. In the town of Cagli, Marche, the local humanist Giovanni Francesco Cataldini wrote and illustrated in 1474 a ms. now at the Bodleian,⁴³ with book IV and Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *De insulis archipelagi*. Buondelmonti's work is illustrated, book IV is not. It is interesting that none of the mss. come to my notice should have pictures, in spite of the many rather colourful events

³⁸ Parma Palat. Misc. 331.

³⁹ For the Ravenna ms., see now the description in H. Harth, ed. Poggio Bracciolini, *Lettere* 1. Firenze 1984, LI-LIII.

⁴⁰ See G. Lafaye, *Une anthologie latine du XV^e siècle*, *Mél. arch. hist. École fr. de Rome* (11) 1891, 92-105; G. Lafaye - F. Novati, *Le manuscrit de Lyon* No. C, *ibid.* 353-416; Harth, *Lettere* 1. XLIX-LI.

⁴¹ Cf. Harth, *Lettere* 1. LII.

⁴² Durham, N. C., Duke University Library, Latin 21.

⁴³ See the explicit in Bodl. Canon. Misc. 280, f. 62, and A. G. Watson, *Dated and Datable Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries* 1, Oxford 1984, 52 n. 321 and plate in 2. 723.

described in the *De varietate fortunae*. The Cagli ms. is of a very modest appearance, just as the ms. now at the Bodleian, that we have mentioned few times before, containing a fragment of book I which might have influenced Hartmann Schedel (see note 16). The Poggio part of it was apparently written on Romagna and Paduan paper in the 1450s and 1460s,⁴⁴ and appears together with e. g. works by Petrarch and Prudentius.

We have already mentioned the Florentine luxury ms. that belonged to the d'Este family and is now in Göttingen (see above p. 106). Of the luxury mss. from the Adriatic coast, we may mention a volume now at the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin,⁴⁵ which contains the whole of the text in version C. Another prestige ms. is that now in Copenhagen,⁴⁶ representing a contaminated version of B and C (see above p. 102). It is surprising that a volume of such an elaborate making should have been very visibly corrected. This might point to an urgent need to get version B out of circulation.

A ms. now at Marciana was also written in the Veneto and belonged to the well-known Paduan antiquarian, the medical doctor Giovanni Marcanova.⁴⁷ We need not dwell here on the extremely important role of Marcanova and his friends Felice Feliciano and Andrea Mantegna in the new, more historicising turn that Italian humanism took soon after 1450.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Bodl. d'Orv. 513.

⁴⁵ Ham. 523. See H. Boese, *Die lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin*, Wiesbaden 1966, no. 523.

⁴⁶ Copenhagen, KB 4^o-234. See E. Jørgensen, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum medii aevi Bibliothecae Regiae Hafnensis, Hafniae* 1926, 356.

⁴⁷ For Marcanova, see e. g. *Da Pisanello alla nascita dei Musei Capitolini. L'Antico a Roma alla vigilia del Rinascimento*, Milano-Roma 1988, 30-31. He donated his mss. to the monastery of S. Giovanni in Verdara, of Padua, in 1467, see J. Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum* 1. *Codices Mss. Latini, Venetiis* 1868, 87 n. 1. For the further history of this library, see M. Luxoro, *La biblioteca di San Marco nella sua storia (Collana di monografie delle biblioteche d'Italia)*, Firenze 1954, 51.

⁴⁸ See J. Wardrop, *The Script of Humanism. Some Aspects of Humanistic Script 1460-1560*, Oxford 1963, 7-18 (for Felice, 16-18); M. Evans, *Italian Manuscript Illumination 1460-1560*, in: Th. Kren, ed. *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts. Treasures from the British Library*, New York 1983, 90-91.

Another representative of version B from the East of Italy is the ms. now in Paris, from c. 1480, mentioned in the stemma above.⁴⁹ It is written in Gothic cursive and contains *De varietate fortunae* as well as other works of Poggio.

From the region of Udine, we have the collection of antiquarian texts, translations from Lucian, book IV and the *Facetiae* which belonged to Guarnerio d'Artegna, the Friulan bibliophile.⁵⁰ The decoration is very modest. Most of the volume seems to be from the 1450s.

There was some interest in the *De varietate fortunae* also in the region of Milan: a ms. now at the Ambrosiana has the integral version together with the texts by Bruni and Barbaro, from approximately 1480.⁵¹ Another ms. from Lombardy might be the one now in Paris, with texts of Poggio, Bruni and Lucian.⁵²

So far, our results can be resumed as follows:

1. Most of the mss. are from the 15th century.
2. Most of the mss. are of Italian origin.
3. 53% of the mss. contain the integral version, 33% book IV, 8% book I and 4% books I-III only. One ms. contains books I and IV.
4. Book I, when circulating separately, is found, in half of the cases, in an archaeological context. In the other cases the texts are literary and humanistic. Book IV occurs in most cases with literary and humanistic works. This is easily explicable by the general interest of humanists in exploration.⁵³

⁴⁹ BN lat. 7854.

⁵⁰ Guarn. 121. It does not appear in the inventory of the books of Guarnerio (d. 1467) from 1461 (see E. Casamassima et al., *Mostra di codici umanistici di biblioteche friulane*, Firenze 1978, 63-78). The Poggio part is written by Niccolò de Collibus, collaborator of Guarnerio since 1452, see the unpublished new catalogue of the Guarneriana and L. Casarsa, *In margine alle opere di Lorenzo Valla manoscritte nei codici guarneriani*, in O. Besomi - M. Regoliosi, ed. *Lorenzo Valla e l'umanesimo italiano*, *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi umanistici* (Parma 18-19 ottobre 1984) (*Medioevo e umanesimo* 59), Padova 1986, 166; see also 176-177.

⁵¹ F 45 s.

⁵² Lat. 7866.

⁵³ See e. g. M. Mollat, *Grands voyages et connaissance du monde du milieu du XIII^e à la fin du XV^e*, Paris 1967, 7-8. Poggio himself wrote a letter to Henry the Navigator, King of Portugal, see Harth, *Lettere* 3. 88-90.

People with distinct archaeological interests would possibly rather copy the whole of the work; in one case, the integral version is found with texts by Biondo on Roman and Italian monuments, and Giovanni Marcanova owned a ms. with the whole of the text.⁵⁴ The few mss. with only books I to III are clearly literary and humanistic in interest.

5. In the light of the results obtained till now, there would be a remarkable number of mss. of our text produced on the Adriatic coast from the Marche to Venice and up to Udine. Southern Italy and Sicily seem to be lacking almost completely, and Rome is represented very poorly. Tuscany, especially Florence, plays a rather important role in the dissemination of *De varietate fortunae*. So far, we have not been able to distinguish a clear pattern for the distribution of the different versions of the text according to geographical criteria. Further research will probably bring more precision to the picture summarized here.

To conclude, a few words on the subsequent history of our text. There is only one incunabulum, printed in Milan c. 1492, containing book IV in version A (separate circulation) (see note 14). A fragment textually similar to the one copied by Hartmann Schedel (see pp. 103-104) was printed in Strasburg in 1510 and subsequently reproduced several times in the 16th century (see note 16). The only printed edition with the whole of the text appeared in 1723 (see note 27). The great success of our text in the 15th century is thus contrasted with an almost complete disappearance from circulation in the age of printing. Book I was to certain extent available in the widely spread Basle edition of 1538, but for book IV the Spanish and Portuguese translations had to be relied upon.⁵⁵ The often extremely valuable first hand information on recent history which is contained in books II and III only became available in print in 1723.

⁵⁴ E. g. Bernkastel-Kues Hosp. 157.

⁵⁵ See my article quoted in note 14, p. 99.

Epigraphische Beiträge

OLLI SALOMIES

1. Ein Präfekt der Ala I Cannanefatium und Prokurator der Hispania citerior¹

Sermoneta (zwischen Cori = Cora und Sezze = Setia), Chiesa di S. Angelo. Fünf zusammenhängende Fragmente einer Tafel aus weißem Marmor (cm 97 x 79 x 8, 3-13, 0), die die rechte obere Ecke der Tafel bilden. Dazu kommt ein weiteres Fragment mit einem Teil des oberen Randes der Tafel (cm 43 x 54 x 7, 5-13, 0, mit -]ano / [-]au [-) im Museo del Comune in Sermoneta, durch das der Text der Zeilen 1 und 2 ergänzt werden kann. Das eingetiefte Inschriftfeld hat einen profilierten Rahmen. Die Rückseite ist geglättet. Buchstabenhöhe: Z. 1: 12, 5; Z. 2: 10, 0; Z. 3: 6, 5; Z. 4: 6, 0; Z. 5: 6, 5; Z. 6: 10, 5. Auf die 6. Zeile scheint noch eine 7. Zeile gefolgt zu sein, da unter dem letzten Buchstaben der 6. Zeile ein Teil eines Buchstabens, wohl eines *o* (oder der obere Teil eines grossen *s*) zu sehen ist.

Jano
proc. Imp. -- Jani Aug(usti)
Hi]span(iae) citerior(is)
praef. ala]e I Cannan(efatium)

5 *Jris et*
Jae
Jo

¹ Herrn Prof. Dr. Heikki Solin bin ich für das Überlassen der Photos und weiterer Materialien zur folgenden Inschrift und für die Erlaubnis, sie zu publizieren, sehr verbunden. Für einige Hinweise, die mir Prof. Solin übermittelte, möchte ich mich ferner bei den Herren Prof. Dr. G. Alföldy und Dr. K. Strobel (Heidelberg) bedanken.

Es ist wohl am besten zu anzunehmen, es handele sich um eine Grabinschrift (die Breite der Tafel war sicher viel größer als die Höhe, was auch darauf hinweisen könnte, vgl. W. Eck, in: Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects, hg. v. F. Millar u. E. Segal, Oxford 1984, 155f. Anm. 30), die in ein Grabmal eingebaut war. Was die Herkunft der Inschrift betrifft, so darf man daraus, daß sich Teile derselben Inschrift an verschiedenen Aufbewahrungsorten in Sermoneta befinden, folgern, daß die Inschrift aus der Nähe von Sermoneta, d.h. offensichtlich aus Ulubrae, stammt. Vielleicht stammte sogar der in der Inschrift genannte Mann aus Ulubrae; Ritter und Senatoren aus Ulubrae sind nicht sicher bezeugt,² aber als Möglichkeit keineswegs auszuschliessen. Wie mir Professor Solin mündlich mitteilt, scheinen die neueren Inschriftenfunde aus Ulubrae darauf hinzuweisen, daß diese Stadt, die aus Cicero und Horaz als ein besonders unscheinbares Städtchen bekannt ist (vgl. Mommsen, CIL X p. 642; G. Radke, RE IXA 581), in Wirklichkeit gar nicht so unbedeutend war.

Was die Interpretation der Inschrift betrifft, so ergibt sich aus dem erhaltenen Text sogleich, daß es um einen Ritter geht, der gegen Ende des 1. Jh. oder in der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jh. lebte (über die Datierung s. auch unten), denn der Kaiser mit dem Namen *-anus*, der in der 2. Zeile genannt wird, kann nur Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Trajan oder Hadrian gewesen sein.³ Vom Namen dieses Ritters ist nur das Ende des Cognomens erhalten;

² R. Syme, Roman Papers II (1979) 589f. (vgl. A. Licordari, Tituli 5 [1982] 50f.), meint, einige senatorische Aquillii der spätrepublikanischen und der frühen Kaiserzeit könnten aus Ulubrae stammen; aber dies bleibt m.E. sehr unsicher (vgl. auch E. Badian, Historia 12 [1963] 132).

³ Spätere Kaiser mit einem Namen auf *-anus* (Gordian und spätere – von Didius Iulianus gar nicht zu sprechen) kommen aus mehreren Gründen ganz sicher nicht in Betracht, auch deshalb, weil man nur bis in die Zeit Hadrians in Kursusinschriften von Rittern den Kaiser in Formulierungen von Ämtern öfter namentlich nannte (also etwa *proc. Imp. Caes. Traiani Hadriani Aug.* anstelle von *proc. Aug.*); vgl. die Inschriften bei H. -G. Pflaum, Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres (I-III, 1960-1; im folgenden Carrières) Nr. 1. 5. 11. 14. 25. 32. 50. 63. 73. 75 (+ Suppl.). 79. 101. 103. 115; Carrières Suppl. 45B. 88A. 116A; aus der Zeit des Pius: D. 1381 (Carrières Nr. 153); aus der Zeit der Kaiser Mark Aurel und Verus: AE 1983, 325 (vgl. H. Devijver, ZPE 59 [1985] 220 Nr. 166bis). Später (bis in die severische Zeit) findet man Angaben dieser Art nur bei praefecti praetorio und bei sonstigen hochgestellten und in der Nähe des Kaisers wirkenden Rittern (s. die Inschriften bei Pflaum, Carrières Nr. 162. 234. 235. 293 [+ Suppl.]).

leider ist weder ein Präfekt der Ala I Cannanefatium noch ein ritterlicher Beamter in Hispania citerior mit einem Namen auf *-anus* bekannt, der mit unserem Ritter identifiziert werden könnte. Somit entfällt auch jede Möglichkeit, die ursprüngliche Länge der Zeilen zu bestimmen. Sicher ist nur, daß die Tafel in ihrem ursprünglichen Zustand mehrere Meter breit gewesen sein muß (was auf ein ansehnliches Denkmal hinweist), da in der 1. Zeile außer dem Anfang des Cognomens auf *-anus* mindestens auch der Vorname und der Gentilname des Ritters ergänzt werden müssen, wahrscheinlich auch die Filiation und die Tribus. Außerdem kann unser Ritter mehr als nur ein Cognomen gehabt haben.

Bei der Interpretation der Inschrift ist es am besten, von der 4. Zeile auszugehen, da hier die Ergänzungen sicher sind: *praef. bzw. praef. eq. ala]e I Cannan(efatium)* (natürlich kann man auch annehmen, daß *praefecto* und *equitum* ausgeschrieben wurden). Unser Ritter ist m.W. erst der vierte bekannte Präfekt dieser Ala.⁴ Diese Einheit, die zum ersten Mal von Tacitus zum J. 28 genannt wird (Tac. ann. 4, 73, 2 *alam Canninefatem*⁵), gehörte damals wohl zum untergermanischen Heer.⁶ Spätestens seit 74 n.Chr. (CIL XVI 20) stand diese Ala in Ladenburg in Germania Superior, wo sie auch in den Jahren 82 und 90 bezeugt ist (CIL XVI 28. 36); nach Obergermanien, wo sie zumindest in der späteren Zeit in Ladenburg garnisoniert war, wurde sie

⁴ Die anderen drei Präfekten dieser Ala sind P. Gavius P.f. Palat. Balbus, AE 1924, 82 = I. Ephesos 3048 (Carrières 145; H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrum* [1976-78; im folgenden PME] G 7), ἑπαρχος εἰλης α' Καννενεφατίων (hadrianische oder etwas spätere Zeit); L. Crepereius L.f. Sergia Paulus, AE 1915, 46 (Attaleia, Pamphylien; Carrières 146; PME C 255), ἑπαρχος εἰλης α' Κανναφατίων (wohl etwa in der Zeit des Pius, vgl. die Bemerkungen von Pflaum); M. Helvius M.f. Clemens *Arnensis domo Carthagine*, CIL XI 2699 = D. 5013 (PME H 7), *praef. eq. alae primae Cannanefatum* (wegen *leg. XIII Gem. Sev.* wohl in der Zeit des Severus Alexander).

⁵ Über die Cannanefaten (o.ä.) s. zuletzt W. Will, BJ 187 (1987) 20-24. Vgl. auch etwa J. H. F. Bloemers, Rijswijk (Z.H.), 'De Bult'. Eine Siedlung der Cananefaten (Nederlandse Oudenheten 8, 1978).

⁶ So C. Cichorius, RE I 1236; E. Stein, *Die kaiserlichen Beamten und Truppenkörper im römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat* (1932) 125f.; G. Alföldy, *Die Hilfstruppen der röm. Provinz Germania Inferior* (ES 6, 1968) 14.

vielleicht nach dem Bataveraufstand versetzt.⁷ Irgendwann zwischen 90 und 116 (CIL XVI 64) wurde die Ala in die Pannonia superior versetzt, entweder – nach bisher verbreiteter Meinung – i.J. 92⁸ oder vielmehr um 96/7 oder 100 n. Chr.,⁹ wo sie durch Militärdiplome in den Jahren 116, 133, 138, 146, 148, 149, 154 und 163 bezeugt ist (CIL XVI 64. 76f. 84. 178. 96f. 104. RMD 61).¹⁰ Seit 146 (CIL XVI 178) ist für die Ala die Bezeichnung *c.R.* bezeugt. Schon i.J. 1951 vermutete K. Kraft,¹¹ daß die Ala noch im 3. Jh. in Pannonia superior stand; dies ist jetzt durch Inschriftenfunde bestätigt worden.¹² Das Standquartier war Gerulata in der heutigen Slowakei, wo auch die in Anm. 12 genannten Inschriften gefunden worden sind.¹³

⁷ So Alföldy, a.a.O. (Anm. 6) 14; K. Dietz, 65. BRGK (1984) 239. – Zum Datum von CIL XVI 28 vgl. S. Dušanić, in: W. Eck u. H. Wolff (Hrsg.), Heer und Integrationspolitik (Passauer hist. Forschungen 2, 1986) 205 (mit Literaturhinweisen). – Ladenburg: H. Schönberger, BRGK 66 (1985) 453 (C 44); K. Strobel, ZPE 70 (1987) 262 Anm. 21.

⁸ So E. Ritterling, RE XII 1736; W. Wagner, Die Dislokation d. röm. Auxiliarformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus (Neue Dt. Forsch., Abt. Alte Geschichte V, 1938) 24; A. Mócsy, RE Suppl. IX 618; K. Strobel, Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans (Antiquitas 1, 33, 1984) 109; K. Dietz, a.a.O. (Anm. 7) 240.

⁹ K. Strobel, ZPE 70 (1987) 262f.; ders., demnächst Tyche 3/Germania 66. Für eine etwas spätere Datierung sprachen sich schon C. Cichorius, RE I 1236 und E. Stein, a.a.O. (Anm. 6) 126, aus.

¹⁰ Der Name dieser Ala muß sicher auch in dem Militärdiplom RMD 86 vom J. 113 ergänzt werden, s. K. Dietz, a.a.O. (Anm. 7) 239-241; K. Strobel, ZPE 70 [1987] 262.

¹¹ Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau (Diss. Bernenses I, 3, 1951) 144.

¹² AE 1972, 444 = R. Hošek, Tituli Latini Pannoniae superioris annis 1967-1982 in Slovacia reperti (1984) Nr. 4 (212 n.Chr.); AE 1972, 443 = Hošek Nr. 7 (223); AE 1973, 438 = Hošek Nr. 8 (Gordian).

¹³ Weitere Inschriften aus Gerulata, in denen die Ala genannt wird: CIL III 4391 = J. Krier, Die Treverer außerhalb ihrer Civitas (Trierer Zeitschr., Beih. 5, 1981) 136-8 Nr. 51; AE 1972, 442 = Hošek Nr. 2; AE 1972, 446 = Hošek Nr. 13 (vgl. M. Speidel, Saalburg Jahrbuch 43 [1987] 61-3). Ziegelstempel mit dem Namen der Ala wurden bisher nicht gefunden (B. Lörincz, Pannonische

Es ergibt sich nun die Frage, ob unser Präfekt die Ala I Cannanefatium während ihrer obergermanischen oder ihrer oberpannonischen Zeit kommandierte. M.E. ist die spätere Zeit (in Pannonien) wahrscheinlicher, da von den zwei „offiziellen“ Formen des Namens der Cannanefaten, *Cannenefates* und *Cannanefates*¹⁴, die letztere, die auch in unserer Inschrift erscheint, die spätere gewesen zu sein scheint. Der Name der Ala I Cannanefatium erscheint in den Militärdiplomen folgendermaßen:¹⁵

CIL XVI 20 (74 n. Chr.) I <i>Cannenefatium</i>	(Germ. Sup.)
CIL XVI 28 (82) I <i>Cannenefatium</i>	"
CIL XVI 36 (90) I <i>Cannenefatium</i>	"
CIL XVI 64 (116) I <i>Cannenef[atium]</i>	(Pann. Sup.)
CIL XVI 178 (146) I <i>Cannanef. c.R.</i>	"
CIL XVI 97 (149) I <i>Cannanefat. c.R.</i>	"
CIL XVI 104 (154) I <i>Cannan. c.R.</i> bzw. <i>Cannanef. c.R.</i>	"

In den früheren Diplomen bis 116 ist die Schreibung also *Cannen-*, in den späteren seit 146 dagegen regelmäßig *Cannan-* (also muß in CIL XVI 96 aus dem J. 148 *Cann<an>ef.*, nicht *Cann<en>ef.* geschrieben werden). In weniger offiziellen Texten ist diese Tendenz nicht so deutlich, doch findet man in Texten des 3. Jh. nur die Schreibung *Cannan-* (CIL XI 2699 = D. 5013; AE 1972, 443. 444 = Hošek [s. Anm. 12] Nr. 7. 4; vgl. [*c(ivitas)*] *Cananefatu(m)* AE 1965, 118, Meilenstein aus Niedergermanien, 250 n.Chr.), während Plinius d.Ä. (4, 101) und die Inschrift aus Mainz CIL XIII

Stempelziegel I [Diss. Arch. Inst. Arch. Univ. R. Eötvös II: 5, 1977] 32). Das Standquartier in Oberpannonien war wohl immer Gerulata, obwohl die Ala in den Militärdiplomen abwechselnd an 2., 3. und 4. Stelle genannt wird; s. Hošek, a.a.O. 121f.; Zs. Visy, in: Heer und Integrationspolitik (s. o. Anm. 7) 497-506. S. im allgemeinen über die Ala Hošek, a.a.O. 116-130; über Gerulata ebd. 103-115.

¹⁴ Andere Formen, z. B. *Canafates* (CIL V 5006 = [besser] Inscr. It. X, 5, 1101), *Caninafates*, *Caninefates*, *Cannefates*, *Canonefas* (CIL VI 3203) usw. bei Hošek, a.a.O. 116; B. H. Holte, in: Reallexikon d. germanischen Altertumskunde IV (1981) 330.

¹⁵ Die Zusammenstellung bei Hošek, a.a.O. 120, ist ungenau. – In den Diplomen CIL XVI 76, 77, 84, RMD 61 ist der Name entweder nicht ganz erhalten oder stark abgekürzt (*Cann.* CIL XVI 76. 84).

7227, die wohl aus der obergermanischen Zeit der Ala stammt, die Form auch *Cannen-* haben.¹⁶ Daneben findet man jedoch auch die Form auf *Cannan-* im 1. Jh. (CIL XIII 11740 aus Ladenburg), die Form auf *Cannen-* im 2. Jh. (I. Ephesos 3048, s.o. Anm. 4). Dessen ungeachtet dürfte die Tendenz ziemlich klar sein: in früheren Texten ist die Form *Cannen-* vorherrschend, in späteren die Form *Cannan-*, und somit würde ich vorschlagen, in der Inschrift eher den Namen des Trajan oder des Hadrian als den Namen des Vespasian bzw. Titus zu ergänzen.¹⁷ Somit hätte unser Ritter die Ala in Oberpannonien kommandiert.

Irgendwann nach der Präfektur der Ala amtierte dieser Ritter, der nun die tres militiae equestres (oder zumindest den höchsten Grad der militiae) absolviert hatte und die prokuratorische Laufbahn einschlagen konnte, in Hispania citerior (Z. 3). Dabei darf nur an die Prokurator der Provinz Hispania citerior gedacht werden, nicht aber auch an die Prokurator der Asturia und Callaecia,¹⁸ denn bei der Annahme, es handele sich hier um die letztere Prokurator, müßte man nach *Hispan(iae) citerior(is)* in der 4. Z. (vor *praef.*) noch eine nähere Bestimmung wie *Asturiae et Callaeciarum* (D. 1379) oder *per Asturicam et Callaeciam* (D. 1342) ergänzen, was ganz sicher nicht möglich ist, da man von der Präfektur einer Ala nicht gleich zum Prokurator von Asturia et Callaecia aufstieg;¹⁹ am Anfang der 4. Zeile muß vielmehr

¹⁶ Die sonstigen Schriftsteller des 1. Jh. verwenden eine Form auf *Can(n)in-*, Vell. 2, 105; Tac. ann. 4, 73, 2; hist. 4, 15, 1.2. 19, 1.

¹⁷ Domitian kommt aus bekannten Gründen weniger in Betracht.

¹⁸ Somit ist es in diesem Zusammenhang nicht nötig, auf die Frage nach der Gründungszeit der Sonderprokurator von Asturia und Callaecia und nach den Prokuratoren in Hispania citerior in severischer und späterer Zeit einzugehen. Nach H.-G. Pflaum, *Les procurateurs équestres* (1950) 46f. (ebenso ders., *Carrières Suppl.* [1982] 117) und A. Tranøy, *La Galice Romaine* (1981) 181 gab es einen Prokurator von Asturia und Callaecia spätestens seit Vespasian; s. aber G. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* (1969) 246 Anm. 16. Über die Situation im 3. Jh. s. jetzt G. Alföldy, *Germania* 61 [1983] 525f.

¹⁹ Wie aus den *Tableaux d'avancement* bei Pflaum, *Carrières* hervorgeht, sind nur zwei Ritter bezeugt, die nach der Präfektur einer Ala eine duzenare Prokurator übernahmen, Sex. Lucilius Bassus, *Carrières* Nr. 39 und L. Vinuleius Pataecius, *Carrières* Nr. 44 (I. Ilion 105; AE 1979, 565). Der Fall des Lucilius Bassus ist sicher, der Fall des Vinuleius Pataecius wahrscheinlich auf die außerordentlichen Umstände des J. 69 zurückzuführen. Durch ungewöhnliche

ein prokuratorisches Amt (oder Ämter?) minderen Ranges gestanden haben, was also bedeutet, daß der Name des in der 3. Zeile verzeichneten Amtes auf *citerior*. endete. Prokuratoren der Provinz Hispania Citerior sind in unserer Überlieferung nicht besonders oft zu treffen.²⁰

Zwischen der Präfektur der Ala und der Prokuratur muß also am Anfang der 4. Zeile noch etwas ergänzt werden. Leider kann man nicht einmal sagen, ob ein oder mehrere Ämter ergänzt werden müssen. Hatte unser Ritter einen kurzen Namen wie z.B. „T. Seius Canus“, käme sicher nur ein einziges Amt in Frage; hatte er einen längeren Namen wie z.B. „Sex. Herennuleius Caetennianus“ – und möglicherweise mehr als nur ein Cognomen –, könnte man mehr ergänzen. Aber dies ist natürlich unnötige Spekulation, solange uns der Name des Ritters unbekannt bleibt, und somit begnüge ich mich mit der Feststellung, daß der einzige andere bekannte Alenpräfekt – von Q. Octavius Sagitta der frühesten Kaiserzeit (Carrières Nr. 1) abgesehen –, der es bis zur Prokuratur von Hispania citerior brachte, T. Furius Victorinus (Carrières Nr. 139 [Zeit des Pius und des Mark Aurel]), zwischen der Präfektur und der Prokuratur nur eine (zentenare) Prokuratur der Provinz Galatia bekleidete.²¹ Sollte in unserer Inschrift nur ein Amt ergänzt werden, käme nur eine zentenare Prokuratur in Betracht; sollten zwei oder mehrere Ämter ergänzt werden, wären verschiedene Kombinationen möglich.²²

Umstände sind sicher auch die Fälle zu erklären, in denen man von einem Militärtribunat zu einer duzenaren Prokuratur aufstieg (Carrières Nr. 25 [mit Add. AE 1966, 472 vgl. Carrières suppl. 11]. 37. 42. 60). S. auch Pflaum, *Procurateurs* (Anm. 18) 219f.

²⁰ S. Pflaum, Carrières III 1048. Seit 1961 sind keine weiteren Prokuratoren bekannt geworden, wenn man nicht annehmen will, daß einige der von Pflaum (Carrières Suppl. S. 117) als Prokuratoren von Asturia und Callaecia angesehenen Rittern tatsächlich Prokuratoren von Hispania citerior waren.

²¹ Die Prokuratoren Carrières Nr. 324 (Name unbekannt, Mitte des 3. Jh.) und Au]rel. Ianuarius (Carrières Nr. 342, vgl. I. Tarraco 154, ebenfalls 3. Jh.), von denen nur die prokuratorische Laufbahn bekannt ist, waren dagegen Prokuratoren von Hispania citerior erst nach mindestens zwei bis drei anderen Prokuraturen.

²² Am ehesten vielleicht eine sexagenare und eine zentenare Prokuratur oder zwei sexagenare und eine zentenare (vgl. etwa Carrières 119. 126 [+ Suppl.]) oder eine sexagenare und zwei zentenare (vgl. etwa Carrières 104. 144). In Frage käme aber auch z.B. eine Karriere ohne sexagenare aber mit zwei oder mehreren zentenaren Prokuraturen (vgl. etwa Carrières Nr. 56). Nur eine

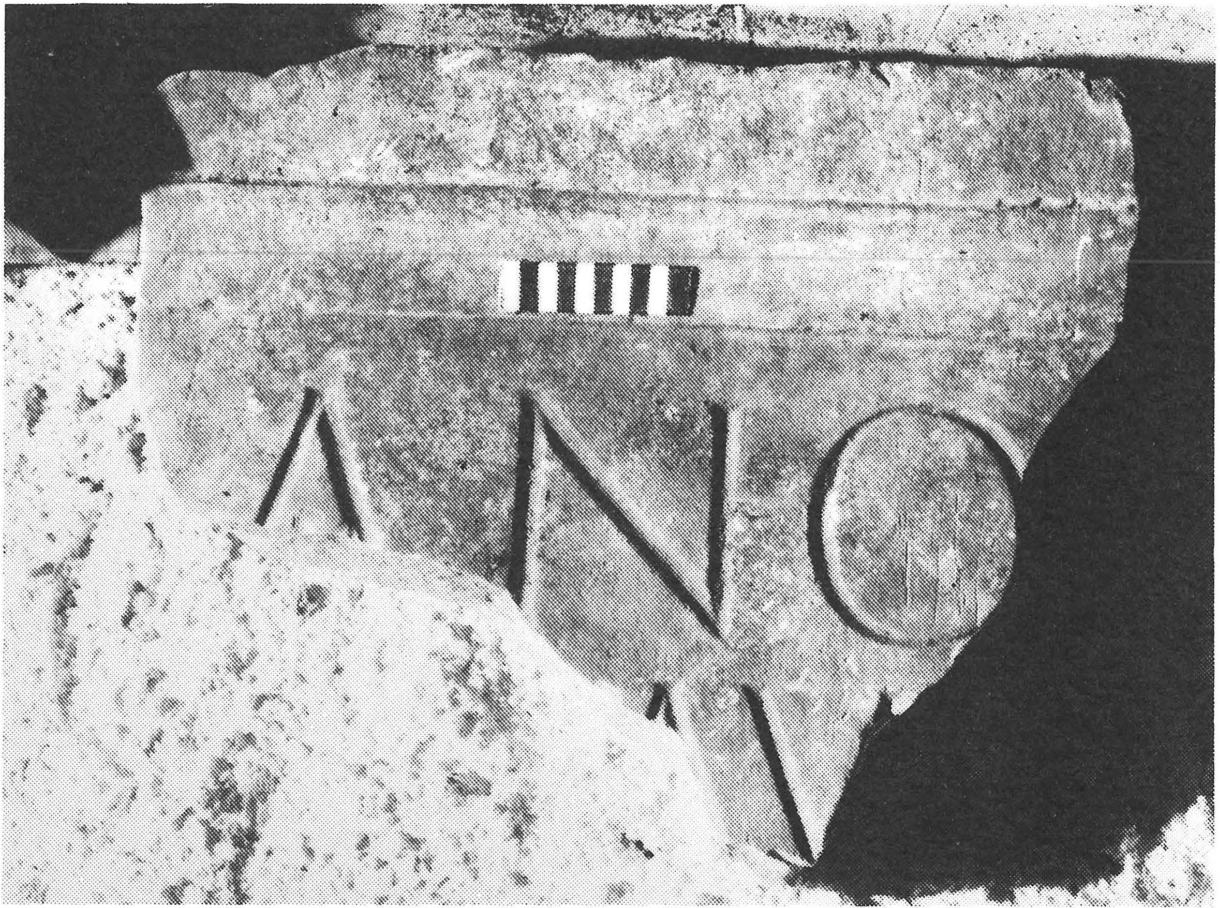
Was die 3. Zeile betrifft, so kommen zweierlei Ergänzungen in Frage. Endete die Angabe des Kaisers in Z. 2 mit *Aug.* (also etwa *proc. Imp. Caes. Traiani Hadriani Aug.*, wie z.B. in D. 1408. 9506), dann müßte man in der 3. Zeile wohl noch ein weiteres, höheres Amt ergänzen, etwa eine duzenare Prokuratur der 2. Klasse²³ wie die der Provinz Asia. Aber es ist auch möglich, daß die Titulatur des Kaisers nicht mit *Aug.* endete: sollte es sich um Trajan handeln, müßte man die Titulatur in der 3. Zeile wahrscheinlich fortsetzen, wobei zu berücksichtigen wäre, daß für Trajan in Kursusinschriften von Rittern bis zu drei Siegerbeinamen überliefert sind (*proc. Imp. Nervae Traian(i) Caes. Aug. Germ. Dacici Optimi* D. 1380).

Schliesslich ist noch kurz auf die letzten zwei (drei?) Zeilen einzugehen. Zunächst würde man natürlich annehmen, daß in der 5. Zeile die früheren *Militiae* unseres Ritters genannt wurden. Die Reste der 5. Zeile (*]ris et/*) scheinen mir jedoch eher gegen diese Annahme zu sprechen, und somit ist es vielleicht besser anzunehmen, daß in unserer Inschrift nur die Präfektur der Ala genannt wurde (vgl. *Carrières* Nr. 53, 54, 56, 82). Somit müßte in der 5. (und 6.) Zeile etwas ganz anderes folgen; eher als an z.B. *donato ab imp. --- hastis pu]ris et [vexillo* ²⁴ ist vielleicht an municipale Ämter *Ulub]ris et* (in einer anderen Stadt) zu denken. Man könnte aber auch annehmen, daß das Denkmal *testamento --- frat]ris* (oder *pat]ris* usw.) *et* [--- errichtet wurde. – Über die möglichen Ergänzungen in der 6. Zeile kann man noch weniger Vermutungen äußern. Nur scheint es mir wegen der Höhe der Buchstaben klar, daß etwas Wichtiges genannt wurde, etwa die Frau des Ritters im Dativ oder im Genetiv (der dann von einem solchen Wort wie *testamento* oder *arbitratu* usw. abhängig sein könnte). Dies ist jedoch pure Spekulation, ebenso wie das Nachdenken über den Inhalt der 7. Zeile.

Kombination von bloß sexagenaren und einer duzenaren Prokuratur ist – wie es scheint – nicht möglich.

²³ Vgl. Pflaum, *Les Procurateurs équestres* (1950) 222; ders., *Abrégé des procurateurs équestres* (1974) 62f.

²⁴ P. Besius *Betuinianus* (D. 1352; *Carrières* Nr. 73) wurde vielleicht als Präfekt einer Ala von Trajan mit *corona murali vallari hastis pur(is) vexillo argent(eo)* dekoriert, s. V. A. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (1981) 173-5.



Inscription aus Sermoneta (S. 113—120)

2. Die Herkunft der senatorischen Rustii Caepiones

Ein T. Rustius Caepio war i.J. 173 n.Chr., wie es scheint (vgl. G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* [1977] 188), Konsul suffectus (CIL VI 2222 = D. 6074; PIR R 163; RE IA 1244 Nr. 4). Dieser Mann war ziemlich sicher der Nachkomme eines Rustius (*Rusc-* die Hss) Caepio, der unter Domitian bezeugt ist (Suet. Dom. 9, 4; PIR R 161/2; RE a.a.O. Nr. 3) und der wohl ein Senator war, obwohl dies nicht ausdrücklich überliefert ist.²⁵ Wegen des eher seltenen Pränomens ist es ferner sehr wahrscheinlich, daß T. Rustius (Nummius) Gallus cos. suff. 34 n.Chr.²⁶ zur selben Familie gehörte. Neben diesen Rustii gibt es senatorische Rustii ohne Cognomen, die in der späten Republik und zu Anfang der Kaiserzeit lebten (RE IA 1243f. Nr. 1-2) und aus Antium stammten, vgl. jetzt A. Licordari, *Tituli* 5, 1982, 18 (mit Ungenauigkeiten). Licordari meint, daß die späteren Rustii (Caepiones) mit den früheren «in qualche modo connessi» gewesen sein könnten und erwähnt auch diese Rustii unter Antium. Daß auch die späteren Rustii aus Antium stammten, ist an sich natürlich nicht unmöglich; Italiker waren sie jedenfalls sicher, wie man in der Forschung auch annimmt,²⁷ da der Gentilname *Rustius* außerhalb Italiens kaum verbreitet war.²⁸ Aber neben Latium gibt es noch weitere

²⁵ Für einen Senator halten diesen Mann H. Dessau, PIR R 161/2 und B. Stech, *Senatores Romani qui fuerint inde a Vespasiano usque ad Traiani exitum* (Klio Beih. 10, 1912) 49 Nr. 362. Anders B. W. Jones, *Domitian and the Senatorial Order* (Mem. Amer. Philos. Soc. 132, 1979) 143 Nr. 643, und vielleicht A. Garzetti, *Nerva* (1950), der in seinen Listen von Senatoren unter Nerva diesen Mann nicht verzeichnet.

²⁶ PIR R 164; RE a.a.O. Nr. 5. Das Jahr des Konsulats geht jetzt aus den *Fasti Ostienses* hervor (L. Vidman, *Fasti Ost.* [²1982] 42), in denen dieser Konsul *T. Rustius Gallus* genannt wird, so daß diese drei Namen seinen „Hauptnamen“ bildeten. Weitere Zeugnisse für den Konsulat: CIL VI 244 = D. 7358; AE 1985, 564a.

²⁷ G. Alföldy, a.a.O. 311.

²⁸ Spanien: CIL II 2567 (?). Britannien und die germanischen und die Donauprovinzen: A. Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum* usw. (1983) 247 (BG 1 = CIL XIII 3693 [?]; DL 0, 1 = CIL III 10094 = D. 2679

mögliche Heimatorte für die späteren senatorischen Rustii, und diese kommen m.E. eher in Frage als Antium. Studiert man die Verbreitung des Namens Rustius in Italien,²⁹ so merkt man, daß der Name überall anzutreffen ist, obwohl er nicht gerade zu den am meisten verbreiteten gehört.³⁰ Etwas häufiger ist der Name – neben der Hauptstadt – nur in Interamna Nahars, Beneventum und Brixia.

Bei der Bestimmung der Heimat der späteren senatorischen Rustii hilft nun sehr, daß sie ein eher seltenes Pränomen haben. Untersucht man die Verbreitung der T. Rustii, so findet man, daß sie in Oberitalien und im Gebiet des CIL XIV und des CIL X ganz fehlen.³¹ Dagegen findet man einen T. Rustius Lysiponus in Caere (CIL XI 3614, 114 n.Chr.), zwei Beispiele für T. Rustii in Beneventum (CIL IX 1945 Rustia T.Cn.[l. --, 1978 T. Rustius) und schließlich fünf Inschriften, in denen T. Rustii genannt werden, in Interamna Nahars (CIL XI 4218. 4299. 4300.³² 4301. 7823). In Beneventum und in Interamna Nahars gibt es auch sonst, wie wir gesehen haben, mehrere Rustii, und so scheint mir, daß man bei der Bestimmung der Heimat der senatorischen T. Rustii nur zwischen Beneventum und Interamna Nahars wählen muß. Ich halte es für sehr wahrscheinlich, daß diese Senatoren aus Interamna stammten. Denn nicht nur gibt es mehr T. Rustii in Interamna als in Beneventum (einer Stadt mit einer großen Zahl von Inschriften), sondern in Interamna ist auch ein L. Rustius L.f. L. (oder T.?) n. Caepio, pontifex und IIIvir bezeugt, CIL XI 4172 (= D. 3052). 4217.³³

Sollten die oben behandelten Rustii tatsächlich aus Interamna stammen, dann würde sich die Anzahl der senatorischen Familien aus

[mit dem Cognomen Picens]; PA 1 = CIL III 3929; NO 2 = CIL III 5417 [E. Weber, Die römerzeitl. Inschr. d. Steiermark (1969) 295]. 5690; DC 1 = CIL III 1216; BR 1, 1 = RIB 503 [aus Brixia]. 654; MS 1 = CIL III 14576. Besonders auffallend ist, daß der Name *Rustius* in den nordafrikanischen Provinzen fast ganz fehlt (kein Beispiel bei J.-M. Lassère, *Ubique populus. Peuplement et mouvements de population dans l'Afrique*, 1977); nur aus IRT 732 (Lepcis) notiere ich mir einen C. Rustius Pudens.

²⁹ Für die folgenden Angaben wurden auch entlegene Publikationen herangezogen, etwa der *Bullettino Comunale* und die *Notizie degli scavi*.

³⁰ Rom: etwa 40 Beispiele in CIL VI, dazu CIL XV 422. 1418f. (und H. Bloch, *The Roman Brick Stamps not published in Vol. XV, 1 of the CIL [1947/8] Nr. 541*). 2489. – Umgebung von Rom: CIL XIV 2375. 2532. 2739. 3904 (=Inscr. It. IV, 1, 436). 3667-8 (= I² 1494 = Inscr. It. IV, 1, 21). 5101 (?). NSA 1939,

Interamna verdoppeln. L. Sensi verzeichnet zwar unter den Senatoren aus Interamna (Tituli 5, 1982, 259f., nicht ohne Fehler, u.a. mit seltsamen Bemerkungen über patrizische Fabii Maximi) neben den Arruntii (CIL XI 4179), bei denen die Annahme, daß sie aus Interamna stammten, berechtigt ist, auch den A. Pompeius A.f. Clu. q., *patronus* in CIL I² 2510 (mit Add.) = XI 4213, der aber ganz sicher nicht hierher gehört. Stattdessen war er ein Mitglied der bekannten senatorischen Familie der Pompeii, die seit dem 2. Jh. v.Chr. zur Nobilität gehörte und für deren Mitglieder auch sonst die Tribus Clustumina bezeugt ist.³⁴ Daß auch Interamna zur Tribus Clustumina gehörte, ist ein Zufall.

62 (Ostia). IPO B 53. NSA 1953, 312 (Lanuvium). – Gebiet des CIL X: CIL X 1954. 6680. 6703. 8053, 175. 8056, 311, dazu CIL I² 2686 (Minturnae) und Beispiele in Pompeji (P. Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus* [1975] 214), ferner AE 1977, 334 (Thermae Himeraeae) und vielleicht CIL VI 518 = I² 992. – Gebiet des CIL IX: CIL IX 1583. 1710. 1945. 1946. 1947. 1978. 2029. 4901 (alle aus Beneventum). 6083, 34, dazu PIR² M 246 (Cn. Marcius Rustius Rufinus aus Beneventum); Samnium 5 (1932) 138 vgl. M. Güterbock, *Sozialhist. u. onomast. Unters. zu den antiken Inschr. Benevents* (Diss. Berlin 1982) 35; AE 1968, 138 (Beneventum); 1969/70, 160b (Luceria). – Gebiet des CIL XI: CIL XI 1629. 2170. 3014add. (p. 1313). 3254. 3614. 6126. 6721, 32a.b. 7558; Interamna Nahars: 4172. 4216-18. 4299. 4300-01. 7823. – Oberitalien: CIL V 4109. 4409 (= *Inscr. It. X*, 5, 203). 4467 (ebd. 256). 5140. 5170. *Inscr. It. X*, 5, 12. RIB 503 (aus Brixia).

³¹ Die zwei T. Rustii in CIL VI, T. Rustius Euemer 36272 und T. Rustius (mulieris) l. Alypus 36273, stehen wohl mit den Senatoren in Zusammenhang.

³² Diese Inschrift steht irrtümlich auch in CIL IX (Nr. 6356).

³³ Bormann vermutet in CIL XI (zu Nr. 4217) in der Tat, daß dieser Munizipalbeamte von Interamna ein Vorfahr des Konsuls von 173 war. Aber da seine Bemerkung in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur – soweit mir ersichtlich – unberücksichtigt geblieben ist, schien es angebracht, auf die Frage nach der Herkunft der senatorischen Rustii noch einmal einzugehen.

³⁴ S. L. R. Taylor, *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic* (1960) 244-6; G. V. Sumner, *AJAH* 2 [1977] 15. 22; T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic III* (Supplement, 1986) 160.

3. CIL X 5076: Cn. Sentius Saturninus cos. ord. 41 n.Chr.?

Ein längst verlorenes und sicher nicht ganz einwandfrei überliefertes Fragment aus Atina, CIL X 5076 ("Atinae in arcu ecclesiae collegiatae S. Mariae ubi fuit turris campanaria antiqua"; "Sacchettius [vgl. CIL X p. 499f.] misit Mazochio [18. Jh.]") lautet folgendermaßen:

CN·SATVR
CN·F·VIR
A E D

Nach Mommsen (CIL X, Index S. 1054) wird hier ein 'Cn. Satur... Cn.f.' genannt, wobei er *Satur...* für einen Gentilnamen hält. Es soll an dieser Stelle der Vorschlag gemacht werden, die Inschrift vielmehr auf Cn. Sentius Saturninus cos. 41 (RE IIA 1531-7 Nr. 12) zu beziehen und in Satur[-] den Anfang des Cognomens *Saturninus* zu erkennen. Die Sentii Saturnini stammten aus Atina (Cic. Planc. 19; vgl. R. Syme, Roman Papers II 606f.; A. Licordari, Tituli 5, 1982, 24), wo Zeugnisse für sie aber bisher fehlten, und Cn. Sentius cos. 41 war der Sohn eines Gnaeus (Dio, ind. 59), d.h. des Konsuls von 4 n.Chr. Cn. Sentius C.f. Saturninus (RE Nr. 11).

Daß der überlieferte Name *Satur[-]* vielmehr zu *Satur[ninus]* als zu einem Gentilnamen, der mit *Satur-* beginnt, ergänzt werden muß – zum Problem der Auslassung des Gentilnamens s.u. –, beruht auf der folgenden Feststellung: An Gentilnamen, die mit *Satur-* beginnen, sind insgesamt acht überliefert, *Satureius Satureius Saturnacus Saturninius Saturninus Saturnius Saturnus(?) Satorus* (vgl. W. Schulze, Zur Geschichte lat. Eigennamen [1904] 225; H. Solin - O. Salomies, Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum [1988] 163). Untersucht man die Belege für diese Namen, in denen neben dem Gentilnamen auch ein dazugehöriges Pränomen erscheint,³⁵ so findet man, daß das Pränomen *Gnaeus* niemals in Verbindung

³⁵ Zu den Belegen in den Indices der verschiedenen Bände des CIL, in der RE und in der PIR, bei Schulze und in unserem Repertorium kommen noch die folgenden: *Satureius*: AE 1972, 15; IGUR 106 (Rom); CIL I² 3315 (Caere); Athenaeum 66 (1988) 192 Nr. 3 (Reate); AE 1985, 339 (Firmum); SEG II 834 (Syrien). *Saturnius*: ICVR 9196(?); Suppl. It. II Velitrae 48 (schon bei Schulze

mit einem dieser Gentilnamen erscheint. Dazu ist noch zu beachten, daß von den oben genannten Namen für CIL X 5076 fast nur *Satureius Saturius Satorius* in Frage kommen könnten, weil *Saturninius Saturnius Saturninus Saturnus(?)* sicher zu einer späten bzw. provinziellen Namensschicht gehören³⁶ und *Saturnacus* wiederum eher in Oberitalien einheimisch sein dürfte;³⁷ nur *Satureius Saturius Satorius* sind sicher gute und alte Namen, aber diese Namen scheinen eher in Picenum und überhaupt in Mittelitalien als in Latium einheimisch gewesen zu sein (auch die *Saturia* in CIL X 6260 aus Fundi hat das Cognomen *Picena*), vgl. Schulze, a.a.O. 225.

Somit scheint es mir angebracht, die Möglichkeit zu erwägen, daß in CIL X 5076 das Cognomen *Saturninus* ergänzt werden sollte. Zunächst muß jedoch kurz auf die Frage eingegangen werden, ob eine Namensform wie *Cn. Saturninus Cn.f.* (ohne Gentilicium) in einer Inschrift, in der der Name im Dativ oder im Nominativ als einziger Name erscheint, überhaupt möglich ist. Man hat behauptet, daß solches in Ehreninschriften von Persönlichkeiten höheren Standes „normal“ gewesen sei,³⁸ was nicht ganz stimmt, wie schon ein Blick auf die senatorischen Inschriften der früheren Kaiserzeit bei Dessau, ILS lehrt. Doch völlig unbekannt ist die Kombination Pränomen + Cognomen, die vor allem den Schriftstellern des 1. Jh. v.Chr. geläufig war,

aus NSA 1900, 196); NSA 1928, 198 Nr. 10 (Puteoli); AE 1981, 286(?) (Sulmo). *Saturninius*: AE 1935, 29. 1981, 676 (= 1985, 679). 1982, 778; 17. BRGK 282; Wuilleumier, ILTG 159 (Rhein-Donau -Raum).

³⁶ Belege für diese Namen scheinen vor dem 2. Jh. nicht vorzukommen (die Inschrift CIL IV 2061 aus Pompeji, aus der P. Castrén a.a.O. 217 eine *Saturnia Grata* zitiert, ist vielleicht eher so zu interpretieren, daß drei Frauen, *Saturnia*, *Grata* und *C(h)aris* genannt werden, wobei dann *Saturnia* nicht ein Gentilname, sondern ein Cognomen wäre (ein Cognomen *Saturnia* ist nach H. Solin, Repertorium usw. S. 398, in den Bänden des CIL zehnmal belegt; ein Beleg aus Pompeji wäre freilich auffallend früh). Die meisten *Saturninii* waren sicher Nachkommen von *Saturnini* (vgl. die bekannte gallisch-germanische Sitte, den Gentilnamen aus dem Cognomens des Vaters zu bilden: CIL XIII: 5, S. 198f.); einen gesellschaftlich höher gestellten *Saturninius* – der übrigens aus Gallien stammte – findet man erst im 4. Jh. (PLRE I 814-7 *Secundus* 3).

³⁷ Vgl. Schulze, a.a.O. 15f. 45.

³⁸ R. M. Sheldon, *Tituli* 4 (1982) 603, zu AE 1985, 47.

besonders wenn Nobiles gemeint waren,³⁹ in Inschriften des früheren Kaiserzeit nicht. Als Konsuln in Datierungen,⁴⁰ in Verzeichnissen von Magistraten, Priestern usw.⁴¹ und in Inschriften von Sklaven und Freigelassenen⁴² werden Nobiles oft mit dem Pränomen und dem Cognomen bezeichnet. Bei Nichtnobiles findet man die Auslassung des Gentilnamens in Inschriften selten, und gewöhnlich nur in solchen Fällen, in denen der Gentilname schon vorher erwähnt worden ist, z.B. CIL V 2581 *P. Caesonius P. Lupi l. Cimo*.⁴³ In diesem Zusammenhang sind jedoch nur solche Fälle interessant, in denen Senatoren entweder als Geehrte oder als Dedikanten in Inschriften mit bloßem Pränomen und Cognomen bezeichnet werden. Ich habe mir die folgenden Beispiele notiert (daß diese Liste vollständig ist, behaupte ich nicht):

a. Namen im Dativ (bzw. Akkusativ [Nr. 7]):

1. M. Aemilius Lepidus cos. 46. 42 v.Chr. (PIR² A 368), der Triumvir: AE 1957, 77 = ILLRP 1276 (vgl. M. Gaggiotti, in: L'Africa

³⁹ *L. Sulla, C. Caesar* usw. bei Cicero und anderen; Literatur: Sheldon, a.a.O. (Anm. 38) Anm. 73. Über Namen dieser Art in republikanischen Inschriften und Münzen s. CIL I², Index S. 828; A. Degrassi, *Scritti vari* 3 (1967) 358.

⁴⁰ Z.B. D. 5283 (19 n.Chr.). 6080. 6100 (27). 6124 (33). 8583 (63). – Auffallend ist übrigens, daß man die Auslassung des Gentilnamens gelegentlich auch bei solchen Konsuln findet, die nicht zur Nobilität, oder zumindest nicht zur alten Nobilität gehörten. So ist z.B. für die Konsuln der Jahre 38 (M. Aquila Iulianus), 65 (M. Vestinus Atticus), 115 (M. Pedo Vergilianus), 117 (M. Rebilus Apronianus) ein Gentilname nirgends überliefert. Erst nach dem II. Weltkrieg hat man herausgefunden, daß die Konsuln L. Lamia Aelianus i.J. 116 und M. Civica Barbarus i.J. 157 die Gentilnamen *Fundanius* bzw. *Vettulenus* hatten (AE 1947, 4; 1958, 15). Vgl. auch noch etwa D. 5462 *Imp. Traiano Hadriano [I] I, Cn. Fusco Salinatore cos.*

⁴¹ Z.B. die Akten der Säkularfeier 17 v.Chr. (D. 5050) und die Akten der Arvalen des 1. Jh. enthalten viele Namen vom Typus *Q. Lepidus, C. Piso*.

⁴² Z.B. D. 7439 *Dates L. Pisonis cellarius*; CIL VI 14203 *C. Calpurnius C. Pisonis l. Tyrannus*; CIL IX 5659 *Nonia L. Asprenatis l. Helena*.

⁴³ Ähnlich z.B. Bull. Com. 43, 1915, 310 *Q. Ali[-]s Q.l. Auctus, A[li -]ja Q.Aucti l. Tralis*; CIL VI 26787 *Statilia T. Hilari l. Iucunda*; CIL VIII 1053 vgl.

Romana IV [1987] 205ff.; Thabracca, Afr.) *M. Lepido imp. tert., pont. max., III vir. r.p.c. bis, cos. iter., patrono ex d.d.*

2. Ap. Claudius Pulcher, cos. 38 v.Chr. (PIR² C 982): CIL VI 37064 *Ap. Pulch[ro] cos. colo[nia] Ar[-]*.

3. L. Iunius Silanus pr. 24 v. Chr. oder etwas früher (PIR² I 827): CIL IX 332 = Le epigr. rom. di Canusium (1985) 21 *L. Silano M.f. D.n. pr., auguri.*

4. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus cos. 26 n.Chr. (PIR² C 1390): AE 1985, 47 *Cn. Lent[ulo Cossi f.] Ga[etulico] cos., XV [vir. sac. fac., ---]Ti. Cafes. Augusti.*

5. L. Nonius Asprenas cos. 29 n.Chr. (PIR² N 119): CIL VI 31689 *L. Asprenatí L.f. cos., au[guri] -- .*

6. L. Iunius Silanus Torquatus, Sohn des Konsuls von 46 n.Chr. (PIR² I 838): CIL VI 1438 (nur handschriftlich überliefert) *L. Silano Torquato.*

7. L. Iulius Ursus cos. 84, 98, 100 (PIR² I 630 vgl. RE Suppl. XIV 211 Nr. 536): CIL VI 1432 *L. Ursum cos. III Crescens lib.*

12473 *L. Octavius Lucí Liguris l. Epaproditu(s)*. Väter in Filiationen: AE 1973, 200 (Albano) *L. Pomponius L. Bassi cos. et Torquatae filius Horatia Bassus Cascus Scribonianus cos.*; CIL XI 4179 *Arruntia?]e C. Africani f. Au[-*; AE 1934, 241 (Aquileia) *Rutilia M. Clementis pr(aetoris) f. Prisca Sabiniana*; CIL XIII 2728 *C. Iul. C. Magni f., C. Epore[d]irigi[s] n. Proculus*; CIL VIII 12418 *M. Picarius M. Memoris fil. Turranianus*; AE 1985, 927 (Afr.) *C. Iulius C. Me[te]lli f. Seneca*; I. Ephesos 4120 *Claudia Ti. Terentiani f.* (ähnlich auf griechisch 4119). Errichter von Inschriften: CIL VI 13556 *d.m. C. Bennio Zotico patri ... fecer. C.C.C. Felicissimus Vitalis Felix*; 35987 *L. Ofillius Artemidorus ... et Lucí Septimanus (sic) et Eutyches filií*; AE 1968, 134 (Beneventum) *d.m. C. Iuli Gemelli C. Gemellus et Concordia Chrysogone parentes*; AE 1985, 940 (Afr.) *d.m.s. L. Sitijs Geminus vixs. m.VI, h.s.*; *L. Gem[inus pater] f.* Auch in griechischen Inschriften findet man ähnliches, z.B. IG V, 1, 533 *Τιβ. Κλαύ(διος) Τιβερίου Φροντείνου υἱὸς Κυρεína Φροντείνος Νικήρατος*; IGR I 969 (Gortyn) *Μ. Ῥώσκιον Κυρεína Λοῦπον Μου[ρ]ήναν, Μ. Μουρήνα στρατηγικοῦ υἱόν usw.*; REG 19 [1906] 136f. Nr. 69 (Aphrodis.) *Ἰουλία Γαίου Ἀπολλοδότου θυγάτηρ Παῦλα*; SEG VI 425 (Antioch. Pis.) *Ἀῦλος Εἰούλιος Ἑρμῆς ἑαυτῶ ... καὶ Ἀῦλῶ Ἑορτικῶ καὶ Ἀῦλῶ Πρωτέα υἱοῖς.*

b. Namen im Nominativ:

8. L. Munatius Plancus cos. 42 v.Chr. (PIR² M 728): CIL VI 1316 = D. 41 *L. Plancus L.f. cos., imp. iter., de manib(iis)*.

9. Q. Aemilius Lepidus cos. 21 v.Chr. (PIR² A 376): CIL VI 1305 = D. 5892 (auf dem Pons Fabricius) *Q. Lepidus M'f., M. Lollius M.f. cos. ex s.c. probaverunt*.⁴⁴

10. Cn. Baebius Tamphilus Vala (PIR² B 28?), procos. von Illyricum in frühaugusteischer Zeit:⁴⁵ Arch. Vest. 37 (1986) 409ff. (Iader) *Cn. Tamphilus Vala procos.*

11. C. Rubellius Blandus, Prokonsul von Kreta in augusteischer Zeit (RE IA 1158 und Suppl. XIV 588 Nr. 4, vgl. R. Syme, Roman Papers IV 180-3): CIL XIV 3556 = Inscr. It. IV, 1, 61 *Iunoni Argeiae C. Blandus procos.*

12. P. Cornelius Lentulus Scipio cos.suff. 2 n.Chr. (PIR² C 1398): CIL VI 1385 *P. Lentulus Cn.f. Scipio, T. Quinctius Crispinus Valerianus cos. ex s.c. faciundum curaverunt idemque probaverunt.*

13. L. Nonius Asprenas cos. 6 n.Chr. (PIR² N 118) nennt sich als Prokonsul von Afrika und als *curator locorum publicorum* auf Terminationscippi aus Rom (neben Männern mit drei Namen) *L. Asprenas* (s. PIR).

Vielleicht gehört hierher auch noch CIL VI 31701 (fragmentum epistylīi marmorei saeculi fere tertii, in quo supersunt reliquiae inscriptionis anterioris) mit *Cn. Cinna* (der Konsul von 5 n.Chr.).⁴⁶

Diese Beispiele zeigen, daß bei Senatoren, die in Inschriften als Geehrte oder als Dedikanten erscheinen, bisweilen der Gentilname ausgelassen

⁴⁴ Die richtige Lesung von CIL IX 988 ist nicht *N. Lepidius Q.f.*, sondern *Cn. Lepidus Q.f.* (NSA 1938, 102).

⁴⁵ Nach Dio 54, 34, 4 wurde Illyricum i.J. 11 v.Chr. kaiserliche Provinz, aber es scheint, daß ein etwas früheres Datum vorzuziehen ist (R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy* [1986] 289).

⁴⁶ Vgl. auch Fouilles de Delphes III, 1, 348 Nr. 528 ἁ πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν Γναῖον Λέντλον Γναίου υἱὸν Γναίου υἱωνὸν ταμίαν (der Konsul von 14 v.Chr.); AE 1934, 90 (Kos) ὁ δ[ᾶμος ἀνέθηκεν Γν[αῖ]ον Καπίωνα Τιβερί[ου] Καίσαρος Σεβαστ[οῦ] ἐπίτροπον.

werden konnte. Die Beispiele stammen alle aus einer Zeitspanne, die sich von der Triumviralzeit bis zur julisch-claudischen Zeit erstreckt.⁴⁷ In diesen Beispielen erscheinen sowohl Altpatrizier als auch Senatoren etwas jüngeren Adels; wenn die Filiation angegeben wird, dann steht sie – ganz wie bei den Schriftstellern⁴⁸ – nach dem (ersten) Cognomen.

Es ist also durchaus möglich, in CIL X 5076 *Cn. Satur[nino bzw. -ninus] Cn.f.* zu ergänzen und die Inschrift auf den Konsul von 41 zu beziehen; die Auslassung des Gentilnamens wäre in der Heimatstadt des Konsuls noch verständlicher als sonst.

Sollte die Annahme, es handele sich um den Konsul von 41, stimmen, bleibt noch die Frage, wie die sonstigen überlieferten Reste der Inschrift zu deuten sind. Dabei ist zu beachten, daß auf das Überlieferte nicht unbedingt in allen Details Verlaß ist (mit CIL X 5130, überliefert wie CIL X 5076, ist wenig anzufangen: *d.m.s. / FLENNO·FIINDOR ... / usw.*). Zwischen *Cn.f.* und *VIR* ist sicher etwas zu ergänzen,⁴⁹ und sollte *VIR* richtig überliefert sein, dann kämen – angenommen, es handelt sich tatsächlich um den Konsul – wohl nur die Ergänzungen *X]vir [stlit. iud.* (oder *III]vir[a.a.a.f.f. usw.*) oder vielmehr *VII]vir[epul.* bzw. *XV]vir [sac. fac.* (o.ä.) in Frage. Nun fällt auf, daß in einem anderen Fragment aus Atina ein *XV]vir [sac. fac., --], cos., [--]* genannt wird, dessen Name nicht erhalten ist.⁵⁰ Ob es sich um denselben Mann handelt, kann ich nicht entscheiden. Diese Inschrift könnte sich auch auf den Großvater des Konsuls von 41, C. Sentius C.f. C.n. Saturninus cos. 19 v.Chr., beziehen, der jedenfalls sicher *XVvir sacris faciendis* war (RE IIA 1515). Daß der Konsul von 19 v.Chr. *XVvir* war, könnte übrigens die Annahme stützen, daß auch der Konsul von 41 dieser Priesterschaft angehörte; vgl. L. Schumacher, *Tituli* 4, 1982, 251ff. über die

⁴⁷ Beispiel Nr. 7 fällt zeitlich aus diesem Rahmen, aber es handelt sich hier um ein rein privates Denkmal.

⁴⁸ Vgl. etwa Cic. off. 1, 108 *C. Caesare L. filio*; 2, 59 *L. quidem Philippus Q.f.*

⁴⁹ Auch Mommsen, der *Satur[-]* für einen Gentilnamen hielt, hat nicht daran gedacht, *VIR* für den Anfang eines der seltenen Cognomina auf *Vir-* (z.B. *Virianus*) zu halten (vgl. den Index von CIL X, S. 1054. 1089).

⁵⁰ Bei L. Schumacher, *Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur Besetzung der vier hohen röm. Priesterkollegien im Zeitalter der Antonine u. d. Severer* (96-235 n.Chr.), Diss. Mainz 1973, 106, ist dieser Priester als „Ignotus“ verzeichnet.

„Vererbung“ der Priesterschaften. – Was die Zeile 3 von CIL X 5076 betrifft, so scheint Mommsen das überlieferte *A E D* für die Abkürzung des munizipalen Amtes eines *aed(ilis)* zu halten, da CIL X 5076 unter den Inschriften von Ädilen und Duovirn erscheint. Aber *AED* – wenn die überlieferten Buchstaben überhaupt zusammengehören – kann auch zu einer senatorischen Laufbahn gehören. Seitdem wir wissen, daß der [--]Cn.f. Saturninus in CIL IX 2460 ein Cn. Pomponius Saturninus war (s. AE 1984, 368), darf man nicht mehr mit E. Groag (RE IIA 1531; vgl. auch etwa A. R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain* [1981] 361) annehmen, CIL IX 2460 (mit *q., tr. pl., pr.*) könnte auf den Konsul von 41 bezogen werden; für diesen ist folglich ein Volkstribunat nicht bezeugt, und somit kann er ebenso gut Ädil gewesen sein. Freilich würde man eigentlich gern annehmen, daß Cn. Saturninus, dessen Vorfahren seit der Wende des 2. und 1. Jh. v.Chr. im Senat saßen (s. R. Syme, *Roman Papers* II 605ff.) schon ein Patrizier gewesen sei, aber überliefert ist über den Stand des Konsuls in unseren Quellen – soweit mir ersichtlich – jedenfalls nichts.

4. Zu den Fasti consulares von Tauromenium

Die von G. Manganaro in *Cronache di Archeologia e di Storia dell'Arte* (Catania 3 (1964) 39f. Nr. II veröffentlichten Fragmente von Konsulfasten, die in einem edificio termale in Tauromenium (Taormina) gefunden worden sind, haben, so weit mir ersichtlich, in der Forschung überhaupt keine Aufmerksamkeit auf sich gezogen. Dies ist insofern verständlich, als diese Zeitschrift weder der *Année philologique* noch der *Année épigraphique* bekannt war. Photos dieser Fragmente, die etwas besser als die in der Originalpublikation sind, findet man jetzt bei G. Manganaro, *La Sicilia da Sesto Pompeo a Diocleziano*, ANRW II: 11 (1988) 3-89, tav. XIII (zwischen S. 88 und 89). Da sich aber eine Transskription des Textes nur in der Originalpublikation befindet, die kaum in jeder Bibliothek vorhanden sein dürfte (die Möglichkeit, einen Sonderabdruck der Originalpublikation zu benutzen, verdanke ich Heikki Solin), ist es angebracht, den Text der Fragmente hier zu wiederholen.

a. Fragment mit den Jahren 39-36 v.Chr.:

<i>[K.Iul. (?)</i>	<i>P. Alfen]u[s]</i>	(39)
<i>[</i>	<i>C. Coc]ceiu[s]</i>	
<i>[Ap. Claudius,]</i>	<i>C. Norba[nus]</i>	(38)
<i>[K.Iu]l.</i>	<i>L. Lentul[us]</i>	
<i>[K.] Sept.</i>	<i>L. Philipp[us]</i>	
<i>[L. Ca]ninius,</i>	<i>M. Agrip[pa]</i>	(37)
<i>K.Iul.</i>	<i>T. Statil[ius]</i>	
<i>L. Gellius,</i>	<i>M. C[occeius]</i>	(36)
<i>suf. (?) K̄.I[ul. (?)</i>	<i>L. Nonius]</i>	

Manganaro ergänzt in Z. 1 [*L. Marcius, C. Cal]v[isius]*, d.h. die Namen der consules ordinarii des Jahres 39, wobei er annehmen muß, daß der Name des Suffektkonsuls P. Alfenus (Varus) in diesen Fasten ausgelassen worden ist (zu einer anderen von ihm angenommenen Auslassung eines Konsuls s.u.). M.E. ist es jedoch besser anzunehmen, daß P. Alfenus und C. Cocceius den Konsulat zusammen, vielleicht am 1. Juli, antraten, und daß aus irgendeinem Grund P. Alfenus vor C. Cocceius genannt wurde (normalerweise folgt P. Alfenus auf C. Cocceius, s. Inscr. It. XIII: 1, 506); die Reihenfolge der Konsuln weicht ja auch in Z. 6 von der üblichen ab, indem L. Caninius (Gallus) cos. ord. 37 vor M. Agrippa genannt wird, was seltener als die umgekehrte Ordnung ist (s. Inscr. It. XIII: 1, 506f.). – Bemerkenswert sind die Anfangsdaten der Suffektkonsulate des L. (Cornelius) Lentulus (1. 7. 38), L. (Marcius) Philippus (1. 9. 38) und T. Statilius (Taurus) (1. 7. 37), die m.W. bisher nicht bekannt waren (auch darauf kann hingewiesen werden, daß wir in diesen Fasten nach AE 1945, 66 erst das zweite Zeugnis dafür haben, daß der in anderen Fasten – s. Inscr. It. XIII: 1, 506 – als *L. Cornelius* bezeichnete Konsul des Jahres 38 ein Lentulus war). – In Z. 9 ergänzt Manganaro *suf. K̄.[- L. Nonius]*, und tatsächlich scheint das Zeichen am Anfang der Zeile eine Ligatur von *SVF* zu sein; freilich ist mir eine Ligatur dieser Art sonst nicht bekannt. Das *S* würde dann zwei Zeilen hoch sein, was in der Hinsicht in Ordnung ist, daß es im Jahre 36 zwei Suffektkonsuln gab, und überdies findet man hohe *S* bei der Abkürzung *suf.* auch sonst (s. etwa die Fasti magistrorum vici, Inscr. It. XIII: 1, 283ff.). Auffallend ist freilich, daß bei den früheren Jahren die Angabe *suf.* zu fehlen scheint (zumindest bei T. Statilius, dem Suffektkonsul von 37, kann vor *K.Iul.* kaum etwas ergänzt werden). – Nach *suf. K̄.* ist auf dem Photo noch der obere Teil eines senkrechten Striches sichtbar (von Manganaro nicht berücksichtigt), und so ist also wohl *I[un.]* oder *I[ul.]* zu lesen.

b. Fragment mit den Jahren 30-28, mit den Ergänzungen Manganaros:

<i>confe[ctum bellum Actiese]</i>	31
<i>[I]mp. Caes[ar III, M. Valerius]</i>	
<i>K.Oc[t. Cn. Pompeius]</i>	
<i>[I]mp. Cae[sar III, M. Licinius]</i>	30

Diese Ergänzung ist in zweierlei Hinsicht nicht annehmbar. Erstens kann sich die Zeile mit *confe[ctum bellum* o.ä. nicht auf das Jahr 31 beziehen, da Angaben dieser Art stets auf die Namen der Konsuln folgen. Sollten in Z. 2 tatsächlich die Konsuln des Jahres 31 erscheinen, müßte sich die erste Zeile auf das Jahr 32 beziehen, aber der Endkampf des Octavianus gegen Antonius, von dem sicher hier die Rede ist, dauerte bekannterweise von 32 bis 30, und somit kann dieses *bellum* vor 30 nicht als *confectum* bezeichnet werden. Zweitens fällt auf, daß der Name des ersten Suffektkonsuls von 31, M. Titius, fehlt (zu einer anderen angeblichen Auslassung eines Namens s.o.; Suffektkonsuln fehlen in Fasten dieser Zeit sonst nicht, das Jahr 29 ist in den Fasti Venusini nicht richtig überliefert, s. Degrassi, Inscr. It. XIII: 1, S. 256). Das Fragment muß also anders ergänzt werden. Die erste Zeile enthält den letzten Eintrag von des Jahres 30 (ähnlich die Fasti Amiternini, Inscr. It. XIII: 1, 171 zum Jahre 30: *bell[um classia]r(ium)* [vgl. z.J. 32] *confect(um)*; *bellum Alexandriae* die Fasti Venusiani z.J. 30, Inscr. It. XIII: 1, 254), die Zeilen 2 und 3 die Konsuln des Jahres 29. Die Ergänzungen wären also etwa folgendermaßen:

<i>[bellum cum M. Antonio o.ä.]</i>	
<i>confe[ctum].</i>	(30)
<i>[I]mp. Caes[ar V, Sex. Appuleius]</i>	(29)
<i>K.Oc[t. Potitus Valerius]</i>	
<i>[I]mp. Cae[sar VI, M. Agrippa]</i>	(28)

Daß Potitus Valerius Messalla (in der vorletzten Zeile könnte man auch *Potitus Messalla* ergänzen) seinen Konsulat erst am 1. Oktober antrat, ist m.W. sonst nicht überliefert.

Mithras = Auriga?

KARL-GUSTAV SANDELIN

In a recent discussion concerning the relationship between the principal image of the Roman Mithras cult, the tauroctony, and the constellations, the suggestion made by M. P. Speidel¹ that the Mithras-figure corresponds to Orion has been accepted by R. Merkelbach² whereas it has been less favourably treated by R. Beck.³

From a merely iconographic point of view it is difficult to combine Orion with the constellation Taurus in order to form the scene of Mithras killing the bull, because of the mutual position of the two constellations. It would be necessary to see these in a very unconventional way, since the head of Orion is the part closest to Taurus, and the sword and the knees of the giant point in the opposite direction.

Notwithstanding the difficulties implied in Speidel's theory, I want to make a suggestion of a similar kind. I will take my point of departure from an observation, which at first sight seems puzzling, but which may offer a clue to the problem of whether the initiates were able to see their most important icon in the form of a celestial constellation.

Many of the remaining Mithras-monuments show reproductions of the figures of the zodiac. Often they are represented clockwise following the sequence of the corresponding constellations as these are seen in the heavens

¹ M. P. Speidel, *Mithras-Orion: Greek Hero and Roman Army God* (EPRO 81), Leiden 1980, 4-27.

² R. Merkelbach, *Mithras. Königstein/Ts.*, Hain 1984, 130f.

³ R. Beck, *Mithraism since Franz Cumont* (ANRW II. 17. 4 [1984]), 2082.

at night or on a star-map.⁴ But sometimes they are, as Campbell and Merkelbach note, reproduced counter-clockwise!⁵

One of the monuments shows a young bewinged man around whom a serpent winds itself. The figure stands in a kind of "niche, which is boarded by an elliptical band" containing the signs of the zodiac⁶ running counter-clockwise. The young man, who wears attributes which can refer to many different godheads, is undoubtedly a divine figure.⁷ This could explain the inverted order of the signs of the zodiac. They could be seen *sub specie aeternitatis* as it were, i.e. not from the side of the earth from which mortals see them, but from the opposite side of the celestial spheres, the realm of the gods.⁸

Now the Mithraic tauroctony-scene always has the head of the bull to the right, whereas the constellation Taurus has its head to the left.⁹ But what if the tauroctony also is pictured as seen from the point of view of the eternal gods, who on Mithraic monuments are often pictured as witnessing the sacrifice?¹⁰ Then the bull from an earthly point of view would have its head to the left as in the constellation Taurus. Close to this constellation there exists, however, the one called Auriga or Charioteer in a position, which very much resembles the position of Mithras in the tauroctony-scene, if this is inverted. The initiates into the mysteries of Mithras would then

⁴ M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*. 2 vols. The Hague 1956 and 1960. See vol. 2, figs 274, 296, 302 and 340. See also M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca II. The Mithraeum at Ponza* (EPRO 16. 2), Leiden 1974, 9.

⁵ L. A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology* (EPRO 11), Leiden 1968, 48f. Merkelbach, *Mithras*, 279, 306, 324f. and 329. Cf. Vermaseren, *Corpus*, vol. 1, figs 26, 112, 197, 218.

⁶ Vermaseren, *Corpus*, vol. 1, 254.

⁷ Vermaseren, *Corpus*, vol. 1, 254, Merkelbach, *Mithras*, 324.

⁸ Cf. Speidel, *Mithras-Orion* 8f.

⁹ Although running counter-clockwise, the representations of the figures of the zodiac are not always reversed. Thus, for instance, the bull on the pictures referred to in n. 5 always has its head to the left. On the other hand, the lion on figs 112, 197 and 218 in Vermaseren, *Corpus*, has *its* head to the left, and is thus inverted.

¹⁰ See Vermaseren, *Corpus*, vol. 1, figs 15, 46, 47, 48, 49, 98, 106, 112, 122, 195 etc.

have been able to see a combination of the constellations Auriga and Taurus as a picture of their principal myth seen from an eternal perspective. If this were the case, some connection may exist with the representations, where Mithras and the Sun-god are seen as mounted upon a wagon going to heaven.¹¹

¹¹ Vermaseren, *Corpus*, vol. 2, figs 341, 400, 505, 512.

Un obolo di Fistelia da Fregellae*

TIMO SIRONEN

Fregellae, una delle più importanti colonie latine situata in un punto strategico tra Roma e la Campania e abbastanza vicina al Sannio, non ci ha dato finora notizie rilevanti riguardo alla numismatica.¹ Tale documentazione sarebbe stata certamente di grande interesse, visto i limiti cronologici straordinariamente certi,² 328-125 a.C. il periodo cioè nel quale si sviluppò la colonia.

* Ringrazio sentitamente per aiuto e consigli nonché per la correzione dell'italiano il Prof. Filippo Coarelli (Perugia), Dott. Rudolf Kaenel (Basilea), Dott.ssa Serafina Pennestrì (Roma), Dott. Paolo Braconi e Dott.ssa Federica Annibaldi (Perugia). Del testo, s'intende, sono io il solo responsabile.

¹ Le monete finora scoperte sia al santuario di Esculapio che nella parte pubblica della colonia sono quasi cento, presenti in numerosi esemplari romano-campani, alcune da Napoli e da Siracusa nonché un paio di monete imperiali presenti in tombe risalenti al periodo di una villa di età imperiale. Tutte queste monete non sono state ancora oggetto di studio, tranne alcune mere segnalazioni nei giornali di scavo (o nelle relazioni di scavo) non ancora editi. Adesso, dopo il restauro, dovrebbero essere studiate dalla Prof.ssa Sara Sorda e dai suoi allievi a Perugia; la pubblicazione è prevista per il 1989.

² I ritrovamenti risalenti al periodo precedente alla colonia sono o di periodo preistorico, o di impasto locale (buccherioide) di V secolo a.C. Solo una piccolissima parte della città ha rilevato la presenza di tombe appartenenti ad una villa di età imperiale, come dimostra anche la documentazione numismatica. Comunque sia, il resto dei materiali è databile tra il 328 e il 125 a.C.

Nel corso della campagna di scavo 1987, il 13 luglio, è stata trovata una piccola moneta d'argento con la leggenda sinistrorsa FISTLUIS in osco, ben leggibile già prima del restauro.³

Il contesto archeologico nel quale è avvenuto il ritrovamento (saggio FLOE, settore 1, quadrato A 3, unità stratigrafica 1), purtroppo non è facilmente databile a causa della complicata situazione stratigrafica. Ciononostante sembra che lo strato in cui fu trovata la moneta, possa venir datato al IV o al III secolo a.C. malgrado l'eterogeneità dei reperti presenti nello strato e in particolar modo quelli presso il muretto, proprio lì dove era la moneta.⁴

Conosciamo didrammi e oboli di Fistelia, sempre ed esclusivamente d'argento. Una buona parte sono anepigrafi, talvolta invece con diverse leggende.⁵

³ Attualmente si conserva all'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università degli Studi a Perugia, ma sarà presto esposta al Museo Archeologico di Fregellae a Ceprano (prov. di Frosinone).

⁴ Purtroppo i lavori agricoli, specie l'aratura in profondità, dagli anni '60 in poi, hanno asportato materiali, che non si possono considerare trovarsi più *in situ*, se non grosso modo.

⁵ Tra le diverse leggende si contano almeno sette varianti. Cfr. ad es. E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*, Heidelberg 1953, nro 200 B 7: una delle leggende è in greco, mentre tutte le altre sono in osco. – Per la monetazione di Fistelia in genere, si vedano: A. Sambon, *Les monnaies antiques de l'Italie*, Paris 1903, 327-336; B. V. Head, *Historia Nummorum*, Oxford 1911², 41-42; A. Stazio, *Un ripostiglio monetale da Cales e la monetazione campano-sannita del IV secolo a.C.*, *ParPass* 15 (1960) 225-228; Enrica Pozzi Paolini, *AIIN Suppl.* 12-14, 79ss.; N. K. Rutter, *Campanian Coinages 475-380 B.C.*, Edinburgh 1979, 83-84, 179-180 e pl. 31-32; ultimamente, M. Crawford, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic*, London 1985, 334-335. – Le datazioni vanno dal 405-400 a.C. (così il Rutter) al 380-350 a.C. (Sambon e Head).

Descrizione del pezzo

Il nostro pezzo è facilmente riconoscibile come un obolo.⁶ La moneta è ben conservata, tranne l'orlo destro del rovescio e quello sinistro del dritto che si presentano ambedue alquanto consumati. Il diametro misura mm 11, lo spessore mm ca. 0,5 e il peso è di gr. 0,50 ca.⁷ Il tipo è piuttosto noto: sul dritto è presente un volto di giovane imberbe mentre, sul rovescio, al di sotto della leggenda (alt. lettere mm 0,7-1,0), vi sono un'ostrica, un grano d'orzo posto orizzontalmente, e un delfino.

La monetazione di Fistelia è documentata abbastanza diffusamente anche nei ripostigli della Campania settentrionale, del Sannio e del Lazio sud-orientale.⁸ I ritrovamenti più vicini rispetto al sito di Fregellae sono stati fatti ad Aquino⁹ e a Casalvieri presso Atina. È naturale che vi siano stati rapporti economici tra Fregellae e la Campania tra il IV ed il II secolo a.C., ma è difficile stabilire i termini cronologici della circolazione delle monete di Fistelia. Scarseggiano più o meno già alla fine del IV secolo a.C.¹⁰ In tal caso il ritrovamento di tale reperto sarebbe interessante in quanto indicherebbe rapporti commerciali precoci con la Campania. D'altra parte non è neanche da escludere che la moneta possa essere datata al periodo dell'occupazione sannita

⁶ Il tipo è descritto dal Sambon (op. cit.) sotto il numero 831 *a* e dal Rutter (op. cit.) a p. 180, 'Obols and Fractions', sotto il gruppo I a (i).

⁷ Normalmente il peso è di gr. 0,52-0,66.

⁸ Una lista in Crawford (op. cit.), 334-335 (Appendix B. 'The Mint of Fistelia'). Il Dott. Rudolf Kaenel intende pubblicarne un'altra, più completa.

⁹ Provenienza dalla località Melfa (un santuario rustico di *Mefitis*); la notizia mi ha gentilmente comunicato Dott.ssa Ada Gabucci (Roma). Si ricordi che Aquino confinava con l'*ager Fregellanus*, forse proprio a Melfa. Cfr. F. Coarelli, *Fregellae. La storia e gli scavi*, Roma 1981, fig. 6 a p. 25 (evidentemente basato sul Colasanti).

¹⁰ Così il Crawford (op. cit.), 335 ad finem.

di Fregellae, cioè intorno al 320-313 a.C.¹¹ se non addirittura ai tempi dell'*arx Fregellana* dei Volsci qualche decennio prima.¹²

Comunque sia, il reperto, anche se isolato, è di notevole interesse, soprattutto se in futuro altri ritrovamenti verranno a chiarire la distribuzione della documentazione numismatica a Fregellae.

¹¹ Liv. 9, 12, 5-8 e Diod. Sic. 19, 101, 3. Si noti che un graffito in latino arcaico fu rinvenuto a soli 12 m di distanza verso Sud/Sud-Ovest da dove è stata trovata la nostra moneta. Per la editio princeps del graffito, T. Sironen, Un graffito in latino arcaico da Fregellae, *Arctos* 19 (1985) 151 e le note 24 e 25. Il graffito almeno potrebbe risalire a tale periodo in quanto trovato in uno strato di bruciato, possibilmente quello dell'incendio volontario da parte dei Sanniti nel 320 a.C., ma nel saggio FLOE lo stato di bruciato più vicino alla moneta è l'unità stratigrafica 2 nel quadrato B 4; però, cfr. la nota 4 qui sopra.

¹² Sulla Fregellae volsca, cfr. Coarelli (op. cit.), 16-20 e 22-24. Ultimamente sui Volsci intorno alla metà del IV secolo a.C., cfr. P. Wendelen, *The last decades of the Volsci (358-328 BC)*, *BIBR* 57 (1987) 5-22.

Analecta epigraphica

HEIKKI SOLIN

CXXI. ZUR DEFIXION DES J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

Marit Jentoft-Nilsen hat in *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 8 (1980) 199-201 mit Zeichnung und Photo eine lateinische Defixion unbekannter Herkunft veröffentlicht. Sie gibt dem Text folgende Form:

A
PHILOCOMVS
ANTIOC(H)VS
P(H)ARNACE
SOCVS
5 LIRAṬO
EPIDIA

B
TABESCAT, CEAT
DOM(I)NIS NON PIA
FIDE HIS QVORUM
NOM[INA] HIC SUNT
5 PIA FA[CTA] QVO E PLA-
GE AN PECVLIO IL(I)O-
RVM DICTA FACTA
AD INFERO[RVM]

Diese Lesung, wie auch die beigegebene Interpretation, ist an vielen Stellen verdächtig, weswegen dem Text hier eine verbesserte Form gegeben werden soll. Meine Neulesung basiert auf einer guten Photographie, die mir Jentoft-Nilsen freundlicherweise zur Verfügung gestellt hat. Nicht alles wird klar, doch glaube ich einen einigermaßen gesicherten Text bieten zu können:

I	II
<i>Philocomus,</i>	<i>tabesca(n)t,</i>
<i>Antiochus,</i>	<i>domnis non placea(n)t,</i>
<i>Parnace(s),</i>	<i>eide(m) his, quorum</i>
<i>Sosus,</i>	<i>nom[ina] hic sunt,</i>
5 <i>Erato</i>	5 <i>perea[nt], quo e(t) placean(t) peculio. ilorum dicta facta</i>
<i>Epidia.</i>	<i>ad inferos +[---].</i>

Es handelt sich um einen Fluch gegen eine Dienerschaft, also gegen Sklaven und Freigelassene (wie wir sehen werden, sind die in I genannten Personen Sklaven bis auf Epidia Erato, die wohl eine Freigelassene war), vielleicht seitens anderer Sklaven oder eines anderen Sklaven. Wenn ich in II 5-6 richtig verstanden habe, daß die verfluchten Sklaven *placeant peculio*, so könnte das meinen, daß der Autor der Defixion die verfluchten Sklaven deswegen zugrunde gehen sehen will, damit das vom Patron den Sklaven überlassene *peculium* auf den Verflucher übergehe. Also eine Art Defixion aus Brotneid.

Zur Namenliste wäre zu bemerken, daß all die dort vorkommenden Namen übliche Sklavenbenennungen vertreten, in der römischen Namengebung seit der republikanischen Zeit belegt. *Philocomus* taucht in Rom mit dem Grammatiker Vettius Philocomus auf und ist auch sonst in republikanischen Inschriften belegt.¹ *Antiochus* ist einer der beliebtesten griechischen Namen seit der mittleren Republik,² hier in der typisch republikanischen Weise ohne *h* geschrieben. Der dritte ist als *Pharnaces* zu verstehen, denn ein evtl. Frauenname *Pharnace* (den die Autorin bei Pape-Benseler gefunden hat) existiert in der römischen Namengebung nicht und scheint auch in der griechischen Namengebung unbekannt zu sein; *Pharnaces* dagegen wurde seit sullanischer Zeit eine beliebte Sklavenbenennung in

¹ Vgl. mein Namenbuch 162. CIL I² 1005.

² Vgl. mein Namenbuch 201f. (dort ist noch CIL XV 966 = I² 2308 nachzutragen). Sehr üblich auch außerhalb von Rom; aus dem neuen Supplement zu CIL I², das noch keinen Index hat: 2939. 3018. 3020. 3034. 3338.

Rom.³ Der vierte Name wiederum ist wohl *Sosus* zu lesen; freilich ist der Anfang des Namens in einer Lücke verschwunden, aber aus der Zeichnung zu urteilen (ist die Zeichnung älter als das Photo und zeigt sie deswegen einige Buchstaben vollständiger?) steht O gut, und S ist wenigstens ebenso gut möglich wie C. Das ergibt zwanglos den Namen *Sosus*, auch weil er seit republikanischer Zeit in der römischen Namengebung gebraucht wurde.⁴ Das heißt, andere fünfbuchstabile Namen auf *-osus* oder *-ocus* kommen kaum vor der Kaiserzeit in Frage. Was speziell den von der Autorin gebotenen Namen *Socus* angeht, ist Σῶκος freilich ein alter guter griechischer Name, kaum aber in der römischen Welt gebräuchlich.⁵ Vor ähnlichen Problemen stehen wir bei der Beurteilung des nächsten Namens, wenn aber der Zeichnung zu trauen ist (auf dem Photo erkennt man zu wenig, um den Namen sicherstellen zu können), wäre *Erato* eine palmare Lesung (LIRATO wäre ja ein ghost-name). Und wieder einmal kann man feststellen, daß *Erato* in der römischen Sklavennamengebung seit republikanischer Zeit belegt ist.⁶ Die Frau hieß wahrscheinlich *Epidia Erato*; theoretisch könnte man *Epidia* als Namen einer sechsten Person verstehen, da aber in so früher Zeit (wie wir sehen werden, ist die Tafel wohl noch republikanisch) die Gentilicia nur selten als Sklavennamen gebraucht wurden, ist es wohl vorzuziehen, *Epidia* als Gentilnamen aufzufassen. Wir hätten also eine Inversion der Namen, vor allem bei Frauen keine seltene Erscheinung. Es ist auch wichtig zu notieren, daß all diese Namen, bis auf *Philocomus*, auch in der griechischen Namengebung als Sklavenbezeichnungen vorkommen – ein weiterer Beweis für eine Frühdatierung der Tafel.⁷

Im rechten Teil beginnen die wirklichen Schwierigkeiten. Schon der Schluß der ersten Zeile ist ein harter Brocken. Ich habe diese Stelle so

³ Vgl. mein Namenbuch 231f. Außerhalb von Rom republikanisch: CIL I² 753. 1599.

⁴ Vgl. mein Namenbuch 1295. Außerhalb von Rom CIL I² 1592.

⁵ Den jüdischen Beleg Frey CIJ 231 kann man in diesem Zusammenhang fast vergessen.

⁶ Vgl. mein Namenbuch 392. CIL I² 1333.

⁷ Ἀντίοχος: neun Belege bei L. C. Reilly, *Slaves in Ancient Greece*, Chicago 1978, 10. Dazu noch Peek, *Inschr. Epidauros* (1969) S. 93. SEG XXVII 294 (Makedonien). Cabanes, *Les inscriptions du Théâtre de Buthrôtos*, Actes du Colloque 1972 sur l'esclavage, Paris 1974, 19. Φαρνάκης: FD III 3, 268. IG II² 12879. Cabanes (s. oben) 2. Σῶσος: sechs Belege bei Reilly 124. Dazu FD

verstanden, daß CIIAT zum Schluß der nächsten Zeile gehört; darauf weist das Zeichen hin, das sich zwischen TABESCAT und CIIAT befindet. Durch solche Zeichen wurde der Schlußteil einer Zeile bisweilen umgestellt, normalerweise auf die Zeile darunter, oder aber auf die vorhergehende Zeile (das wäre hier der Fall).⁸ – Der Autor schrieb TABESCAT, PLACIIAT im Singular, hatte aber doch wohl all die sechs zu Verfluchenden im Sinne. – *domnis*: die Synkope *domn-* schon in der Lex agraria (CIL I² 585, 27). – Die Negation *non* beim Prohibitiv ist schon früh in die volkstümliche Sprache eingedrungen (Szantyr 337).

3. Ich verstehe IIIDE als *eidem* Nom. Plur. und so auch *his*. Die Form *hisce heisce* ist ganz üblich in Inschriften bis zur spätrepublikanischen Zeit, und daneben erscheint zuweilen die kürzere Form *heis* (CIL I² 1319. 1347); dagegen ist *his* als Nom. Plur. nicht mit Sicherheit überliefert,⁹ doch durchaus plausibel in einem spätrepublikanischen Text dieser Art. Die Wortstellung statt *hi eidem* mag ungewöhnlich anmuten, ist aber durchaus verständlich in einem derartigen Text.¹⁰

5. *perea[nt]* ist plausibel; zu R vgl. das in *quorum* II 3, und von A ist der untere linke Teil sichtbar. Das erste E (geschr. II) macht Schwierigkeiten, aber wahrscheinlich ist die erste Haste von der beschädigten Oberfläche verschwunden (auch unten gleich am Anfang der nächsten Zeile sind die Anfangsbuchstaben fast unsichtbar geworden). – *quo* in finaler Funktion ohne Komparativ ist altlateinisch. Der Sinn scheint mir klar: die verfluchten Sklaven sollen zugrunde gehen, damit der Verfluchende auch aus ihrem *peculium* Nutzen ziehen kann. *et* steht prägnant für *etiam*.

7. *dicta facta* : eine übliche Verbindung seit der altlateinischen Literatur; vgl. ThIL V 1, 991.

Die Editorin datiert die Tafel ans Ende des 2. oder in den Anfang des 3. Jahrhunderts. Sie ist zu dieser unverständlichen Datierung durch Vergleich der Buchstabenformen mit denen der Defixionen aus Nomentum (Audollent 133-135) gekommen, die eben aus dieser Zeit seien und sehr ähnliche

III 4, 498. SEG XXXIV 402 (Delphoi). SEG XXXI 579 (Larissa). 'Ερατώ : SGDI 2224.

⁸ In republikanischen Inschriften: CIL I² 584. 638. 675. 679. 681. 1266. 1547. 2189. 2291. Bull. com. 91 (1986) 743 (Rom).

⁹ Ein unsicherer Beleg in ThIL VI, 2699, 84-2700, 3 verzeichnet.

¹⁰ Vgl. zu *idem hic* ThIL VII 1, 200, 20ff.; *hic idem* ebda Zeile 62ff.

Buchstabenformen aufweisen sollen. Aber erstens sind die Buchstabenformen nun nicht sehr ähnlich (ich habe die nomentanischen Tafeln gesehen), und zweitens stammen die Defixionen aus Nomentum aus viel älterer Zeit, aus der frühesten Kaiserzeit, würde ich sagen; die absurde, auf Audollent zurückgehende Spätdatierung ist auf eine falsche Beurteilung des archäologischen Kontextes zurückzuführen. Ich würde unsere Tafel in das Ende der republikanischen Zeit legen, und zwar aufgrund folgender Überlegungen: die Schrift ist charakteristisch für die rohe ältere Kursive, so wie sie in der spätrepublikanischen Zeit gebraucht wurde; man vergleiche etwa das breite A und vor allem das spitzwinklige L (die Querstriche sind übrigens oft steiler nach oben verlaufend als die Zeichnung vermuten läßt); auch das rhomboidale, unten getrennte O kann für eine Frühdatierung herangezogen werden. Schon in den Bleitafeln der augusteischen Zeit ist die Schrift etwas weiter „entwickelt“ und hat ein etwas verändertes Aussehen; so zum Beispiel die Tafeln aus Nomentum. Zweitens möchte ich auf die Namen hinweisen. Sie beweisen zwar allein nichts, aber zusammengenommen sind sie alle schon in der republikanischen Sklavennamengebung übliche Bezeichnungen. Wichtig ist auch (darauf wurde schon hingewiesen), daß all diese Namen schon in der hellenistischen Namengebung populär waren und bis auf *Philocomus* auch als Sklavennamen verwendet wurden; d.h. sie gehören zu der Phase in der Adaption griechischen Namenguts in Rom, während welcher griechische Namen durch direktes Vorbild östlicher Sklaven in der Blütezeit der Kaufsklaverei nach Rom gelangten. Und auch Φιλόκομος ist ein beliebter Vollname in der griechischen Namengebung, seit dem 6. Jh. belegt.¹¹ Drittens ist auf die Graphien *Antiocus* und *Parnaces* ohne *h* hinzuweisen. Auch wenn diese Erscheinung das Ende der Republik überdauerte, wird man solche Formen eher in der republikanischen Zeit erwarten. Die Erhaltung der Aspiration in *Philocomus* spricht nicht gegen eine voraugusteische Datierung, denn die Namen auf Φιλο- wurden im Lateinischen öfter als sonst mit *Ph-* wiedergegeben, wohl weil *Pilo-* im Bewußtsein der römischen Namenpräger eine Assoziation mit *pilus* oder *pilosus* hervorrufen konnte. Auch Formen wie *hic* statt *heic* können nicht

¹¹ Beazley ARV² 89, 20 (c. 525/500 v.Chr.). Einige weitere alte Belege: IG I² 943 (c. 440). IG II² 1628-9 (4. Jh.). 2385 (4. Jh.). 12958 (4. Jh.). SEG XXVIII 103 (4. Jh., Athen). IG VII 2723 (4. Jh., Thespiai). CIRB 230 (4. Jh.). Üblich in Kyrenaika (6x aus dem 4. Jh. in dem neuen Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I.).

gegen eine republikanische Datierung sprechen, denn das Adverb wird schon früh *hic* geschrieben (altlat. *-ei-*, aber *hic* schon in CIL I² 11).

Woher stammt die Tafel? In ihrem Aufsatz bespricht die Editorin diese Frage nicht, hat mir aber mitgeteilt, man vermute stadtrömische Provenienz, ohne das garantieren zu können. Gegen eine stadtrömische Provenienz spricht eigentlich nichts. Ich möchte nur darauf hinweisen, daß *Epidius -a* ein oskischer Name ist,¹² der vor allem in Campanien verbreitet war, vor allem in Pompeji,¹³ Puteoli, Capua; und auch in der Campanien angrenzenden minturnensischen Kolonie scheinen die Epidii in sullanischer Zeit eine wichtige Familie gewesen zu sein.¹⁴ In Rom kommt der Name diskret vor, aber hauptsächlich in der schon vorgerückten Kaiserzeit; aus der frühen Kaiserzeit scheinen nur wenige Namensträger zu stammen, wie etwa CIL VI 22993. Die Sklavennamen griechischer Herkunft passen gut auch für eine große campanische Stadt, und wenn es keine triftigen Gründe für eine stadtrömische Provenienz der Tafel gibt, wird man wenigstens als Alternative eine Provenienz aus Campanien vorschlagen dürfen.

CXXII. FALSCHER NAMEN

1. *Renenius*. I. García Jiménez, *Inscriptiones alienae de Murcia, Faventia* 9 (1987) 85 Nr. 1. veröffentlicht eine aus Italien (vielleicht Rom) stammende Grabinschrift *d. m. / Trypho / et / Mercurius / Reneni / mammae / suae merenti*. Der Editorin zufolge soll der Herr der zwei Sklaven Trypho und Mercurius *Renenius* heißen; dieses Cognomen soll ein Hapax vertreten. Zu verstehen ist *Ireneni*. Irene war *mamma* der zwei Sklaven. Der erste Buchstabe ist freilich auf dem Photo nicht deutlich sichtbar, er war aber in die Einrahmungsliste eingehauen, weswegen man ihn auf dem Photo nicht erkennt.

2. *Fediciula*. Ein solcher Name soll in der von G. Filippi, *Archeologia laziale VI, Quaderni del Centro di Studio per l'archeologia*

¹² Vgl. M. Lejeune, *L'anthroponymie osque*, Paris 1976, 109, 141.

¹³ Zu pompeianischen Belegen P. Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus*, Roma 1975, 164f.

¹⁴ CIL I² 2678. 2679. 2688. 2690. 2691. 2693. 2694. 2695. 2696. 2698. 2699. 2702. 2703. 2704.

etrusco-italica 8, 1984, 170f. publizierten Inschrift aus Nesce im Ager Aequiculanus vorliegen: *d.m.s Feridiae Fediciulae*. Die Existenz eines solchen Namens beruht aber auf einem seltsamen Einfall des Editors, denn auf dem Photo liest man ohne den geringsten Zweifel *Feridiae De[---]*. Schlimmer noch, daß dieses Cognomen in AE 1984, 277 verewigt wurde. Dort ist weitere Konfusion eingetreten, indem die Editoren *Feridiae Fedi[ciulae]* drucken, haben sie also auf dem Photo FEDI erkennen wollen!

Ich benutze noch die Gelegenheit und korrigiere einen Druckfehler in der auf S. 173 publizierten Inschrift, wo es *Varus* statt *Verus* heißen muß, wie man der Abb. 7 entnehmen kann. Ferner bemerke ich, daß in der auf S. 170 publizierten Inschrift *Saliae C.l.* nicht vollständig ist, denn nach *C.l.* muß ein kurzes Cognomen folgen, das von der verwitterten Oberfläche verschwunden ist, wie man dem Photo entnehmen kann. Wir haben es unmöglich mit einem cognomenlosen Freigelassenen zu tun, das ist für die vorgerückte Kaiserzeit ausgeschlossen.

3. *Theophanius*. So soll ein *magister* in Corfinium heißen: *[The]ophanius Caesi L. s(ervus)* in der Edition von M. Buonocore, Suppl. It. 3 (1987) Corfinium 2 (in AE 1984, 304 aufgrund früherer Editionen nur *---ophanius*¹⁵). Die Inschrift stammt aus der frühesten Kaiserzeit oder sogar aus dem Ende der republikanischen Zeit, wie vor allem die Formel *Caesi L. servus* verrät. Damit steht aber ein Name auf *-phanius* nicht in Einklang, denn Namen dieser Art sind wegen des Suffixes *-ius* spätantik. Man sieht das gut zum Beispiel anhand des in Rom seit dem 4. Jh. öfters belegten *Epiphanius*,¹⁶ und so wird es sich auch mit allen anderen Bildungen auf *-phanius* verhalten. Der neue Editor ist der falschen Lesung des Erstherausgebers, eines Lokalforschers, zum Opfer gefallen, denn statt I ist T zu lesen, wie man am Photo deutlich erkennt. Zweifellos *[Di]ophantus*. Ich habe, auch im Rahmen dieser Analecta, oft darauf hingewiesen, daß man derartige Bildungen auf *-ius* immer mit Vorbehalt aufnehmen muß, sofern es sich nicht um spätantike Inschriften handelt. Um nur einen neueren falschen (und dazu völlig unnötigen) Beleg zu beseitigen: AE 1984, 158 druckt in einer Wasserleitungsröhre aus Velletri den zweiten Namen *Ti(berii) C(laudii) Eutr[opii]*, und dies, obwohl in der ersten Edition Suppl. It. II Velitrae 15

¹⁵ Unbegreiflicherweise wird aus *[---]ophanius* im Index von AE 1984, S. 306 ein Gentilicium gemacht.

¹⁶ Solin, Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom 1217, 1361 mit zwölf Belegen.

Eutr[opi] richtig stand. So nachhaltig kann sich der Einfluß bekannter spätantiker Persönlichkeiten bei Editoren von Inschriften auswirken!

In derselben Inschrift findet sich auch ein anderer Name, der kaum richtig ergänzt ist: *[Ag]apo Gaviae s(ervus)*. Nun ist *Agapo* ein Name, der sich zwar in der griechischen Namengebung gelegentlich belegen läßt,¹⁷ der aber in der römischen Welt nicht mit Sicherheit auffindbar ist.¹⁸ Deswegen möchte man eher einen anderen Namen wählen. Es fehlen etwa zwei Buchstaben, so daß solche Bildungen wie *Therapo* (Solin Namenbuch 1031) oder *Asclapo* (Solin Namenbuch 355) etwas zu lang erscheinen. Die lateinische Namengebung kennt Bildungen wie *Capo*, *Rapo*, *Sapo*; von denen kommt *Rapo* einmal in früher Zeit in Interpromium vor (CIL I² 1802 = IX 3049). Nun braucht der erste erhaltene Buchstabe aber nicht ein A zu sein; aus dem Photo zu schließen, wäre da ein M sogar vorzuziehen. So erhielten wir den guten Namen *Lampo*, der in Griechenland populär wurde; in Rom einigermaßen belegt.¹⁹ Lampon war ein griechischer Heros, weswegen sein Name leicht in die römische Namengebung eindringen konnte. Ich würde also in der Inschrift aus Corfinium für *Lampo* plädieren.

4. *Stabius*. Pietro Longo hat neue Inschriften von Tarracina verdienstvoll gesammelt und veröffentlicht: *Nuova documentazione epigrafica di età romana da Terracina*, *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Perugia* 21 = n.s. 7 (1983/1984) 315-341. Auf eine ärgerliche Verlesung möchte ich hier hinweisen, die auch mir beim Durchsehen der Fahnen von Longos Edition entgangen war. Auf S. 333 Nr. 27 wird folgender Text mitgeteilt: *[---]ni Stabi l(iberti) Veturiae Sp(uri) l(ibertae) eius / [---]pis*. Verdächtig ist nicht nur die Patronatsangabe *Sp. l.*, die in der Kaiserzeit nicht mehr denkbar ist, sondern auch das vermeintliche Gentilicium *Stabius*. An sich existiert ein Gentilicium *Stabius*, es ist aber nicht sonderlich verbreitet und meistens mit *Stabiae* zu verbinden.²⁰ In

¹⁷ Bechtel HPN 10 aus IG VII 220 (3.Jh.v.Chr.). Stichproben haben ergeben, daß der Name kaum in ausgedehntem Gebrauch war.

¹⁸ Solin, *Griech. Personennamen* 738 verzeichnet einen verdächtigen Fall aus ICVR 16974.

¹⁹ Vgl. Solin, *Griech. Personennamen* 498 mit drei Belegen. Dazu etwa AE 1982, 246 (nahe Urbs Salvia). *Cod. Iust.* 8, 24, 1.

²⁰ Belegt in Pompeii und Surrentum; Vgl. P. Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus*, Roma 1975, 224. Dazu noch CIL III 14214, 1 *M. Stabius M.f. Colonus d(omo) Luca, trib. mil. leg. XI Cl.*

Tarracina würde man nun in erster Linie ein solches Gentilicium nicht erwarten. Und freilich ist die von mir 1979 gesehene Inschrift zu lesen [---]ni *Stabil(ionis)*, *Veturiaes Philu[menae]* / [---]PIS. Das Cognomen der erstgenannten Person ist zunächst *Stabilio*, nicht *Stabilis*, denn während *Stabilio* seit der republikanischen Zeit ein beliebter Sklavename ist, taucht *Stabilis* in der römischen Namengebung beträchtlich später auf.²¹ Und die Inschrift ist ja aus der frühesten Kaiserzeit.

Hier sei auch die Lesung der schwierigen (die Oberfläche verwittert) auf S. 324 Nr. 11 publizierten Inschrift (von mir 1979 gesehen) verbessert: *a* muß heißen [--- *O*]uf. *Gr*(), nicht *-vi Gr*; *b* liest sich *Antistia L.l. Secunda* (man sieht das Cognomen unversehrt); *c* nicht *Antistae Pantu[liae]*, sondern *Antist<i>ae Panthe[ae]*. Πάνθεια wird im Lateinischen zuweilen *Panthea* geschrieben (CIL VI 20593), obschon *Panthia* die Normalform ist.

5. *Nero*. Aus Gründen, die ich andernorts erörtern werde,²² wurde *Nero* in der Kaiserzeit nur sehr selten als Mannesname in der römischen Onomastik verwendet. Deswegen ist bei neuen Belegen immer Mißtrauen am Platz. In der Tat können Editoren von Inschriften ganz normale epigraphische Formeln mit diesem Namen verwechseln. Das soll an zwei Beispielen verdeutlicht werden. In AE 1978, 195 wird ein *Nero* benannter Mann angeführt, aber anhand des Photos der Erstpublikation liest man ohne den geringsten Zweifel *in fron[te]*; und desgleichen AE 1984, 154 (von uns gesehen), wo *Nero* ein Phantom ist (auch dort *in fron[te]* zu lesen).

CXXIII. VERKANNT E IDENTITÄTEN

CIL X 2472 = VI 18925 cf. p. 3523. Die Inschrift, die sich in Kopenhagen befindet, stammt allem Anschein nach aus Puteoli. Sie wurde zum ersten Mal im napoletanischen Patrizierhaus der Familie Spadafora im sechzehnten Jh. gesehen. In diesem Haus war eine große, bald aufgelöste

²¹ *Stabilio* ist 11mal in republikanischen Inschriften belegt: Solin, *L'onomastique latine*, Paris 1977, 134. Von *Stabilis* dagegen können sich vereinzelte Belege als Sklavename erst seit julisch-claudischer Zeit nachweisen: CIL VI 15725. 25759 scheinen der ersten Kaiserzeit anzugehören.

²² Im Büchlein *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Namengebung des römischen Senatorenstandes* (im Druck); auch in *Actes du IX^e Congrès International d'Epigraphie grecque et latine*, Sofia 1987, II (im Druck).

Sammlung von Inschriften untergebracht, von denen viele sicher puteolanisch sind (z.B. CIL X 1571 [wenigstens campanisch]. 1574. 1781. 1782. 1793. 2886); auch fehlen Inschriften aus anderen Nachbarstädten nicht, aber stadtrömische Inschriften waren in der Sammlung nicht enthalten, sieht man von einer Gruppe Fälschungen ab (CIL X 200*–205*), wenigstens hat keine einzige Inschrift, deren Provenienz unbekannt bleibt, Anzeichen stadtrömischer Herkunft. Unsere Inschrift wurde zuerst von Accursius und Capaccius in Neapel bei Spadafora gesehen, wurde dann über hundert Jahre später von Malvasia 'in vinea Macarani' gesehen und kam schließlich über einige Zwischenstationen nach Kopenhagen. Von der Inschrift fehlt heute der rechte Teil, aber der Text steht fest; die einzige Divergenz besteht darin, daß alle Gewährsleute von CIL X 2472 in 1 D M S gesehen haben, während Malvasia S wegläßt (heute ist es verschwunden). Die Herkunft der Inschrift aus Puteoli (oder wenigstens aus einer Nachbarstadt) steht demnach mit völliger Sicherheit fest.

Ähnlich sind die Dubletten CIL X 2254 + 2914 = VI 14776 und X 2650 = VI 21217 zu beurteilen: diese Inschriften sind puteolanisch. Sie waren alle einmal im Museum Spadafora; 2254 und 2914 wurden dort von Corradus und Capaccius, 2650 von Accursius gesehen. Die zwei erstgenannten, die wohl ein Paar bilden, gelangten kaum jemals nach Rom, denn Ligorio Neap. 1. 39 p. 295, wovon CIL VI 14776 abhängt, gibt keine Ortsangabe. Woher Ligorio den Text hat, ist eine offene Frage; sicher nicht von Corradus, dessen Abschriften erst nach Fertigstellung des Neapolitanus Ligorios bekannt wurden (falls Ligorio den Text nicht später hinzugefügt hat, wie zuweilen passierte: s. Mommsen, CIL X S. XLVIII). Die Sachlage wird noch dadurch interessant, daß Ligorio aus Neapel und Umgebung einen einzigen Stein selbst gesehen hat, CIL X 1567, und zwar im Museum Spadafora. Hat er zugleich auch CIL X 2254 und 2914 dort gesehen und abgeschrieben? Jedenfalls ist er der erste Zeuge für diese zwei Inschriften, ein alleinstehender Fall, was Puteoli und Neapel betrifft. Auch sonst sind in Ligorios Produktion sehr wenige Inschriften aus diesen Städten vorhanden.²³

²³ Vgl. Mommsen, CIL X S. 186.

CXXIV. BULLETTINO COMUNALE: NEUE NAMEN UND
VERWANDTES

Soeben kommt in meine Hände vom Bullettino der archäologischen Kommission der Stadt Rom der stattliche zweite Band des Jahrganges 1986 (vol. XCI), dessen Berichte über Ausgrabungen und Funde in Rom und Umgebung auch epigraphisch Interessantes enthält. Unten ein paar Beobachtungen und Verbesserungen.

Auf S. 411 (mit Photo auf S. 410) wird eine neue Inschrift mitgeteilt, deren Wortlaut nicht ganz ohne Interesse ist: *Faltonia[e] / Eleutheridis, / Felicis Aug.l. / Nasoniani* (die Editorin liest *Faltoni[a]*). Es handelt sich möglicherweise um ein Ehepaar, wobei die Verbindung, eine freie Frau (allerdings unfreier Extraktion, aus ihrem Cognomen zu schließen) und ein kaiserlicher Freigelassener, üblich ist. Aus dem Wortlaut und aus dem Relief zu schließen scheint die Inschrift etwa dem 1. Jh. anzugehören. Neu ist *Nasonianus* als Agnomen kaiserlicher Freigelassener. Der frühere Herr namens *Naso* ist nicht näher definierbar, so üblich ist *Naso* als Cognomen in allen Gesellschaftsklassen.

Auf S. 707 wird aus Tor di Quinto eine Inschrift mitgeteilt, deren Wortlaut aus Abb. 446 erschlossen werden kann: *Dis Manibus / C. Domiti / C.f. Vol. / Amnici*. Die Editoren plädieren für einen «C. Domizio Amnicio», wobei *Amnicus* ein Gentilicium in Funktion eines Cognomens sein müßte. Doch ist kein Gentilicium *Amnicus* bekannt, weswegen *Amnicus* vorzuziehen ist. Freilich ist auch kein Cognomen *Amnicus* bisher belegt, es stellt aber eine durchaus plausible Bildung dar. Zugrunde liegt *amnicus*,²⁴ das auch auf Personen bezogen werden kann: *navicularii amnici* in Rom, Hist. Aug. Aurelian. 47, 3. Ähnliche an die geographische Herkunft anknüpfende Namen wie *Ripanus Litorius Fluminus* sind in Kajantos Cognominabuch 308 verzeichnet (hinzugefügt werden könnte etwa *Flumentanus* CIL VI 23620, das freilich auch auf die porta Flumentana bezogen werden kann).

Auf S. 742 wird eine wie es scheint spätrepublikanische Inschrift von R. Friggeri publiziert. Wegen des aufschlußreichen Wortlautes sei der Text in extenso in der von Friggeri gegebenen Form wiederholt: [---] *C[lesippus. Heic domicilium aeternum constituit sibi et uxori et Pu(blio) Servilio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Nasone(i), propter ea quod ei tutor c(essicius) fueram.*

²⁴ Das Wort fehlt bei H.C. Isenring, Die lateinischen Adjectiva auf *-icus* und *-ticus*, Diss. Zürich 1955.

Friggeri begleitet den Text mit einem guten Kommentar, wodurch sich das meiste erschließt. Den Text möchte ich freilich auf etwas andere Weise verstanden wissen als die Editorin. Ich gehe von der Beobachtung aus, daß PV für *Publius* äußerst ungewöhnlich wäre,²⁵ zudem in einer sonst einwandfrei konzipierten stadtrömischen Inschrift so hohen Alters. Deswegen fragt man sich, ob hier eher die Bezeichnung *pu(pillus)* eines unmündigen Kindes vorliegt.²⁶ Freilich ist diese Bezeichnung *pupillus* anstelle eines Praenomens ziemlich selten, wenn man von Fällen absieht, in denen Kinder als Domini oder Patrone genannt werden; wahrscheinlich handelt es sich in diesen seltenen Fällen um ganz kleine Kinder, bei denen der Gebrauch eines Praenomens noch nicht festgelegt war. So kann dem auch hier sein. Clesippus war Vormund des Servilius Naso – so muß wohl *ei tutor fueram* verstanden werden.²⁷ Schwierigkeiten bereitet das C nach *tutor*. Die Editorin sieht hier die Abkürzung eines Attributs von *tutor*, deren sie zwei ins Feld führt, nämlich *tutor confirmatus* und *tutor cessicius*, um dem letzteren den Vorzug zu geben. In Wirklichkeit liegt der Fall eher umgekehrt: wenn eine dieser Bezeichnungen zu wählen ist, muß die Wahl auf den *tutor confirmatus* fallen, denn einen *tutor cessicius* hier zu sehen verbietet schon der Umstand, daß Clesippus Vormund des Servilius Naso gewesen sein muß, um so mehr, wenn wir diesen als ein kleines Kind auffassen.²⁸ Aber auch gegen die Auflösung *tutor c(onfirmatus)* habe ich einige Bedenken; überhaupt würde man in diesem Kontext nicht eine solche juristisch-technische Bezeichnung erwarten, und sodann war das Sigel C wohl auch den römischen Lesern nicht ohne weiteres verständlich, wie die Editorin denkt. Außerdem hätte man der Klarheit willen das Wort auf der rechten Seite der folgenden Zeile fortsetzen

²⁵ Beispiele von PV für *Publius* fehlen bei O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen*, Helsinki 1987, 45. Friggeri zieht ILLRP 578 (= CIL I² 382) heran, dort ist aber eher *Po(mponis)* zu verstehen.

²⁶ Zu dieser Bezeichnung vgl. Salomies, *Vornamen* 62-65.

²⁷ *Tutor alicui sum* ist ein ganz normaler Ausdruck, wenigstens seit Cic. Att. 12, 28, 3 belegt.

²⁸ *Ei* muß sich auf Servilius Naso beziehen (was die Editorin 744 sagt, man erwarte bei einer direkten *tutela eius*, nicht *ei*, stimmt keinesfalls). Der Versuch, hier einen *tutor cessicius* herauszupressen, ist sehr konstruiert und kann unmöglich stimmen. Über das Alter des Ausdrucks *cessicius* wissen wir nichts, und auch für die Abtretung der *tutela mulierum* durch *in iure cessio* hat

können, ganz wie *constituit* in zwei Reprisen auf zwei Zeilen (3 und 4) geschrieben wurde. Einen anderen Ausweg sehe ich aber nicht (nicht besser bestellt ist es um die Annahme, C vertrete den Anfang eines untechnischen Ausdrucks wie *custos* oder *curator*, denn in dem Falle wäre die Wahl eines Sigels noch schwerer verständlich), falls die Lesung, wie es scheint, sicher ist.²⁹

Einige Einzelheiten. Als Cognomen des Errichters des Grabes steht, wie auch Friggeri annimmt, *Clesippus* fest; ich würde sogar getrost *Clesippus* ohne Klammern schreiben. Κλείσιππος Κλήσιππος ist ein alter guter griechischer Name;³⁰ in der römischen Welt ist er aus der republikanischen Zeit schon durch den bekannten Geganius Clesippus belegt (s. mein Namenbuch 100). Unser Clesippus war vermutlich ein Freigelassener oder ein Freigelassenensohn. – Wenn Servilius Naso wirklich ein ganz kleines Kind war, so ist an seinem Namen bemerkenswert, daß *Naso* ein bei der Geburt verliehenes Cognomen vertritt. Der Namengeber, der sicher einer normalen römischen Familie angehörte, hat also dem neugeborenen Kind ein Cognomen zugelegt, was um die Mitte des 1. Jh. v. Chr. noch nicht ganz normal war.³¹ – Wenn *fuera*m, wie es scheint, ein verschobenes Plusquamperfekt ist, dann braucht Servilius Naso bei der Errichtung des Monuments noch nicht tot gewesen zu sein.³²

man hohes Alter für fraglich gehalten (A. Watson, *The Law of Persons in the Later Roman Republic*, Oxford 1967, 109).

²⁹ *Tutor confirmatus* ist freilich ein juristischer Ausdruck, andererseits bedürfen aber mehrere Arten von Tutoren der *confirmatio* (vgl. z.B. Kaser *Privatrecht* I² 355), und da nun *tutor confirmatus* ein technischer Ausdruck war, könnte man eben dadurch die an sich etwas harte Abkürzung verstehen.

³⁰ Diskret in der griechischen Welt verbreitet. Die ältesten Belege sind aus dem 4. und dem 3. Jh. und kommen aus Harma in Boiotien (SEG XXV 546), Kreta (IG IV 729, 3.Jh.), Chios (SGDI 5669, 4.Jh.), Amorgos (IG XII 7, 30, 3./2.Jh.), Euboia (IG XII 9, 245, 4.Jh.), Milet (Milet I 122, 4.Jh.) und Klazomenai (SEG XXVIII 697, 4.Jh.); dazu ein Namenträger unbestimmter Herkunft (IG XII 3, 327, 3.Jh.).

³¹ Dazu vgl. Solin, *Sul consolidarsi del cognome nell'età repubblicana al di fuori della classe senatoria e dei liberti*, *Atti Colloquio Degrassi*, Roma maggio 1987 (im Druck).

³² Nicht gut ed. pr. 744.

Die auf S. 779 publizierte und 780 abgebildete Inschrift enthält einen Namen, dessen Erklärung mir nicht ganz sicher ist: *Piperus*. Aus dem Photo zu schließen, scheint der zweitletzte Buchstabe unsicher zu sein; auf den ersten Blick würde der winzige Rest zu etwas anderem als V führen. Wegen der nicht erstklassigen Ausführung der Inschrift möchte ich mich jedoch einer sicheren Entscheidung enthalten; was anderes als V wäre außerdem zu wählen? Wenn da *Piperus* vorliegt, haben wir es mit einer seltenen Nebenform von *Piper* (aus *Piper*) zu tun, die freilich bisher mit Sicherheit nur als Frauenname belegt ist (CIL VIII 3412, dieselbe 3526), also eine nichtlateinische Bildung vertritt.

S. 786 Nr. 2 Abb. 552 wird folgendermaßen wiedergegeben: *Acilia M(arci) [·] / Caria sibi e[t]---*. Als Alternative schlägt die Editorin die Ergänzung *[P]acilia* vor, wobei sie sich auf die aus demselben Fund (?) stammende Inschrift des *M. Pacilius M., O. l. Quinquatralis* (ebda Nr. 1) beruft. Sie hat zweifellos recht; darauf weist das Praenomen *M.* hin, vor allem aber die Tatsache, daß auch das Cognomen links ergänzt werden muß, denn *Caria* wird als Frauenname nicht gebraucht. Ohne den geringsten Zweifel ist der Name *[P]acilia M. [l. Ma]caria* zu lesen. *Macaria* war in der römischen Namengebung seit der frühesten Kaiserzeit in Gebrauch (s. mein Namenbuch 815). Namen auf *-c(h)aria* kommen kaum in Frage, denn sie sind spätere Bildungen; so ist *Pancharia* erst in der spätantiken Namengebung belegt, und auch *Eucharia*, in Rom übrigens nur einmal belegt, scheint zu den späten Bildungen zu gehören.

S. 788 Nr. 6: *Diis Manib(us) Ulpiae Marciae vernaе Aug(usti)... fecit Artoria Doris filiae pientiss(imae)*. Der Wortlaut dieser Inschrift ist einmalig. Damit meine ich die Bezeichnung *verna* einer kaiserlichen Freigelassenen. Daß *verna* allein gebraucht oft als Bezeichnung von Freigelassenen und sogar von Freigeborenen vorkommt, ist bekannt. Gleichermaßen ist bekannt, daß *verna* zuweilen auch in der Nomenklatur kaiserlicher Freigelassener erscheint, aber immer von *Augusti libertus* begleitet: Beispiel *Fortunatus Aug.l. verna paternus ab epistulis* (CIL VI 1887).³³ Bisher wurde aber, soweit ich übersehe, kein einziges Mal die

³³ Dazu vgl. H. Chantraine, *Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der römischen Kaiser*, Wiesbaden 1967, 166 (den dortigen Beispielen hinzuzufügen CIL VI 8422 *T. Flavio Augusti l. vernaе adiutori a rationibus* und AE 1985, 183 *Ti. Claudio Aug.l. Felici, actario Caesaris, vernaе divi Aug(usti)*). Ein neuer Beleg: ZPE 73 (1988) 111f.

Bezeichnung *verna* ohne *Augusti libertus* belegt. Die Voraussetzungen für diese freiere Formel sind aber vorhanden, da ja *verna* an sich auch auf Freigelassene, kaiserliche wie andere, bezogen werden konnte. Hier wird die Verwendung von *verna* noch dadurch begünstigt, daß als Errichterin die eigene Mutter erscheint, die sich nicht so sehr um die offizielle Nomenklatur kümmern mußte: ihre Tochter war als kaiserliche Sklavin, *verna*, geboren und konnte auch nach ihrer Freilassung als *verna* bezeichnet werden; hier, im familiären Sprachgebrauch, wurde sie seitens ihrer Mutter mit der sonst nicht belegbaren Bezeichnung *verna Augusti* ohne *liberta* genannt. Daß die Tochter nicht das Gentilicium ihrer Mutter trägt, hat nichts Außergewöhnliches; entweder erklärt sich das durch die Bestimmungen des Senatusconsultum Claudianum oder aber dadurch, daß Artoria Doris noch Sklavin war, als die Tochter geboren wurde.³⁴

CXXV. VARIA URBANA

1. Der letzte Name in CIL VI 1637 ist problematisch. Die Restitution wird dazu noch dadurch erschwert, daß sich in der Inschrift an mehreren Stellen Spuren einer modernen Überarbeitung erkennen lassen. So liest man heute in 6 HS (das zeigt auch die Photographie deutlich) statt des richtigen LIB, das fast spurlos verschwunden ist. Aber nun zu unserem Namen. Die Zeilen 8-9 gibt CIL wie folgt wieder: POSVIT CASTA TAE / V DO BE COIVGI. Andere hatten anders gelesen; letztlich meint Henzen TAEVDORE für THEODORE. Ich habe die Inschrift in der Galleria lapidaria der Vatikanischen Museen am 25. 4. 1988 genau kontrolliert. Die Lesung des CIL ist sonst richtig, nur findet sich nach DO kein Punkt, und der folgende Buchstabe ist nicht mit Sicherheit ein B, denn die untere Schleife fehlt;

³⁴ Zum Senatusconsultum Claudianum vgl. neuerdings vom rechtlichen Standpunkt A. Watson, *Roman Slave Law*, Baltimore 1987, 10f.; vom sozialhistorischen Standpunkt und zur Widerspiegelung der rechtlichen Bestimmungen in Inschriften vgl. die guten Bemerkungen von P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, Cambridge 1972, 162-169 und Dens., *The Status of Children in Mixed Marriages*, in: B. Rawson (ed.), *The Family in Ancient Rome*, Ithaca 1986, 145-169 (doch hege ich einige Zweifel gegen die Annahme, daß ein Großteil der Frauen von kaiserlichen Sklaven oder Freigelassenen Freigeborene, *ingenuae*, gewesen wären).

erhalten ist außer der Haste eine Schleife oben, was ein R ergibt, dessen Schwanz verschwunden ist. Der Name muß also eindeutig *Taeodore* gelesen werden. *Tae-* in Namen auf *Theo-*: *Taeodotus* ICVR 10122, *Taeodorus* CIL VI 2570. ICVR 11434; *Taeodora* CIL VI 2547. ICVR 9556; *Taeofilus* Riv. arch. crist. 1 (1924) 98, usw. *T(h)eu-* ist in allen Zeiten in Rom üblich gewesen. – Der dritte Buchstabe der Zeile 9 ist übrigens ursprünglich ein O gewesen (wie man auch erwartet); das U, das man im heutigen Zustand liest, gehört zur modernen Überarbeitung. Aus dieser Überarbeitung resultieren die Lesungen TAEDVLE von Lupi und Donati, die unter Einfluß des beliebten altchristlichen Namens *Theodulus -e* auch den zweitletzten Buchstaben als L verlesen haben. *Theodulus* kommt hier aber unmöglich in Frage, und zwar nicht nur wegen des epigraphischen Befundes, sondern auch weil *Theodulus* ein rein christlicher Name ist, der erst im 4.Jh. in üblicheren Gebrauch kommt.

2. Ich besitze von CIL VI 3743 = 31130 = 36760 ein gutes Photo. Daraus geht die Richtigkeit der bei Bang präsentierten Lesung hervor. DIVO in 2 ist deutlich, und auch DECIO kann gesichert werden. Das erste epigraphische Zeugnis der Konsekration des Decius und seines Sohnes bleibt also bestehen. Was aber im Text noch nicht entziffert wurde, ist das Cognomen des ersten Patronus und Quinquennalis (H)erennius. Geschrieben ist es deutlich EVVOLVII, und es ist vollständig, weil ein Punkt folgt (ich sage dies eigens, weil in 31130 danach ein Bruch angegeben wird). Verstanden wird das gewöhnlich als EVVOLVTI, woraus von Bang in seinem Nominaindex 96 ein *Erennius *Euvolutes* und von Vidman im Cognominaindex 256 ein mit zwei V geschriebenes *Evolutes* gemacht wird. Eine Bildung *Evolutes* entzieht sich aber einer erkennbaren Beziehung und bleibt ein Monstrum. Außerdem müßte in *Euvoluti* eine Entgleisung für *-e* vorliegen, da ja Abl. verlangt wird. Auch ist es nicht zulässig, an die griechischen Namenssippen *Eubolus* und *Eubulus* zu denken, denn es ist nicht einzusehen, wie daraus ein Männername auf *-oûς* oder *-oûτης* gebildet werden könnte (*-oûς* ist Femininsuffix!); an sich sind in Rom Namen auf *Eubol-* belegt,³⁵ und man könnte sich die beliebte Sippe *Eubulus*, zuweilen auch *Eubol-* geschrieben, vorstellen. (Außerdem sind wenigstens in Rom Formen auf *Euv-* von *Eub-* nicht zu finden.) Wahrscheinlich liegt das Cognomen des Herennius in abgekürzter Form vor. Könnte *Evoluti(anus)* angesetzt werden?

³⁵ *Eubola* CIL VI 28327. *Eubolia* RAL 1981, 114 Nr. 24. *Eubolius* ICVR 3451 = 18699. Es kann sein, daß sie als *Eubul-* zu beurteilen sind.

Freilich kennt die lateinische Namengebung keine Bildung *Evolutus*, aber in der spätantiken Onomastik wimmelt es von allerlei freieren aus Partizipien gebildeten Cognomina und Signa. Unmöglich wäre also ein Name *Evolutianus* durchaus nicht. Kaum *Evoluti(us)*, denn für das O wäre da Raum gewesen.

3. Der bizarre Name *Harie* in CIL VI 19145 verschwindet. Der Apparat des CIL kennt den Weg der Urne bis nach Paris, später kam sie aber nach Chartres, wo sie Espérandieu, Recueil IV (1911) 120 Nr. 2981 sah (aus Espérandieu kürzlich von Fr. Sinn, Stadtrömische Marmorurnen, Mainz 1987, 117 Nr. 100 ans Licht gezogen, aber ohne Kenntnis der stadtrömischen Herkunft, die durch Fea sched. f. 416 feststeht). Espérandieu hat *Halie*, was wohl die richtige Lesung vertritt, denn der Errichter heißt *Halius*. Die zwei waren also etwa Geschwister oder Mitsklaven. Die Dativform *Halie* in der Inschrift braucht übrigens keine Entgleisung für *Haliae* zu sein, denn die Inschrift weist sonst keine abweichenden Graphien auf. Vielmehr liegt hier eine bewußte jonische Form vor. Die Griechen selbst gaben den Namen der Nereide auch in der Prosa mit 'Αλίη wieder (Apollod. Bibl. 1, 11; Diod. 5, 55, 4, 7). So dürfte auch in *Manlia Halie* CIL VI 21939 *b* eine gute Form vorliegen. Eine ähnliche jonische Form *Paphie* hat sich in der römischen Namengebung erfolgreich durchgesetzt und eine Graphie *Paphia* vollständig zurückgedrängt.

4. CIL VI 26221 befindet sich heute im Museum von Roanne und ist kürzlich von Fr. Jacques, Epigraphica 48 (1986) 33-35 mit gutem Photo neu herausgegeben worden. Schwierigkeiten bereitet die zweite Zeile, wo sowohl die Corpuseditoren (aus der Placierung der Inschrift zu schließen) wie auch Vidman in seinem Cognominaindex 330 und Jacques in SEPTE einen Namen sehen. Aber welchen? Vidman spricht sich nicht aus, Jacques plädiert für ein mit *Septeius* zu verbindendes Cognomen oder für gr. *Zethe* oder *σεπτή*. Das nun ist nicht sehr einleuchtend. Ich verstehe einfach *diis manibus F[--- an(norum)] / septe(m) et Florae m[at]ri [---]*.

5. In der nur von älteren Gewährsleuten gesehenen Inschrift CIL VI 14009 ist der Name des Mannes EPLVS überliefert. Vidman im Cognominaindex 253 schlägt *Epius* vor, da aber *Epius* ein durchaus seltenes Cognomen ist (nur 5 Belege in Rom: Solin Namenbuch 475. 1304), dürfte es

vorzuziehen sein, hier eher *Euplus* zu vermuten. *Euplus* ist überaus häufig in Rom.³⁶ Vgl. z.B. *Ebulus* CIL VI 17938.

6. Einige Bemerkungen zur Edition der Inschriften der Sammlung Zeri in Mentana:

Nr. 50, Grabinschrift eines *Felix Imp. Aug. disp.* Sie wird vom Editor ins 1. oder in den Anfang des 2. Jh. datiert. Ihm ist entgangen, daß die Formel *Imperatoris Augusti servus* nur zwischen Vespasian und Hadrian (von einzelnen Nachzögern bis zum 3. Jh. abgesehen) im Gebrauch war.³⁷

Nr. 57: Der im Genetiv oder Dativ vorliegende Pferdename *Selmoni* ist merkwürdig (unbeschreibliche Konfusion in den Bemerkungen des Editors) und läßt sich von der antiken Onomastik her kaum erklären. Ist die Inschrift überhaupt antik? Die Buchstabenformen, soweit sie sich auf dem Photo beurteilen lassen, könnten zu der Versuchung verleiten, hier eine moderne Inschrift zu sehen. Doch wage ich keine Entscheidung. Zu notieren wäre, daß im modernen Italien ein Familienname *Selmone* existiert.³⁸

Auch mit der Datierung von 66 ins 3. Jh. befindet sich der Editor auf dem Holzwege. Die Inschrift ist viel älter, wohl aus dem 1. Jh.

In 67 darf nicht *Amoeybe* geschrieben werden; der Steinmetz schrieb zuerst AMYBE, und später wurde mit kleineren Lettern OE über das Y hinzugefügt. – In 68 wundert die Bemerkung, das Gentile *Crattius* hätte eine Variante *Crassius*!

Um bei falschen Datierungen zu bleiben: Nr. 80 wird um 200 n.Chr. angesetzt. Eindeutig aus julisch-claudischer Zeit. Und was soll man davon denken, daß 82, eine Grabinschrift mit Relief etwa aus dem 2. Jh., von der Editorin ins 4. Jh. datiert wird? Und 93 soll ins 3. Jh. gehören, man wird sie

³⁶ 29 Belege aus Rom: Solin Namenbuch 855 (dort ist freilich CIG 9585 zu entfernen, weil gleich ICVR 15870).

³⁷ Dazu H. Chantraine, *Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der römischen Kaiser*, Wiesbaden 1967, 264ff mit einem vollständigen Verzeichnis. Dort fehlen aber einige Belege: NSc. 1917, 302 Nr. 41. NSc. 1923, 32. Styger, *Röm. Katakomben* 349. CIL IV 10082. 10619. Dazu kommt aus dieser Sammlung Zeri Nr. 55 ein merkwürdiger Beleg: *Ti. Cladio Onesimo ostiario Imperatoris Caesaris l(iberto), v(ixit) a(nnos) C.* Chantraine zufolge läßt sich kein einziger *Imperatoris libertus* nachweisen. Wahrscheinlich ist hier *ostiario Imperatoris, Caesaris liberto* zu verstehen. Ähnliche Fälle, wo *Imperator* mit einer Dienstbezeichnung zusammengehört, etwa CIL VI 8550. 8895. 8972.

³⁸ Vgl. E. De Felice, *I cognomi italiani*, Bologna 1980, 277.

aber etwa um ein Jahrhundert älter ansetzen. Beide in der Inschrift genannten Männer führen ein Praenomen, und auch die Patronatsangabe wird noch beibehalten.

Das Gentilicium *Loriflanus* in 136 wird von der Editorin unnötigerweise für verdächtig gehalten und als Steinmetzfehler erklärt. Freilich haben wir es mit einem neuen Gentilicium zu tun, es stellt aber eine ganz normale Bildung neben *Loriflanius* dar.

In 173 ist *Storges* statt *Storge* zu lesen; man erkennt vom Schluß-S einen winzigen Rest unten.

Verdächtig scheint mir die Existenz einer Kontraktion TRB = *tribunus* in Nr. 246. Die Inschrift dürfte aus dem 2. Jh. sein, und in jener Zeit waren die Kontraktionen dieser Art noch selten. Auf dem Photo erkenne ich nach TR eher eine Heder. Oder täuscht das schlechte Photo?³⁹

In 256 ist *Cossus* sicher ein falsches Gentilicium. Das zweite S ist an beiden Stellen verschwunden, und nichts hindert uns, *Cos[i]us* zu lesen. *Cosius* ist ein wohlbekanntes Gentilicium.

Zwei weitere als Inedita publizierte Inschriften finden sich schon im CIL VI (andere Dubletten sind in Arctos 21 [1987] 137 verzeichnet): 169 = CIL VI 36343 (wo vollständig) und 180 = CIL VI 36457.

Ferner sind mehrere unter der Rubrik «Nuove funerarie» (nr. 246ff.) publizierte Inschriften schon in einem Aufsatz von A. Ferrua, *Epigraphica* 29 (1967) 62ff. bekannt gemacht: 248 = Ferrua 74 Nr. 87; 251 = Ferrua 73 Nr. 85; 252 = Ferrua 74 Nr. 86; 261 = Ferrua 72 Nr. 81; 271 = Ferrua 73 Nr. 84; 278 = Ferrua 73 Nr. 83.

7. In dem Ziegelstempel CIL XV 1308 = I² 2316 wird unnötigerweise das Cognomen als *Arteme(dorus)* aufgefasst (so außer Dressel auch Bloch im Index 38). Überliefert ist Gen. *Arteme* mit Ligaturen von T und E sowie von M und E. Wenn wir *Artemidorus* verstehen, müßten wir das unbequeme E für I abtun. Das Cognomen war aber wahrscheinlich *Artema*, hier im Gen. mit *e* für *ae* geschrieben. Oder könnte eine dreifache Ligatur von M, A und E postuliert werden?

8. Man soll also in den Ziegelstempeln nicht leichtfertig mit allzu kurzen Abkürzungen operieren, besonders wenn daraus eine unnötige

³⁹ Als Kontraktion wird TRB hier auch von U. Hälvä-Nyberg, *Die Kontraktionen auf den lateinischen Inschriften Roms und Afrikas bis zum 8. Jh.n.Chr.*, Helsinki 1988, 268 aufgefaßt. Bezeichnenderweise stammt aber der andere römische Beleg aus dem Jahre 523: ICVR 4184.

graphische Variante resultiert. Ein ähnlicher Fall liegt in CIL XV 965 = I² 2309 vor; dort heißt es *M. Curti Metra*. Derselbe Mann erscheint, als er noch Sklave war, in Bloch Suppl. 262 (derselbe Stempel wohl auch CIL XV 2374. XIV 4091, 74) in der Form *Metra Qurti*. Dressel denkt an *Metradates*, man würde aber *Mithrad*- erwarten. Zweifellos liegt der gute griechische Name *Metra(s)* vor, einigermaßen auch in Rom belegt.⁴⁰

9. Die von I. Di Stefano Manzella, RPAA 49 (1976-1977 [1978]) 276 vereinten drei Fragmente ($a + b =$ CIL VI 11651 und $c =$ CIL VI 26696) sind mit CIL VI 16406 zu vergleichen. Der Text ist identisch, aber es bleiben Probleme: die in 16406 gegebenen Zeilenenden führen nicht zu gleichmäßigen Längen der Zeilen, doch ist der Ordinator bestrebt gewesen, einzelne Wörter nicht auf zwei Zeilen zu verteilen – deswegen vielleicht die kleinen Ungleichmäßigkeiten in der Zentrierung der Zeilen. Aber wie soll man den linken Teil von 16406 beurteilen? Aus der Beschreibung und dem Photo bei Di Stefano erhält man nicht den Eindruck, daß sich links ein anderer beschrifteter Teil befunden hätte. Hat Amati vielleicht den linken und rechten Teil in verkehrter Ordnung gegeben? Oder aber es handelt sich um zwei verschiedene Inschriften mit mehr oder weniger identischem Text; darauf könnte auch hinweisen, daß 16406 laut Amati eine Kolumbarientafel sein soll, was für 11651 + 26696 nicht stimmen dürfte. – Ein *L. Aninius L.l. Spinther* CIL VI 11665, vielleicht derselbe.

10. Ferrua, Epigraphica 32 (1970) 90 publiziert aus Marucchi, Nuovo Bull. arch. crist. 13 (1907) 231 eine Inschrift, vermehrt um ein winziges Fragment. Schon CIL VI 37272. Die Identität auch AE 1980, 195 entgangen.

11. Die von Ferrua, Riv. arch. crist. 62 (1986) 277 aus einer alten Abschrift von Segarelli publizierte Grabinschrift *d. m. P. Herennius Euaristus* usw. findet sich in Warschau und wurde von A. Sadurska, Inscr. lat. et mon. funér. romains au Musée nat. de Varsovie, 1953, 71 Nr. 24 (mit Photo) veröffentlicht. Die Abschrift von Segarelli ist sonst fehlerfrei, nur muß in 1 das Praenomen *Q.*, in 3 *coniug(i)* gelesen werden.

12. Um eine völlig falsche Lesung zu beseitigen: In der Abteilung 'Notiziario di scavi e scoperte in Roma e suburbio' (wovon schon in Arctos 20 [1986] 167 die Rede war) Bull. com. 90 (1985) 431 wird aus dem Gelände der Via Imperiale folgender Text mitgeteilt: *D M [P]otho / [---] / b.m. fecit.*

⁴⁰ 5 Belege bei Solin Namenbuch 371. Dazu noch CIL VI 19748 vgl. Bull. com. 86 (1978-1979 [1981]) 101.

In Wirklichkeit ist die Inschrift folgendermaßen zu lesen: *D M / [Actio] / [---] / [b. m. f[e]c[i]t]*: L. Avetta, in: Roma - Via Imperiale, Tituli 3, Roma 1985, 105 Nr. 76.

13. Ich komme noch auf den merkwürdigen Namen *Afites* ICVR 9609 zurück. Ich hatte in Arctos 19 (1985) 203 dafür *Memfites* vermutet, weil *Afites* als Name unerklärlich sei. Später (1987) habe ich die Inschrift einsehen können.⁴¹ Daraus resultierte die Richtigkeit der ursprünglichen Lesung AFITES von Ferrua.⁴² Die Inschrift ist intakt, so daß *Memfites* ausgeschlossen ist. Zunächst liegt Nom. vor, im Notfall kann auch an den Gen. einer *Afite* gedacht werden. Was dahinter steckt, bleibt unsicher; ich habe zur Zeit keine sinnvolle Erklärung zu bieten. Am ehesten würde man den Namen mit der Sippe *Apphe* verbinden, aber wie? Wenn wir die Form als Gen. von *Afete* auffassen, könnte da eine Art heteroklitische Form aus *Apphe* oder *Apphis* (dieser Name in Rom CIL VI 12180) vorliegen?⁴³ Doch bliebe die morphologische Struktur undurchsichtig. Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre es, diese Form mit *Aphetus* zu verbinden (da stünde also *i* für *e*). *Aphetus* findet sich einige Male in Rom (CIL VI 7010. 12100) und vertritt einen gut griechischen Namen, wenn er auch in der griechischen Namengebung kaum belegt ist. – Zum Schluß sei noch bemerkt, daß im Notfall statt F ein E und statt I ein L gelesen werden kann. Auch das führt aber zu keinem befriedigenden Ergebnis. Non liquet.

14. ICVR 18886 aus Da Bra, Iscrizioni di S. Lorenzo 91 Nr. 129 stammt in Wirklichkeit aus der Katakombe des Novatianus und steht besser ICVR 20435. Da noch Ferrua die Inschrift in Novatian gesehen hat, muß Da Bra, der sie im Chioistro von S. Lorenzo gesehen zu haben vermeint, sich geirrt haben, soweit es sich nicht um eine Dublette handelt.

15. ICVR 25623 VRANON (Graffito; verschollen) wird im Index 407 als *Uran(i)os* verstanden. Das ist verkehrt, schon weil Akk. in dem Zusammenhang ganz ungewöhnlich wäre. Wahrscheinlich Nom. *Uran(i)on*, eine morphologisch einwandfreie Bildung.

⁴¹ Ich besitze von der Inschrift auch ein gutes Photo, das mir Prof. U. M. Fasola freundlicherweise besorgt hat.

⁴² Vgl. auch Ferrua, Note al Thesaurus linguae Latinae. Addenda et corrigenda (A-D), Bari 1986, 25.

⁴³ Einige solche heteroklitische Formen bespricht A. Helttula in: Le iscrizioni dell'Autoparco Vaticano, Roma 1973, 151f.

16. In ICVR 26041 ist geschrieben EYNOI. Seit de Rossi nimmt man gewöhnlich an, daß sich der Name auf einer zweiten Tafel fortsetze und Εὐνοί[κός] gelautet habe. Das ist ganz unnötig, denn Εὔνοι läßt sich vorzüglich als Dat. von Εὔνοος erklären; vgl. Moretti IGUR 642 und ZPE 67 (1987) 202.

17. In Riv. arch. crist. 62 (1986) 24 wird eine altchristliche Inschrift von U. M. Fasola folgendermaßen publiziert: *hic quiescit Subl[iciu]s in pace qui / [vix]it an(nis) p(lus) m(inus) XXXV, d[e]p. II Kal. Iun.* Ich habe die Lesung anhand einer guten Photographie kontrollieren können, die mir Prof. Fasola freundlicherweise zur Verfügung gestellt hat. *Sublicius* ist aber sicher ein falscher Name, denn *sublicius* (auch nicht Pons Sublicius) kann nicht zu einem Personennamen werden. Auch ist ein Gentilicium **Sublicius* unbekannt. Die Lücke inmitten des Namens läßt sich nicht berechnen (in 2 kann statt II eine längere Datumsangabe gewählt werden), so daß man die richtige Form des Namens nur erraten kann. Nun, der vierte Buchstabe kann auch I sein, und da in der antiken Namengebung praktisch keine Bildungen auf *Subl-* vorhanden sind,⁴⁴ wird man einen Namen auf *Subi-* vorziehen, etwa *Subitus Subitanus* (Kajanto, Latin Cognomina 296), auch in der altchristlichen Namengebung belegt, oder *Subitillus* (bekannt aus Moretti IGUR 1033).

⁴⁴ Außer einem etwas obskuren *Sublatus* CIL V 4643 (Kajanto, Latin Cognomina 268).

Iohannis Lemouicensis Morale Somnium Pharaonis Problemi di datazione

LEENA TALVIO

Iohannes Lemouicensis ossia Jean de Limoges fu l'autore poco conosciuto di uno *speculum principis* ugualmente poco conosciuto, il Morale Somnium Pharaonis. Sia l'identificazione dell'autore che la datazione della sua opera presentano tuttavia diversi problemi, e finora non è stato fatto nessuno studio approfondito su Giovanni e il suo «Sogno del Faraone».¹

Di questo testo si sono conservati circa sessanta manoscritti in tutta l'Europa,² il che mostra la relativa popolarità dell'opera in un periodo che va dalla fine del tredicesimo fino al sedicesimo secolo.

¹ Il testo fu edito per la prima volta da B. Jo. Christopher Wagenseil (Epistola de Hydraspide, Altdorf 1690). Lo stesso testo, basato su un solo manoscritto tardo ed incompleto, fu ripreso da Joh. Albertus Fabricius e pubblicato nel suo Codex pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti, Hamburg - Leipzig 1713, 441-496. Più tardi Fabricius pubblicò anche le due ultime epistole, mancanti nella prima edizione, sulla base di un altro manoscritto, anch'esso tardo. L'edizione Wagenseil - Fabricius presenta un testo corrotto ed in molti punti incomprensibile. La seconda edizione, quella di Horváth, Iohannis Lemovicensis Opera omnia (3 voll. Veszprém 1932), t. 1, 71-126, è basata anch'essa su un solo manoscritto, Troyes 556, della fine del tredicesimo secolo e proveniente da Chiaravalle, manoscritto senz'altro tra i migliori. Tuttavia l'edizione di Horváth è piena di errori, sia di trascrizione che di stampa, e non può essere utilizzata per nessuno studio serio sul contenuto o sullo stile dell'opera. – L'autrice del presente articolo sta preparando una nuova edizione critica del Sogno del Faraone, nonché uno studio sull'autore e la sua opera.

² Parecchi sono da aggiungere a quelli già elencati da K. Horváth, Opera omnia, t. 1., 66*-71*, da P. Glorieux, Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de

Prima di vedere più da vicino i problemi cronologici connessi con l'autore e la sua opera conviene presentare brevemente l'opera stessa.

Si tratta di uno specchio per principi abbastanza originale, almeno per quanto riguarda la sua forma, una corrispondenza del Faraone con Giuseppe, ed i propri consiglieri. La teoria del buon governo viene spiegata a partire dal famoso sogno del Faraone, narrato nella Bibbia,³ ma dandogli un nuovo significato. L'ordine delle epistole corrisponde a una disputa universitaria; l'opera comincia così con una *quaestio*, seguita dalla *responsio*, e dalle *obiectioes* e finisce con una *determinatio*. Allo stesso tempo le epistole, redatte più o meno secondo le regole dell'*ars dictaminis*, costituiscono una collezione di venti lettere-modello. Lo stile è estremamente retorico, pieno di giochi di parole e di suoni, di rime, di parallelismi, di allitterazioni, di anafore e di altri simili effetti. Nei manoscritti incontriamo il Sogno talvolta con testi riguardanti l'arte del buon governo, talaltra appunto con scritti sull'*ars dictaminis* o con altre collezioni di lettere.

Per quanto riguarda l'autore del Sogno è ovvio che nel tredicesimo secolo sono vissute per lo meno tre persone chiamate Iohannes Lemouicensis. Data la comunità del nome Iohannes questo è più che naturale. Di quel Giovanni che scrisse il Sogno sappiamo tuttavia con certezza soltanto due cose: che fu *magister* e che fu monaco cistercense a Chiaravalle.⁴ Le altre menzioni del detto nome sono in parte contraddittorie o con queste notizie, o fra di loro.

Si sa che un cistercense di nome Iohannes Lemouicensis fu priore di Chiaravalle dal 1206 al 1207, dopodiché fu mandato in Ungheria, a Zirc, ossia a Bakony, dove fu abate dal 1208 al 1218 – almeno è probabile che si tratti della stessa persona.⁵

Più tardi, nel 1245, un francescano dello stesso nome partecipa al concilio di Lione e viene nominato in due bolle papali, nel 1247 e nel 1251.⁶

Paris au XIIIe siècle, Paris 1934, t. 2, 253, da Fr. Stegmüller, Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi, Madrid 1951, t. 3, 373 e da G. Raciti, Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique, t. 7, Paris 1971, 615.

³ Gen. 41, 1-7.

⁴ Glorieux, 252. Cf. ms. Troyes 893, f. 147 v. dove si legge: *a venerabili viro magistro Iohanne dicto lemouicensi monacho clarevallis*.

⁵ Horváth, Opera omnia, t. 1, 51*-53*.

⁶ Horváth, Jean de Limoges, der Franziskaner, Cistercienser Chronik 51 (1939) 259.

Inoltre il nome Iohannes Lemouicensis si trova due volte in manoscritti provenienti da Saint-Martial de Limoges, ora a Parigi.⁷ Si tratta di lezioni universitarie, di commentari su certe opere di Aristotele, *Analytica posteriora*, *Topica*, *Ethica Vetus*, *Ethica Nova*.⁸ I testi, fra cui l'*Ethica Nova* che è stata datata agli anni 1235-1240,⁹ sono stati copiati ma non redatti da un certo magister Iohannes Lemouicensis.¹⁰

Nel 1270 poi, un frate dello stesso nome tiene un sermone a Parigi.¹¹ Infine, nel 1303, un domenicano omonimo partecipa ad un concilio.¹²

Konstantin Horváth, l'editore ungherese delle opere di Giovanni (1932) era convinto che l'autore del *Sogno* fosse proprio quel Giovanni che prima fu priore a Chiaravalle e successivamente abate a Zirc in Ungheria.¹³ Dopo il periodo ungherese, sempre secondo Horváth, questi ritornò in Francia e passò all'ordine francescano.¹⁴ Sarebbe così quello stesso Giovanni Lemovicense che partecipò al concilio di Lione e che è menzionato nelle bolle papali.¹⁵

⁷ BN lat. 483, f. 182 *Iste quaternus est magistri Iohannis Le Lemosini et alius quaternus quem vobis tradet magister Anulfus* ; BN lat. 3237, f. 13 *Iste caternus est Iohannis Lemovicensis*.

⁸ Vedi J. Slafer, *Remarques concernant quelques manuscrits universitaires de l'abbaye Saint-Martial de Limoges copiés par Jean Le Limousin*, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 42 (1975) 143-146.

⁹ R. A. Gauthier, *Le cours sur l'Ethica nova d'un maître dès Arts de Paris (1235-1240)*, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 42 (1975) 72.

¹⁰ Slafer, 143-147; Gauthier, 71-73. Slafer (144 n. 3) dice di non aver potuto identificare questo Jean Le Limousin.

¹¹ Raciti, 616; il s'agit du ms BN lat. 15956, f. 234-237.

¹² A. Dondaine, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la province de France. L'appel au Concili (1303)*, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 22 (1952) 410.

¹³ Horváth, *Opera Omnia*, t. 1, 51*-53*.

¹⁴ Horváth, *Chronik*, 259. Già Doucet, *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 27 (1934) 586, propose che potesse trattarsi della stessa persona.

¹⁵ Horváth, *Chronik*, 259.

Lo stesso Horváth ha tuttavia ammesso che le opere di Giovanni non contengono nessun accenno ad un ipotetico periodo ungherese dell'autore e le considera, inoltre, imbevute di spirito cistercense.¹⁶

Non convinto dalla cronologia proposta da Horváth, Glorieux nel suo *Répertoire des maîtres en Théologie de Paris au XIIIe siècle* propose per Giovanni una datazione più tardiva.¹⁷ Pare facesse questo soprattutto in base ad un testo ignorato da Horváth, benché contenuto nello stesso codice che raccoglie tutte le altre opere di Giovanni.¹⁸ Il testo in questione è un arringa intitolata *Arenga coram domino papa et cardinalibus proponenda* e fu scritto da Giovanni, secondo Glorieux, per il concilio di Lione nel 1274 per difendere i privilegi dei cistercensi.¹⁹

Raciti, nel suo articolo su Giovanni nel *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* segue la cronologia proposta da Glorieux e ritiene inoltre che il sermone contenuto nel manoscritto BN lat. 15956, ff. 234-237 sia da attribuire a Giovanni.²⁰ Questo testo porta in margine la menzione *fratris Iohannis Lemouicensis*. La lettura *patris* invece di *fratris*, proposta da Raciti è, secondo me, da ritenere sbagliata. Non sembra neanche sia il caso di identificare questo *frater Iohannes Lemouicensis* – che potrebbe essere un frate mendicante omonimo – con l'autore del Sogno, definito altrove *magister e monachus Clarevallis*.

Per quanto riguarda i commentari sopra menzionati su Aristotele, di cui uno è stato datato agli anni 1235-40, possono benissimo essere copiati dall'autore del Sogno che proprio in quegli anni, come è probabile, fu attivo a Parigi.

Raciti, in base a quanto proposto da Glorieux, ha stabilito la seguente cronologia per Giovanni Lemovicense: sarebbe nato a Limoges nel primo quarto del tredicesimo secolo; sarebbe stato attivo come maestro secolare a Parigi prima di ritirarsi a Chiaravalle tra gli anni 1246 e 1270, ad un'età piuttosto avanzata – un indizio ne sarebbe l'espressione *peregrinus*

¹⁶ Horváth, *Opera Omnia*, t. 1, 61*; Chronik, 263. Horváth fu lui stesso cistercense.

¹⁷ Glorieux, 252.

¹⁸ Glorieux, *ibid.*

¹⁹ Il testo fu edito da J. Leclercq: *Un opuscule inédit de Jean de Limoges sur l'exemption*, *Analecta Sacri ordinis cisterciensis* 3 (1947) 147-154.

²⁰ Raciti, 616.

serotinus, usata da Giovanni in una sua lettera per indicare se stesso.²¹ Raciti divide la produzione letteraria di Giovanni rispettivamente in due periodi, quello di Parigi e quello di Chiaravalle.²²

Nell'insieme questo quadro mi pare giusto. Vorrei però criticarne alcuni punti. L'unica data sicura della vita e della produzione letteraria di Giovanni pare sia l'anno del concilio di Lione, 1274. Invece gli anni 1246 e 1270, proposti da Raciti come termini post/ante quem per il ritiro di Giovanni a Chiaravalle non corrispondono, secondo me, a niente di preciso. La data 1270, discussa sopra, probabilmente non si riferisce al nostro Giovanni. L'anno 1246 pare provenga dalla datazione data da Raciti ad un'altra opera di Giovanni, il *Libellus de dictamine et dictatorio syllogismorum*. Questa datazione si basa su una frase del *Libellus*, interpretata da Raciti come un'allusione all'antire Enrico Raspe (1246-47).²³ Tuttavia Giovanni scrive: *A domino papa imperator romanorum appellatur dilectissimus filius h. Dei gratia Romanorum imperator et semper augustus etc.*²⁴ Come si vede, qui si parla di imperatore (non di re come invece nella frase seguente) e siccome Enrico Raspe di Turingia non fu mai imperatore riterrei inverosimile che la lettera 'h' in questione potesse riferire a lui (anche perché una lettera è facilmente mutabile in mano ad un copista). Certamente, anche se i due termini proposti da Raciti non trovano conferma nei documenti, è probabile che il *Libellus* di Giovanni risalga ad un periodo anteriore al suo ritiro a Chiaravalle. Il momento del ritiro però rimane difficilmente definibile.

Qui ci interessa soprattutto la datazione del *Morale Somnium Pharaonis*, non meno problematica di quella del suo autore. Il prologo dell'opera contiene alcuni indizi che ci possono aiutare. Ne riproduciamo qui l'inizio:

*Victorioso principi potestates aereas debellanti domino
Theobaldo regi Nauarre magnifico Campanie ac Brie comiti palatino,
suus Iohannes uocatus Lemouicensis, bonum certamen certare
cursum feliciter consummare.*

Rex uirtutum progressurus ad prelium aduersus principes

²¹ Raciti, 614; Epist. 3, Horváth, *Opera Omnia*, t. 3, 95.

²² cf. Raciti, 614-616.

²³ Raciti, 616.

²⁴ Ms. Troyes 893, f. 135v; Horváth, *Opera Omnia* I, 32.

tenebrarum, uiris olim spiritualibus inspirauit, nouam castrorum aciem nouam stellarum cohortem caritatiue colligere caritatiuis stipendiis exhibere, maturiores scilicet philosophie filios, quos scientia prouidos gratia strenuos paupertas reddidit expeditos, accingendo gladio spiritus quod est uerbum dei, et eos spirituali militie ascribendo. Inardescens autem spiritus apostaticus spiritus sancti molimina demoliri, spiritum mendacii transfigurauit in spiritum ueritatis, ut seducens seduceret et preualens preualeret, qui proh dolor simplicium credulitatem seduxit et cusinum consilium Achitofel exsufflauit. Uos autem illuminante patre luminum non acquiescentes sapientie terrene animali dyabolice, sed celestium sedium assistrici, necdum credidistis omni spiritui, necdum cessistis omni flatui ad instar harundinis ventilate, sapienter imitantes solem in ordine suo perseuerantem non lunam mutabiliter defluentem. Quapropter in celis thesaurum immarcescibilem thesaurizare in terris nomen eternum hereditare, in deuotis clericis et alumpnis perhennem gratitudinem accendere meruistis, quorum ego minimus preces uestras recipiens pro preceptis serenitati uestre gratanter offero postulatum munusculum litterarum.²⁵

Giovanni dedica dunque la sua opera a Teobaldo, re di Navarra e conte palatino di Champagne e di Brie. Tuttavia nel tredicesimo secolo sono vissuti due Teobaldi che furono sia conti di Champagne e di Brie che re di Navarra. Il primo di questi fu Teobaldo IV, diventato poi il re di Navarra Teobaldo I, il famoso trovatore Thibault de Champagne che regnò dal 1234 al 1253. Suo figlio Teobaldo V, poi re Teobaldo II, fu coronato a Pamplona nel 1258 e regnò fino alla morte, avvenuta nel 1270.

La cronologia di Horváth presuppone ovviamente che si tratti del primo dei due. Horváth sostiene in più, erroneamente, che questi fosse il solo dei due ad esser stato coronato re di Navarra.²⁶

Secondo d'Arbois de Jubainville l'opera fu dedicata a Teobaldo II, re devoto che aveva fatto parecchie donazioni al monastero di Chiaravalle ed al Collegio di San Bernardo (fondato nel 1240). Le parole *in deuotis clericis et alumpnis perhennem gratitudinem accendere meruistis, quorum ego*

²⁵ Cito dal ms. Troyes 556 f. 157r; cf. Horváth, *Opera Omnia* I, 71-72.

²⁶ Horváth, *Chronik*, 258-259.

minimus... ne sarebbero la prova. D'altra parte anche Teobaldo I aveva fatto donazioni al monastero di Chiaravalle, sebbene prima di salire al trono.²⁷ Raciti non parla di donazioni, ma vede in Giovanni, in base alla stessa citazione, un membro del circolo intorno a Teobaldo I.²⁸ Dalla frase tuttavia non risulta se Giovanni facesse parte dei *clerici* oppure degli *alumpni*, ossia dei monaci di Chiaravalle. Considero quelle parole troppo vaghe e convenzionali per provare niente di preciso.

Anche Raciti vede dunque nel Teobaldo menzionato nel prologo Teobaldo I. Interpreta perfino un passo del Sogno come rimprovero a Teobaldo per aver sciolto il proprio matrimonio, per aver ripudiato la propria sposa.²⁹ Nel passo in questione Giovanni scrive agli adulatori del re:

*Vos autem infirmum principem impie impulistis, ut curam regiam sponsam legitimam sibi diuinitus copulatam repudiando repelleret, non uerentes quod deus preconiuixerat separare.*³⁰

È vero che Teobaldo I aveva sciolto i suoi primi due matrimoni, ma qui è ovvio che non si tratta di un matrimonio normale, bensì di uno simbolico. Giuseppe dice chiaramente: *cura regia, sponsa legitima*. Questa metafora ha un suo modello nella Bibbia, nel libro della Sapienza 8, 2 dove si dice:

hanc (sc. sapientiam) amavi et exquisivi a iuventute mea / et quaesivi sponsam mihi adsumere et amator factus sum formae illius

Del resto Giovanni stesso usa una metafora simile altrove, più esattamente in una sua lettera:

²⁷ Vedi M. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des Ducs et des Comtes de Champagne IV*, Paris 1865, 637-638.

²⁸ Raciti, 614.

²⁹ Raciti, 615.

³⁰ Ms. Troyes 556, f. 167r; Horváth, *Opera Omnia I*, 116. Cf. anche ms. Troyes 556, f. 167v: *sponsam regiam regitiuam prudentiam* (Horváth, *Opera Omnia I*, 116) e f. 161r: *sponsam propriam curam scilicet regiam* (Horváth, *Opera Omnia I*, 90).

*Sponsa pulcherrima et honestissima est disciplina monastica omnique monacho divinitus desponsata... Adulteri autem teste apostolo sunt, qui extra disciplinam existunt.*³¹

Dobbiamo dunque basare la datazione del Sogno su altri indizi.

Nel prologo Giovanni dice del re: *Rex uirtutum progressurus ad prelium aduersus principes tenebrarum...* Tradizionalmente la letteratura cristiana usava l'espressione *principes tenebrarum* ed altre simili parlando di demoni e del diavolo.³² È noto tuttavia che la concezione medioevale europea riteneva l'islam come un'eresia del cristianesimo, causata dal diavolo.³³ Possiamo dunque senza dubbio considerare l'espressione menzionata come un'allusione ad una crociata imminente a cui Teobaldo sta per prendere parte. Purtroppo questo indizio ci aiuta ben poco, in quanto sia Teobaldo I che Teobaldo II parteciparono ad una crociata, il primo nel 1239, il secondo nel 1270 col proprio suocero, Luigi il Santo.

Più avanti nel prologo Giovanni scrive che lo spirito apostatico ha cercato di distruggere le opere dello Spirito Santo e che Achitofel ha mandato all'aria il consiglio dei cugini (oppure degli amici?). Teobaldo però non ha mai acconsentito alla sapienza terrena e diabolica, ma ha per la sua costanza meritato un tesoro incorruttibile nei cieli e un nome eterno sulla terra.

È piuttosto arduo tentare l'interpretazione di queste parole oscure. Prima di tutto è strano l'uso della parola *cusinus* (che ritroviamo tale quale in tutti i manoscritti più antichi), anche perché qui è usata come aggettivo: *cusinum consilium*. Per spiegarla non basterà il fatto che crei un'allitterazione in più. La parola cugino, nel francese antico *cosin*, derivato dal latino *consobrinus*,³⁴ si trova talvolta nel latino medioevale, soprattutto in documenti, nella forma *cusinus*.³⁵ *Cosin* nel francese antico può anche avere

³¹ Epist. 4, Horváth, Opera Omnia III, 100.

³² Cf. per es. Paul. Nol. Epist. 40, 7 *diabolo et principibus tenebrarum*.

³³ Vedi per es. N. Daniel, *Islam and the West. The Making of an Image*, Edinburgh 1960.

³⁴ W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2165.

³⁵ Cf. *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis cond. a C. du Fresne, Domino Du Cange auctum*, Paris 1937 (1678), t. 2, 678: *Testis Benedictus de Tonello, eius cusinus* (Mirac. B. Henrici Paucenens. tom. 2 Junii pag. 384). Per l'uso dei provincialismi nel latino medioevale in generale vedi D. Norberg, *Manuel pratique de latin médiéval*, Paris 1968, 68-69.

il significato di parente meno vicino del cugino germano e anche quello di amico o di compagno.³⁶ Possiamo pensare che anche qui si tratti di parente, di amico o di compagno.

Nella Bibbia Achitofel fu consigliere di Davide e quando dava un consiglio era come se lo desse Dio stesso.³⁷ Quando però Absalom si ribellò contro Davide, il proprio padre, Achitofel passò dalla parte di Absalom. Alla fine si vide costretto ad impiccarsi.³⁸ Nella letteratura cristiana Achitofel è un personaggio decisamente negativo che prefigura Giuda. Sant'Agostino per esempio interpreta il suo nome come *fratris ruina*.³⁹

Si potrebbe interpretare anche Achitofel come un'allusione alla crociata. Sappiamo che ai cistercensi spettava di esortare la gente a prendere la croce. È ovvio però che la seguente interpretazione deve rimanere puramente ipotetica.

Negli anni 1260 tra i nobili francesi l'entusiasmo per nuove crociate diminuì notevolmente. Tuttavia il re di Francia, Luigi il Santo si considerava reo della sconfitta del 1247 e sognava di nuove crociate. Quando finalmente una crociata si realizzò, nel 1270, Teobaldo II fu uno di quelli che vi parteciparono. Tanti altri invece rifiutarono la loro partecipazione, fra di essi anche Jean de Joinville, consigliere di Luigi il Santo e l'uomo più vicino al re di Francia.

Jean de Joinville, siniscalco di Champagne e vassallo sia del re di Francia che dei conti di Champagne, aveva trascorso la propria gioventù nella corte di Teobaldo I ed aveva legami molto stretti sia con Luigi il Santo che col genero di questi, Teobaldo II. Nella biografia di Luigi che scrisse nella

³⁶ Cf. A. E. Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin 1925-, t. 2, 926-927. Viceversa nella Francia medioevale i consanguinei venivano di solito chiamati «amici», vedi per es. M. Bloch, *La società feudale*, Roma 1982⁶, 147-148.

³⁷ II Sam. 16, 23 *consilium autem Ahitofel quod dabat in diebus illis quasi si quis consuleret Deum....*

³⁸ II Sam. 10-12; II Sam. 17, 23.

³⁹ August. In psalm. 7, 1, MPL 36, 97. La stessa interpretazione è ripresa fra l'altro da Beda, In Psalm. 7, MPL 92, 516, da Strabone, Glossa ord., MPL 113, 575 e da Pietro Lombardo, In Psalm. 7, MPL 191, 110.

vecchiaia, Joinville racconta come il re di Francia e il re di Navarra cercarono di convincerlo a crociarsi, ma che lui rifiutò fermamente di partire.⁴⁰

Secondo una tipologia semibiblica potremmo pensare che in quei giorni Joinville dovesse apparire ai sostenitori della crociata – a cui appartenne anche l'autore del Sogno – come l'incarnazione di Achitofel, consigliere abile e rispettato che però alla fine tradisce il proprio re.

È facile dire che Joinville aveva ragione a rifiutare questa crociata che stranamente finì in Tunisia e che fu la causa della morte sia di Luigi il Santo che di Teobaldo II. Il primo morì solo tre mesi dopo la partenza, nell'agosto del 1270, il secondo nel dicembre dello stesso anno, durante il viaggio di ritorno, a Trapani.

Il comportamento di Joinville significò tuttavia una disobbedienza verso i doveri del vassallo e allo stesso tempo una mancanza verso i doveri per la cristianità. Forse è proprio tutto questo a spiegare la scelta della strana espressione *cusinum consilium*, che indicherebbe così il consiglio di prendere la croce, dato da Luigi il Santo e da Teobaldo, pieni del dovuto zelo per la nuova crociata.

Anche se non possiamo certamente ritenere quest'interpretazione ipotetica come una prova per datare il Sogno al 1270 o poco prima, troviamo tuttavia nel contenuto ideologico dell'opera altri indizi in questo senso.

Datando il Sogno alla fine degli anni 1230 Raciti ne aveva fatto un'opera giovanile dell'autore. Se esaminiamo la dottrina di Giovanni vediamo tuttavia che rappresenta un'ideologia monastica, piuttosto in ritardo sul proprio tempo. Sarebbe più logico ritenerla un'opera di vecchiaia.

⁴⁰ “*Je fu mout pressez dou roy de France et dou roy de Navarre de moy croisier. A ce respondi-je que tandis comme je avoie estei ou servise Dieu et le roy outre-mer, et puis que je en reving, li serjant au roy de France et le roy de Navarre m'avoient destruite ma gent et apoivroiez; si que il ne seroit jamais heure que je et il n'en vausissent piz. Et lour disoie ainsi, que se je en vouloie ouvrer au grei Dieu, que je demourroie ci pour mon peuple aidier et deffendre; car se je metoie mon cors en l'aventure dou pelerinaige de la croiz, là où je véoie tout cler que ce seroit au mal et au doumaige de ma gent, j'en courrouceroie Dieu, qui mist son cors pour son peuple sauver.* (J. de Joinville, Histoire de Saint Louis, credo et lettre à Louis X. Texte original, accompagné d'une traduction par Natalis de Wailly, Paris 1874, 398.)

Senza analizzare dettagliatamente la dottrina di Giovanni vediamo ora alcuni punti essenziali. Nella nona epistola Giuseppe scrive al Faraone fra l'altro:

Crebro contigit cum regalis circumspectio circumuicina curarum genera circumfusa mente circumspicit, cum populares militares sacerdotales cure circumstrepunt aures suas, quod peregrinas curas admirans familiares fastidit, importunas paulatim admittens oportunas pedetentim excludit, alienis adherens sponsam propriam curam scilicet regiam desolatam dimittit. Vnde conficitur ut curis nouis regnantibus antiqua seruiat, illis eructantibus hec esuriat, illis pinguescentibus hec macrescat. Vsque adeo quod cura aduenticia impinguata dilatata incrassata iam non cura sed curiositas denominari debeat, domestica uero diuulsa dilacerata dispersa non cura sed incuria ualeat nuncupari. Hee sunt cure insipide et insulse uidelicet curiositates et incurie nonnullis regibus conregnantes, nonnullis curiis concurrentes, quarum occasione uniuersa confunduntur officia et in chaos confusionis antique omnia relabuntur, dum nec opifices suis operibus sunt intenti, nec artifices suis artibus sunt contenti, sed uicissim alii se transformant in alios et singuli sunt simie singulorum.⁴¹

Giuseppe accusa dunque il Faraone di aver ripudiato la cura regia, la propria sposa. Così la curiosità ha preso il posto della cura che si è trasformata in incuria. Il re non deve essere curioso. Ognuno, anche il re, deve rimanere al proprio posto, altrimenti ne consegue un caos.

Prima di tutto Giovanni condanna la curiosità. Riconosciamo qui il noto dilemma dei Padri della Chiesa. Questi dovettero condannare sia la curiosità che la cultura cosiddetta pagana, e benché poi arrivassero ad una specie di compromesso con l'aiuto di certi passi del Vecchio Testamento, interpretati allegoricamente, un certo dualismo tra la scienza pagana da una parte e la ricerca di Dio dall'altra, persistette durante tutto il Medioevo.⁴² Il che significa anche un dualismo tra la scolastica e i monasteri.

⁴¹ Ms. Troyes 556, f. 161r; Horváth; Opera Omnia I, 90.

⁴² Su questo tema vedi per es. E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, London 1979 (1948), 39-40, H.-I. Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*, Paris 1938, 393, 393 n. 2 e J. Leclercq, *Cultura*

Più di cento anni prima, nel Policraticus di Giovanni di Salisbury che è del 1159, si trova l'idea poi spesso ripetuta: "*Rex illitteratus quasi asinus coronatus*". Giovanni di Salisbury stesso riteneva la cultura classica e la conoscenza degli autori antichi come una condizione necessaria per il buon governo e per la risoluzione dei problemi del proprio tempo.⁴³ Secondo lui nella persona del re possono benissimo, anzi devono riunirsi la sapienza intesa nel senso biblico e la scienza. Per Giovanni Lemovicense queste sono tuttavia idee pericolose. Secondo lui il re non deve dare libero sfogo alla propria curiosità, ma tenersi invece strettamente al proprio posto nel corpo sociale come capo di esso senza invidiare agli occhi la vista o alle mani l'attività, cioè le funzioni di altri membri del corpo. Giuseppe scrive ai consiglieri del Faraone:

An ignoratis quoniam omnes existimus unum corpus, alter autem alterius est commembrum? Vniuersa uero membra non unicum habent actum, sed oculis concessum est intueri, et manibus operari, nec manus oculis inuident uisionem, nec illi manibus actionem. Vos autem principi seculari, utpote potenti manui et excelso brachio regis summi dissuadentes operari suasistis oculorum intuitum emulari⁴⁴ ...Ve uobis filiis memphios filiis sceleratis qui sponsam regiam regitiuam prudentiam usque ad uerticem constuprastis, qui tam in capite quam in membris sinceritatem iusticie polluentes nec capitis curiositatem nec membrorum cupiditatem curare curastis, qui non iudicibus sed exactoribus subiecistis populum humilem sicut bucellam panis ab impudicis canibus saturitatem nescientibus deuorandam.⁴⁵

Il tema della condanna della curiosità è dunque strettamente legato ad un altro tema convenzionale degli specchi per principi, quello del corpo sociale, tema antico diventato di nuovo popolare da quando Giovanni di

umanistica e desiderio di Dio. Studio sulla letteratura monastica del Medio Evo, Firenze 1983 (1957), 59-60.

⁴³ Vedi per es. H. Liebeschütz, *Mediaeval Humanism in the life and writings of John of Salisbury*, London 1950.

⁴⁴ Ms. Troyes 167r; Horváth, *Opera Omnia* I, 115.

⁴⁵ Ms. Troyes 556, f. 167r-167v; Horváth, *Opera Omnia* I, 116-117.

Salisbury l'aveva sviluppato nel suo Policraticus.⁴⁶ È chiaro che legando i due temi della curiosità e del corpo sociale Giovanni Lemovicense fa un'interpretazione sua che non risale a Giovanni di Salisbury.

Secondo Giuseppe i responsabili della curiosità del re sono dunque i consiglieri, gli adulatori del re. Questi scrivono a Giuseppe:

*Nos autem consulte considerantes quod rege philosophante philosophia regnaret, quod ars nostra regem attolleret et rex artem, nec regi sapientiam nec sapientie regiam potestatem inuidimus, sed regie uoluntati prouidimus, et ipsius uelocitati acutiora calcaria superduximus adhibenda.*⁴⁷

I consiglieri del re – che poi perderanno il loro posto come consiglieri in favore a Giuseppe – sostengono dunque l'antico ideale platonico del re filosofo. La loro lettera rappresenta la prima *obiectio* alla *responsio* di Giuseppe. Rifiutandola Giuseppe dice fra l'altro:

*Cum omne datum optimum omne donum perfectum, omne datum corporale, omne donum spirituale a patre luminum descendere dinoscatur, haud dubium sapientes mundi inquisitores huius seculi tot datis naturalibus prediti, tot donis intellectualibus diuinitus illustrati, merito debuissent datorem recognoscere, et deuotas gratiarum refundere actiones.*⁴⁸

Piu tardi chiama i consiglieri *insani ductores insensati doctores*⁴⁹ e mostra ripetutamente il suo disprezzo per loro:

*Ve uobis uetustis utribus terrena sapientibus non superna*⁵⁰
...Ve uobis prudentibus in oculis uestris, quorum prudentia perditur,
quorum sapientia celitus reprobatur, qui laudatis insulse plus sapere

⁴⁶ Vedi O. Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Ages*, Beacon Hill - Boston 1958, 24.

⁴⁷ Ms. Troyes 556, f. 166r; Horváth, *Opera Omnia* I, 111.

⁴⁸ Ms. Troyes 556, f. 166v; Horváth, *Opera Omnia* I, 113.

⁴⁹ Ms. Troyes 556; f. 166v; Horváth, *Opera Omnia* I, 114.

⁵⁰ Ms. Troyes 556 ibidem; Horváth, *Opera Omnia* I, ibidem.

*quam oportet et minus facere quam oportet, adimplentes mensuram patrum uestrorum, qui sitiennes scientiam incurrerunt inscientiam, et generantes inscientie filios in eosdem curiosam concupiscentiam transfuderunt ... O fabricatores mendacii, o cultores dogmatum peruersorum, utinam taceretis ut putaremini sapientes.*⁵¹

Benché la critica dei consiglieri fosse un tema convenzionale in questo genere di specchi⁵² Giovanni insiste talmente sulla loro falsa sapienza che è lecito chiedersi se essi avessero un modello nella realtà francese del tredicesimo secolo, se, in altre parole, Giovanni volesse mettere Teobaldo in guardia contro qualcosa di concreto.

L'ascesa dell'aristotelismo causò, com'è noto, una violenta polemica nell'ambiente universitario parigino del tredicesimo secolo.⁵³ La Chiesa, che vide in certe dottrine aristoteliche un pericolo per la fede cristiana, tentò di limitarne la diffusione a più riprese. La lettura della *Metafisica* e dei trattati aristotelici sulla natura fu vietata, sotto pena di scomunica, con decreti ecclesiastici nel 1210 e nel 1215. Un nuovo divieto, quello del 1231, pare non venisse mai attuato rigorosamente. Dopo che nel 1255 un nuovo statuto aveva legalizzato la lettura di tutte le opere conosciute di Aristotele la situazione si acuisce di nuovo, finché verso il 1265 scoppia la crisi. Nel 1270 Étienne Tempier condanna tredici errori dei filosofi. Sette anni più tardi, nel 1277, interviene in modo più decisivo condannando 219 proposizioni.⁵⁴

Tenendo conto di queste controversie l'attacco di Giuseppe, cioè di Giovanni Lemovicense diventa più comprensibile. L'ambiente e l'atmosfera dell'università di Parigi dovevano essergli piuttosto famigliari; anche dopo il suo ritiro a Chiaravalle veniva spesso a Parigi.⁵⁵ È naturale che la parte scelta da lui fosse quella contraria all'aristotelismo e all'averroismo. È vero che la sua condanna della curiosità potrebbe spiegarsi col solo fatto che fosse

⁵¹ Ms. Troyes 556, f. 167r; Horváth, *Opera Omnia* I, 114-115.

⁵² Vedi W. Berges, *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, Leipzig 1938, 4.

⁵³ Vedi per es. *Condemnation of 219 Propositions*, translated by Ernest L. Fortin and Peter D. O'Neill (in: *Medieval Political Philosophy: A Sourcebook*, edited by Ralph Lerner and Muhsin Mahdi, Glencoe 1963, 335-354), 335-37.

⁵⁴ Ed. P. Mandonnet: *Siger de Brabant*, t. 2, *Textes inédits*, Louvain 1908, 1-25. Vedi anche P. Duhem, *Le système du monde*, t. 4, 3-122.

⁵⁵ *Epist.* 1, Horváth, *Opera Omnia* III, 94.

monaco cistercense. Questa condanna, però, riceve una dimensione del tutto nuova se teniamo in mente l'atmosfera delle controversie.

Quando Giuseppe chiama i consiglieri *sapientes mundi, inquisitores huius seculi, insani ductores insensati doctores, fabricatores mendacii, e cultores dogmatum peruersorum* possiamo vedere in essi i sostenitori delle dottrine ritenute pericolose dal punto di vista di Giovanni.⁵⁶ Condanna tuttavia i «filosofi» in blocco senza trattare delle questioni particolari (come l'eternità del mondo o la divina Provvidenza ecc.) che costituivano il tema del *De erroribus philosophorum*. Il suo tema è un'altro: i doveri del re.

Non esistono prove per datare il Sogno del Faraone agli anni che precedono la crociata del 1239, come non è possibile dimostrare che il suo autore fosse identico al priore di Chiaravalle negli anni 1206-1207 o all'abate di Zirc negli anni 1208-1218. L'analisi del contenuto ideologico dell'opera invece fornisce indizi in base ai quali è possibile datarla alla seconda metà del tredicesimo secolo e più esattamente alla seconda metà degli anni 1260 – la crociata del 1270 fornisce il *terminus ante quem*. Verso il 1265 cominciò la crisi che dovette culminare, nel 1277, con la condanna delle 219 proposizioni, preceduta con una minore condanna di tredici «errori dei filosofi» nel 1270. È in questa atmosfera che troviamo lo sfondo concreto di alcune fra le idee centrali sulla regalità, così come sono presentate da Giovanni Lemovicense attraverso i suoi personaggi, Giuseppe e i consiglieri del re.

⁵⁶ Cf. anche la seconda epistola dove Giovanni fa dire al Faraone: *nos autem gloriari oportet in thesauro incomparabili sine dampno comunicabili* (ms. Troyes 556, f. 157v; Horváth, *Opera Omnia* I, 74).

From Grammar to Rhetoric. First Exercises in Composition According to Quintilian, Inst. 1,9

TOIVO VILJAMAA

1. Introduction

In Book 1 of his *Institutio oratoria* Quintilian deals with the teaching of grammar and literature in the school of the grammaticus. The whole schooling of eloquence which is presented by Quintilian in books 1-2 of the *Institutio* in detail, is in theory, and often also in practice, divided into three stages: at the primary stage boys are taught the alphabet, to read, write and count either within the home or in the elementary school; at the second stage they are taught to use language correctly and to read and understand literature (the grammar school); thirdly, in the school of rhetoric they learn to speak well.

Quintilian divides the curriculum of the grammar school into two parts, *recte loquendi scientia* and *enarratio poetarum*, i.e. the rules of correct language and the reading and interpretation of literature (1, 4, 2; cf. 1, 9, 1). After discussing the second part, Quintilian goes on (ch. 9) to consider some additional tasks of the grammaticus, among other things, instruction in writing and speaking of elementary exercises, or progymnasmata (1, 9, 1 *adiciamus tamen eorum curae quaedam dicendi primordia, quibus aetates nondum rhetorem capientis instituant*; cf. also 1, 10, 1 *Haec de grammaticae quam brevissime potui, non ut omnia dicerem sectatus, quod infinitum erat, sed ut maxime necessaria*).

Quintilian divides Chapter 9 of Book 1 clearly in three distinct parts. The first exercise he mentions consists in the retelling of Aesop's fables and paraphrasing of poetic texts. From early childhood, boys were familiar with short stories or fables, not necessarily those of Aesop (cf. 5, 11, 19), and

they often appear as independent themes in poetry, particularly in the epic poets. Secondly, he draws attention to maxims, proverbs and moral anecdotes, which could be found especially in the dramatic poets and it was the treatment of these that was most clearly related to the work in the grammar school. In its simplest form this work consisted mainly in the declension of Greek or Latin, or in the instruction of moral wisdom that would be useful for life and in oratory. In the third section Quintilian briefly mentions short stories told by the poets, which in his opinion should be treated by boys only for them to become acquainted with the subject-matter of each story.

The general idea seems clear enough. In the grammar school only certain very elementary exercises in composition should be assigned by teachers to their pupils. The exercises should not be too exacting. Composition is to be related with reading and the themes for exercises should be taken from poetry.

The chapter is not, however, without its difficulties and some of the problems, which can clearly only be resolved within a wider perspective, have exercised students of Quintilian's text.

Firstly, there is a problem concerning the so-called Aesopic fables and the paraphrasing of poetry. Quintilian says (1, 9, 2): *Igitur Aesopi fabellas, ..., narrare sermone puro et nihil se supra modum extollente, deinde eandem gracilitatem stilo exigere condiscant: versus primo solvere, mox mutatis verbis interpretari, tum paraphrasi audacius vertere*. These words have been explained as meaning that the second exercise after the fable in Quintilian's list should be the paraphrase. S.F. Bonner¹ accepts this interpretation and says: "Immediately after his precepts on the Fable, Quintilian mentions an exercise, which was long practised in the grammar-schools, that of the Paraphrase of passages of verse". Paraphrase, however, is not an independent exercise in composition and it is not listed in Greek and Latin handbooks of progymnasmata.²

¹ S.F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome*, London 1977, 255-256; cf. F. Colson, *M. Fabii Quintiliani Institutionis oratoriae liber I*, Cambridge 1924, 117.

² Quintilian's list can be compared with the textbooks of progymnasmata by Theon, Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Priscian; *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. II Spengel and Prisc. II, 430ff. Keil.

A second problem concerns mythological or poetic narratives. At the beginning of the chapter, Quintilian mentions fables (*Aesopi fabellas*) and at the end short poetic narratives (*narratiunculae*). Later, in 2, 4, 2, he leads us to understand that the treatment of poetic narratives is part of the curriculum of grammar school. Colson (op. cit. in note 1, 121) interprets Quintilian as follows: "Narratio' is only to be employed in the grammatical schools as a test of knowledge and to familiarise them with the stories not as a regular progymnasma. Further when it reappears in 2, 4, 2 as a rhetorical exercise, it is used in connection with history in the stricter sense. Narrative composition based on mythology or literary fiction seems therefore to have been considered unsuitable to either school by Q. It is not likely that scholastic practice followed him in this." But is Colson correct in saying that mythological and fictitious narratives (in the terminology of rhetoric: *fabula* and *argumentum*) were considered by Quintilian unsuitable for exercises in the schools? Since Quintilian, however, in 2, 4, 2, says that *grammaticis autem poeticas* (i.e. compositions based on mythology or literary fiction) *dedimus: apud rhetorem initium sit historica*, there seems to be some inconsistency between Chapter 1, 9 and Chapter 2, 4.

There is a third problem related to the passage where Quintilian enumerates exercises on moral maxims, anecdotes and sayings, 1, 9, 3 *Sententiae quoque et chriae et ethologiae/aetiologiae subiectis dictorum rationibus apud grammaticos scribantur: quorum omnium similis est ratio, forma diversa, quia sententia universalis est vox, ethologia/aetiologia personis continetur. Chriarum plura genera traduntur:...* Should we read *aetiologia* (*aetiologiae*) or *ethologia* (*ethologiae*)?³ And what is the meaning of aetiology or ethology? Neither appear in the standard lists of progymnasmata.

³ Radermacher 1907 (BT) *ethologia*; Colson 1924, Winterbottom 1970 (OCT) and Cousin 1975 (Budé) *aetiologia*; cf. also J. Cousin, *Études sur Quintilien I*, Paris 1935, who, pp. 80-81, accepts the reading *ethologia*, but with reservations; he says in the footnote: "il y a toute évidence pour que ce soit *aetiologia*" referring to Colson and Robinson (R. Robinson, "Ethologia" or "Aetiologia" in Suetonius *De grammaticis* c. 4, and Quintilian i. 9, CPh 15 [1920] 370-379).

To these three problems I address myself in the present paper. I shall discuss them in the light of the general content of Quintilian's *Institutio* taking into consideration his intentions and his pedagogical principles as well as the plan and structure of his work.

2. Who was to teach the preliminary exercises?

Before considering the question at which stage Quintilian recommends that the exercises in composition should be started I shall first comment briefly on his teaching programme and how he presents that programme.

Quintilian's *Institutio* is a professional treatise on the training of an orator from childhood right up to adulthood. It is based on a full knowledge of earlier theories of education and rhetoric and on Quintilian's own experience as teacher and orator. Quintilian does not claim to be an original thinker when developing his theories, rather he invites his readers, who are thought to be teachers, to use common sense in applying theories in practice. As he says in the preface to Book 1, the purpose of his work is not so much to formulate new theories as to arbitrate between the conflicting and contradictory old ones. Quintilian's originality lies first and foremost in his condemnation of the excesses of contemporary oratory and in his criticism of the unrealistic conventions of some of the teachers of grammar and rhetoric.⁴

Quintilian is primarily concerned with teaching, which, he says, must be practical, sensible, positive, and moral. Thus the teacher has to create and foster mental activity in the student (cf. e.g. 1, pr. 27 and 1, 1, 3) and his teaching must be adapted to the ability of the student; therefore, for instance, one cannot exactly say at what age the student should move from the lower stage to the higher (2, 1, 7). Since knowledge can only be acquired step by step (1, 2, 28) Quintilian often stresses the principle that in education the initial steps are of vital importance and it is thus necessary to provide a good foundation for studies in the earliest stages (e.g. 1, pr. 4-5 and 1, 4, 5);

⁴ For Quintilian's teaching methods and for the plan and objectives of his work, see Colson, *op. cit.*, intr. 35-42, G. Kennedy, *Quintilian*, New York 1964, 31 ff.; the question of whether or not he succeeded in his teaching programme has no bearing on the present study; cf., however, G. Kennedy, *An estimate of Quintilian*, *AJPh* 83 (1962) 130-145.

on the other hand, since the capacity of the young for congenial work is very large, different subjects should be taught concurrently in the grammar school (e.g. 1, 12).⁵

It is important to remember that Quintilian's work has a practical purpose. Throughout the work he makes his own selection from the existing rules and theories in order to give them some sort of practical meaning in a coherent system for training a good man and a good orator. Thus in addition to the exposition of rules he has a persistent desire to give practical advice in composition and he repeatedly pleads for naturalness and simplicity, warning against pedantic acceptance of rules. As a result of this practical plan there are in the *Institutio* several terms which occur many times but in different parts of the work they have different meanings. On the other hand Quintilian, as is his habit, does not mention all the terms and rules which might apply to a particular case, since some of them can be more appropriately discussed in other connections. He gives the impression throughout that everything discussed must have its proper function in that particular part of the course. In the same way he has a clear concept of the difference between grammar and rhetoric; each has its own function and ought not to do the work of the other.

Let us return to Chapter 1, 9 of the *Institutio*, where Quintilian introduces elementary exercises in composition into the programme of the grammar school. The way in which he introduces the composition exercises makes it clear that he did not see them as belonging to grammar proper or indeed to the ordinary programme of the *grammaticus*. However, he wants them introduced for several reasons.

Firstly, as Quintilian often explains, Roman teachers of rhetoric, apparently under the pressure of the pupils' ambitious parents, had neglected the elementary exercises in composition, wishing to teach their pupils as soon as possible how to deliver well-formed speeches.⁶ The rhetoricians had passed quickly over the elementary exercises and concentrated their efforts on exercises they considered more important for argumentation and style in a

⁵ Cf. J. Cousin, *Quintilien Institution oratoire*. Tome I, Paris 1975, Notice p. 5: "Trois principes paraissent, dès l'abord, guider notre auteur: la foi dans la nature, la nécessité d'adapter l'enseignement aux aptitudes de l'enfant, l'orientation vers la pratique".

⁶ E.g. 2, 1, 2 *Illi (rhetores) declamare modo et scientiam declamandi ac facultatem tradere officii sui ducunt idque intra deliberativas iudicialisque materias*. Cf. Bonner, *op. cit.* 252 and Colson, *op. cit.*, xxxii.

speech. In this situation, the teachers of grammar had had to include some of the exercises in elementary composition in their teaching programme.

Secondly, the use of elementary exercises in the grammar school was only natural because the grammaticus, in connection with poetry-reading necessarily taught things touching style and expression; he taught prosody and taught the boys to read poetry correctly (cf. 1, 8, 1-12).⁷ On the other hand, many teachers of grammar were probably quite eager to take the teaching of composition into their programme, as the teaching of a subject traditionally belonging to the higher level would be felt to enhance their status.⁸ In fact the exercises in composition that in Greek composition practice were traditionally assigned to the rhetoricians presupposed not only the reading of poetry but also the reading of prose and it involved furthermore some knowledge of philosophical argumentation.

As the Latin rhetoricians were content to leave more and more of the preliminary work in composition to the grammatici, the course of the grammar school was prolonged so that in some cases it embraced all the progymnasmata, and the pupils, when entering the school of the rhetor, could at once embark on declamation on deliberative and legal themes (*suasoriae* and *controversiae*). Quintilian was not pleased with this development and considered it a dereliction of duty on the part of Latin teachers of rhetoric (Quint. 1, 9, 6 *cetera maioris operis ac spiritus Latini rhetores relinquendo necessaria grammaticis fecerunt: Graeci magis operum suorum et onera et modum norunt; 2, 1, 1 ...et rhetores utique nostri suas partis omiserunt et grammatici alienas occupaverunt*). He advances therefore his own views about the duties of the grammaticus and the rhetor. He argues that the grammaticus should retain only a few of the preliminary exercises, the most elementary ones, and leave the rest to the rhetor.

⁷ As Colson, op. cit., xxxii, rightly observes, some exercises in composition were naturally associated with the grammaticus when one part became the "ars recte loquendi".

⁸ For this change in the scope of the work of the grammaticus, see also Suet. gramm. 4.

3. Presenting of the progymnasmata

Quintilian discusses the progymnasmata in two places, at the end of the grammaticae (Book 1, ch. 9) and at the beginning of the rhetorice (Book 2, ch. 4), although the definitions given by him clearly indicate that they are properly speaking rhetorical (he uses the terms *dicendi primordia* and *primae in docendo partes rhetorum*). These chapters are important in ancient literature, being the earliest surviving descriptions of the whole scale of exercises in the art of speaking (the earliest textbook of the progymnasmata, that of the rhetorician Theon, probably dates from the second century A.D.).⁹

Quintilian's discussion of the topic makes it clear that there was in his time a recognized system, a graded series of exercises in writing and speaking, from the easy to the more difficult. Quintilian enumerates the following: *fabula*, *paraphrasis* (?), *chria*, *aetiologia* / *ethologia* (?), *narratiuncula* / *narratio*, *opus destruendi confirmandique* (*anasceue* and *catasceue*), *laudatio*, *vituperatio*, *comparatio*, *communis locus*, *thesis*, and *legum laus et vituperatio*.

Two of the commonest progymnasmata are lacking in Quintilian's list: the description (*ecphrasis*) and the speech in character (*ethopoeia*) or impersonation (*prosopopoeia*). However, *ethopoeia* (*imitatio morum alienorum*; 9, 2, 58-60) and *prosopopoeia* (*fictio personarum*; 9, 2, 29-39) are included in the treatment of the figures of thought.¹⁰ In connection with narratives Quintilian also mentions the description (4, 3, 12-17) and he recognizes the merits of vivid portrayals which bring the events described before the eyes of the listeners (8, 3, 61-71 and 9, 2, 44). Descriptions as well as speeches in character and impersonations were in Quintilian's opinion the most exacting exercises, and that is why he postponed them to more

⁹ Cf. Bonner, *op. cit.* 250-251 and D.L. Clark, *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education*, New York 1957, 178; for an earlier dating of Theon, I. Lana, *Quintiliano, il «Sublime» e gli «Esercizi preparatori» di Elio Teone*, Torino 1951.

¹⁰ See also 6, 1, 25-26, where imaginary speeches (*prosopopoeiae*) are mentioned as possible elements in the peroration, and 6, 2, 17, where Quintilian actually mentions character-sketches as scholarly exercises.

advanced stages of the course, e.g. he treats *prosopopoeia* together with the declamation of deliberative themes (3, 8, 49-54).¹¹

Two exercises mentioned by Quintilian are not listed in the standard textbooks of progymnasmata. One is the paraphrase, the other is the enigmatic aetiology or ethology. I shall return to these later.

In Quintilian's discussion the progymnasmata are grouped in different ways. Firstly, there is the particular group under discussion, i.e. the most elementary exercises, fable, paraphrase, maxim, aetiology/ethology, saying or anecdote and simple narrative, all of which are associated with the grammar school and are primarily aimed at instilling correctness of language.

Secondly, we can distinguish the group of *fabula*, *narratiuncula* and *narratio*, with which the exercises of refutation and confirmation (*anasceue* and *catasceue*) are connected (2, 4, 18). These exercises are similar in content, involving reproductions and amplifications of narratives: fables, stories and episodes taken from the poets, but also extracts from the historians. They naturally differ from each other in the style and elaboration of the theme, but in particular there is a difference according to whether the subject matter is taken from poetry or from prose. Quintilian considers poetic narratives to be appropriate exercises for assignation by the teacher of grammar, whereas he would leave historical narratives to the teacher of rhetoric (2, 4, 2 *grammaticis autem poeticas dedimus; apud rhetorem initium sit historica*).

The third group consists of the exercises of praise, denunciation and comparison, all concerned with historical or mythical persons. Quintilian mentions them only briefly in his presentation of rhetorical exercises (2, 4, 20-21); because these themes may take up entire orations, he treats them more extensively in his discussion of the third branch of oratory, the epideictic speech (*genus laudativum* or *demonstrativum*; 3, 4, 12-16 and 3, 7).

Lastly, we have the exercises of commonplace and thesis as well as discussion of a law. These last exercises were most closely related to oratorical practice either in the law courts or in deliberative debates.

¹¹ Cf. 2, 1, 2 ... *ad prosopopoeias usque ac suasorias, in quibus onus dicendi vel maximum est, inrumpunt.*

4. Fable and paraphrase

As Quintilian (1, 9, 2) says, the first exercises in oral and written composition assigned to small boys in the grammar school were reproductions of Aesopic fables: the boys would retell or paraphrase fables (*narrare, paraphrasi vertere*). The problem connected with Quintilian's exposition is most clearly expressed by Colson (op. cit. 117): "The introduction of paraphrasing at this particular stage perhaps requires some explanation. I understand Q. to name these exercises in the order in which he wishes them to be taken up. The fable, based as it was on traditional knowledge, could be employed at the very earliest stage in the grammatical school, while paraphrasing in its simplest form followed as soon as Homer and Virgil were seriously begun".

But are fable and paraphrase meant by Quintilian to be two different progymnasmata?¹² And does Quintilian mean that the originals to be paraphrased should be Aesopic fables, or some other pieces of poetry? Colson's view that Quintilian here adverts to two separate exercises has been accepted by some scholars (cf. above Ch. 1). However, Quintilian's text hardly supports that view because the acts of retelling and paraphrasing are so closely connected in the text. Thus, for instance, Cousin (Quintilien I, 129) translates the relevant passage as follows: "Qu'on apprenne... aux élèves à conter les fables d'Ésope, ..., en un langage pur qui ne se guinde pas au-dessus de la mesure; qu'on leur apprenne ensuite à les mettre par écrit avec le même dépouillement; les élèves auront tout d'abord à rompre les vers, ensuite à replacer les mots par des équivalents, puis à procéder à une paraphrase plus libre ...".

Two things in Quintilian's exposition must be kept separate. First, there is the material from which appropriate stories are to be extracted for the exercises. This material has the common name of Aesopic fables.¹³ Quintilian appears to use the term in a very general sense. The attribute "Aesopic" merely distinguishes the fable from the other myths. As Theon (II, 72, 28 Spengel) defines it, the Aesopic fable is a "fictitious story

¹² Cf. Cousin, Quintilien I, 177, who notes that Quintilian seems to be first to adopt the Greek term paraphrase. The term appears also in Theon.

¹³ Quintilian also uses the terms *apologus* (6, 3, 44) and *apologatio* (5, 11, 20); cf. also Cic. de orat. 2, 264, and for the different terms particularly Theon II, 72, 28-73 Spengel.

metaphorically representing the truth”, the truth being a fact of human life or behaviour or a piece of moral wisdom. The characters appearing in the fables are usually, but not always, animals. Secondly, there is the way in which the exercise must be carried out: there are several stages or steps by which pupils must pass: first the boys are to relate fables orally in plain language, then express them with the same simplicity in writing (*Igitur Aesopi fabellas, ..., narrare sermone puro, ..., deinde eandem gracilitatem stilo exigere condiscant*). The written exercise was performed in the following way: the word order of the poetry was recast in prose, then the diction was altered and lastly the act of paraphrase was accomplished, i.e. there was shortening here, expanding there, but always the general sense of the poet was to be preserved (*versus primo solvere, mox mutatis verbis interpretari, tum paraphrasi audacius vertere, qua et breviare quaedam et exornare salvo modo poetae sensu permittitur*);¹⁴ there is an explicit order: *versus solvere, interpretari, paraphrasi vertere*.

These exercises gave the boys practice in putting words together correctly and aided them in understanding literature. Colson (op. cit. 117) is probably right in saying that the models used for the exercise were not from Phaedrus' fables or from any other collection of poetic fables. It is interesting to notice that the example of fable given by Aphthonius (II, 21, 15-21) is approximately the same as that which occurs in Horace's first satire. When Quintilian repeatedly states that teaching in the grammar school ought to be restricted to poetry, this must be taken seriously.¹⁵ Evidently poetry (in Latin particularly Ennius, Lucilius and Horace) provided enough material for exercises with fables.

It is important to note that Theon puts forward a similar view of the exercises (II, 61, 28ff. and 65, 22-25 Spengel). He says that it is not enough to read or to hear another reading and lecturing, but the student when he has learnt enough language must also write, i.e. paraphrase; after paraphrasing, which is very common also in literature, more exacting exercises will follow, that is the elaborate treatment of stories and their confirmation or refutation. Colson's (op. cit. 117) example from Augustine (conf. 1, 17) is not appropriate in this connection, because Augustine clearly speaks about the exercise of writing in character (*ethopoeia*), which of course is also a kind of

¹⁴ Cf. Suet. rhet. 1 *et apologos aliter atque aliter exponere*.

¹⁵ Cf. Colson, op. cit., xxx.

paraphrase; also Theon (II, 75, 17ff.) says that at a later stage of rhetorical schooling fables can be elaborated into descriptions or character-speeches, but according to Quintilian's system this kind of exercising should not be used in the school of the grammaticus. It is evident that Quintilian wanted to keep his grammar school at the level of interpreting and paraphrasing stories. Theon, too, considered these to be the first steps in practising composition.

Because of his excessive emphasis on paraphrase Quintilian's exposition is somewhat uneven, but as usual, he is taking a stand between conflicting assumptions. In general the first imitative exercises were paraphrase, translation and learning by heart. Quintilian's experience was that some people were inclined to underestimate the value of imitation.¹⁶ In exactly the same way, Theon extols the value of paraphrasing in opposition to those who claim that it is valueless because the imitator can never equal the model.

5. Narratives

From the fable it is natural to proceed to narratives. Firstly we should note that Quintilian uses different phrases when defining the *lectio* of the grammar school: in 1, 4, 2 *enarratio poetarum*, in 1, 8, 18 *enarratio historiarum* and in 1, 9, 1 *enarratio auctorum*.. Have these definitions the same meaning? And is the meaning the same as for instance in Cic. de orat. 1, 187 *omnia fere quae sunt conclusa nunc artibus, dispersa et dissipata quondam fuerunt: ...; in grammaticis poetarum pertractatio, historiarum cognitio?* History was also considered to be a part of grammar by Marius Victorinus (GL VI 4, 7-9 Keil): *ut Aristoni placet, grammaticae est scientia poetas et historicos intellegendi* (cf. Quint. 2, 15, 19, where Ariston, the pupil of Critolaus, is mentioned).

In 2, 5, 1, however, Quintilian reminds us that the *poetarum enarratio* belongs particularly to the tasks of the grammaticus whereas *historiae atque etiam magis orationum lectio* belong to the rhetor. In the light of the instances mentioned above Cousin (op. cit. 33-34) infers that the

¹⁶ Cf. 10, 5, 5 *Neque ego paraphrasin esse interpretationem tantum volo*. Quintilian has no doubt at all that paraphrase is a beneficial exercise (cf. 10, 5, 4-8), but recognizes that the imitation can never equal the model; cf. the doubts raised by Cicero, de orat. 1, 154.

pupils advanced from the study of poets and historians in the grammar schools to the study of orators in the schools of rhetoric. Cousin also points out that because the word *historia* has so many meanings it is easy to draw erroneous conclusions. Thus the complex¹⁷ *enarratio poetarum* and *historiarum* consists of myths, legends, and fictions, which are typically the subjects of dramatic poets. Because in Quintilian's system the grammaticus concentrates on poetic material it is natural that myths, legends and fictions are within his sphere; after dealing with these the pupil may progress to historical material and the orators.

Quintilian always tends to give practical advice and is satisfied with the minimum of theorizing. It is not part of his intention to give a full account of the doctrine of narratives. There was no general agreement about how narratives ought to be classified, and some theorists proposed hair-splitting distinctions (cf. 4, 2, 2). As usual in treatises on progymnasmata (cf. e.g. Priscian. II, 431, 6-10), Quintilian, for practical reasons, distinguishes four types of narrative. First, there is the narrative that forms part of the judicial speech and this Quintilian naturally postponed to the relevant place in his discussion of different sections of the speech. Other types which may be used in school exercises, or appear in different parts of the speech, are classified according to the reality and truth of the stories, or on the basis of the kind of literature from which they are taken, as mythical, fictitious, and historical (2, 4, 2 *fabula, argumentum, historia*). Secondly, Quintilian holds it to be important that the main difference between the teaching of the grammaticus and the rhetor is always observed: the former uses poetic material, the latter starts with prose (2, 4, 2 *grammaticis autem poeticas dedimus: apud rhetorem initium sit historica*). In fact, mythological stories and fictitious themes are partly discussed in connection with the treatment of the fable and the moral anecdote in Ch. 1, 9.¹⁸ Thirdly, the narratives practised in the grammar school must be simple reproductions of stories made famous by the poets, without amplification and without refutation or confirmation (1, 9, 6 *narratiunculas a poetis celebratas notitiae causa, non eloquentiae tractandas puto*). A more elaborate treatment of stories,

¹⁷ Cf. Colson, op. cit., 114: "The word as used in the schools covers any information ... in the poems..."

¹⁸ Comedy, which is the source of fictitious narratives, is also useful on account of the abundance of moral examples it contains; cf. Bonner, op. cit. 260.

including of the poetical ones, must be left to a later stage of education. When mentioning the rhetorical exercises of refutation and confirmation Quintilian explicitly says that these exercises concern both historical themes and poetical stories (2, 4, 18 *Narrationibus non inutiliter subiungitur opus destruendi confirmandique eas, quod ἀνοασκευή et κατασκευή vocatur. id porro non tantum in fabulosis et carmine traditis fieri solet, verum etiam in ipsis annalium monumentis*). Similarly, the progymnasiast Theon, who naturally presents a more detailed analysis, divides the exercises based on narratives as well as on fables and moral sayings into two parts (II, 64, 30 - 65, 22 Spengel). To recapitulate: Quintilian wants to be as practical as possible, to keep separate the tasks of the grammaticus and the rhetor in such a way that the grammaticus should only deal with poetical material, and only allow the most elementary exercises to be practised in the grammar school. These principles result in a certain inconsistency in his exposition concerning narrative exercises, but he by no means considered mythological and fictitious narratives unsuitable for practice in the schools.

6. Chreia, Maxim, and Ethology (or Aetiology)

Quintilian mentioned Aesopic fables in first place because the boys had been familiar with them from early childhood. Also in the textbooks of progymnasmata the fable is usually listed first. However, as we have seen, it could be associated with the exercise of narratives, and there is also another exercise in composition which could lay claim to being the most elementary and most typical. This is the chreia (*usus*), the instructive saying or anecdote.¹⁹ Usually it is a saying (*dictum*) or action (*factum*) with some kind of moral application, but it can also be a clever saying or action apposite to a particular occasion. Evidently it was named the chreia by reason of its suitability for apposite descriptions as well as because of its usefulness for moral and rhetorical teaching. Chreiae were mainly used by moral philosophers (cf. Sen. epist. 33, 7 *ideo pueris etiam sententias ediscendas*

¹⁹ In Theon's textbook the fable is also listed first; Theon, however, explicitly says that he would like to take the chreia first (II, 64, 30; 66, 2) and in general he thinks that exercise to be most important. Also Quintilian seems to suggest that the chreia has a certain priority and antiquity (2, 4, 26); cf. also Suet. rhet. 1, 8.

damus et has quas Graeci chrias vocant, quia complecti illas puerilis animus potest, qui plus adhuc non capit),²⁰ whereas grammarians and rhetoricians tended to emphasize their practical use. That Quintilian conceives of the chreia primarily as a certain exercise-type, and not as a moral example, is supported by the fact that he mentions also a third variation of it when, in connection with his treatment of the thesis-exercise, he refers to the ancient practice of giving pupils problems taken from mythology (2, 4, 26 *Solebant praeceptores mei neque inutili et nobis etiam iucundo genere exercitationis praeparare nos coniecturalibus causis, cum quaerere atque exsequi iuberent "cur armata apud Lacedaemonios Venus?" ... et similia ...; quod genus chriae videri potest*).²¹

In its simplest form the chreia exercise consisted merely in declension (1, 9, 5 *in his omnibus et declinatio per eosdem ducitur casus, et tam factorum quam dictorum ratio est*),²² and it is therefore natural that Quintilian devotes most attention to that exercise in his presentation of exercises suitable for the grammar school. The chreia is closely associated with the maxim (*sententia*), since a maxim is changed into a chreia if it is introduced by its author's name. For this reason, they are often considered together in treatises on progymnasmata, and even those theorists who list them separately remark upon their obvious similarity. Theon, however, like Quintilian, does not make the maxim a separate exercise and only mentions it in connection with the chreia. Usually, and Theon also follows this practice, three types are mentioned together: χρεία, γνώμη and ἀπομνημόνευμα (*chria, sententia, commemoratio*). Quintilian's way of presenting these is in principle similar, except that the third member in his list is not a memorandum (a kind of longer anecdote, as defined by the progymnastiasts) but an ethology or aetiology (1, 9, 3 *Sententiae quoque et chriae et ethologiae/aetiologiae subiectis dictorum rationibus apud grammaticos scribantur: quorum omnium similis est ratio, forma diversa*). In fact he does not explain how a maxim or an ethology is to be practised. Probably it consisted merely in writing out the maxim and explaining its meaning

²⁰ Seneca was apparently to be the first to use the term in Latin. For the use of the chreia by the philosophers and in moralising poetry, P. Lejay, *Oeuvres d'Horace. Satires*, Paris 1911, xvii-xxiii.

²¹ These exercises are evidently the same as the *problemata* in Suet. gramm. 4.

²² Cf. Theon II, 101, 3-23 and Suet. rhet. 1, 8 *nam et dicta praeclare per omnes figuras per casus ... exponere ... consuerant*.

(*subiectis dictorum rationibus*).²³ Also in this connection we must remember that Quintilian is always preoccupied with practicalities. Here his main concern is to give advice about how the pupils can practise the declension and inflection of words. Thus it is most likely that he thought a maxim should be a chreia if it was used as a kind of morphological and syntactic exercise.²⁴

The problem in Quintilian's text is that he mentions the *ethologia* (or *aetiologia*) instead of the *commemoratio* as the third type in this group. Bonner (op. cit. 258), who follows Colson and Robinson²⁵, is certain that Quintilian's term is *aetiologia* and he explains it as "a paradoxical or controversial saying or quotation, i.e. it probably was an easy saying-exercise, which the pupil was merely required to paraphrase and 'decline'; for here the author supplied the 'explanation'".

If we accept the text as it stands (with the exception of the problematic *ethologia* or *aetiologia*) and most editors do that, although some have reservations, then this exercise is in Quintilian's exposition connected with *sententia*, not with *chria*: *sententia universalis est vox, ethologia (aetiologia) personis continetur, chriarum plura genera traduntur*.²⁶ It is thus a sort of *sententia*, not however a general expression but limited by a reference to some individual. Robinson (op.cit. 374) explains (though apparently he does not believe his own explanation) that "this might be interpreted to mean that a *sententia* is a maxim of universal application, while an *ethologia* is a maxim as applied to an individual case". The explanation is similar to that between *thesis* and *hypothesis* (3, 5, 5-11 *quaestio infinita* or *generalis* and *finita* or *specialis*), and it closely resembles the definition of the *gnome* by Aristotle, rhet. 1394 a 21-22 "A maxim (*gnome*) is a statement of general application, not applied to an individual to

²³ Robinson, op. cit. 378, seems to be alone in thinking that the phrase *subiectis dictorum rationibus* refers only to the word *aetiologiae*.

²⁴ Cf. the figure of *expolitio* in Rhet.Her. 4, 54-58: *per eam exercemur ad elocutionis facultatem* (58). The example of *expolitio* in Rhet.Her. is in fact a maxim, but because the same maxim is repeated in different forms in the figure it is often seen as corresponding to the chreia; see G. Calboli, *Rhetorica ad C. Herennium*, Bologna 1969, 406-408.

²⁵ Cf. note 3 above.

²⁶ For the meaning of *contineri*, see 3, 5, 11 *quae personis causisque contineantur* "which are limited by consideration of persons or special cases".

describe, for instance, what some Iphicrates is like".²⁷ This, in turn, reminds us about Quintilian's definition of the *sententia* in 8, 5, 3 *Antiquissimae sunt, quae proprie, ..., sententiae vocantur... Est autem haec vox universalis, ..., interim ad rem tantum relata, ut 'nihil est tam populare quam bonitas'; iterim ad personam, quale est Afri Domiti: 'princeps, qui vult omnia scire, necesse habet multa ignoscere'*. It is evident that the maxim referring to an individual quoted by Quintilian from Domitius Afer is a kind of gnomic characterization of the ruler and accordingly could be interpreted as an ethology.

In support of the readings *ethologiae* and *ethologia* in Quintilian two passages from contemporary Latin literature are usually quoted. They are Suet. gramm. 4 *Veteres grammatici et rhetoricam docebant, ac multorum de utraque arte commentarii feruntur. secundum quam consuetudinem posteriores quoque existimo quamquam iam discretis professionibus nihilo minus vel retinuisse vel instituisse et ipsos quaedam genera meditationum ad eloquentiam praeparandam, ut problemata paraphrasis allocutiones ethologias atque alia hoc genus*, and Sen. epist. 95, 65 *Posidonius non tantum praeceptionem, ..., sed etiam suasionem et consolationem et exhortationem necessariam iudicat. his adicit causarum inquisitionem, aetiologian quam quare nos dicere non audeamus, cum grammatici, custodes Latini sermonis, suo iure ita appellant, non video. ait utilem futuram et descriptionem cuiusque virtutis: hanc Posidonius ethologian vocat, quidam characterismon appellant, signa cuiusque virtutis ac vitii et notas reddentem, quibus inter se dissimilia discriminantur. Haec res eandem vim habet quam praecipere. nam qui praecipit, dicit: "illa facies, si voles temperans esse," qui describit, ait: "temperans est, qui illa facit, qui illis abstinet." quaeris, quid intersit? alter praecepta virtutis dat, alter exemplar.*

Unfortunately the manuscripts of both Quintilian and Suetonius have similar errors (and the same holds good of the word *aetiologian* in Seneca): *aetho-*, *aethio-*, *ethio-*, *aethimo-*, *ethimo-*, etc. These errors have led

²⁷ Cf. also Isidorus 2, 11, 1 *sententia est dictum impersonale ut "obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit"*. - Note that M. Winterbottom, *Problems in Quintilian*, BICS 25 (1970) 67, comes close to my solution: "Quintilian may, however, be saying that all three are different. A *sententia* is universal, *aetiologia* particular, and *chriae* something rather more complex."

to three different readings: *aetiologia*, *ethologia*, *etymologia*.²⁸ The reading *ethologian* in Seneca is, however, proved by the definition and examples given by Seneca. The text of Quintilian and Suetonius must be restored in the light of the probable meaning of the term. This is also the view of Robinson (op.cit. 374), although he later says that “a fairly good case might be made for *ethologia* if it had any manuscript authority” (378) and finally adopts the reading *aetiologia* for both Quintilian and Suetonius, largely on account of the authority of the manuscripts.

There is considerable evidence concerning *aetiologia*. Usually the term refers to a figure, *ad propositum subiecta ratio* (e.g. Cic. de orat. 3, 207, Quint. 9, 3, 93, Rut. Lup. 2, 19).²⁹ Seneca in the letter quoted above defines it as a teaching method employed by the philosophers. He also refers to the use of the term by grammarians. If the reading *aetiologian* is correct (we can perhaps also read *etymologian*), the reference is certainly to the doctrine of figures since it was precisely the task of the grammarians to explain and define the figures and tropes of poetical texts (cf. Quint. 1, 8, 16-17). An exercise similar to the figure of *aetiologia* hardly fits the context in Quintilian. As interpreted above, it must be some kind of moral maxim limited by reference to an individual (*personis continetur*).³⁰ According to Robinson (378-379) and Bonner (258) Quintilian's *aetiologia* is a kind of *chreia*, i.e. it is introduced by the name of the person who explains the meaning of the reported act or saying. We must, however, take note of the fact that the αἰτία, or reason, in Quintilian's text is clearly meant to be the essence of all the exercises listed in the passage. We cannot therefore agree with Colson (op. cit. 118) that aetiology is the name of one only.

Suetonius cannot really be quoted in support of the text in Quintilian since he is referring to the habit of the grammarians of including rhetorical exercises in their programme, against which Quintilian is actually

²⁸ The confusion is easy to comprehend, because the three terms have conceptual similarities; for instance Seneca's definition *causarum inquisitio* is compatible with both aetiology and etymology, and since the *ethologia* or *characterismos* is a kind of a *notatio*, also this term can be confused with *etymologia* (cf. Quint. 1, 6, 28 and Cic. top. 35).

²⁹ The testimony of *aetiologia* is collected by Robinson, op. cit. 372-373.

³⁰ Quintilian distinguishes between universal and particular, not between attribution and non-attribution to a speaker, as suggested by Colson and Bonner. Cf. also Winterbottom, op. cit. 68.

arguing in Ch. 1, 9. However, also in Suetonius I would prefer the reading *problemata paraphrasis allocutiones ethologias atque alia hoc genus* on the reason that in treatises on figures of thought the figures corresponding to *allocutio* and *ethologia* are normally presented together. See, for example, Charisius (372, 25 - 373, 7 Barwick) *ethologia, prosopopoeia*; Rutilius Lupus 2, 6-7 *prosopopoeia, caracterismos*; Cic. orat. 138 (= Quint. 9, 1, 44) *ut hominum mores sermonesque describat, ut muta quaedam loquentia inducat*; Cic. de orat. 3, 204-205 (= Quint. 9, 1, 30) *morum ac vitae imitatio vel in personis vel sine illis, ...; personarum ficta inductio*; Rhet. Her. 4, 63 *notatio, sermonicatio, conformatio*; Quint. 9, 2, 29-37; 9, 2, 58-63 *fictiones personarum, imitatio morum*. It is worth noticing that all mention figures that are very similar in content and form and that there was evidently much confusion in naming these figures.³¹ The confusion was caused by the fact that it is very difficult to differentiate between an imitative figure (usually *ethopoeia*) and an imaginative figure (i.e. the speech of an imaginary person, usually *prosopopoeia*); there are moreover many variations possible when someone else's words are imitated or imagined. In any case, the figures often have the same names as the corresponding exercises in composition. This suggests that in Suetonius' list, the exercise mentioned together with *allocutio* must rather be an exercise resembling the figure of *ethopoeia* than for instance, an exercise similar to the figure of *aetiologia*.

According to Robinson (373) the passage in Seneca is the only indisputable instance of the word *ethologia* in any Greek or Latin text. Robinson fails to notice that the word appears in Charisius as the name of a figure (p. 372, 25-28 Barwick): *Per ethologiam, ut 'siquis me videat, dicat nimirum vir hic est ille talis, tantis opibus praepotens? Ubi nunc secundis rebus adiutrix potens?'*. The *ethologia* in Charisius is evidently synonymous with the *ethopoeia* and in Quintilian it corresponds to an art of *prosopopoeia: incertae personae ficta oratio* (9, 2, 36). Quintilian mentions among the figures of thought 9, 2, 29ff. *fictiones personarum* (= *prosopopoeia*) and 9, 2, 58 *imitatio morum alienorum* (= *ethopoeia* or *mimesis*), which appears both *in factis* and *in dictis*; as an example of the latter he gives Ter. Eun. 155-157 *at ego nesciebam, quorsum tu ires: "parvola hinc est abrepta, eduxit mater pro sua, soror dicta est: cupio abducere, ut reddam suis"*. The example resembles Charisius' *ethologia*, differing however that it is not an imitative speech of

³¹ Cf. Calboli, op. cit. 418-429.

an undefined person but an imitation of what a person has said before.³² Figures like these were of course practised in the schools. One of the rhetoricians' and also Quintilian's main doctrines was that the style must be appropriate to the character imitated and to the circumstances described by the speaker. As Bonner (op. cit. 268-269) says, "the teaching and the practice at this point also linked up very effectively with the grammar-school teaching, in which, ..., the virtue of propriety in style was often praised in the exposition of the poets". The grammarians, too, prepared their pupils for the kind of compositions mentioned. Quintilian in fact refers to this practice in 6, 2, 17 *non parum significanter etiam illa in scholis ἤθη dixerimus, quibus plerumque rusticos, superstitiosos, avaros, timidos secundum condicionem propositionum effingimus: nam si ἤθη mores sunt, cum hos imitamur, ex his ducimus orationem*. Slightly different in form, but similar in function, were exercises generally termed *allocutiones*, for which the teachers made their pupils imitate speeches from the poets.³³

The above examples can be used in support of Suetonius' text in gramm. 4, but as the preparatory exercises intended by Quintilian in 1, 9 they are far too advanced. According to my interpretation of the *ethologia*, Quintilian is thinking rather about moral examples which the boys were to write down and the wisdom of which they were to explain.³⁴ Here we can return to the passage quoted earlier from Seneca's letter, because it seems that Seneca's *ethologia* is exactly the same as Quintilian's. It is also possible that Quintilian either borrowed the term from Seneca or from Seneca's source, Posidonius.³⁵ Certainly Quintilian's view of education, and particularly his view of the meaning of philosophy in education, was different from Seneca's, but this did not prevent him from using the same terminology any more than

³² A similar passage is Ter. Adolph. 407ff., on which Donatus has the comment: ἠθικῶς *totum et 'coepit clamare' et quod sequitur*.

³³ Suet. gramm. 4; Priscian. II, 437, 20ff. Keil. Cf. also Quintilian's definition of *ethopoeia* or *mimesis* in 9, 2, 58 which is very similar to that of *allocutio*. These definitions, in turn, come close to the definition of *effictio* and *notatio* in Rhet. Her. 4, 63. Augustine, conf. 1, 17, refers to this practice of the grammarians.

³⁴ Cf. also 1, 1, 35-36 and 10, 1, 52.

³⁵ For Quintilian's Stoicism and his possible use of Posidonius, see, for example, Kennedy, Quintilian, 34. On Quintilian and Seneca, see Cousin, Quintilien I, Notice 37-43.

it prevented Seneca from adopting terms currently used by the grammarians.³⁶

Seneca defines ethology as follows (in the letter quoted above): *ait utilem futuram et descriptionem cuiusque virtutis: hanc Posidonius ethologian vocat, quidam characterismon appellant, signa cuiusque virtutis ac vitii et notas reddentem, quibus inter se dissimilia discriminentur. Haec res eandem vim habet quam praecipere. nam qui praecipit, dicit: "illa facies, si voles temperans esse," qui describit, ait: "temperans est, qui illa facit, qui illis abstinet." quaeris, quid intersit? alter praecepta virtutis dat, alter exemplar. And he continues: Descriptiones has ... ex usu esse confiteor.* This last sentence corresponds to the usual definition of the chreia. In Seneca, because philosophical teaching is in question, the use (*usus*) obviously refers to the moral application of ethologies, because Seneca continues *proponamus laudanda, inveniatur imitator.*³⁷ The example of ethology given by Seneca is from Virgil (Georg. 3, 75ff.), and it is actually a portrayal of a thoroughbred horse, but Seneca applies it metaphorically to the virtuous man. It is important to note the terms used by Seneca when he defines an ethology. First it may be called a *characterismon*. Rutilius Lupus, 2, 7, in his definition of the figure of *characterismon* employs phrases that resemble those in Seneca's letter: *Characterismon. Quemadmodum pictor coloribus figuras describit, sic orator hoc schemate aut vitia aut virtutes eorum, de quibus loquitur, deformat.* The example given by Rutilius Lupus is, however, far too elaborate for Quintilian's purposes, but naturally also shorter characterizations could be used; one instance of a succinct characterization is Ter. Hec. 352 *quam tristis est!* on which Donatus has the comment: *χαρακτηρισμός locuturi Pamphili.* Secondly, Seneca's ethology is an *exemplar virtutis*, a definition that is obviously in accord with Quintilian's intentions (cf. e.g. 1, 1, 35-36 and 10, 1, 52). Thirdly, the ethology is a *descriptio* or *notatio* (*signa cuiusque virtutis et vitii et notas reddentem*). These definitions are not unlike those of the figure of *notatio* in Rhet. Her. 4, 63: *Notatio est, cum alicuius natura certis describitur signis, quae, sicuti notae quae naturae sunt adtributa; ut si velis non divitem, sed ostentatorem pecuniosi describere* and *descriptio* in Cic. part. 65 *descriptio generis alicuius et quasi imago est exprimenda, ut*

³⁶ It was especially on account of its educational function that Seneca rated poetry highly; see for instance epist. 33, 2-7. Cf. Lejay, op. cit. xx.

³⁷ Cf. also Cic. de orat. 2, 242 *mimorum est enim et ethologorum, si nimia est imitatio, sicut obscaenitas.*

qualis sit avarus aut qui superbus. In particular they are reminiscent of Horace's sat. 1,4 where he talks about his father's teaching methods (105-111): *insuevit pater optimus hoc me, ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quaeque notando. cum me hortaretur, parce frugaliter atque viverem uti contentus eo quod mi ipse parasset, "nonne vides, Albi ut male vivat filius, utque Baius inops, magnum documentum, ne patriam rem perdere quis velit"*.³⁸ The terms used by Horace are similar to those used by Seneca. It is clear, therefore, that many of the phrases used in the poems of Horace, where they provide a succinct description of the conduct and morals of some actual person or character-type, can be called ethologies in Seneca's sense. An example would be Hor. epist. 1, 18, 6-7 *asperitas agrestis et inconcinna gravisque, quae res commendat tonsa cute, dentibus atris*, on which Porphyrio comments: *characterismos hominis tristis et amari*, or Hor. epist. 1, 18, 10-11 *alter in obsequium plus aequo pronus et imi derisor lecti sic nutum divitis horret*, on which Porphyrio comments: *hic characterismos adulatorum est*.³⁹ From the numerous trenchant characterizations with a proper name in Horace's satires I select the following from sat. 1,4: *beatus Fannius ultro delatis capsis et imagine* (21-22); *stupet Albius aere* (28); *pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum* (92); *Sulcius acer ambulat et Caprius, rauci male cumque libellis, magnus uterque timor latronibus* (65-67). In the Roman satire, which has a certain philosophical background, realistic character sketches are often based on Peripatetic or Cynic philosophy (cf. Arist. rhet. 1389-1390 and Theophrastus' Characters; for Cynics, e.g. Diog. Laert. 6, 46-54); the New Comedy, on the other hand, with its careful delineation of types, provided rich material for the poets and teachers.⁴⁰

³⁸ A similar teaching method is mentioned by Horace also in sat. 2, 3, 168-175. See also Hor. ars 156 *aetatis cuiusque notandi sunt tibi mores*. Cf. Ter. Adolph. 415-419.

³⁹ Cf. also Porphyrio's notes on Hor. epist. 1, 20, 24 and 2, 1, 184. C.O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry. Epistles Book II*, Cambridge 1982, 385 and 588, actually uses the term ethology in his explication of Horace's realistic character sketches. - Also C. Gill, *The Ethos/Pathos Distinction in Rhetorical and Literary Criticism*, CQ 34 (1984) 159 n. 49, seems to suggest that Quintilian used the term ethology: "under *ethos* we can find the long-standing association with good character and ethics ...; with depiction of types, such as *rusticos*, 6. 2. 17, cf. 1. 9. 3".

⁴⁰ Cf. G. Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace*, Madison 1920, 298-99.

I believe that the evidence adduced in the foregoing discussion demonstrates conclusively that the term used by Quintilian was not *aetiologia* but *ethologia*, an *ethologia* being a moral exemplar, a succinct description of a virtuous man, to be followed, or of a vicious man, to be eschewed. There were two types of *ethologia*, either those with a proper name – as often in Horace – or those in which a general character-type is described. It is therefore possible, as suggested at the beginning of this chapter, that the term could also mean a maxim with personal or individual reference.⁴¹

7. Conclusion

Long before Quintilian's time the theory of rhetoric had become a highly sophisticated system with its detailed precepts and elaborate classifications and sub-classifications. The teachers of rhetoric had also developed a scheme for training their pupils in the writing and speaking of prose, a graded series of exercises. In Rome, however, the system of education was not yet fully established. Certain difficulties were caused when the old Roman system of education was modelled on the teaching methods of the Greeks. But above all there were two languages and two literatures to be taught. Although both were taught to the same pupils, a division arose, and the Greek teachers of grammar and rhetoric were separated from the Latin ones. In the Greek system, the progymnasmata, preliminary exercises in composition, were assigned to the teacher of rhetoric, whereas Latin teachers of rhetoric were willing to leave this part of the instruction to the teachers of grammar. Since there was a danger that an important sector of education would be neglected, Quintilian proposed that the teachers of grammar should take charge of some of the most elementary exercises in composition. Because training in the art of writing and speaking was thus divided into two stages, there came to be certain terminological confusion; since the same themes could appear later in more exacting exercises, those exercises that were practised in the grammar school were not quite the same as those listed

⁴¹ Cf. for example Sen. epist. 1, 2, 6 *non qui parum habet, sed qui plus cupit, pauper est*; epist. 33, 4 *pauperis est numerare pecus* (= Ov. met. 13, 824) and Hor. sat. 1, 64-67 and 95-100.

and analysed in treatises on rhetorical progymnasmata. Quintilian's exposition can be compared to the respective passages in Theon's handbook and to the remarks of Seneca the Younger and Suetonius on the same topic and one can observe in them similar problems concerning the definition and naming of those exercises.

It is Quintilian's contention that the themes practised at the grammar school always have a moral application. Fables, maxims, and ethologies are suitable for observing this educational principle. Secondly, he asserts that the practice of composition must be closely related to the reading of poetry. There was an abundance of poetic fables to be found in Greek and Latin poetry. Quintilian says, furthermore, that the methods used should be harmonized with the other teaching at the grammar school. This principle makes the chreia the most typical primary exercise. Finally, Quintilian always stresses the importance of imitation. In the grammar school, imitation must combine writing practice and moral training. The mode of expression of good writers serves as a model in forming the pupils' style, and paraphrase is therefore the most essential element in all literary training. Moral maxims, sayings and anecdotes, as well as characterizations (ethologies), all provide the pupils with models of good conduct to be imitated and of bad conduct to be eschewed.

DE NOVIS LIBRIS IUDICIA

Nuovi Studi Maffeiiani. Atti del Convegno Scipione Maffei e il Museo Maffeiiano. Verona 18-19 novembre 1983. Comune di Verona – Direzione Musei, 1985. 490 p.

Questo volume interessa soprattutto studi antiquari ed epigrafici. Di contenuto assai vario, dà un buono sguardo sull'opera del Maffei e sulle attività degli odierni antiquari ed epigrafisti veronesi e settentrionali in generale. Eccone il contenuto: L. Beschi, Rilievi attici del Museo Maffeiiano; E. Di Filippo Balestrazzi, Il rilievo di Argenidas e il culto dei Dioscuri ad Este; L. Calzavara Capuis, Iscrizioni Venetiche nel Museum Veronense. Scipione Maffei e l'«Etruscheria»; I. Favaretto, I vasi figurati antichi del Museum Veronense; L. Sorbini, Scipione Maffei e i fossili di Bolca; B. Neutsch, Goethe e il Museo Maffeiiano; G. Tosi, Aspetti e ruolo dell'architettura romana nell'interpretazione di Scipione Maffei; A. Buonopane, Le iscrizioni latine spurie del Museo Maffeiiano; I. Di Stefano Manzella, Scipione Maffei e l'Ars critica lapidaria. Storia e struttura dell'opera; K. Pomian, Maffei e Caylus; L. Franzoni, Il Museo Maffeiiano secondo l'ordinamento di Scipione Maffei; G.P. Marchi, «La semplicità dei primi padri». Lettere etrusche di Scipione Maffei; E. Zerbinati, Rapporti tra Scipione Maffei e i conti Silvestri di Rovigo; A. Gunnella, I «marmi» riccardiani nell'Ars critica lapidaria di Scipione Maffei; G.P. Romagnani, Il «Parere» di Scipione Maffei per l'Università di Torino e la sua opera per il Lapidario; G. Uggeri, La formazione della raccolta epigrafica ferrarese; C. Stella, Brescia e Scipione Maffei; I. Calabi Limentani, Gli altri musei epigrafici; M. E. Tittoni, Francesco Eugenio Guasco e la sua edizione del Lapidario dei Musei Capitolini (1775); F. Lorusso De Leo, Note per un riordino del Museo lapidario estense; E. Corradini, Il Museo lapidario estense; P. Rigoli, Breve storia della «Gran Sala» dell'Accademia Filarmonica; L. Magagnato, Archeologia, rinascenze, museologia.

Raccomandiamo il volume a chiunque si interessi della storia degli studi antiquari del Settecento italiano e delle sue ripercussioni più recenti.

Heikki Solin

Acta omnium gentium ac nationum conventus sexti Latinis litteris linguaeque fovendis a die V ad X mensis Augusti anno MCMLXXXV Dunelmi habiti. Britannia Latina, ediderunt Osvaldus Dilke et Gavinus Townend. Ex aedibus Titi Wilson, Kendaliae 1986. 195 p.

Conventus latinistarum internationales hucusque facti sunt sexies, scilicet Romae anno 1966, Bucurestii 1970, in insula Melita 1973, in urbe Dacaria Senegaliae 1977, Augustae Treverorum 1981, denique quinque annis post Dunelmi Anglorum. Qui omnes habiti sunt auspiciis Academiae Latinitati inter omnes gentes fovendae. Proximus eiusdem generis internationalis conventus habebitur, ut iam nuntiatum est, anno 1989 Erfordiae Thuringorum, ubi disputabitur de studiis classicis, quae a Petrarca usque ad Melanchtonem in Europa floruerunt.

Dunelmensis conventus maxime spectabat ad Britanniam, ut par erat, et maxima ex orationibus habitis pars sive auctores antiquos et mediaevales, qui de Britannia scripserunt (Cicero, Caesar, Tacitus aliique), sive Britannicae originis latinistas celebriores (e.g. Bedam Venerabilem, Willelmum Malmesberiensem, Alcuinum) tractavit. Omnino habitae sunt orationes maiores minoresve numero undetriginta, quarum textus una cum conventus verbis inauguralibus valedictoribusque his in actis sunt editi.

Praeter res Britannicas, tractabantur in conventu etiam novae rationes linguam Latinam docendi. Iustissimo iure quaerit Lambertus Pigni (p. 173): "Quomodo fit, ut qui exercemur in linguis peregrinis usitandis, idem non facimus, cum de lingua Latina agatur?". Eundem vivum Latinitatis usum commendat Caelestis Eichenseer, cum in oratione valedictoria dicit: "si vobis contingit, ut interdum tres, quinque, quindecim minutas Latinas, prorsus Latinas, inseratis, certe discipuli vestri vobis non irascentur, sed fortasse manus et oculos vestros osculabuntur" (p. 183). Quae verba eo maioris sunt momenti, quod bene scimus plurimos esse linguae Latinae magistros et professores, qui potius ultimum quoque discipulum amittant quam semel suos discipulos Latine doceant. In conventu Dunelmensi, teste Caelesti Eichenseer, omnes disputationes praeter unam Latine peragebantur. Acta eius utile sunt instrumentum omnibus, qui Britanniae Latinae studiis occupantur. Stilus operis est quam maxime Latinus.

Tuomo Pekkanen

Sophoclis Tragoediae. Tom. I: *Ajax. Electra. Oedipus Rex*. Iterum edidit *R.D. Dawe*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1984. XIV, 164 S. M 39.

Euripides Supplices. Edidit *Christopher Collard*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1984. XVII, 66 S. M 26.

Euripides Iphigenia Aulidensis. Edidit *Hans Christian Günther*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1988. XXI, 68 S. M 28.50.

Euripides Phoenissae. Edidit *Donald John Mastronarde*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1988. XLIX, 153 S. M 59.

Both the two Teubner texts mentioned first, *Sophocles* vol. I by Dawe and *Euripides Supplices* by Collard, are second editions of the play by the author. By chance, the first editions of both texts appeared in the same year, 1975, Dawe's edition in the same Teubner series, Collard's as the first volume of his commentary published by Bouma's Boekhuis b.v. Publishers, Groningen. Both new editions present, as is to be expected, a text improved by the further study and insight of the editors. Collard's text has been revised more, and most of his changes are, in my opinion, for the better. Collard's second edition is also more informative: in his preface, he points out the new readings adopted in the text, and in the supplement to his apparatus criticus, he makes short comments both on these passages and several others requiring more information. Dawe, on the other hand, does not say a single word about his revised text. In the matter of bibliography, too, Collard is more generous, giving, in addition to the editions, the titles of works cited in the apparatus and some other important studies, while Dawe draws the line very strictly indeed (referring to other bibliographies) and adds only three new titles to the bibliography of his new edition. As to the most important part of Dawe's edition, that is the text, I have nothing to complain about; it remains the best text of Sophocles so far.

Günther's *Iphigenia* is a new text and is very welcome indeed; as far as editions and commentaries are concerned, this great play has had much less

attention than it deserves. As is well known, it is a most difficult play for an editor; even if the editor cannot and should not take stand on all possible interpolations suggested in this play, he must do so in such cases where the issue affects the readings of the text. In these matters, Günther's text is conservative and cautious, which is sensible. The edition is furnished with an illuminating preface and a rather extensive bibliography as well as the metrical analysis habitually found in the series.

Mastronarde's edition of Euripides' *Phoenissae* is a great work in miniature. Upon the foundations laid by earlier scholars, especially A. Turyn and K. Matthiessen, and his own investigations over a period of twenty years, he builds a new, carefully considered and extraordinarily well presented text of the play. Moreover, the preface, bibliography and three appendices (of conjectures, suspected verses and metre) offer to the reader a wealth of useful information.

Maarit Kaimio

Herodoti Historiae. Vol. I libros I-IV continens. Edidit Haiim B. Rosén. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1987. LXXXVIII, 458 S. M 148.

A new edition of Herodotus is a memorable event, especially when it is published in Teubneriana. In the long preface of sixty pages the editor discusses the questions of dialect, orthography, manuscript traditions and earlier editions of Herodotus. It contains interesting remarks about the language, mostly in accordance with his Laut- und Formenlehre der herodotischen Sprachform. Prefixed to the text of books I-IV is a synoptic edition of three recensions of the short treatise *De Iade* by Manuel Moschopulus. The text itself is provided with the apparatus criticus and also testimonia from later literature. The latter give an interesting view concerning the position of Herodotus in literature and a comparison of them with the text may also help us improve our understanding of authors from whom we do not have the whole text.

Klaus Karttunen

Herodot: Novellen. Ausgewählt, übertragen und erklärt von *Bernhard Kytzler*. Mit 12 Radierungen und einer Vignette von *Harry Jürgens*. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1984. 88 S. M 38.

Menander: Sentenzen. Übertragen von *Siegfried Jäkel*. Mit 22 farbigen Tuschezeichnungen von *Rolf Münzner*. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1986. 120 S.

These two prettily bound and decorated books are evidently intended as small gifts to the reader who is interested in the literature of Antiquity – or who is not yet interested in it. In the booklet on Herodotus, some examples of Herodotus' gift of story telling are given – and these stories, which are often widely known in our literary tradition, like the story of Polycrates' ring or Croesus and Solon, stand up very well even when told in this way, out of their historical context. Some ethnographical material which does not belong to the same sort of tradition is included, like the description of the selling of the brides in Babylon, while some more typically narrative episodes are left out, such as the birth of Cyrus or the story of Xerxes and Masistes' wife. But the translator is naturally free to choose from the wealth of material. The size of the book is very awkward (height 29 cm, width 14 cm). Why is it not the same size as the Menander volume, as it is evidently a part of the same series? – The Menander volume offers about 500 lines from the *gnomai* traditionally linked with the name of Menander. They are given here in the form and order of a collection from the Middle Ages, which has the maxims arranged in groups according to their contents. This arrangement is undoubtedly more instructive to the modern reader than the alphabetical order used in most manuscripts. It is intriguing that such collections of maxims of ancient and modern wisdom are again very popular, and publications abound for the benefit of festival orators. The translation by the editor of Menander's *Sententiae* in the Teubner series is witty and elegant.

Maarit Kaimio

Socraticorum reliquiae I-IV. Collegit, disposuit, apparatibus notisque instruxit *Gabriele Giannantoni*. Edizioni dell'Ateneo, Roma 1983-1985. XV, 1-316 p. & 317-778 p. & 523 p. & 166 p. ITL 200.000.

The immensely rich contents of these four volumes make it impossible to provide a thorough evaluation in a brief review. Volumes I-II contain the testimonies, the very scarce fragments, and the doxography

(apophthegms, letters, etc.) relating to (I) the schools of Megara (down to Stilpon and his contemporaries), Elis, Eretria, Cyrene (down to Theodorus the Atheist), and (II) Antisthenes, Diogenes and the earlier Cynics (down to Menedemus), with detailed textual references in Latin printed in two-level apparatuses of the new Teubner type. Volume III contains essays (the first two of a general kind: on the principles followed by the editor, and on Diogenes Laertius) and comments on the edition, in Italian. Volume IV has 75 pages of bibliography, followed by indexes of sources and proper names. The references are remarkably full and up to date, and some of the essays constitute admirable pieces of original scholarship; minor slips are unavoidable in a work of this scope.

The essays of Volume III, though bristling with facts, may present the user with difficulties of orientation and handling, because there is no running commentary. Particularly noticeable are the improvements on the earlier editions of the Megarics (Döring 1972), the Cyrenaics (Mannebach 1961, and also Giannantoni himself 1958), and Antisthenes (Caizzi 1966) and the Cynics. Giannantoni is on the whole more inclusive than his predecessors, which is a good thing; e.g. Dio Chrysost. XIII 14-28 is included as frg. 208 of Antisthenes (with proper reserve); unfortunately, he has not been able to note P. Köln 205 under Aristippus, nor (more surprisingly) Winiarczyk's B.T. edition of Theodorus The Cyrenaic (1981). It is understandable, though in my view regrettable, that Aeschines (ed. Krauss 1911, Dittmar 1912) has not found a place in this company.

The lasting importance of Giannantoni's work is beyond any question. It is one of the most impressive signs, in recent years, of the high standards of Italian research in the sources of Greek philosophy.

H. Thesleff

Nemesii Emeseni De natura hominis. Edidit Moreno Morani. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1987. XIX, 183 S. M 60.

Bishop Nemesius' remarkably comprehensive, accurate and lucid synthesis of the views of man in pagan Greek philosophy and science has not received proper attention in modern times. The only scholarly edition before the present is now almost two centuries old (C.F. Matthaei, 1802), and W. Jaeger's monograph (1914) is clearly out of date. M. Morani has done an admirable piece of work, notably with the recension of the text (there are more than a hundred Greek Mss., and various Latin, Armenian, Arabic, etc.

traditions; cf. his 'La tradizione manoscritta', 1981), but also in listing parallels, references, and so forth. This new edition will be very useful for testing, inter alia, numerous pieces of doxographical information. It will also, I believe, necessitate a reconsideration of the question of Nemesius' sources.

H. Thesleff

Iurisprudentiae anteiustinianae reliquiae. In usum maxime academicum compositas a Ph. Edvardo Huschke editione sexta aucta et emendata ediderunt E. Seckel et B. Kuebler. Volumen prius (Reprint der Originalausgabe von 1908). XXXI, 503 S. M 57. – Voluminis alterius fasciculus prior et secundus (Reprint der Originalausgabe von 1911 und 1927). III, 188 S. & III, 189-543 S. M 61. – Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1988.

Die Neubearbeitung der Huschkeschen Edition der *Iurisprudentia anteiustiniana* erschien zwischen 1908 und 1927 und liegt jetzt im Neudruck vor. Man begrüßt freudig diesen Neudruck, der die bewährte Ausgabe wieder zugänglich macht. Anders als die ursprüngliche *Iurisprudentia* Huschkes kann die jetzt neu vorliegende Neubearbeitung als eine unbedingt zuverlässige und moderne Ausgabe bewertet werden. Manche Texte liegen darin sogar in einer Vollendung vor, die bisher unerreicht war. Freilich liegen heute für einige Teile noch modernere Ausgaben vor, so für Gaius, was aber auf keine Weise die Brauchbarkeit des Neudrucks mindert. – Wie bekannt, hat sich die Neubearbeitung sehr zu ihrem Vorteil von Huschke distanziert. Aber in Gaius 2, 287 haben die neuen Editoren Huschkes Änderung *posset* beibehalten, obwohl *possit* überliefert, dem Sinn nach gestattet ist und vor allem vom Sprachgebrauch gefordert wird.

Heikki Solin

M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta quae manserunt omnia. Fasc. 25a: *Pro M. Aemilio Scauro oratio.* Recognovit Elzbieta Olechowska. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1984. XVII, 32 S. 7 Abb. M 16.

Die Rede für Scaurus ist in fragmentarischem Zustand erhalten, einmal durch den Kommentar des Asconius, zum anderen durch zwei

Palimpsestenfragmente, den 1904 verbrannten Taurinensis und den Ambrosianus (ihre Datierung ist umstritten; die Editorin setzt sie beide ins 5.Jh.). Diese Teubneriana ist die dritte Nachkriegsedition der Scauriana; von ihren Vorgängerinnen, der von Ghiselli und der von Grimal, unterscheidet sie nur unbedeutend. Der hauptsächliche Wert der Edition liegt in dem reichen Testimonienapparat und dem kritischen Apparat. In der Textgestaltung zeigt sich die Editorin bald als konservativ (aber in Asc. p. 3-4 kann *M. et Q. Pacuvii fratres cognomine Claudii* unmöglich richtig sein [übrigens steht die Anmerkung 'ThIL suppl. 1, 74, 59-64' im Apparat an falscher Stelle, ist überflüssig und stimmt nicht]), bald nimmt sie Konjekturen anderer Editoren auf, auch an Stellen, wo Grimal den überlieferten Text zu bewahren bestrebt ist. – Im Index nominum steht Pompeius unter dem Stichwort Cn. Pompeius Magnus, aber Cicero gebraucht nicht *Magnus* in dessen Namen.

Heikki Solin

Jane W. Crawford: M. Tullius Cicero, The Lost and Unpublished Orations. Hypomnemata, Heft 80. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht in Göttingen, 1984. 324 S. DEM 72.

This book, originally a doctoral dissertation, is not a study of Cicero's fragmentary speeches, but of those "speeches not preserved at all either because they were never published or because they were lost in transmission". She thus rules out any speech that boasts even a single fragment; however, she is not consistent on this point: she registers 'De Manilio' (one fragment preserved), 'Pro Gabinio' (two frgs preserved), but omits, for example, 'De Othone' and 'Pro Vatinius', though no fragments of these speeches are preserved. This makes the use of previous editions, strongly criticized by Crawford, still necessary, though Crawford does find 88 orations as opposed to Puccioni's (her *bête noire*) 48. The book consists of useful, if not very original, introductory remarks (note her sharp, in my mind too sharp, reactions to Stroh's view that Cicero's main motive for publication was literary), and of a collection of the testimonia with full apparatus and commentaries. A useful, though overlong (what, for example, is the value of the long *Conspectus siglorum* on p. 269ff.?), contribution to Ciceronian scholarship.

Heikki Solin

Giorgio Brugnoli: Foca: vita di Virgilio. Introduzione, testo, traduzione e commento. Testi e studi di cultura classica, 1. ETS Editrice, Pisa 1984. XIX, 44 p. ITL 7.500.

Ecco una nuova edizione critica della *Vita Vergili* di Foca, di cui altro non sappiamo se non che fu *grammaticus urbis Romae* e che il Brugnoli lo data tra la fine del IV e l'inizio del V secolo. Il testo si fonda su una nuova collazione del codice che l'ha trasmesso, il Parisinus Lat. 8093 del IX secolo. L'edizione dei 131 versi, in gran parte esametri, è accompagnata da un abbondante commentario; alla fine l'autore offre una traduzione che si distingue – se è permesso il giudizio di un non italiano – per precisione ed accuratezza. – Il testo non si distacca molto da Riese (ma in 12 *simplici*, per *simplice* di Riese, è contro la metrica). In genere si può dire un testo conservativo. Nella breve introduzione Brugnoli affronta vari problemi, a cominciare dalla forma del nome *Foca/Focas* e *Phoca/Phocas* e dall'identificazione dell'autore. Insomma, un ottimo libro che ha anche ricevuto nell'elegante volumetto un'ottima veste tipografica.

Heikki Solin

Egil Kraggerud: Horaz und Actium. Studien zu den politischen Epoden. Symbolae Osloenses, fasc. supplet. XXVI. Universitetsforlaget. Oslo - Bergen - Stavanger - Tromsø, 1984. 174 p. NKR 170.

In diesem Buch unternimmt Kraggerud den Versuch, die vier „politischen“ Epoden 1, 7, 9 und 13 als vier zusammenhängende Äußerungen des Horaz aus der Zeit unmittelbar nach Actium nachzuweisen. Am meisten überrascht natürlich die Behauptung, die Epoden 7 und 16 seien nach Actium geschrieben worden, statt sie nach allgemeiner Ansicht in die Frühzeit der Epodendichtung des Horaz zu setzen. Persönlich habe ich mich von der Beweisführung des Autors nicht ganz überzeugen lassen. Gut, seiner ausgezeichneten Deutung der neunten Epode stimme ich zu. Nur weiß ich nicht, ob er mit seiner Ablehnung der pessimistischen Auslegung der Schlußverse durch eine Reihe von Forschern Recht hat. Ob aber die andere an Maecenas gerichtete Epode 1 auch nach Actium zu setzen ist, steht dahin. Kraggerud selbst hat im Gedicht Hinweise auf politische Zusammenhänge vor Actium gefunden. Was endlich die Datierung der Epoden 7 und 16 angeht, kann ich dem Verfasser nicht beipflichten, trotz all den guten Bemerkungen, die er beisteuert. Das Buch enthält viel Gutes über das Ewigkeitsproblem des Fiktiven und des Reellen in Horazens Dichtung, wenn man ihm auch nicht in jedem Punkt folgen

kann. Aber wie man sich auch immer zu seinen zentralen Behauptungen stellt: es handelt sich um ein sehr anregendes und lesenswertes Buch.

Heikki Solin

P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoses. Edidit *William S. Anderson.* 4. Auflage. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1988. XXVIII, 419 S. M 65.

Andersons Ausgabe erschien zum ersten Mal 1977; die hier angezeigte ist schon die vierte Auflage, aber wie die zwei früheren ein unveränderter Abdruck. Es mag einen verwundern, daß Anderson sich nicht veranlaßt gesehen hat, die vernichtende Besprechung von J.B. Hall, *Proc.Afr.Class.Ass.* 15 (1980) 62-70 zu berücksichtigen oder wenigstens davon Abstand zu nehmen. Auch die übrigen Besprechungen, die überraschend gering an Zahl sind, enthalten erwägenswerte Gesichtspunkte und Vorschläge: Le Bonniec, *REL* 58 (1980) 493-498; Luppe, *DLZ* 101 (1980) 28f.; Viarre, *Latomus* 43 (1984) 164f. Als Rezensent eines bloßen Neudrucks fühle ich mich nicht verpflichtet, Andersons Ausgabe kritisch zu würdigen, bemerke nur, daß ihre Bedeutung für die Ovidkritik doch in keinem rechten Maß steht zu ihrem verlegerischen Erfolg; so viel wenigstens kann man Halls Rezension entnehmen.

Heikki Solin

M. Manilii Astronomica. Edidit *George P. Goold.* Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Latinorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1985. XXVII, 185 S. M 56.

Die bisherige Teubneriana des schwierigen und schlecht überlieferten astrologischen Gedichtes stammt von J. van Wageningen aus dem Jahre 1915; so war es Zeit, eine neue Ausgabe zu erstellen. Für diese Aufgabe war G.P. Goold durch seine früheren Arbeiten, namentlich seine Loeb-Edition (deren ausgezeichnete Übersetzung das diffizile Poem auch den "ordinary mortals" [um mit M.D. Reeve, in: Reynolds (Hrsg.), *Text and Transmission*, 1983, 238 zu reden] zugänglich gemacht hat) wie prädestiniert. Während er in der Loeb-Ausgabe mit seiner langen Einführung und den Kommentaren zur Überwindung der von dem Gedicht gestellten beträchtlichen Schwierigkeiten einen ausgezeichneten Beitrag lieferte, konzentriert er sich in der Teubneriana mehr auf den texthistorischen und textkritischen Befund und hat dabei eine hervorragende Ausgabe produziert. Vor allem hat er die

Überlieferungsgeschichte, auch anhand Entdeckung neuer Textzeugen, präzisiert, was dem minutiösen textkritischen Apparat sehr zugute gekommen ist. Der Text selbst kann, ganz anders als der von van Wageningen, nicht gerade als konservativ bezeichnet werden. Als Schüler von Housman steht Goold deutlich unter dessen Einfluß, wenn er auch in seiner Änderungsfreude nicht so weit geht wie sein großer Lehrmeister. Dennoch scheint mir, daß sein Text sich doch noch etwas zu stark an Housman anlehnt. – In der Bibliographie vermissen ich die Arbeiten von André Le Bœuffle und das Buch C. Salemme, *Introduzione agli "Astronomica" di Manilio*, Napoli 1983.

Heikki Solin

Thomas G. Rosenmeyer: Deina ta polla. A Classicist's Checklist of Twenty Literary-Critical Positions. Arethusa Monographs XII. Department of Classics, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1988. 74 p. USD 10.

The intention of the author of this short survey (I use these words, although I know that the Intentional Fallacy and the danger of Authorization are threatening me) seems to be to encourage the traditional classicist to look more closely at the foundations of his literary interpretation and to be more conscious of the different viewpoints he takes, and, on the other hand, to encourage critics immersed in one literary theory to look around for fresh viewpoints outside of their single path. This is done by surveying twenty different modes of approach to literature, not in their historical sequence nor under their usual headings (New Criticism, structuralism, deconstructionism, etc.), but by mapping out the different attitudes of critical approach - starting from the examination of the discrete units of the text (sounds, vocables, syntactic data, metrical units) and ending with the signification of the text considered in its largest historical and social context. This disposition has the advantage of showing the similarities of seemingly different approaches and pointing out some refreshing parallels in ancient and modern trends of criticism; on the other hand, it is not particularly easy to follow, and one is left wondering for whom this survey is intended. A student of classics would probably need a more clear introduction to the different literary theories, and a classicist at a more advanced level would perhaps wish for a more profound discussion. However, it is commendable that literary criticism is, for once, approached from the classicist's point of view. There is also a useful bibliography.

Maarit Kaimio

A.A. Long - D.N. Sedley: The Hellenistic Philosophers. Vol. I: Translations of the principal sources, with philosophical commentary. Vol. II: Greek and Latin texts with notes and bibliography. Cambridge University Press, 1987. XV, 512 p. GBP 35.00 & X, 512 p. GBP 50.00.

Bekanntlich wurde W.K.C. Guthries „A History of Greek Philosophy“ durch äußere Umstände nach dem Aristotelesband (Vol. VI, 1981) abgebrochen. Eine zeitliche Weiterführung gab etwa A.A. Longs verdienstvolles Buch „Hellenistic Philosophy“ (London, Duckworth, 1974). Jetzt legt Tony Long zusammen mit David Sedley gerade auf dem letztgenannten Gebiet ein zweibändiges Werk vor: „The Hellenistic Philosophers“. Es handelt sich um eine philosophische Anthologie ersten Ranges. Von den Verfassern wird der erste Band, mit übersetzten Quellentexten und vielerlei Hilfsmitteln (s. unten), als die zentrale Leistung bezeichnet, während der zweite Band als 'zusätzlich' und nicht für sich verwendbar bezeichnet wird.

Platon und Aristoteles werden ja von den Trümmerfeldern der vorsokratischen und der hellenistischen Philosophie umrahmt; es sei aber hier hervorgehoben, daß für die Philosophen 'neben' Platon nunmehr ein bedeutendes Quellenwerk vorliegt: Gabriele Giannantonis „Socraticorum reliquiae I-IV“, Napoli, Bibliopolis 1983-1985.

Long - Sedleys Einleitung ist ganz kurz (und originell), dann wird der Leser unmittelbar an dasjenige antike Material herangeführt, worauf unsere Kenntnis der hellenistischen Systeme hauptsächlich beruht. Die Präsentation der Quellen ist in vielerlei Hinsicht speziell. Sie ist gar nicht 'philologisch' in dem Sinne, daß größere geschlossene Textmassen (ich denke vor allem an die Epikurbriefe) auch geschlossen präsentiert würden; im Gegenteil, solche Textmassen werden in kurze Sinnabschnitte zerteilt und an der jeweils passenden Stelle in die Disposition eingefügt. Die Quellenvorführung ist nämlich im höchsten Grade systematisch, was seinen guten Grund hat: es ist ein Hauptanliegen der Verff., dem Leser die begriffliche Welt der hellenistischen Philosophie nahezubringen.

Durch alles, was gegeben wird, entspricht das Werk drei substantiellen Monographien: über Skepsis (und die zugehörige Akademie), Epikureismus und Stoa. Aber es will nicht monographisch sein, sondern eben ein Quellenbuch. Die Verff. fassen aber ihre Aufgabe anders auf, als man es vor 100 Jahren tat: damals genügte es, die griechischen und lateinischen Quellentexte in textkritisch möglichst gesicherter Form zu drucken, höchstens durch Disposition und typographische Mittel zu wirken, aber die Interpretation als solche dem 'kundigen Leser' zu überlassen. Dafür, daß diese manchmal Schwierigkeiten bereiten konnte, verweise ich auf ein Wort Wilhelm Krolls

anlässlich eines epikureischen Fragments: „Ich nehme an, daß die Herausgeber diese Worte verstehen; sie haben dann aber auch die Pflicht, sie den Lesern ihrer Ausgabe zu erklären.“ (RE XV, 1932, 1478 Anm., zu Metrodor fr. 38 Koerte, einem Fragment, das später von R. Westman, *Plutarch gegen Kolotes*, 1955, 215ff. interpretiert wurde.)

Long und Sedley arbeiten ihrerseits in 'leserfreundlicher' Weise, aber keineswegs, um es dem Leser sozusagen mechanisch leichter zu machen, sondern um ihre Verantwortung als Herausgeber antiker Quellentexte voll und ganz zu tragen. Ihre Leistung besteht, kurz zusammengefasst, in folgendem (Numerierung von mir): 1. Auswahl des Materials, 2. Anordnung, 3. genaue (und kontrollierbare, s. unten 6) Übersetzung, 4. philosophische Kommentare im Anschluß an die jeweiligen Übersetzungen, 5. genaue Indices zur Information über die Philosophen und über die zitierten Quellen, ferner (Glossary) über Begriffe (Termini, und zwar in englischer Fassung, wahrscheinlich neu z.B. 'dispreferred' für das stoische *apoproegmenon*) und über behandelte Themen (topics, Index of). All dies in Vol. 1. Dann in Vol. 2: 6. als Übersetzungskontrolle (und keineswegs nur zu diesem Zweck!) sämtliche in Vol. 1 wiedergegebenen Texte, bisweilen in ausführlicherer Form, in griechischer bzw. lateinischer Originalfassung, mit knappen textkritischen Angaben, 7. zusätzliche kommentierende Notizen, die die Quellentexte weiter erhellen sollen, 8. eine systematisch gegliederte internationale Bibliographie mit 655 Nummern (Koertes Metrodorausgabe, Nr. 135, erschien natürlich 1890, nicht 1980).

Das Werk als solches ist keine Synthese, aber es ist kristallklar, daß es durchaus auf einer synthetischen Kenntnis der hellenistischen Philosophie beruht. Die Autoren haben sich durch Tausende von Fragmenten und Testimonien hindurchgearbeitet, um ihren Lesern die nach ihrer Ansicht tragenden Texte vorzulegen. Die Klarheit, mit der das Material ausgebreitet wird, die ehrlichen und stets wohlfundierten Stellungnahmen zu einer Fülle von Einzelproblemen, die vielen bereitwillig gebotenen Hilfsmittel, all das macht das Werk zu einer Fundgrube der Information und zu einem vorzüglichen – man möchte fast sagen: notwendigen – Ausgangspunkt für die weitere Forschung.

Rolf Westman

Conventus de verbis novis Latinis acta, XXIX-XXX m. Novembris a. MCMLXXX. Opus fundatum "Latinitas". Ex urbe Vaticana a. MCMLXXXII. 227 p. ITL 10.000.

This is the collection of fourteen papers read at the Conference on New Latin Words in 1980 and published by *Latinitas*, a Vatican periodical

dedicated to the cultivation of Latin as a living language. It may be a sign of the times that even at this congress three of the papers were in Italian.

Both the history of coining new Latin words and the coining of Latin equivalents for modern terms are discussed. Particularly interesting contributions are e.g. B. Riposati's discussion of the method of coining new words in the classical period, U. Rapallo's paper on the Typology of metaphorical translations, and the longest (34 pp.) A. Minucci's paper on new words in Poggio Bracciolini.

The papers covering the modern period are perhaps the most interesting. N. Gross discourses upon Latin words in science. He traces the origin of a few words. *Atomus* is found in Cicero, *nucleus*, too, is ancient, while *arma nuclearia*, *fissio nuclearis* are modern coinages. C. Eichenseer explains the principles to be observed in creating Latin words to denote instruments and machines. According to him, nomina personalia such as *motor* and others ending on *-tor / -trix* should be avoided. Instead he recommends neuters. 'Motor' should thus be in Latin *motatorium* and 'computer' *computatrum*. But is this not excessive purism? Many of the words recommended by Eichenseer are cacophonous and even slightly ridiculous, like *cietrum / cietorium* for a machine that sets other machines in motion. J. Mir discusses a single problem, the Latin equivalents of 'car'. It has been rendered by *currus automobilis*, *automobile*, *vehiculum automobile*, *autovehiculum*, *automatum*, *automolus* and a good number of more esoteric expressions like *vehes sua sponte currens*, *autocinetum*, even *diga*, i.e. *di-iugum > sine iugo* because there is no *iugum* in a car! The author favours *currus automobilis* and polemizes against the zealots of pure Latinity who reject the word as hybrid (Greek and Latin).

Iiro Kajanto

Il libro e il testo. Atti del convegno internazionale, Urbino 20-23 settembre 1982. A cura di Cesare Questa e Renato Raffaelli. Pubblicazioni dell'Università di Urbino, Scienze umane, Atti di Congressi I. Edizioni Quattro Venti, Urbino 1984. XIII, 445 p. ITL 80.000.

Ecco il contenuto di questo ponderoso volume: R. Raffaelli, La pagina e il testo. Sulle funzioni della doppia rigatura verticale nei codici latini antiquiores; J. Ruysschaert, Lignes d'un examen codicologique du 'Virgile Vatican' et du 'Virgile Romain'; Sc. Mariotti, Il Fragmentum Bobiense de nomine (Gramm. Lat. VII 540-544 Keil); G. Prato, La presentazione del testo nei manoscritti tardobizantini; J. Irigoin, Livre et texte dans les manuscrits

byzantins de poètes: continuité et innovations; N.G. Wilson, *The Relation of Text and Commentary in Greek Books*; O. Pecere, *Esemplari con subscriptiones e tradizione dei testi latini: l'Apuleio Laur. 68, 2*; L. Holtz, *Les manuscrits latins à gloses et à commentaires: de l'antiquité à l'époque carolingienne*; B. Bischoff, *Italienische Handschriften des neunten bis elften Jahrhunderts in frühmittelalterlichen Bibliotheken außerhalb Italiens*; C. Bozzolo - D. Coq - D. Muzerelle - E. Ornato, *Noir et blanc. Premiers résultats d'une enquête sur la mise en page dans le livre médiéval*; S. Rizzo, *Gli umanisti, i testi classici e le scritture maiuscole*; A. C. de la Mare, *The Florentine Scribes of Cardinal Giovanni of Aragon*; A. Derolez, *Le livre manuscrit de la Renaissance. Notes pour une étude statistique*; M. Palma, *Antigrafo / apografo. La formazione del testo latino degli Atti del Concilio costantinopolitano dell'869-70*; C. Questa, *Il Metro e il Libro. Per una semiologia della pagina scritta di Plauto, Terenzio, Prudenzio, Orazio*; A. Petrucci, *Minuta, autografo, libro d'autore*; G. Cavallo, *Frammenti di un discorso grafico-testuale*.

Questo convegno si è proposto, come afferma nella Premessa E. Cecchini, «un bilancio non troppo sommario delle conoscenze acquisite e delle ricerche in corso di svolgimento sulla produzione libraria – lungo l'arco di tempo che va dall'antichità greco-romana al XV secolo – considerata sotto l'angolo visuale dei condizionamenti esercitati dal testo sul manufatto che lo contiene e, viceversa, dalle caratteristiche del supporto materiale sulla presentazione e l'assetto del testo medesimo». E infatti il volume, oltre che essere stampato in un modo degno della tradizione tipografica italiana, è nel suo contenuto uno strumento pregevolissimo e molto stimolante. Citiamo, a mo' d'esempio, alcuni dei contributi: Sc. Mariotti fornisce una nuova edizione critica del testo intitolato 'De nomine' dell'edizione keiliana (VII 540-544), edizione fondamentale per il fatto che i primi editori erano incorsi in molte sviste ed errori di lettura. Molto pregevole anche quello del Bischoff (per uno storico, il passaggio oltralpe di testi scritti in Italia è interessante quale testimonianza della complessa situazione politico-culturale dell'Europa tra i secoli IX e XI). Lo stesso dicasi dei contributi di Cavallo, di Petrucci e di molti altri. Insomma, un volume pieno di riflessioni fruttuose.

Heikki Solin

Ivan Di Stefano Manzella: Mestiere di epigrafista. Guida alla schedatura del materiale epigrafico lapideo. Vetera 1. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 1987. 315 p. 218 figg. ITL 60.000.

Ogni epigrafista che abbia esercitato il proprio mestiere nei musei e sul campo sa certamente in quali problemi ci si può imbattere all'improvviso.

Talvolta le difficoltà sono relative alla topografia, talaltra alle singole lettere o anche a qualche motivo decorativo. E la frammentarietà dell'iscrizione e del monumento stesso costituisce in generale un'ostacolo ad una corretta interpretazione dell'oggetto. Nel momento della prima analisi, della prima valutazione del manufatto, è necessario essere al corrente di tutte le sue particolarità. Per varie ragioni la scheda deve spesso essere composta velocemente, e allora l'epigrafista deve registrare tutto l'essenziale in un tempo assai limitato. È proprio per questo insieme di problemi che la presente guida viene in aiuto.

Per far meglio comprendere il contenuto di questo manuale, che descrive in pratica il mestiere di epigrafista, vengono di seguito elencati i 20 capitoli principali del libro: 1) Introduzione, 2) Strumenti per la raccolta dei dati, 3) Ripresa fotografica, 4) Il disegno e i calchi, 5) La scheda, 6) I dati topografici, 7) Aspetti tecnici e stato di conservazione, 8) Il fenomeno del reimpiego, 9) Classificazione dei reperti, 10) Classificazione dei testi epigrafici, 11) Lo specchio epigrafico, 12) Impaginazione e incisione del testo, 13) Tecniche di scrittura e paleografia, 14) Modanature e apparato figurativo, 15) Lacune e frammenti epigrafici, 16) Integrazione delle lacune epigrafiche, 17) Testi incompiuti, multipli, postclassici, falsi, 18) Reperti opistografi, opistoglifi, palinsesti, 19) Trascrizione del testo epigrafico, 20) La datazione. – I sottocapitoli sono naturalmente numerosissimi.

Tutti gli argomenti sono esposti in un modo chiaro e conciso, seguendo uno stile didascalico, il che certamente facilita la consultazione del libro. L'impaginatura e l'aspetto esterno sono molto eleganti. Le foto e i disegni alla fine del volume sono di buona qualità. La descrizione dei vari concetti e termini usati nel campo dell'epigrafia risulta particolarmente remunerativa. La presente guida rimarrà senza dubbio un utilissimo strumento sia per gli studenti della disciplina, sia per gli schedatori e gli epigrafisti di professione.

Mika Kajava

Θ. Ριζάκης - Γ. Τουράτσογλου, 'Επιγραφές "Ανω Μακεδονίας (Έλίμεια, Έορδαία, Νότια Λυγκηστis, Όρεστis). Τόμος Α': Κατάλογος έπιγραφών." Έκδοση Ταμείου 'Αρχαιολογικῶν Πορῶν καί 'Απαλλοτριώσεων, 'Αθήνα 1985. X, 253 σελ., 86 πίνακες.

Vorliegendes Corpus füllt eine große Lücke. Das Κέντρο 'Ελληνικῆς καί Ρωμαϊκῆς 'Αρχαιότητας (Κ.Ε.Ρ.Α.) hat sich die Aufgabe gestellt, alle Inschriften Makedoniens außer Thessalonike (dessen Inschriften ja im Rahmen

des Berliner Inschriftenwerkes von Ch. Edson zusammengestellt wurden) neu herauszugeben. Dieser erste Teil (dem ersten Band wird noch ein zweiter folgen, in dem ausgedehntere Kommentare zur Sprache, Onomastik usw. gegeben werden) umfaßt die Inschriften von Elimeia, Eordaia, Lynkestis und Orestis. Nach dem Vorwort und der Einleitung, in der nützliche Informationen zur Geschichte der Forschung und zu anderen isagogischen Fragen geboten werden, folgen die Inschriften selbst, 221 an Zahl, die meist griechisch sind; die Zahl der lateinischen Inschriften ist verschwindend gering, und auch von ihnen vertritt ein Teil die Gattung des Instrumentum (d.h. die Stücke stammen aus dem lateinischen Westen). Der lateinische Epigraphiker mag etwas erstaunt sein, wenn er diese wenigen Stücke inmitten anderer, normaler lokaler Inschriften findet.

Ein paar Einzelbemerkungen. – 2: Das Stück kann nicht das makedonische Megara betreffen, ganz gewiß haben wir es mit Megara in Megaris zu tun. – 20: Βάσσοϛ kann auch semitisch sein. – 27: Die Editoren haben wohl nicht verstanden, daß der Dedikant Augustus' Freund war. Das heißt zugleich, daß Γ zu seinem Namen gehört. Ihm gehört auch die von den Editoren herangezogene, als SEG III 242 zitierte athenische Inschrift IG II² 4133. – 29: Nicht Mâ {Mâ}, sondern Μᾶμα. – 80: Die Lesung kann unmöglich stimmen. – Man könnte auch in anderen Einzelheiten manches bemängeln, etwa in der Handhabung onomastischer Gegebenheiten. Doch das mindert unsere Dankbarkeit dafür nicht, daß wir durch diese Ausgabe ein vorzügliches Arbeitsinstrument in die Hand bekommen haben. Möge die Fortsetzung des Werkes gut gedeihen!

Heikki Solin

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Rei Publicae Democraticae Germanicae editum. Vol. I, editio altera: Inscriptiones Latinae antiquissimae ad C. Caesaris mortem. Pars II, fasc. IV: Textus et tabulae. Cura *Atilii Degrassi* †. Addenda tertia auxit et edenda curavit *Ioannes Krummrey*. Gualterus de Gruyter et socii, Berolini – Novi Eboraci 1986. XXVII, 351 p. & IV, 144 tab. DEM 1350.

The grand old man of Latin epigraphy, Attilio Degrassi, died in 1969 before having had time to finish the fourth supplement fascicle of the Republican inscriptions. After his death, the work was continued by Professor Hans Krummrey, whose contribution to the publication reviewed here has been considerable. Epigraphists, ancient historians and other classical scholars welcome this magnificent volume, excellently printed, and completed with an

appendix of photographs. Like almost everything in epigraphy, editing the editio altera of CIL I has been slow. The first fascicle appeared in 1918. The editor was Professor E. Lommatszsch, who also brought out fascicles 2 and 3, in 1939 and 1943, respectively.

The progress made in epigraphical studies is clearly visible in the new fascicle. The archaeological aspect, which so far has been treated very cavalierly in CIL, is now given great attention, including the quality and measurements of the stone and the description of the monument. Moreover, the photographs, which today are recognized as indispensable, have been reproduced in 144 good quality tables. Degrassi had already published the *Imagines* of the extant Republican epigraphs in 1965. The new method has entailed the additional labour of checking the inscriptions which in earlier parts of CIL I had been recorded as extant. Moreover, in the other volumes of CIL, Degrassi found many inscriptions which he considered Republican and included them in this new fascicle. Discussing the criteria of dating, he rightly doubts the validity of palaeography unless supported by other data, such as the lack of cognomina in the nomenclature of freedmen and especially the abbreviated singular in *-i(us)*.

A further novel feature is worth mentioning. The comments on inscriptions are now more circumstantial than in the other parts of CIL, in which they are more often than not non-existent or reduced to the barest minimum. Commenting on inscriptions of course presupposes work, which has often been exacting. Take for example 2832a, an archaic inscription found in Satricum, deciphered as *Popliosio Valesiosio suodales Mamertei*, though scholars disagree upon many points of interpretation, and these points are carefully recorded. As an example of an old and now lost inscription which has been deciphered and furnished with ample comments one could mention 3031.

This is no place to discuss all the material in the new publication. I should, however, like to express two desiderata. One, the lack of the indices, though this will probably be rectified in the near future. At present, the only index is the otherwise useful *loci editionum priorum*. The other desideratum is more difficult. A bewildering feature of most epigraphical publications is the fact that no unanimity on the use of the sigla has so far been reached. Though the basic sigla, such as the ones for abbreviations and completions, are the same, there are regrettable differences in many other sigla. The most complete system is the one developed by S. Panciera and others in *Supplementa Italica I*, 1981. Whereas in the volume reviewed here 22 sigla are used, in *Supplementa Italica* there are 32 different sigla. As an example of differences, mention may be made of *litterae a prioribus lectae*, which CIL denotes in boldface whereas *Supplementa Italica* uses underlining. *Litterae conexae* are denoted in opposite ways, etc. Although overly complicated systems make the consultation of

epigraphical publications unduly laborious for the uninitiated, some agreement on the use of sigla would be more than welcome.

Iiro Kajanto

Rudolf Wachter: Altlateinische Inschriften. Sprachliche und epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den Dokumenten bis etwa 150 v.Chr. Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe XV, Klassische Sprachen und Literaturen: Bd. 38. Peter Lang, Bern - Frankfurt/M. - New York 1987. XXIV, 551 S. CHF 89.

Das vorliegende Buch, eine Zürcher Dissertation, wird sicher zu den wichtigsten Neuerscheinungen gerechnet werden, und zwar nicht nur von den Kollegen, die sich mit altlateinischen Inschriften beschäftigen, sondern auch von denen, die sich für die Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache interessieren. Der Verfasser, der, wie er im Vorwort schreibt, Freude an der Handfestigkeit und Unmittelbarkeit der Inschriften hat, hat sich die Aufgabe gestellt, die Sprache, Orthographie, Paläographie usw. der älteren republikanischen Inschriften vor 150 v.Chr. zu untersuchen – übrigens ein gutes Thema –, und hat ein Buch verfaßt, das eine bewundernswerte Leistung darstellt und das ein eindruckvolles Bild von dem Niveau der alphilologischen Studien an der Universität Zürich vermittelt. Da praktisch alle irgendwie deutbaren Inschriften der früheren Republik behandelt werden, und zwar nicht nur die, die schon in CIL I² stehen (das neue Supplement konnte der Verfasser nicht berücksichtigen), sondern auch die, die später bekannt worden sind (nicht nur wohlbekannte Inschriften wie der Lapis Satricanus und die des Cornelius Scapula, sondern auch solche wie die in *Athenaeum* 57, 1979 publizierte aus dem Gebiet der Marser [jetzt CIL I² 2873d]; auch auf ein wichtiges Ineditum wird hingewiesen [S. 313]), ist aus diesem Buch, der Zielsetzung des Verfassers entsprechend (S. 3), tatsächlich „eine Art Nachschlagewerk“ zu den altlateinischen Inschriften geworden, das in keiner Bibliothek, die den I. Band des CIL besitzt, fehlen sollte.

Ein ganz besonderes Verdienst dieser Untersuchung ist, daß überall die Inschriften verschiedener Landschaften auseinandergelassen und in einen historischen Rahmen eingebettet werden, wobei dann auch oft Fragen mehr kulturgeschichtlicher Natur gestreift werden (vgl. etwa S. 220ff. über die Bedeutung von (Fortuna) Primigenia; 271; 338; 471). Zu betonen ist ferner, daß der Verfasser sich bemüht hat, die Lesungen möglichst vieler Inschriften entweder persönlich oder anhand von Photos zu kontrollieren, und daß er dabei viele Lesungen in CIL korrigieren konnte (so S. 130 zu Nr. 563; S. 162 zu

568; S. 404 zu 389; Anm. 469 zu 340; Anm. 542 zu "Adticonius", "Cinsius" und "Maculanus"; dagegen scheint mir die neue Lesung des Verf. von CIL 2442 [S. 391] noch unbefriedigend; ebenso *Manici* statt *Mamili* in CIL 192 [Anm. 456]); es stellt sich übrigens heraus, daß die Arbeit von E. Lommatzsch, des ersten Bearbeiters von CIL I², nicht in jeder Hinsicht befriedigend ist (vgl. S. 181; Anm. 618. 906).

Die Untersuchung ist folgendermaßen aufgebaut: zunächst werden die ältesten lat. Inschriften (6.-5. Jh.) einzeln untersucht, dann die zahlreichen Inschriften – auch die auf den Bronzegegenständen – aus Praeneste (wobei sich herausstellt, daß von etruskischem Einfluß nur in geringem Maß gesprochen werden darf, vgl. S. 172-5; 211), erst dann die stadtrömischen Inschriften (zu denen ganz richtig auch die außerhalb Roms gefundenen Inschriften römischer Beamten gezählt werden, S. 277), und zuletzt die restlichen Inschriften, wobei zuerst die wenigen Inschriften des 4. Jh. behandelt werden, dann die Inschriften des 3. und frühen 2. Jh. je nach den einzelnen Landschaften. Die Behandlung der einzelnen Inschriften ist bisweilen sehr ausführlich, und es soll mir erlaubt sein, einige Ergebnisse des Verf. hier vorzustellen. Zu einzelnen Inschriften: CIL 3 (Fibula Praen.): „unwahrscheinlich, daß die Inschrift erfunden ist“ (S. 59). – CIL 6/7 und 8/9 (die Scipionenelogien): die Inschrift des Scipio Barbatus kann aus der Zeit des Todes des Barbatus stammen und ist keineswegs unbedingt später als die Inschrift des Sohnes (S. 302-337). – CIL 25 (Duilius-Inschrift): nicht brauchbar (S. 359-61). CIL 37: aus Velitrae? (S. 457). – CIL 364: faliskischer Dialekteinfluß kaum zu bemerken (S. 441ff.). – CIL 365: Erklärung von *quando datu rected cuncaptum* (S. 448ff.). – CIL 378-9: *matrona* ist Nom.Pl. auf *-a(i)* (S. 433ff.; Anm. 982 zu *deda* in Nr. 379; daß *deda* eine Form von *dare* ist, wie neuerdings von S. Priuli in: *Roma repubblicana dal 270 a.C. all'età augustea* [1987] 133f. angenommen wird, leuchtet nicht ohne weiteres ein). – CIL 581 (s.c. de Bacch.): enthält Archaismen, entspricht nicht ganz der damaligen „sprachlichen Realität“ (S. 298). – CIL 2874 (ILLRP 303): die Texte der beiden Seiten sind nicht identisch (S. 407f.). – CIL 2877 (Aurelius Cottas): kann dem Konsul von 252 und 248 zugeschrieben werden (S. 454f.).

Einige Beobachtungen zu einzelnen sprachlichen Problemen: S. 79: Gen.Sg. *-osio* der 2. Dekl. kann „für das frühe Latein als gesichert“ akzeptiert werden. – S. 232ff.: Nom.Pl. der 2. Dekl. auf *-io*. – S. 251 Anm. 660: Erklärung von *culina*. – S. 253: Nom.Pl. der 2. Dekl. auf *-s*. – S. 324ff.: der Buchstabe *g*. – S. 344: *pontfex* (in der Inschrift des Cornelius Scapula) nicht unbedingt Schreibfehler. – 378-81: *Mars / Mamars / Mavors* (*Mars* und die reduplizierte Form *Mamars / Mamers* ursprünglich, *Mavors* spätere Entwicklung der redupl. Form). – S. 384ff.: *popl-* neben *publ-* (*Poplios / Publius* usw.). – S. 493-5: Gen.Sg. *-os / -us* der Konsonantstämme (*-es / -is*

Neubildung, *-os / -us* „die einzige ererbte Form“). – Diese kleine Auswahl der Themen, die vom Verf. behandelt werden, kann natürlich kein Bild von dem Reichtum dieses Buches geben; und außerdem ist zu beachten, daß im Buch auch Probleme der Onomastik (etwa S. 205. 208. 210. 233-5) und der Paläographie (etwa S. 185. 281. 323. 350; aber auf die Buchstabenformen sollte man sich beim Datieren nicht allzuviel verlassen: S. 351) besprochen werden. Natürlich gibt es hier einiges, was Widerspruch hervorrufen wird, doch ist das in einer Untersuchung dieses Formats kaum anders zu erwarten.

Die Gesamtbetrachtung des Materials ergibt, daß die lateinischen Inschriften der verschiedenen Landschaften verglichen mit denen aus Rom wenig Dialektismen aufweisen (S. 477. 509). Interessant ist der Versuch des Verfassers, die Entwicklung der Orthographie und auch sprachliche Erscheinungen im 3. Jh. und später griechischen „Schulmeistern“ zuzuschreiben (S. 497ff.).

Das Buch wird selbstverständlich mit den nötigen Indices abgeschlossen. Was die bibliographischen Angaben des Verf. betrifft, so scheinen sie mir gelegentlich etwas dürftig (oft wird nur auf das von Leumann in dessen bekannter Lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre Verzeichnete hingewiesen); etwas auffallend scheint mir, daß unser „Arctos“, wo nicht ganz selten epigraphische Themen behandelt werden, dem Verf. unzugänglich geblieben ist (S. 54 Anm. 125; 435 Anm. 986); so wird auch bei der Behandlung der Schreibung auf *-i* von Namen auf *-ius* (S. 201-4) der Aufsatz von J. Kaimio in *Arctos* 6 (1969) nicht erwähnt. – Es soll mir zum Schluß erlaubt sein, auf einige Details hinzuweisen, in denen sich der Verf. m.E. geirrt hat (ich beschränke mich hier auf Onomastisches): S. 239: die Erklärung von *Sabini* als Gen.Sg. (*C. Saufeio(s) C.f. Sabini = C. Saufeio(s) C. (Saufei) Sabini f.*) scheint mir kaum möglich. – S. 347 (vgl. 481): CIL 483 soll ein „frühes Vorkommen der Wiedergabe *o* für **-au-*“ bezeugen, wobei also *Lor(e)nti* für *Laurenti* stehen soll. Aber ein Gentilname *Laurentius* ist nur in der späten afrikanischen Inschrift CIL VIII 26989 bezeugt und sonst nur als ein spätantikes Cognomen bekannt. Gentilnamen auf *Laur-* sind überhaupt sehr selten (nichts bei Schulze; s. aber H. Solin - O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium* usw. [1988] 102); dagegen war *Lorentius* ein guter alter und auch ziemlich verbreiteter Gentilname. – S. 383: *Cn.* ist ganz sicher als *Gnaeo* (Abl.) zu interpretieren. – S. 517: die Behauptung, daß *Ancilius* (in CIL XIV, IX, XI), *Matilius* (in CIL VI, XIV Suppl.) und *Vehilius* „sonst nicht bezeugt“ sind, stimmt nicht.

Olli Salomies

Historische Inschriften zur römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis Konstantin. Übersetzt und herausgegeben von *Helmut Freis*. Texte zur Forschung, Bd. 49. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 1984. XVII, 270 S. DEM 66.

Vorliegende Sammlung umfaßt 153 lateinische und griechische historisch wichtige Inschriften in deutscher Übersetzung von der Zeit des Augustus bis Konstantin. Das Buch ist zunächst für Schüler und Geschichtsstudenten bestimmt, doch können es auch Fachleute der verschiedenen Zweige der Altertumswissenschaft mit Gewinn benutzen. Die Sammlung ist chronologisch in sieben Zeitabschnitte aufgebaut; von diesen kommt der letzte, die Zeit Diokletians und Konstantins, sehr kurz, indem er nur durch vier Texte vertreten ist (darunter das allbekannte und leicht zugängliche Höchstpreisedikt Diokletians). Die Zeitabschnitte wiederum sind in die Sektionen 'Historische Ereignisse', 'Kaiserkult', 'Reichsverwaltung' und 'Städtewesen' aufgeteilt. Man könnte über dieses Einteilungsprinzip diskutieren. Als hauptsächliche Schwäche dieser Sammlung sehe ich aber das Fehlen des Urtextes. Gerade die mangelhaften Sprachkenntnisse der heutigen Studenten (und auch Forscher!) würden für die Inklusion des Urtextes sprechen, denn so hätte der Inschrifttext sehr viel an Übersichtlichkeit gewonnen. Es ist auch sicher, daß – anders als der Autor denkt – der Benutzer gar nicht immer in der Lage ist, den Urtext ohne Mühe zu finden. Man sieht die Nachteile des Fehlens des Urtextes auch an technischen Einzelheiten: die Füllung der Lücken ist nicht unproblematisch usw. Und wenn es am Ende der Nr. 5 heißt „Dieses Grabmal soll auf keinen? weiteren? Erben übergehen“, so weiß der Leser nicht recht, was damit gemeint ist; erst ein Einblick in den lateinischen Text läßt ein Urteil zu (der Gebrauch der Fragezeichen ist irreführend und auch eigentlich falsch). Um bei technischen Dingen zu bleiben: mich stört, daß die Zeilenangaben vom Text nicht (etwa mit Hilfe von Klammern) getrennt sind. Die Sprache des Urtextes ist normalerweise nicht angegeben, man muß sie also erraten; bei Bilinguen schwankt der Autor: während in 123 der Wechsel der Sprache notiert wurde, fehlt diese Angabe bei 30.

Doch lassen wir diese Quisquilien. Im ganzen handelt es sich um eine interessante und ausgewogene Sammlung von historisch wichtigen Inschriften, über die man nur etwas mehr Erklärungen wünschte. Mit der Kommentierung ist der Autor recht sparsam, was das Verständnis der Texte stellenweise verschließt.

Ein paar Einzelheiten. Von 27 sind neue Fragmente zutage getreten, die schon vor längerer Zeit bekannt gemacht wurden (NSc. 1926, 436f.) – ; 31: der als Grundlage gewählte Text von Malavolta ist durchaus ungenügend; dem Autor hätten etwa die hervorragenden Bemerkungen von Ph. Moreau, REL 61 (1983) 36-48 oder B. Levick, JRS 73 (1983) 97-115 zur Verfügung gestanden;

wahrscheinlich erschienen diese Beiträge aber zu spät, um von Freis noch herangezogen werden zu können, jedenfalls muß man sich vergegenwärtigen, daß die editio princeps nicht einmal mit Hilfe einer Photographie verglichen wurde, sondern aus einer Xerokopie eines Mitforschers als Raubpublikation herausgegeben wurde. – Druckfehler habe ich nur wenige gefunden, und sie sind kaum störend. In 127 lies *Sept(imius)* statt *Sept(imus)*.

Alles in allem eine willkommene Sammlung, der man Verbreitung auch außerhalb des deutschen Sprachgebiets wünscht.

Heikki Solin

Sergio Roda : Iscrizioni latine di Vercelli. Cassa di Risparmio di Vercelli, Torino 1985. 192 p.

Questo catalogo si basa principalmente sull'eccellente lavoro epigrafico di padre Luigi Bruzza, la cui raccolta delle 'Iscrizioni antiche Vercellesi' fu pubblicata già nel 1874, cioè tre anni prima del CIL V. Gli studi di Bruzza sono ancor oggi degni di ogni ammirazione da parte degli epigrafisti. Pensando alle caratteristiche principali della silloge bruzziana, che non erano affatto lontane da quelle adottate dal grande studioso tedesco all'incirca nello stesso periodo, non pare infondato l'apprezzamento che venne espresso dal Mommsen nel 1877 (cf. e.g. "ea diligentia, ea fide, ea doctrina, etc."). Leggendo i commenti dello studio di Roda non ci si può che unire a queste parole elogiative.

Il presente lavoro è costituito soprattutto da una documentazione fotografica delle epigrafi ancora esistenti che è stato possibile sottoporre ad un'autopsia sistematica. Non si tratta quindi di una valutazione esauriente della cultura epigrafica vercellese, nella misura in cui non sono prese in considerazione gli oggetti ora irrimediabilmente ma noti solo attraverso vecchi autori. Il materiale si articola in 111 iscrizioni e frammenti epigrafici, tra cui figurano alcuni testi di notevole rilievo storico-culturale, ad esempio il n. 31 (sarcofago di Lollia Procla con un *carmen epigraphicum*; V 6693 = CLE 610), il n. 50 (iscr. funeraria metrica; V 6714 = CLE 391), il n. 57 (la famosa *lex Tappula*; cfr. la bibliografia a pp. 100f.), il n. 59 (iscr. bilingue latino-celtica; AE 1977, 328), il n. 66 (una dedica elogistica a S. Eusebio, primo vescovo di Vercelli, risalente al VI sec.), il n. 67 (iscr. sepolcrale di S. Flaviano, vescovo della città attorno alla metà del VI sec.). Complessivamente il materiale qui preso in esame è abbastanza ricco e vario. Un fatto appariscente è il grande numero di iscrizioni oggi praticamente illeggibili, il che si verifica in particolare nei molti sarcofagi di granito posteriormente riutilizzati per una grande diversità di scopi. Molte iscrizioni presentano perciò letture non più

controllabili e talvolta più o meno evidentemente erronee. Il n. 12 è quasi illeggibile ed il cognomen 'Medirnianus' sembra molto inconsueto, come afferma anche l'autore. In riguardo all'iscr. n. 32, la lettura dei nomi è incerta, così anche i nn. 36, 37, 41 (*Senti* invece di *Sentii*), 43 (la lettura non mi sembra chiara), 90, 92 (la nomenclatura *C. Laevomius Oriens C.f.* pare strana; io opterei per qualche altra soluzione, ma dato il pessimo stato di conservazione della pietra, il testo non sarà più decifrabile). A giudicare dalla foto, la lettura delle prime quattro righe dell'iscr. n. 106 (*Crescens / Surıç(us) Apēr, / civis Qua-/ceçe[.]ceņsis*;) sembra sia del tutto ipotetica. È comunque sempre da tener conto del fatto che cento anni fa le epigrafi non erano ovviamente consuete così come sono oggi, e gli studiosi potevano a volte vedere più di quanto non sia possibile a noi.

I commenti di Roda sono ragionevoli e remunerativi, talvolta comunque troppo lunghi (cfr. per es. il n. 18, dove viene presentata la carriera di Vibius Crispus). In alcuni casi potrebbero naturalmente essere state scelte letture alternative ed una leggera modificazione delle datazioni potrebbe qua e là essere motivata. L'aspetto esterno del volume è elegante e le foto sono di buona qualità, e ciò grazie anche al finanziamento del lavoro da parte della Cassa di Risparmio di Vercelli.

Mika Kajava

Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae septimo saeculo antiquiores:
 Fasc. I: Regio VII. *Volsinii*, a cura di Carlo Carletti. Prefazione di Antonio Ferrua S.I. Fasc. II: Regio VII. *Centumcellae*, a cura di Danilo Mazzoleni. Fasc. III: Regio IV. *Cluviae, Interpromium, Sulmo, Corfinium, Superaequum, Peltuinum, Aveia, Marruvium, Supinum vicus, Alba Fucens, Carsioli, Amiternum, Interocrium*, a cura di Giacomo Pani. Fasc. IV: Regio VII. *Ager Capenas*, a cura di Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai. Edipuglia, Bari 1985-1986. XVI, 81 p. ITL 35.000 & XII, 31 p. ITL 20.000 & XXVIII, 66 p. ITL 30.000 & XXX, 127 p. ITL 50.000.

Fin da quando fu programmata l'edizione del CIL nel secolo scorso, ci si è conseguentemente attenuti al principio che le iscrizioni cristiane dovessero seguire in ogni città quelle pagane. La sola eccezione è costituita dalla Città Eterna, il cui patrimonio epigrafico cristiano viene pubblicato a parte. L'idea di creare un ampio progetto di "Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae" non è comunque nuova, fu infatti proposta già dal Silvagni nel 1922 quando pubblicava il primo volume della Nova series delle ICVR. E quando usciva il secondo volume, nel 1935, lo stesso Silvagni lo intendeva come prima parte delle

“Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae saeculo XVI antiquiores”. La sua idea di un Corpus per tutta l'Italia non fu comunque mai realizzata, e i volumi delle ICVR hanno sempre costituito una serie indipendente, così seguendo il progetto originario già fondato dal De Rossi.

Sono molte e varie le ragioni per cui la pubblicazione della presente collana è benvenuta e più che giustificata. Gli studi sull'epigrafia paleocristiana sono molto progrediti nei decenni passati, non solo per lo sviluppo dei criteri e dei metodi di edizione, ma anche perchè le molteplici possibilità tecniche, soprattutto la riproduzione fotografica, sono ormai a disposizione della scienza epigrafica. E durante un periodo di circa un secolo (i volumi del CIL per l'Italia, nonchè il vol. XIV delle IG, furono pubblicate nell'ultimo quarto del secolo scorso) i nuovi ritrovamenti sono stati numerosi (cfr. ad es. le catacombe siciliane, Napoli e Nola, Aquileia, Concordia e Milano). I fascicoli delle ICI saranno certamente un utilissimo strumento, in cui si troveranno elencate tutte le iscrizioni, tanto greche quanto latine, già pubblicate nel CIL nonchè le nuove scoperte venute alla luce in questo secolo.

I promotori del nuovo Corpus sono il Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, l'Istituto di Letteratura Cristiana Antica dell'Università di Bari e l'Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana dell'Università di Roma. I tanti fascicoli saranno pubblicati sia per singole città che per gruppi di città meno ricche quanto a produttività epigrafica. Tutte le iscrizioni saranno munite dei rispettivi commenti e di foto (se la pietra si conserva ancora). I fascicoli I, II e IV della nuova collana coprono varie città della regio VII, cioè Volsinii (a cura di Carlo Carletti), Centumcellae (a cura di Danilo Mazzoleni) e Ager Capenas (a cura di Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai). Nel terzo fascicolo sono incluse tredici città della regio IV (a cura di Giacomo Pani). I singoli fascicoli sono pubblicati in un formato comodo da maneggiare, il che facilita la loro consultazione e piacerà certamente agli epigrafisti. Seguono qui alcune osservazioni sui singoli testi pubblicati nei primi fascicoli.

I. N. 3 (XI 2849): Nelle due ultime righe potrebbe celarsi la data consolare (la trascrizione proposta dall'autore è incerta).

N. 4 (XI 2870): La presenza del titolo di *v.c* in questa epigrafe rimane incerta.

N. 15 (XI 2842): 2ex. *Syrae* (non *Syra*).

N. 17 (XI 2844): Non è del tutto sicuro che il nome della 1. riga sia *Maecius* (così nell'indice, p. 71), potrebbe anche essere una derivazione con *-anus*.

N. 28 (XI 2851): La superficie della pietra è molto consumata, ma alla 3. riga si legge veramente *conficient* al plurale? La lettura del testo presenta più problemi.

N. 30 (XI 2866): "*haec*" della 1. riga non mi pare una lettura certa.

N. 39 (XI 2859): r. 3: *virg<i>nio* (non *virginio*).

N. 48 (XI 2858): r. 1: la prima I è incerta.

N. 55 (XI 2872): Il gentilizio *Cestronius* ricorre anche in CIL VIII (quattro esempi) e in ILTun. 1519 (*Caestronius* in V 2581).

N. 59 (XI 2878): Il nome della defunta, *Mae*[---], non è necessariamente *Maecia* (cf. sopra no. 17; anche il no. 60 è incerto: *Meci*[---]).

N. 61 (XI 2875): La lettura della 2. riga mi sembra dubbia.

N. 62 (XI 2880): *Max[imae]* non è l'unica possibilità di integrazione del cognomen della defunta.

II. N. 4: La trascrizione non corrisponde al disegno (p. 4) alla fine della riga 2 (*{ui}* risulta superfluo).

N. 18: Non è certo che NTA nella riga 2 sia la desinenza di un nome femminile (così nell'indice, p. 25).

III. N. 3: La data consolare nelle rr. 6/7 è molto lacunosa: [---]*no et Io-/[---]io cons.*: secondo l'autore rimane imprecisabile. Ma si potrebbe forse pensare ad una coppia quale ad es. Fl. Lupicinus e Fl. Iovinus (a. 367). A giudicare dalle foto e dai disegni (p. 7) pare che prima di NO ci sia una spaziatura di 6-7 lettere ca., e non è escluso che la I all'inizio della 7. riga sia in realtà appartenuta ad una N (la foto, purtroppo di modesta qualità, sembrerebbe presentare il tratto diagonale di una N, ma ciò è tuttavia molto incerto).

N. 6 (IX 3301): L'integrazione *Veric[undus]* del Silvagni (1933) è molto arbitraria. Sarebbe meglio scrivere *Veric*[---], *Veric*(---), o anche [---]VERIC (in CIL la frattura risulta a sinistra). Il nome, se lo è, non figura nell'indice a p. 63.

N. 10: Altre attestazioni di *Musicus* in Solin, Namenbuch 1023-24.

N. 13: L'iscrizione si legge (secondo Ferrua) [*depossio*] / SABININI etc., ma il nome è catalogato nell'indice nella forma *Sabina*.

IV. N. 17 (XI 4068): Il nome del console *Amantius* (a. 346) non è abbreviato, come crede l'autore.

N. 25 (XI 4042): r. 2in. *Vervices* potrebbe essere il genitivo di *Vervicia* (= *Vervic(i)es*). Il maschile *Vervicius* è ben attestato.

N. 31 (XI 4058): Non è attendibile l'idea che *Anthemius* fosse qui usato in funzione di gentilizio.

N. 88 (XI 7786): I nomi tardi creati con la desinenza *-ius/-ia* non sono «gentilizi usati in funzione di *cognomen*». I gentilizi veri e propri

impiegati come nomi individuali sono un fenomeno a parte (ad es. *Antonius, Flavius, Valerius* etc.).

N. 104 (XI 4078): La restituzione del nome della defunta (r. 1), proposta dal De Rossi, come 'Eucharia Vigilia', e la conseguente interpretazione di 'Eucharia' come un nome usato in funzione di gentilizio, rimangono senza fondamento.

Mika Kajava

Sociétés urbaines, sociétés rurales dans l'Asie Mineure et la Syrie hellénistiques et romaines, Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg (novembre 1985), édités par *Edmond Frézouls*. Université des Sciences humaines de Strasbourg. Contributions et travaux de l'Institut d'Histoire Romaine, IV. Association pour l'étude de la civilisation romaine, Strasbourg 1987. 284 p.

Come indicato dagli stessi organizzatori, il presente volume viene pubblicato senza una sintesi del materiale trattato. Il compianto Louis Robert aveva accettato di presentarlo, ma non poté mai partecipare. Anche senza conclusioni generali questa pubblicazione è comunque interessante. Cronologicamente i 19 contributi si muovono dentro un'arco di ca. 900 anni, dal III sec. a.C. fino al VI secolo.

Un terzo dei contributi tratta un luogo o una città specifica, rispettivamente Mydancik Kalesi nella Cilicia Tracheia (J.-F. Bommelaer), Aphrodisias (J. Reynolds), Oinoanda (M. Wörrle), Myrina (D. Kassab), Aezani (B. Levick) e Palmyra (J. Teixidor), mentre un numero uguale di relazioni si occupa di una regione ristretta: le città della Babilonia ellenistica (A. Mehl), la Lycia (Chr. Le Roy), l'urbanizzazione nella Siria (Ed. Frézouls), Isauria e le città di Isaura Vetus e Nova (R. Syme), l'organizzazione delle terre e degli insediamenti rurali nella valle della Beqa' (Ch. Ghadban), la regione di Hauran nella Siria (M. Sartre).

Molti dei contributi sono testimonianze degli importantissimi ritrovamenti che si registrano di continuo in queste regioni che furono dell'impero romano e infatti la grande maggioranza si basa principalmente su materiale archeologico ed epigrafico. Tuttavia non si tratta di veri e propri rapporti di scavo o di edizioni epigrafiche, ma di riassunti e "previews" (di MAMA IX per la regione di Aezani). Per un approfondimento è necessario rivolgersi altrove, ma bisogna essere grati per le segnalazioni di materiale non facilmente accessibile o forse oggi addirittura distrutto (per es. della valle della Beqa') presenti nei vari contributi.

Diverse relazioni trattano anche questioni più generali, così ad es. H. Pavis d'Escurac, "À propos de l'approvisionnement en blé des cités de l'Orient romain". A proposito dell'approvvigionamento di grano anche in altre parti del volume, p. 31, 40, 109 ecc., si trova materiale rilevante. In sede critica si potrebbe notare che ciò non risulta in nessun luogo mancando, purtroppo, qualsiasi tipo di indice. Questo fatto non incide comunque sui pregi del volume, che contiene documentazioni e opinioni di riguardo, e non solo per gli studiosi dell'Asia Minore e della Siria.

Christer Bruun

Peter Garnsey: Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World. Responses to Risk and Crisis. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1988. 303 p. GBP 25.00.

Once one starts seriously to consider questions related to food production and the feeding of people in classical antiquity, there is no limit to the magnitude of the topics one encounters. In fact, the history of the classical world could just as well be written focussing on these kinds of problems as on events belonging to the sphere of political history. The present book constitutes a major argument for such an approach to ancient history. In dealing with food production and provisioning it discusses for instance Athenian imperialism, the political events at the beginning of the Roman Republic and the social struggles of the late Republic, when the question of the corn dole was an important issue.

The book is composed of four parts, the first of which deals with basic concepts such as "food shortage" and "famine". To differentiate between such phenomena is not merely an academic question, because while a real famine was equivalent to a demographic catastrophe, such as were caused by other natural events like earthquakes, and which left the people helpless, food shortages of various degrees could be alleviated if only the right measures were taken. But in such cases it was always a question of the policy chosen by the communities or the state, and therefore these cases are of great interest to social and political history.

The second part, "Survival Strategies", deals with the reactions of city dwellers and peasants in the face of food shortages and with measures to avoid such problems. While the treatment is partly in the form of a general survey, it also stresses the importance of being specific, and deals critically with an old concept, "the typical ancient peasant". This second part of the book could also be called "Responses to Risk and Crises", an expression clearly influenced by sociology and found in the title of the book. Sociology can also be said to

have inspired the first two parts of the book in a general way, as the author frequently uses parallels and comparisons. As a detail one may notice that reference is also made to Finnish experiences; a work by the doyen of Finnish agrarian history, E. Jutikkala, ("The Great Finnish Famine in 1696-97", *Scand. Econ.Hist.Rev.* 3 [1955]) is cited on p. 29 as a source concerning the existence of cannibalism in extreme states of famine. Actually, no statement to that effect can be found in this paper, but Mr. Garnsey might still of course be right about the occurrence of such horrors in post-classical societies.

Part III (Food Supply and Food Crises in Athens c. 600 - 322 BC) is a demonstration of what the author's method can yield. One of the conclusions is that the imperialistic features of archaic, VI century Athens cannot be explained as being caused by grain-shortage in Attica; this situation occurred only later. This hypothesis, which goes against current opinion, is based on much calculating of populations, of harvest yields and of arable land. One can surmise that supporters of earlier theories will point to the impossibility of reaching exact figures. But everybody will surely agree that the hypothesis presented is stimulating.

The responses of the ruling classes to the problems of providing the whole population with enough food were, not surprisingly, primarily dictated by their own selfish interests. But the measures taken varied from time to time and from place to place. In part IV (Food Supply and Food Crises in Rome c. 509 BC - AD 250) Mr. Garnsey points out one difference between the Greek and the Roman world. Benefaction on a private basis was always one important way of dealing with food shortage in Greek cities, though it was not tolerated during the Roman Republic. During the empire, the emperor had the prerogative of aiding the inhabitants of the capital, while private benefactors were welcome in municipal towns.

This is, of course, not a new observation, but then it must be kept in mind that the book has been written partly for the general public (witness p. 276 "Octavianus (the later Augustus)"), a fact which is also given on the dust jacket. Furthermore, as the objective of Mr. Garnsey is to present a new light on ancient history, it is unavoidable that some of the material and its treatment will already be well known. This goes especially for the last part dealing with the Roman world, where in the opinion of the reviewer G. Rickman's "The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome" (1980) still remains more rewarding on many topics.

Altogether, this is a stimulating book, concluding with a useful index and a large bibliography, to which further items could be added – an indication of the magnitude of this topic and an indication of the fertile prospects for further studies. (Some recent works are e.g. H. Pavis d'Escurac, *À propos de l'approvisionnement en blé des cités de l'Orient romain*, in *Sociétés urbaines*,

sociétés rurales ..., Strasbourg 1987 [rev. in this volume of *Arctos*] and J. Strubbe, The sitonia in the Cities of Asia Minor under the Principate I, *Epigr.Anat.* 10 [1987] 45-81).

Christer Bruun

Gabriel Herman: Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City.
Cambridge University Press, 1987. XIII, 212 p. GBP 25.00.

It is astonishing that the phenomenon of *ksenia*, usually translated as guest-friendship, has hitherto not been adequately dealt with in classical scholarship – neither in detail nor in its larger contexts. However, it is a concept which we meet all the time when reading Greek literature – in Homer, in drama, in history – and an institution which apparently was as important in ancient Greek society as it is strange to our modern minds. Gabriel Herman sets out to map and examine this concept in its different forms. He sees it as a social institution belonging to the anthropological category of ritualised personal relations, marked by clear rules of initiation and behaviour and clear social group boundaries – it is essentially a relationship between persons originating from different social systems and, at the same time, between persons belonging to the upper social strata. The institution is fully developed in the Homeric epics, and one of the most fascinating views offered by this book is to follow how it survived in the sociological and political changes brought by the development of the Greek city state. The conflict to be expected between the inherited loyalties of ritualised friendship and the new loyalties demanded by the democratic state is graphically pictured in the confrontation described in two passages of literature. First Herman opens his discussion with the meeting of Diomedes and Glaukos in the battle (Il. 6, 224ff.), in which they cease hostility when they discover that their grandfathers were bound by *ksenia*; and then gives the incident related by Xenophon from the year 394 B.C. (Hell. 4,1,34-5), where the Persian satrap Pharnabazos reproaches King Agesilaos of Sparta for having ravaged his private estates, despite the fact that Pharnabazos had been a friend and ally of Sparta, and Agesilaos disclaims all personal responsibility, with an appeal to his duty towards his state, which surpasses any obligations of ritual friendship. Discussing these obligations, which can take the form of exchanged gifts (natural products, money, or landed property) and of assistance (ranging from the education of the friend's son to political or military support), Herman throws new light on many aspects of the social and political life of the Greeks. This book will be read with profit by students and scholars of literature, history and sociology alike. The exposition of the theory and its

data, in itself very lucid, is made very approachable by the help of indexes to sources, of proper names and of subjects.

Maarit Kaimio

The Imperialism of Mid-Republican Rome. Edited by William V. Harris. The proceedings of a conference held at the American Academy in Rome, November 5-6, 1982. Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome XXIX. Rome 1984. 194 p. USD 16.50.

This volume includes the proceedings of a colloquium held in Rome in 1982 and contains the papers by the six principal contributors with various comments by other attendants. The book opens with a paper by Harris: 'Current Directions in the Study of Roman Imperialism' which is in effect a reply to reviewers of his book, 'War and Imperialism in Republican Rome'. Next Musti discusses economic and political aspects in Polybius, mostly on the basis of his views already discussed in his 'Polibio e l'imperialismo romano'. Then Gruen who – as we know also from his 'The Hellenistic World' – returns to the old view that Roman policy in the middle Republic was not aggressively imperialistic and that in the war declarations Rome would have given more emphasis on economic than on political and military viewpoints. Gruen is one of the few exponents of this view today (cf. Gabba's discussion, e.g.). After Gruen comes Harris again, who in 'The Italians and the Empire' argues against Momigliano, who had suggested that Polybius underestimated Rome's relationship to her Italian allies. Gabba speaks of the mass of Roman plebs as enthusiastic supporters of expansionist politics in the middle Republic, and Linderski gives acute observations on the ideological contents of the views of Roman imperialism taken by Mommsen, Holleaux, T. Frank, De Sanctis and Fraccaro. In the last paper Clemente discusses the relationship between economy and politics from the viewpoint of the senatorial aristocracy.

Heikki Solin

J.F. Gardner: Women in Roman Law and Society. Croom Helm, London - Sydney 1986. 281 p. GBP 9.95 (paperback ed. 1987).

This is a satisfying and useful book on a theme that certainly needed treatment on this scale, and, since the price (of the paperback edition, at least) seems quite reasonable, it should prove to be quite a success. There is perhaps more *law* than *society*, but since there seems to be more to be found in the

existing literature on the social aspects of women's life than on the legal aspects (quite a lot of studies on ancient women are now listed by J. Képartová in LF 111 [1988] 35-8), I think the author was right in concentrating on the former.

Books on Roman law were and often are "written by and for lawyers", as the author rightly says (p. 2), which sometimes means that they are not really useful for the normal classical scholar. Here, on the other hand, we have a clear and readable exposition of all the legal niceties by a scholar who not only knows them but also recognizes that law stems from, and has some effect on, social reality. It is quite apparent that any classical scholar not deeply versed in legal studies, and not only those with interests in the historical position of women, will learn a lot from this book.

Most of the things said in this book are not, of course, strictly speaking new; it is rather the point of view that is new. But this does not mean that this book is only a compilation of Roman legal writing referring to women, with some additional material taken from other ancient writers, inscriptions and papyri; whenever she notes a problem the author does not refrain from a new discussion (see, e.g., p. 170ff. on the *lex Voconia*).

The book concentrates on the period 200 B.C. - A.D. 300. The exposition is not diachronical, but different subjects (*tutela*, marriage, inheritance, slavery etc.) are treated separately. There is one small weakness in the book: though the author insists on not writing for lawyers only (and succeeds in this), the subjects that are dealt with are mainly the same subjects that bothered the ancient lawyers. Accordingly, a lot is said on money and property, though dowries, inheritance etc. probably did not mean very much to the lower classes (this was pointed out by D. Cherry, CR 37 [1987] 264), while some interesting themes are treated only in passing or not at all. Take, for example, adoptions by women (e.g. Suet. Galba 4,1 *adoptatusque* (Galba) *a noverca sua Livia*). The author notes a similar case on p. 180, but does not take it any further. Nevertheless, the "testamentary adoptions" by women seem to have played a definite role in Roman society since the late Republic.

In a book like this there are inevitably some minor blemishes, but let me merely point out that far too much is made on p. 249f. of the inscription from Casinum AE 1975, 197, which is said to show that a "women's cooperative" (consisting of four freedwomen) operated a brothel for the visitors to a sanctuary of Venus (though it should be noted that the author follows here the quite fantastic and unacceptable article on this inscription by R. Schilling reported in AE 1980, 216). Finally, the index is somewhat disappointing, since there is no index locorum.

Olli Salomies

Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III. Pars V: Fasciculus 2. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Rei Publicae Democraticae Germanicae. Iteratis curis edidit Leiva Petersen. Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berolini 1983. VII, p. 121-329. DEM 108.

Prosopographiae partis V fasciculus 2 (M) multo serius editus est quam expectabatur; at haec dum scribo iam fasc. 3 (N, O) in manibus habemus, ita ut sperare liceat opus totum intra paucos annos absolutum iri; quamquam fatendum est priora prosopographiae volumina partim certe iam novis curis egere.

Quod ad fasciculum de quo nunc agitur attinet, sunt ad res pertinentia quaedam minoris plerumque momenti, quae reprehendi possint. Sed cum in universum de libro laude omnino digno agatur, de cuius utilitate nemo dubitare possit, ea praeterire mihi liceat (hoc tantum dico, "Max... Paulinum" n. 436 mihi videri esse Max[imum] Paulinum ex posteris P.P. Cluviorum Maximorum Paulinorum consulum a.143 (?). 152 et M. Munatium Sullam Cerialem n. 735 videri habuisse filium, consulem a.234, v. Arctos 17 [1983] 72-4). Dicenda enim sunt mihi pauca de sermone, qui nonnumquam parum Latinus esse, hic et illic a consuetudine sermonis Latini prorsus abhorreere videtur; quod valde displicet, quamquam Prosopographiae vitas non ut litteras Ciceronis legimus, scilicet ut linguae Latinae suavitate delectemur. Offendit e.g. vocis 'quoque' usus eo loco ubi 'etiam' expectaveris (e.g. n. 27 "conferas quoque titulum"; item n. 51. 56-7. 64. 73. 77. 89 e.q.s.). "Vix dubio" (pro *sine dubio* vel *vix dubium quin*) plane inauditum est (n. 190. 261. 527). Alia quaedam minus aut omnino non probanda: n. 117 ("ut nova sedes ... impetraret"); 142 ("in nomen et heres ... acceptus est"); 184 ("vix ... idem cum Fabio"); 190 ("viderit" pro *vidit*); 223 ("honoratur ab Athenis"); 239 ("omnes honores ... functus"); 256 ("in senatum acquisitus"); 294 ("praenomen Auli duxisse"); 315 ("et honor ... et pontificatus ... abiudicatur"); 369 ("quomodo ... convivia instruenda sunt ... persecutus est"); 681 ("sub Domitiano ... iam maior aetatis"). Quibusdam locis oratio ita est obscura, ut difficiliter intellegatur (e.g. n. 175 sub finem; n. 261 "recusandum est" e.q.s.; n. 344).

Olli Salomies

Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III. Vorträge des 13. Internationalen Limeskongresses, Aalen 1983. Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg, Bd. 20. Landesdenkmalamt Baden-Württemberg. Konrad Theiß Verlag, Stuttgart 1986. 816 S. mit 638 Abbildungen. DEM 210.

Eingeleitet mit einer kurzen, aber nützlichen Übersicht über die Limesforschung seit dem Ende des letzten Jahrhunderts, wobei u. a. der erste Limeskongreß 1949 in Newcastle berührt wird, von Eric Birley (dessen 80. Geburtstag dieses Band gewidmet ist), zeigt die Publikation des 13. Limeskongresses in Aalen im Jahre 1983, wie weitumspannend dieser Forschungssektor inzwischen geworden ist. In diesem Sammelband findet man 116 der rund 130 Vorträge, die in Aalen (wo einst das Kastell der *ala II Flavia* stand) gehalten wurden. Dabei ist die Größe des Bandes dem Benutzer einigermaßen hinderlich (über 800 Seiten in 4⁰), wofür man aber keinen einzelnen Teilnehmer belasten kann, denn die Vorträge sind alle vorzüglich kurz, trotzdem aber mit wenigen Ausnahmen aufschlußreich.

Der Inhalt ist größtenteils geographisch gegliedert, so daß die ersten sechs Kapitel die verschiedenen Grenzen des römischen Reiches umfassen (1. Britannia, 2. Belgica, Germania, Raetia, 3. Noricum, Pannoniae, 4. Daciae, Moesiae, 5. Oriens, Africa, 6. Hispania). Am Ende folgen „allgemeine Themen“.

Nicht aber nur die letztgenannte Abteilung ist in Wirklichkeit von allgemeinem Interesse. Einige Beispiele aus den zwei ersten Kapiteln mögen zeigen, wie vielseitig der Inhalt ist; man findet Forschungsübersichten wie „The Frontier in Britain 1979-83“ von D. Breeze sowohl mit Karten als auch mit Bibliographie, zum Gebiet Methoden der Althistoriker gehört „Ein Beitrag der mathematischen Statistik zum Ende des rätischen Limes“, wo der Inhalt von Münzfunden von D. Baatz analysiert wird; neue Daten über römische Aktivität an den Grenzen werden auf Grund epigraphischer Neufunde von K. Dietz vorgebracht („Zum Feldzug Caracallas gegen die Germanen“).

Die Epigraphie spielt natürlich überhaupt eine große Rolle, beispielsweise seien genannt „Die Inschrift aus den Principia des Alenkastells Aalen“ von G. Alföldy (u. V. Weinges) wo Lucius Verus den Siegerbeinamen *Armeniacus* trägt sowie „Römische Wachstafeln aus Köln“ v. B. Galsterer. Ein noch größerer Teil der Beiträge befaßt sich mit archäologischem Material; Ausgrabungen von Kastellen und anderen Stützpunkten sind in fast allen Grenzgebieten des Imperium Romanum im Gang. In dem Werk trifft man mitunter auch auf Vorträge, die eine klare kulturgeschichtliche Prägung haben wie z. B. „Shoes in Perspective“ von C. van Driel-Murray, die bestrebt ist, die

römische Lederschuhmode von den wohlbekannten *caligae* über die sog. "Eyelet Boots" bis zu Sandalen zu verfolgen.

Kulturgeschichtlich interessantes birgt auch der Vortrag von P. Noelke, „Ein neuer Soldatengrabstein aus Köln“, worin die Person auf einer Grabstele als Soldat gedeutet wird auf Grund der abgebildeten Attribute. Die größte Rolle bei der Identifikation spielt das Ringschnallen-*cingulum*; beigefügt ist eine Liste von 83 römischen Abbildungen mit *cingula* dieses Typs.

Zuletzt sei noch einiges über den Inhalt des allgemeinen Kapitels gesagt. Von großem Wert ist z.B. "Roman Military Diplomas and Topography" von M. Roxan, wo viele Fragen der Militärdiplomforschung überzeugend angefaßt werden. Entschieden wird abgelehnt, daß die Diplome als Belohnung für Tapferkeit anzusehen seien (noch im selben Band anders S. Dušanić), weiter werden die Möglichkeiten erörtert, Aufzählungen von Kohorten und Alen in den Diplomen als Beschreibungen der Lokalisierung der provinziellen Streitkräfte zu nützen. Ein anderes Thema, das mehrere Beiträge gesammelt hat, ist der Waffenexport in das Barbarikum (J. Kunow, J. Lønstrup).

Dieser kurze Überblick hat vielleicht gezeigt, daß dieser Sammelband für viele Wichtiges bergen kann. Es ist zu hoffen, daß der Titel „Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms“ die Zahl der künftigen Benutzer nicht nur auf Militärgeschichtler einschränken wird.

Christer Bruun

Steven E. Sidebotham: Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa 30 B.C. - A.D. 217. Mnemosyne, Suppl. XCI. E.J. Brill, Leiden 1986. XIV, 226 p. NLG 85.

The last 10 or 15 years have definitely taken the study of the ancient maritime trade of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean beyond the old standard works of Khvostov, Schoff, Charlesworth and Warmington. Scholars like Dihle, Casson, Raschke etc. have contributed their share and here we have again a fresh study on the subject. Sidebotham's book is a revised version of his Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Michigan 1981. It differs from many earlier works in trying to study this trade from the point of view of Roman imperial government, its share of and attitude to it rather than the items, routes, volume and costs of the trade itself. These traditional subjects are dealt with in one chapter only (II), directly after the introduction. The third chapter is devoted to the facilities (roads, ports and canals) of the trade, whilst the fourth deals with regulations, traders and taxes. The long chapter V. traces "The Genesis and Evolution of Roman Policy in the Erythraean Sea" and VI.

forms the conclusion. The new point of view is interesting and rewarding. The evidence of inscriptions and papyri (as well as of archaeology) is fully used and gives new perspectives especially to those interested in the Indian part of the trade. The study is concluded by two appendices, one on the uses of the terms "Red Sea" and "Indian Sea" in Greek and Latin sources and the other on the age old question of the date of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*.

Klaus Karttunen

Puteoli. Studi di storia antica. Voll. VII-VIII, IX-X. Editi a cura dell' Azienda Autonoma di Soggiorno, Cura e Turismo di Pozzuoli. Redazione generale di Giuseppe Camodeca. Napoli 1983-84, 1985-86. 327 p. ITL 45.000 & 315 p. ITL 65.000.

Nel volume più recente della rivista si trova un chiaro predominio dell'archeologia. Noto a tantissimi visitatori e famoso per la descrizione virgiliana (Aen. 3, 441ss e 6, 42ss) è il suggestivo «antro della Sibilla» a Cumae. Se non che tutti si sarebbero sbagliati: Le costruzioni oggi visibili non hanno niente a che fare con la Sibilla, ma hanno probabilmente fatto parte di fortificazioni del IV o III secolo a. C. È questa la sconvolgente ipotesi presentata, in modo convincente, da M. Pagano. Tra l'altro Virgilio non è un testimone di grande valore topografico, e quando scrisse, la Sibilla non poteva più operare nella vecchia dimora, perché se ci fosse attività oracolare questa si sarebbe trasferita nel vicino tempio di Apollo. Su questo luogo di culto nello stesso volume è presente un ampio lavoro di A. Gallo, «Il santuario di Apollo sull'acropoli di Cuma».

Sotto la rubrica «Forma maris antiqui» un importante lavoro di archeologia subacquea, «Contributi alla topografia di Baia sommersa». Vengono trattati il complesso termale di Punta Epitaffio, il canale del Portus Baianus ed una villa di proprietà di un certo L. (Calpurnius) Piso. L'identificazione si basa sul bollo di una fistula plumbaria trovata in situ con la scritta L PISONIS. Senz'altro si tratta del proprietario della conduttura e quindi anche della villa, come giustamente pensano gli autori. (Non sarebbe possibile vedere in L. Piso un *curator aquarum*, questi dignitari non compaiono mai su fistole in funzione del loro incarico, dove invece figurano *procuratores aquarum* ad eccezione di CIL XV 7330. Su questo punto il Diz. Epigr., s. v. "aquaria (fistula)" è da correggere. Non è neanche il caso di farsi confondere dal fatto che L. Calpurnius Piso, cos. 60, era *curator aquarum* nel periodo 60-63). Intanto non è facile individuare il proprietario della villa tra i membri di questa numerosissima famiglia, gli autori pensano a un figlio finora sconosciuto o di

L. Calpurnius Piso Pontifex (cos. 15 a.C.) o di L. Calpurnius Piso Augur (cos. 1 a.C.).

L'importanza di questa scoperta sottomarina viene ancora sottolineata da un passo di Tacito (ann. 15, 52); la cospirazione calpurniana contro Nerone veniva preparata nella villa *apud Baias*. Sarebbe quella la villa ora ritrovata (invece gli autori ritengono poco probabile l'attribuzione della nota villa di Ercolano ai Calpurnii Pisones).

Un gruppo di giovani ricercatori presenta una riedizione con commenti di alcune iscrizioni di provenienza puteolana ma ora al Kelsey Museum, negli Stati Uniti. Le iscrizioni sono tutte interessanti, ma nei commenti la pratica onomastica lascia qualcosa a desiderare, un fatto non senza importanza, dato che in testi brevi il nome fornisce spesso la materia più importante per la storia sociale. Di seguito qualche breve commento; AJA 13 (1898) 386 nr. 32: si tratta di una *Plotia A(uli) et (mulieris) l(iberta) Helena*, non *G(aiae) l.* Helena è un nome greco e per questo non ritrovabile in Kajanto, Latin Cognomina. CIL X 3664: la foto mostra chiaramente che il soldato aveva militato *ann(os) XVIII*, cioè 19 e non 18 anni. La spiegazione per il cognomen di uno degli eredi, M. Maecenius Option, non è del tutto convincente. Dato che i soldati non cittadini ricevevano i tria nomina al momento dell'arruolamento, come si può vedere in Option un "occupational cognomen", derivato dal rango militare del possessore? CIL X 3415: il ragionamento intorno al nome del personaggio M. Annius Verus *cornicul(arius) praef(ecti)* non convince. Si ipotizza che si tratti di un peregrino che al momento dell'arruolamento avrebbe scelto il nome del giovane Marcus, erede al trono. Dato che il futuro imperatore poco dopo l'adozione cambiò il suo nome, da ciò si riceverebbe anche una data precisa per l'arruolamento di questo militare. Ma non era sicuramente così: riprendere esattamente o quasi la nomenclatura dell'imperatore o della famiglia imperiale deve essere stato tra la plebe comune un tabù quasi totale (nonostante casi isolati come un A. Flavius Vespasianus in CPL 118 e il commento di J. Gilliam, *Hommages Cl. Préaux* 769 = *Roman Army Papers* 366, però molto più tarda rispetto ai Flavi, 156 d.C.). Proprio il nome M. Annius Verus del soldato induce ad assumere una datazione precedente all'ascesa al trono della *gens Annia*.

Intanto il contributo epigrafico più importante consiste in un nuovo articolo (il quinto) di G. Camodeca sulle *Tabulae Pompeianae*. Questa volta vengono trattate le TP 21, 4. 22, 4. 30. 61. 65 e TP inv. 14370. Il contenuto di queste tavole è vario, mentre nel lavoro precedente, il volume anteriore di Puteoli, sono raggruppati due tipi di documenti, *emptiones* con *stipulatio duplae* e documenti vadimoniali. La riedizione convincente del Camodeca mostra ancora una volta la grande importanza che hanno questi documenti per vari settori dello studio dell'antichità.

Camodeca mostra le sue qualità di epigrafista anche in un'altro articolo, dove presenta l'iscrizione funeraria di una Iulia L.f. Valeria Marciana Crispinilla, *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(emina)*, e allo stesso tempo ricostruisce un'iscrizione senatoriale frammentaria di Roma (CIL VI 31808), ora attribuibile a L. Flavius L.f. Cleonaeus (floruit ca. 170-190 d.C.).

Si nota inoltre in Puteoli 7-8 un'ampia indagine sul Lago Lucrino di M. Pagano, i cui risultati vengono in parte usati nello studio sul c.d. «antro della Sibilla». Tra le schede epigrafiche alcuni inediti.

Christer Bruun

Il destino della Sibilla. Mito, scienza e storia dei Campi Flegrei. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi sui Campi Flegrei promosso dalla Fondazione Napoli Novantanove, Napoli, 27-28 settembre 1985, a cura di *Paolo Amalfitano*. Archaia, 3. Bibliopolis, Napoli 1986. 265 p. 16 figg. ITL 40.000.

Gli Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi della Fondazione Napoli Novantanove raccolgono vari saggi sulla storia e sul destino dei Campi Flegrei. Le discipline che cui si incontrano sono in parte assai lontane tra loro, rivelando comunque la continua convivenza dei diversi aspetti della vita umana. Lo sviluppo storico-culturale è in genere caratterizzato tanto da mito, arte e natura quanto da storia, scienza e industria. Gli articoli del libro ricostruiscono sia la storia, l'archeologia e la vita culturale dell'antica civiltà flegrea (Pugliese Carratelli, Zevi, Vallet, Pozzi, Gigante), sia le relazioni tra mito e paesaggio, prospettive di industria, problemi economico-sociali, dati geologici, geotermici ed archeobiologici (Detienne, Davis, Galasso, Ippolito, Carapezza, Liquori, Colombo). Dopo gli Atti propriamente detti seguono quattro contributi specifici presentati dai borsisti della Fondazione: M.L. Castellano, Una fonte per la storia economica di Pozzuoli nel Settecento: il catasto onciario; A. Giannetti, Immagini flegree («Pozzuoli come uno dei luoghi privilegiati della geografia colta europea»); G. Miraglia, Ricerche sulla tarda antichità nei Campi Flegrei. Un tesoretto monetale del VI secolo d.C. da Cuma; P. Pepe, Due interpretazioni letterarie dei Campi Flegrei: Addison e Beckford. – Una buona collezione di argomenti ispiranti.

Mika Kajava

Remo Gelsomino: Ferentinum nel sistema viario romano (primo secolo a.C. - quarto secolo d.C.) Università degli Studi di Siena, Facoltà di Magistero, Dipartimento di teoria e documentazione delle tradizioni culturali, sezione scienze dell'Antichità. Collana di studi e testi 2. Herder, Roma 1986 (ma 1987). 93 p. ITL 28.000.

Si tratta di un diligente opuscolo di carattere compilatorio, e non lontano dal tipo di studi locali. Come da aspettarsi, si parla molto dell'*Itinerarium Antonini* e della *Tabula Peutingeriana*, e l'autore lo fa molto diffusamente. Poi egli mette i miliari CIL X 6887-6889 in rapporto con *Ferentinum Novum*: Traiano avrebbe costruito una strada da *Ferentinum* a *Ferentinum Novum*. Ma questa considerazione cade a causa della sbagliata concezione su *Ferentinum Novum*. La strada (o le strade) di cui si ha notizia nei miliari, semplicemente serviva per il territorio di *Ferentinum*; dove andasse non si sa.

Il volumetto non è privo di vari difetti caratteristici di questo tipo di studi. Ma su di essi non ci fermiamo. L'autore si mostra un genuino e fervente amatore della città ernica. Gli dobbiamo essere grati per la fatica di aver messo insieme un'interessante documentazione. — Manca nella bibliografia l'importante libro di W. Eck, *Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit*, München 1979 (spec. p. 83 sgg.). E nessun cenno al più recente contributo su Ferentino: *RPAA* 53-54 (1980-1982) 91-143.

Heikki Solin

T.S. Brown: Gentlemen and Officers. Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554-800. The British School at Rome, London 1984. XVI, 282 p. GBP 20.50.

I confess to be no specialist on the Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, but as a student of Roman Italy I read this book with great interest and profit. It is indeed an excellent book, which can be recommended to anyone who wishes to have a look at the changes that took place in Italy from Antiquity to the Middle Ages. The author invites us to not exaggerate the "Byzantine" character of Italian society, for Byzantine Italy remained, at least north of Calabria, largely unhellenized. The major social and political changes were conducted in a framework inherited from the late Empire. In Byzantine Italy the movement away from Antiquity was more the result of internal development than of external influence. "Distinctive and dynamic social forms could evolve within a uniquely Roman society" (p. xii). Overall, Brown has

written an invaluable book, important both for ancient and mediaeval historians.

As I do not feel competent to give a thorough critical account of this book, I shall instead restrict myself to some minor remarks. On p. 44 the author gives some references to the movements of bishoprics from an old *civitas* to a newly fortified *castrum*. But in the list of the transfers that from *Tres Tabernae* to Velletri must be removed, for Velletri was an ancient centre in the area (a bishopric is attested from A.D. 465) while *Tres Tabernae* was of little importance and was only a temporary centre. In addition, to the admirable prosopographical index some further items from Capua could be added: Rugo vol. IV 104 (but perhaps from the 9th century, as Gray also thinks); and an unpublished inscription from Capua of a *Reparatus v.c.*, which, however, probably dates to the 540's (the date of another unpublished inscription from Capua in which an *Urbicus* is mentioned is also uncertain. – In the list of abbreviations on p. xiv *II* is missing (see also p. 256 under *Clarissima*); it would be preferable to choose a clearer abbreviation, e.g. *Inscr. It.* – p. 275: in CIL X 4502 one should read *Catelles* as gen. (I have seen the inscription) from *Catella*. – *P. Ital.* vol. II appeared perhaps too late to be considered.

Heikki Solin

Erik Wistrand: Felicitas imperatoria. Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgiensia XLVIII. Göteborg 1987. 114 p. SEK 100.

In recent years the idea of *felicitas* has attracted much attention. It has been interpreted as a magical quality inherent in man or as a blessing given by the gods. The latter explanation has become prevalent especially since H. Erkell's penetrating study in 1952. But a number of problems remain. Professor emeritus E. Wistrand has now produced a monograph on the most important variety of *felicitas*, the *felicitas* of the supreme commander and later of the Emperor.

Wistrand's treatise is a historical analysis of the development of the idea. *Felicitas* was originally connected with *auspicia*, which at first were the privilege of the patricians. The gods conferred blessing on the general who had made sure of their favour by taking the auspices. This is the meaning of the old claim of the victories of a general won *auspicio imperio ductu felicitate*. But in Livy a change of view is observable. Instead of the *auspicia* and *felicitas* granted by the gods, success is ascribed to the general's competence and ability. The supernatural gives way to rationally explicable causes, a clear sign of the increasing secularisation of Roman thought. The famous antithesis of *virtus* and *fortuna*, in which the Romans almost invariably gave precedence

to virtue, the human factor, also contributed to the weakening of the old belief in *felicitas* as a divine favour secured by *auspicia*. Simultaneously, the religious significance of the triumph as a thanksgiving to Jupiter for victory also declined. *Felicitas* was more and more considered a personal quality. Its religious significance, however, remained, though it underwent considerable changes.

The author discusses the problem in a few famous cases. Sulla and Marius had, or are represented to have had, different ideas of the importance of *felicitas*. Sulla took the name of Felix to show that he enjoyed divine protection as a personal privilege whereas Marius emphasized *honos*, love of honour, and *virtus* as the decisive factors. Cicero too preferred *virtus* to *fortuna* / *felicitas* despite the fact that the traditional explanation of *felicitas* as divine favour largely stems from his speech advocating Pompey's supreme command in the war against Mithridates (*De lege Manilia*). But this oration was made *ad Quirites* and naturally played upon received religious ideas. *Felicitas* in the old sense also began to be problematic because it was perceived to favour bad men like Sulla. During the Empire, beginning with Augustus, a new idea emerges. The emperor by his divine nature secures prosperity for the Empire. This is the meaning of *felicitas temporum* celebrated by the panegyrics of the Empire. Wistrand follows the history of the idea down to the fifth century. He argues that it survived in the Christian festivals of Christmas and Epiphany. The birthday of the Saviour replaced the birthday of the god-given emperor.

The book is well-argued and the conclusions in general acceptable. It is without doubt a valuable contribution to the study of the religious ideas of the Romans. Some passages, however, suggest possibilities for further discourses. Thus the relations of *fortuna*, and especially personal *fortuna*, and *felicitas* are not quite clear. Personal *fortuna* seems to be of complex origin. Besides the native *genius*, Greek personal Tyche may have contributed to its development. It is more problematic whether the Aristotelian or Ps.Aristotelian notion of Good Fortune, a personal impulse that guides certain men to success (cp. Arctos 1986, 30), was also involved.

Iiro Kajanto

Michael Shanks - Christopher Tilley: Re-Constructing Archaeology. Theory and Practice. New Studies in Archaeology. Cambridge University Press, 1987. XVI, 267 p. GBP 27.50.

Some 25 years ago the movement that was to be called New Archaeology was born. ("The lack of theoretical concern and rather naive attempts at explanation which archaeologists currently advance must be

modified", L. Binford, *Archaeology as Anthropology*, *American Antiquity* 28 [1962] 224). About a decade later, with D. Clarke's "Archaeology: the loss of innocence" (*Antiquity* 47 [1973]), it had reached a point, where its first stage was over. Since then, there have been movements in various directions.

But archaeology is still in search of an identity. The authors of the present book are as unsatisfied with great parts of previous archaeological theory and practice, as were the "New archaeologists" with their predecessors in the early 60s.

This book can easily be called a challenge (and as such it is intended), and it makes interesting even if not always easy reading, owing to the learning and broad perspectives of the authors. It should be interesting not only to archaeologists but also to anybody else who is dealing with the past, were it not for any other reason than that the book is an eminent proof of why history has to be rewritten by every generation; that is to say, the values of the society in which we live condition us whether we wish it or not. As the "New archaeologists" were influenced by the great developments in natural and other sciences since the Second World War, so are the concepts of this new book greatly inspired by the thinking of today's influential continental philosophers like Heidegger and Gadamer.

Of the three parts in this book, part I ("Issues in archaeological theory and practice: critique and development") deals with current archaeology. Its purpose is to show the lack of philosophical and methodological background in today's work. To put it simply, the questions that are dealt with are among others: Why do archaeologists dig up things? How do archaeologists gain reliable knowledge? What is the relation of archaeology to the present time? What kind of ideology do museums express?

In part II ("Perspectives for a social archaeology") a new programme, relying on a hermeneutic approach, is set out. The term "Social archaeology" indicates which of the post-New Archaeology traditions the writers adhere to.

This book is not only a theoretical treatise, it also contains practical examples, the first of which deals with pottery analysis from the Swedish Neolithic age. (Actually, very little in this book deals directly with classical archaeology; one only finds mentions of exhibits in museums p. 71ff.).

The final third of the book is used for another demonstration of the method of its authors. It does indeed stress the relation of archaeology and today's society, as it consists of an "archaeological investigation of the present", called "The Design of Contemporary Beer-Cans". In this most interesting study (somewhat outside the normal field of this journal) the design of Swedish and English beer cans was analysed. Significant differences were discovered. A parallel investigation was made of topics of a much greater magnitude, such as the growth of capitalism in both countries since A.D.

1800, working class ways of spending leisure time, legislation on alcohol and so on. The results of these latter inquiries were then used as an explanatory factor for the actual findings (the beer cans). In turn, the concrete archaeological material, now placed in an illuminating historical and political context, gave new insights about the society from which it originated, in this case our own time. This is how the hermeneutic circle works (for the theory cf. pp. 104ff.).

Concerning the social analysis which provides the background the reviewer has no objections. But one gets the impression that the explanation of the findings is made a little too easy; the authors know too well the result that is to be expected from the beer can analysis. To be really convincing, a deeper view of the Swedish society based on the design of beer cans and the advertising of beer would, for instance, clearly require a comparison with Swedish advertising practice in general in order to discern if the position of alcohol in Swedish society really is different from the British situation to the same degree as beer cans and advertising seems to indicate.

This is, however, not intended as a general critique of the hermeneutic method. Altogether, this is an important book, which convincingly argues the need for archaeologists to consider the philosophical foundations of their activity (and this, of course, is something that all who explore the past should bear in mind).

Christer Bruun

Etruria e Lazio arcaico. Atti dell'Incontro di studio (10-11 novembre 1986), a cura di *Mauro Cristofani*. Quaderni del Centro di studio per l'archeologia etrusco-italica 15. Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Roma 1987. 196 p. ITL 40.000.

I partecipanti al convegno organizzato nel 1986 sono tra i più autorevoli esperti su varie questioni riguardanti l'Etruria e il Lazio arcaico, e per gli studiosi di questo settore i dieci contributi del volume saranno di sicuro interesse. Nella relazione di F. Delpino, "Etruria e Lazio prima dei Tarquini. Le fasi protostoriche", una parte è dedicata alla presentazione del sito di Campo del Fico vicino ad Ardea, che serve ad illuminare la tesi principale dello studioso: il livello di sviluppo dell'Etruria meridionale trova riscontri in siti archeologici del Lazio ancora nel tardo secolo XIII e all'inizio del XII. Differenze sono visibili durante la fase finale della tarda età del bronzo (X sec.). Il litorale doveva costituire un'importante via di comunicazione tra l'Etruria e il Lazio già nei secoli XI-X, e di ciò è indicazione, tra l'altro, la localizzazione di Ficana. Gilda Bartolini tratta le fasi seguenti e l'inizio delle

influenze greche. Ella mostra come durante tutto il sec. VIII esistano grandi differenze entro il territorio a sud e a nord del Tevere, dove lo sviluppo delle comunità etrusche ha raggiunto un livello «gentilizio clientelare». Dopo il 750 ca., le principali città etrusche sono coinvolte in rapporti di varia natura con gli insediamenti greci di Pithecusa e Cuma. Questo non si può ancora dire per il Latium Vetus e neanche per Roma, dove il materiale non sembra indicare un emporion greco nel sec. VIII.

La relazione di G. Colonna ("Etruria e Lazio nell'età dei Tarquini") si concentra sulla posizione di Roma nel periodo seguente. Viene analizzato lo sviluppo della città (ad es. l'area sacra di S. Omobono, *vicus Tuscus* ecc.), e lo studioso mette in rilievo il ruolo importante di Roma, che non era sotto dominio etrusco ma di gran lunga la città più potente del Lazio. Ancora sul ruolo della Roma arcaica discute C. Ampolo ("Roma arcaica fra Latini ed Etruschi: aspetti politici e sociali"), secondo il quale la distinzione da fare sarebbe che Roma non era né una *polis tyrrhenis* né una *polis hellenis* ma soprattutto una città latina. Per illustrare le istituzioni del tardo secolo VI Ampolo dedica ampio spazio al ben noto gruppo acroteriale dall'area sacra di S. Omobono, rappresentante, secondo l'opinione comune, l'introduzione di Ercole nell'Olimpo da parte di Minerva (ma contro F. Coarelli in *Gli Etruschi e Roma, Atti...* in onore di Massimo Pallottino, Roma 1981, 201. V. anche F. Coarelli, *Roma. Guida archeologica Laterza*, Roma - Bari 1981, 315-17). Questa rappresentazione di Ercole avrebbe, ancora secondo un'opinione diffusa, un chiaro contenuto propagandistico in chiave tirannica (con riferimento a Tarquinius Superbus nel caso di Roma). Si potrebbe però notare che questa idea originariamente di J. Boardman è stata criticata con argomenti non privi d'interesse (R. Cook, *Pots and Pistratan Propaganda*, *JHS* 107 [1987] 167-69).

Il breve ma interessante contributo di N. Parise ("Forme della circolazione metallica fra Etruria e Lazio dall'VIII al VI sec. a.C.") è seguito da una vasta esposizione di M. Cristofani sulle tradizioni decorative dei santuari. In questo settore si sono potute registrare numerose scoperte di grande importanza negli ultimi anni (Murlo, Satricum ecc.), e anche dopo l'addendum di A. Andrén sulle terrecotte architettoniche (*Opusc. Rom. VIII* [1974]) rimane lavoro da fare, per es. sulle datazioni. Si può segnalare un dettaglio che riguarda certi ritrovamenti del Foro Romano: secondo il Cristofani non si tratta di rappresentazioni di Teseo e il Minotauro, ma di «Mischwesen» di un tipo comune.

Negli immediati inizi della Repubblica, a Roma vennero dedicati quattro templi, a Saturno e a Castore sul Foro Romano ed a Mercurio e alla triade Cerere, Liber e Libera nella valle Murcia, alle pendici dell'Aventino. Sul significato sociale e culturale di questo sviluppo urbanistico scrive F. Zevi ("I

santuari di Roma agli inizi della Repubblica"). Nella parte finale del volume seguono due relazioni che trattano principalmente le fonti letterarie (D. Musti, "Etruria e Lazio arcaico nella tradizione (Demarato, Tarquinio, Mezenzio)" e A. Mele, "Cuma e il Lazio").

L'ultimo intervento è di M. Pallottino, che in modo lucido e chiaro tratta la questione dei vari popoli del Lazio arcaico e dei territori vicini ("Stirpi e lingue nel Lazio e intorno al Lazio in età arcaica"). Si può infine notare che la discussione che ha seguito le relazioni è compresa nel volume; spesso questi brevi interventi mettono meglio in rilievo i nodi ancora da risolvere. Tra i commenti si trova anche una nuova proposta di lettura di certi passi delle lamine d'oro di Pyrgi (di A. Morandi).

Christer Bruun

Castelporziano I. Campagna di scavo e restauro 1984. Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Ostia. Viella, Roma 1985. 78 p. ITL 55.000.

Il nome di Castelporziano è legato nella mente di un normale antichista soprattutto alla villa di Plinio. In questo volume si dà un resoconto di alcuni lavori archeologici della zona, concernenti tra l'altro alcune ville di cui si discute il rapporto con il *Laurentinum* di Plinio. (Ma non ha molto senso inserire in un'opera di questo tipo, tra due contributi, senza un contesto coerente, il testo della lettera 2, 17 pliniana con traduzione italiana). E nel contributo che segue alla lettera pliniana, E. Salza Prina Ricotti ha voluto addirittura trovare il *Laurentinum* nella Villa Magna a Grotte di Piastra dove ha eseguito degli scavi.

Heikki Solin

Filippo Delpino: Cronache veientane. Storia delle ricerche archeologiche a Veio. I: Dal XIV alla metà del XIX secolo. Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. Centro di studio per l'archeologia etrusco-italica. Contributi alla storia degli studi etruschi e italici, 3. Roma 1985. 232 p. 39 tavv. ITL 50.000.

Questo volume costituisce la prima parte di uno studio dettagliato sulla storia della documentazione archeologica a Veio dal XIV secolo alla metà del XIX. Il Delpino presenta notizie importantissime sulla topografia della città antica nonché sui singoli monumenti. La descrizione, per esempio, della "scoperta" della c.d. tomba Campana risulta particolarmente remunerativa (p.

115sgg.; sullo stesso tema cfr. ora F. Delpino, *Rend.Pont.Acc.Arch.* 57 (1984-85) 191sgg.). La storia delle ricerche a Veio è veramente affascinante, qui portata alla luce con una grande varietà di illustrazioni (acquarelli, incisioni, pitture a olio, schizzi) che raffigurano, oltre alle vedute puramente topografiche, sia le vicende degli scavi che i loro protagonisti. Tra i personaggi che in qualche modo stavano in rapporto con le ricerche dell'antica Veio, si menzionano per esempio il Cardinale Chigi, Gavin Hamilton, Andrea Giorgi, Maria Cristina di Borbone delle Due Sicilie, la regina di Sardegna, Giovanni Pietro Campana, Antonio Nibby e William Gell. Con l'aiuto del materiale archivistico l'autore ha anche potuto individuare dispute e dissidi tra gli scavatori.

In questo suo studio Delpino ha messo in evidenza l'importanza delle ricerche svolte nei musei e negli archivi, talvolta pieni di documentazione sulle antichità da lungo tempo caduta in oblio.

Mika Kajava

Diana E.E. Kleiner: Roman Imperial Funerary Altars with Portraits. *Archaeologica* 62. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1987. 320 p. 69 pll. ITL 650.000.

The scope of the present volume is to collect and study all known examples of Roman funerary altars with one or more portraits (the Republican period is excluded). This is a worthwhile and interesting project because this special type of Roman funerary art has not so far received the attention it deserves. Since Altmann's still useful *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit* appeared in 1905, not much systematic work has been done (there are, however, some extensive studies on other types of Roman altars).

Kleiner has catalogued 130 monuments in all. The material is limited to the city of Rome (there are also some examples from Ostia). It would naturally be interesting to know more about other Italian regions, too. An exhaustive analysis of various stylistic trends between different production centres might be of use when monuments of unknown provenance are studied. It is also a well-known fact that since the time of antiquity a huge number of objects have been transferred to new places, museums, private collections, etc., and the circulation continues. The number (130) of Kleiner's altars may seem relatively small, but this is all that she has found. However, there are obviously many altars in various collections outside of Rome which still remain unidentified because their origin has not been reported. It seems somewhat strange that in Kleiner's material there is e.g. only one exemplar from the National Museum of Naples, and when leafing through some recent

museum catalogues, I have noticed a number of Roman monuments that the author has not observed (e.g. in the Musei Capitolini).

In the introductory section (19-93) Kleiner delineates the origin and function of altars (Ch. 1), their typology and chronology (Ch. 2), the honorees and dedicants (Ch. 3) and finally, funerary altars and funerary art in general (Ch. 4). The first chapter describes various types of Roman altars, their basic elements and their relation to the environment. The author also discusses the places where altars were originally collocated. In the second chapter the material is somewhat schematically divided into seven basic types and into several subtypes. The classification is based on the treatment of the upper part of the altar and on the portrait itself. From p. 45 onwards Kleiner tries to describe the relationships between different persons recorded in the inscriptions (parents and children, husbands and wives, patrons, freedmen, etc.) as well as their social, ethnic and professional backgrounds. Unfortunately, this part of Kleiner's study remains rather modest and at times even misleading. She is not particularly familiar with Roman people's nomenclature, people's professions and social relations between masters and slaves or patrons and freedmen. The evidence of personal names and of the contents of the inscriptions is often exaggerated as regards their relation to the decorative motifs of the altars. The social function of the names is in many cases misunderstood. It is also strange that Kleiner regards many inscriptions as "illegible", which has caused a number of troublesome errors (cf. e.g. nr. 76). In two cases the author has not noted that the altars (55, 79) were dedicated by persons of senatorial rank. However, one of her main conclusions was that these types of funerary monuments were not in use among the members of aristocracy. The position of the equestrian *ordo* in Roman society and the presence of equestrians on funerary altars are not clearly described (70f. and passim). Roughly the same reservations also concern the fourth chapter.

In sum, my criticism is mainly directed against the author's treatment of names and their "significance" and her considerations of the persons' social background. Kleiner's epigraphic knowledge also shows considerable gaps. Despite this criticism the work will certainly be a useful repertorium of Roman funerary art. In the following I will present some observations on the material:

3. The inscription is not totally illegible, as the author believes. From the photo I am able to discern a fair number of letters and even some entire words, e.g. l. 4: ...*Maximo v. ann. V*] and l. 5 ...*Euhodiae matri*...

4. The altar is reported in Boll. dei Musei Comunalì di Roma 4 (1957) 30.

5. VI 34776. MANIBVS (not MANIVBVS). Cantinea M.f. Procla was not of course a "freeborn daughter of Marcus Proclus".

7. VI 15003. Inscr. of the funerary relief, l. 4: POSTERISQVE (not POSTERISQE).

9. VI 33796. The name of the deceased woman was not [---]onnlia *Delicata*. The gentilicium was [---]onneia, to be restored as e.g. [T]onneia or the like. L. 3: *p]lura*; l. 4: his office was not "Aug. tabularius" (thus on p. 111). He was rather *Aug. (lib.), tabularius*.

10. VI 13948. According to the photo the praenomen *Marcus* seems to have been abbreviated to *M̄a*.

11. It is by no means certain that it was Postumus (PIR² I 483) who commissioned and erected the altar to his freedman Philetus, even if they both might be represented in the relief scene.

13. VI 10069. Line 3 (on the right): SECVDAS (not SECVNDAS). On the last line the letters N V should be noted. Claudia Helice's name does not suggest that "she came from Achaia." The gentilicium *Claudia* does not automatically point to the Claudian period.

14. VI 22560. It is somewhat imprudent to maintain that P. Sextilius Campanus was perhaps from Campania. If the daughter was called Minucia Suavis and the father Ti. Claudius Suavis, it does naturally not follow that the mother's and daughter's name was the same.

16. VI 9183. Ti. Claudius Aug.l. Apelles could be Nero's freedman as well (Kleiner prefers Claudius). The inscription itself should probably be dated to the sixties, because it refers to the Macellum Magnum, which was dedicated in 59 AD. The small inscription above the three figures represented in the inferior panel is problematic: CAY (hedera) DAPISCE (hedera?) CAY (not AD PISCES, as the author believes). The central text above the head of Calpurnius Daphnus has usually been read as DA PISCEN, but it seems to me that the so-called N is in fact a hedera. The inscription tells that Calpurnius worked as an *argentarius* in the Macellum Magnum. The attributes depicted, a fish in his outstretched right hand and a box in the left, suggest that he was somehow responsible for selling fish in the Macellum. The two other figures are carrying heavy baskets on their shoulders, and the man on the left holds a number of fish in his right hand. It might be that DA PISCE refers to the act between Daphnus and one of the merchants, as it is represented in the scene: *da pisce(s)* "give me the fishes" [or *pisce(m)*]; Mommsen opted for "*da pisce(m)*" (cf. CIL ad loc.). Of course, these words may very well be a later addition.

17. VI 15314. One of the alternative cognomina of the deceased was not "Victoris", but *Victor* instead. That *Nebris* would be a play on the word *ebria* is a far-fetched idea. The inscription should be restored as follows: *Ti. Claudio V[ital]i Antonia[e] / Divi Claudii [f. li]b., v. a. XV / Claudia Nebris mate[r Ti.] Claudius Herma pat[er] / filio piissim[o] / fecerunt* (perhaps also ...*mater et Claudius...*). As regards the interpretation of the second epitaph, the

author seems to have misunderstood its contents and the relation between the two texts. A statement like “perhaps both couples are honoured” is not clear to me. The second text is a dedication by *Philetus p(ater)* and *Calliste m(ater)* to their son as well as *sibi et suis*. The name of the son is not recorded, perhaps because he died so young.

19. VI 19022. L. 2: *Epaphroditi* (ligature): The analysis of the social and family relations between Epaphroditus and Grapte is incorrect (p. 127). A more careful look at the text itself might have been profitable (*libertus* is not the same as *liberta*).

21. VI 8468. That the cognomen *Musaeus* of the deceased would suggest that he had been a poet or musician, as the author thinks, is a very strange affirmation. The words of the fifth line *mancipi viae Appiae* do not mean that “the altar was erected on family property on the Via Appia”. *Musaeus* was *manceps viae Appiae* (for this inscription and *mancipes* in general, see P. Ørsted, *Roman Imperial Economy and Romanization*, Copenhagen 1985, 98ff.).

22. VI 28960. “All those mentioned in the inscriptions have Greek names”. Is *Castus* Greek? Do the maenads represented on the altar really mean that Tyche and Corinthus were adherents to the cult of the Dionysiac mysteries? Finally, *Corinthus* does not suggest that M. Vinicius Corinthus was “from the Greek city of Corinth”.

26. VI 12938. That Aulia Eutychia and A. Aulius Cerdo had the same gentilicium, does not indicate that they were *conliberti*. The inscription clearly shows that Eutychia was Cerdo's freedwoman. The name *Eutychia* does not refer to an eastern origin. And finally, what does the author mean by stating that “Cerdo's cognomen suggests that he was a workman or an artisan, a profession befitting someone of his social class”? An explanation such as “a well-known Cerdo is attested as architect” is naive and useless.

27. VI 16399. Amelung's idea of *Glyce* standing for *Glycera* is unnecessary. He even thought that this name would be illustrated by the dates and palm trees decorating the corners of the altar, and that the same concept of sweetness would be expressed by the epithet *dulcissima*.

29. VI 7388. The onomastic analysis is not particularly rewarding, e.g. “Valen's (sic) cognomen implies that he was a powerful man”, etc.

32. The author should have tried to read the inscription (“almost illegible”). The altar was obviously dedicated by the husband to his wife.

36. The analysis of VI 7535 is full of errors (p. 149).

38. VI 18168. The cognomen of the woman was not “Alcimenis”, but *Alcime* instead.

39. VI 20546. L. 4: EYTYCHO (not EVTYCHO). The nominative is not “Eutyches”, he was called ‘Ti. Iulius Eutyclus’. *Alexander et Hilarus lib(erti)*

were not Eutyclus' sons, as the author thinks. They dedicated the altar to their patron Eutyclus and to Iulia Lais, probably Eutyclus' daughter.

40. VI 23293. The praenomen *Titus* in the name of 'Mevia T.f. Casta' does not by itself suggest a date in the second half of the 1st century.

42. VI 23393. That the sons of Cn. Ofillius Successus were called Cn. Ofillii Piso and Frugi, is not necessarily an indication of some connection between them and the Calpurnii Pisones. This is rather an example of onomastic imitation. Further, Piso and Frugi were inscribed in the Quirina tribe, but one cannot possibly claim with the author that the tribe itself, being also that of the Claudian and Flavian Emperors, would point to a Flavian date.

43. VI 29088a. Cleopatra did not come from the East because of her name (p. 160). The name *Vitellius* is not a good criterion to suggest a Flavian or early Trajanic date.

45. The inscription is also in Moretti, IGUR 1336.

48. VI 20819. Pharnaces was not a native of Pontus because of his name.

49. VI 18911. The name *Musicus* does not by itself mean that the deceased was a musician or a music teacher.

50. VI 19698. L. 6: EPAPHRODITVS (not EPAHRODITVS). It might have been mentioned that the master of Epaphroditus was a *p(rimi)p(ilaris)*.

52. VI 37974. It is true that the name *Urbana* may suggest that the daughter was born in Rome, but one should be careful with such names. *Urbanus/a* may have other connotations, too.

54. The author's ideas concerning Festa's "old-fashioned" coiffure (p. 178) seem to me somewhat unclear.

55. XIV 3994. The inscription is also VI 1485. It is regrettable that Kleiner seems to be totally unaware about the identity of the persons mentioned in this inscription. A little more knowledge about the title '*praetor*' might have revealed that Hirrutus and Pollio (father and son) were both senators. And the fact that Lucilius Pollio was consul in 158 AD renders the author's dating ("ca. 100 AD") unthinkable. This undermines one of Kleiner's main conclusions, that members of Roman nobility did not commission funerary altars with portraits (p. 90).

56. VI 20667. L. 3: according to the photo CLVTO (not CLYTO). The woman mentioned on line 4 was not called 'Iulia Musaris' (*memoriae Iuliae MVSARI*), the nominative of the cognomen being *Musario/-um*. It might be that MVSARI is an abbreviation for *Musari(onis)*. On p. 181 footnote 7) is missing.

57. VI 20304. In the present case the gentilicium *Iulius* is not a reliable criterion for dating (p. 183).

58. VI 19159. L. 6: SIBI ET SVIS (not SIBI SVIS; so on p. 183).

61. VI 24011, 2/3: *C. Petronio C.f. Cam. / Liguri Viriano Postumo*. The author states that he belonged to the Camilia tribe in Liguria. But *Ligus/Ligur* was one of his cognomina. Kleiner also states oddly that “Under Augustus, *equites* had to possess the property of a senator” (the reference to Millar is not correct). And finally, Postumus' equestrian status is not referred to in the epitaph, even if the author thinks it is.

62. VI 17557. The name of the deceased should not be written in the form 'Q(uintus) Fabius Q(uintii) F(ilius)'. Claudia Spendusa was not “his aunt” (*nepoti fecit*). Ll. 2-4 could have been commented on: *Q. Fabio Q.f. Fabio Proculo* (*Fabio* written instead of *Fabia*).

63. VI 21531. The name *Ionis* does not indicate that Luceia Ionis was “probably a Greek from Ionia”.

64. If the author had known that this inscription had been published e.g. by Moretti in IGUR 931, her interpretation of the Greek text would not have been so desperate. The name of the son is not “Secundus Glycytatus”, but *Secundus* (Σεκούνδω / ὑῶ γλυκυτάτω). So any talk about “Glycytatus' Greek cognomen” is incorrect. The names do not show that “the patrons who commissioned this monument were probably ex-slaves of Greek origin”. And who were these “patrons”?

71. VI 18442. The name of the woman on l. 2 is not absolutely certain, but *Flaviae TAELETE* may be the correct reading. Thus the cognomen would be *Telete*. The last line VALERIA PRIMA MATER is here interpreted erroneously. She is not “*prima mater*” nor “an initiate at the rank of *mater* in one of the Isiac colleges”. Her name was, of course, 'Valeria Prima' and she was *mater* of the two daughters mentioned on ll. 2-4. Consequently the author is led astray in her analysis of the sculptural ornament of the altar. The gent. *Flavia* is not a good dating criterion in the present context.

72. The inscription is published in CIL VI 23130. The deceased was not called “Numisia Neopte”. Her name was Numisia Heorte, and on ll. 4-5 her age at the moment of death is recorded (not “BENE MERENTIS / V”).

75. VI 20990 should be restored as follows: *D M / Laberia[e] / Daphnes, v. a. [---] / M. Laberius Daph[nus et] / Fl. Horaea parente[s ---?] / fil. dulcissi[mae]*.

76. Kleiner states that the text is “in Greek and almost illegible”. It is in Greek indeed, but not illegible. And the provenance is not unknown, as she believes. In fact, the monument does not belong to the present catalogue at all. It is a dedication by L. Licinius Hermias for the safety of the Emperor Hadrian (= Moretti, IGUR 122, with bibliogr.).

79. VI 16431: *Corneliae / Piae / libertae karissimae / Cornelia Cethegilla / Aemilia Plancina*. The author's interpretation of this epitaph is totally absurd. She thinks “that the altar was put up by two different

women...in honor of *the* (not *their*) freedwoman, Cornelia Pia". "Cornelia Cethegilla" and Pia would be *conliberti* (sic) and Plancina would also be a freedwoman. Moreover, Kleiner assumes that "Pia, Cethegilla and Aemilia Plancina may have been sisters". The dedicator is naturally 'Cornelia Cethegilla Aemilia Plancina' and Pia was her *liberta*. It would have been useful for Kleiner to know that Plancina was a senatorial lady, member of the highest aristocracy of the time (see now M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, PFOS 281).

80. The reading of the text, as proposed by Kleiner, is very suspect (VERECVND on l. 3 seems to be correct).

82. The text is also published by Moretti, IGUR 1305.

83. VI 1975. P. 215: the deceased was not "*promensor aedificiorum*" (...*Apro, mensori*...).

85. VI 8575. That *ark.* and *karis.* were written with a kappa, does not show "that the man who carved the epitaph was a Greek" (so p. 219, n. 4).

89. VI 27790, 2-5: *Turpilliae / Eutythiae / Gnesi / lib. / Primus conservae*. Kleiner maintains that the monument was set up by "Gnesus Primus" (sic) to his *conserva* and wife, Turpillia Eutythia. She continues: "Primus states that he is a *libertus*, but Eutythia appears to have died before she received her own freedom". This is not correct. Primus erected the altar to his *conserva* Turpillia Eutythia, freedwoman of Gnesius (not "Gnesus").

93. Thylander, IPO A 146: The name 'Iulia L.f. Apollonia' does not, of course, mean that she was "the daughter of Lucius Apollonius" (stated on p. 229).

95. VI 29238. One cannot possibly say with Kleiner that the name *Maternus* (M. Ulpius Maternus) refers to his close relationship with his mother.

98. VI 8725, 2: AVLIAE (not AVLLIAE).

99. VI 10818. The name *Urbicus* does not by itself mean that C. Aelius Urbicus was born in Rome (cf. above nr. 52).

100. VI 2365. The name of the dedicator was not "Granius Papias", as Kleiner thinks. The text implies that *Papi. ser. publicus* was *contubernalis* of Grania Faustina.

101. VI 18088. The name of the deceased son was not "Alcis", but *Alcides* (l. 5: *Alcide filio*). The mother's cognomen was of course *Hedone* (the stone gives EDONE). Kleiner's thoughts concerning the elements 'T. Flavius' (p. 238) are very strange.

103. I would read this fragmentary inscription as follows: [*Dis*] *Manibus* / [---] *Epaeni* / [---] *one lib. eadem* / [*in front*] *e p. XIIX, in agro* / [---]. The dedicator appears to have been a freedwoman with a Greek name (type 'Hermione').

105. VI 22073, 8: IVLIIVS or IVLLIIVS (not IVLIVS). On ll. 6/7 AD / QET seems to be a contamination of *adque* (= *atque*) with *et* (not to be interpreted as AD / Q · ET). ADQ might also be an addition of a second hand.

107. XIV 429 (Ostia). The correct name is not 'Fyrmus' (= a graphic variant of *Firmus*).

108. It is not true that "the father is not named". On l. 2 of the inscription ET PIVS PATER is to be read as *Ethus pater* (cf. H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom*, 1310).

112. VI 20595a. C. Marius Alcibiades was not "of Greek origin" because of his cognomen.

116. VI 26417. The name *Aesopus* does not suggest that "the family came to Italy from Greece".

117. The text is also published by Moretti, IGUR 798.

118. VI 20970. Kleiner's idea that Diadumenianus could have later achieved senatorial status (because of the *fasces* represented in the relief) is pure fantasy.

119. XIV 1521 (Ostia) is to be read as follows: *D M / Quartus Ca[es.] / n̄. ser. Al[---] / [v]erna[e] suo [---]*. The name of the *verna* thus begins with *Al-* (*Ai-* is also possible).

121. VI 2488. The many ligatures should be noted. The name 'M. Aurelius' does not necessarily refer to Caracalla, but clearly does refer to some Emperor with these names.

122. The inscription is now published by P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, *Mus. Naz. Rom. I*, 7, 148 (nr. V, 20).

123. The inscription VI 20679 does not show that Severus was a freedman of one of the Severan Emperors (*Severus Aug. lib.*, husband of Iulia Severa). Unfortunately Kleiner's dating is based just on the onomastics.

125. Vitalis' altar is recently published by M.G. Cranino Cecere, *La collezione epigrafica dei Musei Capitolini (Tituli 6)*, Roma 1987, 55ff., nr. 15.

126. It is not true that "all three are designated by single names and were thus all probably of servile origin". The father is called 'Bassaeus Felicissimu[s]'. On line 5 *et Rufa* (not SERVEA), cf. M. Bertinetti, *Mus. Naz. Rom. I*, 8, 332 (nr. VII, 3).

127. VI 20413 (= 37875a). The name *Iulius* does not necessarily point to a 1st century date (but the use of a praenomen suggests a date earlier than the 3rd cent.). As a criterion for dating the altar could have also considered the row of acanthus leaves and the astragal motif. The altar cannot possibly date from the 3rd century.

128. Kleiner does not date this altar. The format of the monument and the inscription VI 20712 (letter forms, names) seem to permit a general datation to the 2nd century, the first half being by no means excluded.

129. It is not true that Ursus had to be 50 years old to be elected as a *curio*. This age requirement was observed in much more ancient times. Consequentially, Kleiner's observations concerning Ursus' age are unnecessary, but she could have noted that a *curio* was often of equestrian rank.

130. The inscription has been published in *Epigraphica* 5-6 (1943-44) 6, nr. 71.

Mika Kajava

Friederike Sinn: Stadtrömische Marmorurnen. Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur 8. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 1987. 315 S., 3 Tabellen, 104 Tafeln. DEM 198.

The “workshop” under the guidance of Paul Zanker and Klaus Fittschen seems to be specialized in producing volumes apparently as equally luxurious as are many of the objects studied. The most recent of these “luxurious Hellenistic studies” is Friederike Sinn's work about Roman funerary marble urns. In the introduction she deals with the rather scarce former studies made on this subject. The author states that her own work – of which a short summary was published in 1982 in Koch & Sichtermann's work on sarcophagi – is not intended to be a complete corpus, but a collection of material to study stylistic and iconographical development. Therefore poorly decorated urns lacking criteria for dating are excluded (being included only if they can be dated by other, mainly epigraphical criteria). The 685 excluded (and the 38 uncertain) urns are carefully listed according to their provenance (a list is given on pp. 267-280). This together with the catalogue of 714 urns arranged according to a chronological order proposed by the author shows the collecting of material to have been diligently carried out. As far as I can judge no relevant material seems to be ignored.

In Chapter I “Zum Bestattungsbrauch – allgemeines zu Urnen” (pp. 4-16) the general features relevant for this group of material considered as a “stadtrömische Gattung” are briefly discussed. Also its relation to other groups of urns (and cinerary altars), as well as the question of local workshops is treated here. Applying stylistic criteria Sinn suggests that some urns are of local production. Their number is indeed not very high, but why could not more qualified and “stadtrömisch-looking” urns from Sicily or Etruria also have been produced by local workshops? The question of local workshops, or the question of how local the “stadtrömische” workshops in fact were remains open. Be this as it may, it would not relevantly change the content of Chapter II “Die chronologische Ordnung der stadtrömischen Marmorurnen und ihre

stilistische Entwicklung" (pp. 17-53), which together with the catalogue (pp. 88-265) can be regarded as the essential result of the work.

This does not mean that Chapter III "Bildschmuck – zu Herkunft und Bedeutung" (pp. 54-83), would not be important, but because of the great number of various single subjects of the many urns and the still greater number of potential parallels the treatment, of course, cannot be exhaustive. A considerable amount of epigraphical discussion is "unavoidable" in a work on such material which will interest those orientated towards social history as does also the brief Chapter IV "Zur gesellschaftlichen Stellung der Bestatteten" (pp. 84-88). Here the author has limited the discussion to general and preliminary results, leaving a more detailed analysis for specialists of epigraphy and social history (this makes one wonder even more at the accuracy of the percentages given in the list on p. 84, which for me seem out of proportion). Neither is the present reviewer competent to judge the epigraphical content, which in fact H. Solin intends to do on another occasion. One remark to be expected from Solin is already mentioned here: Sinn dates the urn N. 695 around 200 A.D, based on an erroneous epigraphical interpretation of the inscription CIL X 1743, which according to Solin must be about a century earlier. According to the description in the catalogue (a photograph is lacking) the decoration of this urn is too poor to allow a close stylistic dating. The example shows, however, how carefully both epigraphical and stylistic criteria are to be used.

Sinn has wisely not given all urns a precise date, but has instead separated off the urns in which the decoration does not offer sufficient criteria for a closer (stylistic) dating. When the dating is based on other than stylistic criteria this is mentioned in the catalogue, and the "Datierungsgrundlagen" as well as the "Reliefstil" and "Schmuckrepertoire" of the urns of each period are clearly presented in Chapter II. However, even after reading this Chapter and consulting the catalogue, I did not feel trained enough to see all the differences on which the stylistic dating proposals are based. I am not able to show any concrete errors and though in every work there is room for improvements, we must be very grateful to the author for the enormous work which the collection and stylistic analysis of this vast material must have entailed.

One can hardly exaggerate the usefulness of such a collection. It could, however, have been even greater with a more exhaustive index. Now many "Sachwörter" are missing (pp. 313-315), and above all, the index does not refer to the catalogue, but to the discussion. An index to the catalogue would have been a great help for those interested in certain subjects and details, especially as the 104 plates, though numerous and of good quality, do not show a photograph of every catalogued urn. Neither are the "synoptic" tables (1-4) giving a rapid overall impression of the numbers of various

subjects in various periods of any help in this respect. The idea is a good one, but its execution is not very successful; the tables are not illustrative enough. Furthermore, they are too laborious to be checked without an index to the catalogue. Its printing would, of course, have been expensive, especially in such a quality series as this. In this computer age this serious omission of an index could, however, be easily remedied (if not by printing, perhaps by selling the complete indexes on diskettes).

At present the brevity of the index reflects the selective character of the discussion. Though much of the material in the footnotes to the discussion is listed according to various topics or subjects, it cannot be complete. It has already been mentioned why an exhaustive discussion of all the various subjects and their parallels is not possible, but depending on the special interests and wishes of each reader, the discussion could be extended in many ways. For example, the present reviewer, interested especially in bird motifs, missed a discussion of such subjects as birds at their nests. Particularly interesting is the urn N. 119 where this subject is combined with another motif, an eagle fighting with a snake. This latter motif is briefly discussed on p. 71 (where the urn n. 119 is ignored). The symbolic content of the subject of passerines picking up insects is denied, but the question is perhaps not as simple as that. This would have been clear if a discussion of the motif of birds picking up (or fighting with) lizards and/or snakes had not also been omitted. On p. 25 the subject of birds on a vase (Vogelschale) is mentioned as "emblematischer Dekor", but in Chapter III it is not discussed under this title, but as part of vegetal decoration, the symbolic aspects again being denied (pp. 56-57).

In general Chapter III, though concise, is an illuminating discussion of the most relevant aspects. One further remark must be made. For the various vegetal decoration – garlands, scrolls and branches – which dominate the urns in the 1st c. A.D., Sinn (p. 56) assumes "eine einheitliche Grundbedeutung", which she sees as a "bescheidene Verwirklichung von der Idee der naturumgebenen Wohnstatt des Toten.". Indeed the funerary epigrams express the wish that the grave would be surrounded by green plants and flowers, and wealthy Romans are known to have surrounded their graves with *cepotaphia*. But though the epigrams – the importance of which Sinn rightly emphasizes – only seldom point to a symbolic interpretation of such vegetal elements, this does not support Sinn's view that "...auch die spielerisch-neutralen Pflanzendekorationen der Urnen (sind) generell ohne Suche nach einer zweiten symbolischen Bedeutungsebene zu betrachten" (p. 56). The general background for the surrounding of graves and tombs with *cepotaphia*, and – *mutatis mutandis* – the wish that this should be so in an epigram – was the idea or conception of the ideal place, the *locus amoenus* in which green plants, trees

and flowers were essential elements. The well-known literary convention of the *locus amoenus* had from Homer onwards connections with religious and eschatological beliefs. Such a symbolic value is in the various "green references" (scrolls, garlands, branches) evidently pointing to the idealized abundance of nature and/or to its *amoenitas*, so to say, "built-in".

In such a large work small errors always remain. For example, in urn N. 18 there are in total four birds in the front instead of three as Sinn (p. 95) states, or the bird picking up an insect below the garland on the right side of the urn N. 53 is a heron rather than a pelican as Sinn (p. 105) identifies it. Needless to say that despite the above remarks – or as the lack of more serious criticisms shows – we should be very grateful for the author for providing the basis for future studies through her painstaking work.

Antero Tammisto

Harald Mielsch - Henner von Hesberg: Die heidnische Nekropole unter St. Peter in Rom. Die Mausoleen A-D. Bauaufnahme von Kai Gaertner. Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, ser. III: Memorie, vol. XVI, 1. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1986. 66 S. 9 Taf. ITL 150.000.

The excavations of the pagan necropolis under the basilica of St. Peter were started in 1939, but it was not until 1951 that the studies concerning the western part of the necropolis were published by B.M. Apolloni Ghetti and others. In 1979 the Reverenda Fabbrica di S. Pietro, the Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia and the Deutsches archäologisches Institut decided upon a documentation campaign of the eastern part of the necropolis. The publication under review is the first of four volumes, which will present the results of the said campaign. The first three volumes will describe the architecture as well as the pictorial and sculptural decoration of the tombs, whereas the inscriptions as well as the sarcophagi, urns and altars will be dealt with in the fourth volume.

In the present volume H. v. Hesberg describes the architecture and H. Mielsch the pictorial decoration of four tombs (abbreviated A-D). Only a small part of the facade (the entrance) of tomb A (of C. Popilius Heracla) is preserved and in tomb D little is left of its paintings and, consequently, the mausoleum of Fannia (B) and that of Tullius Zethus (C) with their rich paintings occupy the largest part of the work (27 and 20 respectively of the total of 66 pages). The descriptions are clear and compact, a more general discussion of major problems being left to the concluding parts of the series. The number of good observations, even if limited to single details, inspire confidence and seem to

indicate the accuracy of the field work. The later phases and changes (in the third and fourth century A.D), both in architecture and the paintings of these tombs built in Hadrian's time (brick stamps confirming the stylistic analysis) are well presented. The documentation of now vanished later paintings, visible in photographs made shortly after the excavations, is especially valuable.

Indeed as a rule, the illustration of the work is abundant and of good quality, the colour photographs being particularly welcome. For some badly damaged paintings and unclear photographs, reconstruction drawings would be useful, though Mielsch's readings of the paintings for the most part seem trustworthy and accurate. A drawing might have helped for example in the case of fig. 30 from the paintings in tomb B, where Mielsch's interpretation seems to me somewhat misleading. Instead of a peacock suggested by Mielsch (p. 26), the bird seems rather to have represented a purple gallinule, which together with apparent water plants points to a small river or marsh scene. This is a less important detail. Of more general interest is Mielsch's observation of a peculiar type of vase as an "antiquarian detail", along with which the original of a couple of still lifes in the paintings from tomb B can be dated to the late fourth or early third century B.C. The two couples of birds around the vase might well have a similar character as antiquarian details; one couple clearly seem to be ring-necked parakeets and the other couple might indeed represent rose-coloured starlings as Mielsch suggests (pp. 22 and 36), though I have not found any information as to whether the latter species had become known to the Greeks as a result of Alexander's conquests (Mielsch's note 48 to Keller's work is misleading in this respect). Though the painting is damaged, the birds are very distinctive and – as far as I am aware – have no parallels among the numerous still lifes in Romano-Campanian wall paintings.

Mielsch's suggestion that the hunt and race representations in the paintings in tomb C point to the real activities of the deceased person(s) deserves further attention. Was the palm with stripes with blue flowers indeed added later between the two aurigae as a "Parteinahme" for the *factio veneta* as Mielsch suggests (pp. 47 and 57ff.)? It is to be hoped that further discussion of this, too, will appear in the concluding parts.

We can agree with the words in the preface: "Questa opera attesa da tanto tempo dagli studiosi di tutto il mondo... sarà un nuovo, fondamentale contributo per la migliore conoscenza e studio degli scavi...". However, we hope that the future volumes will be proof-read more carefully in order to avoid the many printing and spelling errors found in the present volume.

Antero Tammisto

Ruth and Asher Ovadiah: Mosaic Pavements in Israel. Bibliotheca archaeologica, 6. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1987. 276 p. 192 plates. ITL 500.000.

In the preface of the present work it is stated that: "This catalogue of the mosaic pavements found in Israel is a continuation and extension of the indispensable work of the late Michael Avi-Yonah who compiled, classified and catalogued the mosaics known up to 1935. We have continued the record to include later discoveries until 1975, our source material being culled from publications on the subject to which we had access, and some personal inspection." I am not competent to judge what the latter, somewhat enigmatic expression implies, in other words, what has possibly not been included, but at any rate one might ask why no more than "some" personal inspection was carried out. It might be suggested that there are more urgent problems to solve in present-day Israel than the ancient mosaics, and it is indeed of interest to read the preface, which continues: "The work will include coloured mosaic pavements which have been found west of the Jordan. The clear geographical boundaries of the country in the west, south and east limited the area of the study to within these boundaries; as the north boundary we have used the international line of the present political frontier." There are probably different opinions about the clarity of at least some of the boundaries, and at any rate it is interesting in such a work to be reminded of the contemporary problems of the area.

The mosaic pavements of each building or complex are listed with a consecutive number in alphabetical order according to the name of the site (usually the one used in publications, other names or forms of each site being mentioned in the list of sites). The catalogue lists 248 numbered mosaics (+ three addenda) from 132 sites. Map reference, date of excavation, a very concise description, a dating proposal and bibliographical reference is given for each mosaic. As far as the various publications have allowed, information is given of details of the patterns, the colours, size of tesserae and inscriptions. The geometric patterns are represented in very clear drawings (pp. 227-258) and referred to by abbreviations, which is partly responsible for keeping the catalogue to a reasonable size (pp. 11-147). In the "Summary and conclusions" (pp. 147-184) the writers discuss the technique and materials, mosaic art during various periods, composition and subjects, artists and workshops as well as the inscriptions and dating. The bibliography as well as the abundant indices seem thorough, but there are no maps.

As the authors confess in the preface: "The work is unfortunately incomplete in parts, as full details are not always given in the publications, and also because we were not in a position to examine the pavements for

ourselves." Nevertheless, the publication is undoubtedly useful as a concise and easy to use reference work giving an overall view of what has been published about the mosaics in Israel.

Antero Tammisto

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