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Editorial Board:

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The Career of Sex. Palpellius Hister; the Praetorian Proconsulate during the Early Empire Reconsidered*

CHRISTER BRUUN

Introducing a current debate on Roman administration

The Roman ruling classes controlled their vast Empire through a civil and military bureaucracy. Recently a vivid debate has flared up regarding the functioning of this administration: how did an individual official make headway? Did he advance through his own merits, by collecting experience and adding service-years, or by invoking the help of benefactors with influence at the Emperor's court, on whose decision success ultimately depended?

The answer to these questions is important not only for the study of Roman bureaucracy, but relates very much to the study of social promotion in the Roman world as well. No family could hope to reach the top of the social pyramid without at least some of its members serving the state and holding the higher civil or military offices.

The current debate sees two opposing sides which we might call, with an obvious risk of oversimplifying the matter, the traditional prosopographers and a more sociologically minded, primarily English school.¹

* I am grateful to Professor Heikki Solin for useful guidance during the preparation of this paper. For the views expressed I am, of course, solely responsible

¹ Geza Alföldy has given the latest traditionalist summing-up of the debate, even if he considers only the period AD 138—180 (G. Alföldy, *Die römische Gesellschaft*, Stuttgart 1986, 139—61) where he counters criticism from Keith Hopkins (*Death and Renewal*, Cambridge 1983, 120—200) and comments on the other work of the same tendency (R.P. Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire*, Cambridge 1982 and J.B. Campbell, *The Emperor and Roman Army*, Oxford 1984).

The traditionalists maintain a more meritocratic view, while their critics argue that favours and patronage should be regarded as the most important factors in the career and social rise of a senator, these factors nearly always being of decisive importance in pre-industrial societies. (Have things changed very much today, one wonders . . .).

The purpose of this paper is to deal with some questions relating to this general problem. The period considered will be 27 BC—AD 54 (the end of Claudius' reign), a period not often discussed in this perspective, partly because we do not have much material to work on and partly because scholars have considered the period beginning with Augustus' reorganization of the provincial administration in 27 BC as too confused for the establishment of any meaningful administrative structures.²

This common opinion might be correct, but at the same time administrative patterns of office-holding from later, more regular periods, are tacitly introduced to fit the times of the early Julio-Claudians as well. A reconsideration of certain aspects of this period, in this case above all the pretorian proconsulate, might therefore be called for.

An inscription concerning the neglected career of Palpellius Hister

We will begin by considering a somewhat neglected inscription from the middle of the first century AD, which in the usual way gives the career of a senator named Sex. Palpellius Hister. The epigraph, which unfortunately is no longer in existence, has, according to its editors, the following text (CIL V 35 = D 946 = I.It. X, 1, 66 from Pola in Histria):

² It is symptomatic that this period is often left out when discussing the senatorial career structure (Cf. A.R. Birley, *Notes on Senator's Imperial Service, Epigrafia e ordine senatorio I*, Roma 1982, 239—49) and that no comprehensive treatments has been given this period, while they are found for later times. (Cf. W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, München 1970; W. Eck, *Beförderungskriterien der senatorischen Laufbahn dargestellt an der Zeit von 69 bis 138 n. Chr.*, ANRW II,1 (1974) 158-228 and G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen*, Bonn 1977. R. Syme, *Tacitus I—II*, Oxford 1958 deals primarily with the later part of the first century).

Sex. Palpellio P. f. Vel.
 Histro
 leg. Ti. Claudi Caesaris Aug.
 pro cos
 pr., tr. pl., X vir stl. iud., tr. mil.
 leg. XIII Geminae comiti
 Ti. Caesaris Aug. dato ab Divo Aug.
 C. Precius Felix Neapolitanus
 memor benefici

From a passage by Pliny (nat. 10, 35) we know that Hister was consul in March AD 43 together with L. Pedanius Secundus. This pair of consuls has also appeared in epigraphic contexts.³ Another literary passage (Tac. ann. 12, 19) shows that our man was consular governor (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*) in Pannonia in the early 50s, but this is all the ancient sources can tell us about him.

Much of the attention given to Palpellius Hister has concentrated upon these two later offices. In his earlier career it is above all the post as *comes* of Tiberius that has received most notice. Scholars consider the appointment to have been around AD 10 in Mogontiacum in Germania Superior, when Hister would have been a military tribune there.⁴

Being the *comes* of the future Emperor it would seem if as things looked well for young Hister, even though he came from a family of no

³ For Hister see PIR P 53; RE XVIII,2 (1949) 279f nr 2 (Hanslik). The consular pair in CIL VI 2105 = XIV 2241. It is further encountered on two wax-tablets, TP 43 = AE 1973, 166 where the date somewhat surprisingly is July 20th (For this see C. Bruun, *Arctos* 19 [1985] 8ff) and TP 127 = RAAN 53 (1978) 266.

⁴ J. Crook, *Consilium principis*, Cambridge 1955, 176; W. Reidinger, *Die Statthalter des ungeteilten Pannonien und Oberpannonien von Augustus bis Diokletian*, Bonn 1956, 38f; S. Demougin, *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio I*, Roma 1982, 100; J. Šašel-B. Marušić, *Arh. Vestn.* 25 (1984) 318 (who, however, also suggests that Hister was Tiberius' companion during the AD 6–9 Dalmatian campaign).

Hister's early career, primarily his entry into the Senate, is further commented upon especially by D. McAlindon, *Entry to the Senate in the Early Principate*, *JRS* 47 (1957) 199ff and by Demougin 100.

prominent standing.⁵ But then there were *comites* of different kinds. Sometimes this term was used for an older counsellor of the Emperor or a member of the Imperial family, sometimes for a friend or companion of the same age. In this case the *comes* was a considerably younger man. (Tiberius was born in 42 BC, while Hister is thought to have been born around 10 BC).

It is impossible to say how it came that Hister was called *comes* in the honorary inscription above; certainly a recently voiced assumption that the nomination was due to Hister having served Tiberius as a local guide during the latter's Dalmatian campaign in AD 6—9 is pure speculation,⁶ while it would be easy to come forward with other theories, based on the not so pleasant rumours about Tiberius' various interests, that Suetonius let out. This indeed would give the term *comes* a new meaning in Roman epigraphy.

A rarity: twice praetorian governor

Considering Hister's age and the promising beginning to his public career, it would already have been possible for him to have reached the consulate under Tiberius, but things did not turn out that way. Our man is in fact often mentioned as one of the few cases of exceptionally retarded promotion to the consulate under the Julio-Claudians.⁷ He would be past his fiftieth year when he was appointed consul for AD 43.

A consulate at such an advanced age seems rather strange, the more so, it is argued, because we know nothing of Hister's praetorian career, i.e. his offices after the praetura and before the consulate. But is that really so?

⁵ A Sex. Palpellius Mancina was *duovir* in Pola at the end of the first century BC (I.It. X,1,343 and Arh. Vestn. 25 (1984) 306 nr 19). Cf. T.P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate*, Oxford 1971, 249. He might well have been the grandfather of our man, who surely was the first of his family to enter the Senate.

⁶ Šašel-Marušić 317f. Crook 176 in his monograph on Imperial *comites* does not go into the nature of Hister's function.

⁷ R. Syme, *JRS* 60 (1970) 29 lists a handful of senators who had to wait a long time for the consulate, among them Cn. Domitius Afer, *praet.* AD 25, *cos.suff.* 39 and C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus, *praet.* 19, *cos.suff.* ca 40.

It looks as though the *cursus* inscription has been strangely neglected when considering the career of Palpellius Hister:

Surely both line 3 and 4 in CIL V 35 each contains a reference to a provincial governorship, styled respectively *leg(atus) Ti. Claudii Caesaris (pro praetore)* and *proco(n)s(ul)*.⁸ Yet scholars who have dealt with Hister's *cursus* have, if not completely left the question of these provincial commands aside, at least not clearly taken notice of them.⁹

Sometimes it has, obviously carelessly, been assumed that the imperial governorship mentioned in the inscription must refer to the province of Pannonia, which Tacitus mentioned in his passage. This can hardly be the case. The legateship of Pannonia was a consular office, while at the time when the inscription was composed, Hister clearly had not yet held the consulate, as there is no mention of this most important office anywhere. (Remember, line 4 reads *proco(n)s(uli)*, not *pro(. . . ?), co(n)s(uli)*).

If the inscription were an epitaph, or if we somehow could show that it was composed at the end of Hister's career, then we would have to change our minds, and the imperial legation could well be Pannonia. But we do not deal with funeral inscription, but with an honorary one, which a certain Precius Felix Neapolitanus set up out of gratefulness for some favour, *memor beneficii*.

⁸ The possibility that the two lines might be read *leg. Ti. Claudii Caesaris Aug. pro (praetore), co(n)s(uli)* can be ignored. There is no absolute rule that the consulate should be mentioned at the beginning of a career inscription, but it is nearly always the case. Further, it would be very awkward to shorten a governor's title *leg. Aug. pro (praetore)*. During the Early Principate it is usual to leave aside both the whole attribute *pro.pr.*, which defines the task given the governor, and the geographical specification of the province. (Cf. D 923. 932. 945. 947 etc.) Because of this epigraphic practice it can further be assumed that the *legatio* was not a common legionary command, *legatus legionis illius* (the name of the legion would be missing, which is not usual).

⁹ Two commands are recognized in PIR, RE, by H. Dessau in ILS, P. Sticotti (AMSI 24 [1908] 302) and by B. Forlati-Tamaro in I.It. and M. Corbier, *L'aerarium Saturni et l'aerium militare*, Roma 1974, 357 n. 3. Wiseman 248f is not quite clear (he seems to have left out the later Pannonian command). Reidinger 39 seems to regard *leg. Ti. Claudii Caesaris Aug. procos.* as a single appointment, while A. Dobo, *Die Verwaltung der römischen Provinz Pannonien*, Amsterdam 1968, 28f dates the proconsulate after the consulship. Neither Crook, Šašel-Marušić nor G. Alföldy, *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio II*, Roma 1982, 330 mention the question.

Precision about Hister's provinces difficult

In this paper we shall only briefly give further attention to Palpellius' two praetorian governorships, which we now as a working hypothesis hold for granted.

According to epigraphic practice during the Early Empire, mention of these posts was not accompanied by any geographical precision. There is no possibility for us to say where he was proconsul and we do not even know if he held office in the reign of Tiberius or Gaius.

The praetorian imperial legation was held under Claudius, because Hister is called *legatus Ti. Claudii Caesaris*, and must of course be prior to March AD 43, when he entered his consulate. His term as governor under Claudius could have lasted a maximum of two years before he became consul, a term which is below the assumed average duration, but still possible. Or perhaps Hister had been appointed by Gaius without caring to use the title *legatus Caesarum* in the inscription.

Even if we have thus dated the legateship to around 41—43, we still cannot place it geographically. During the early 40s only the imperial legate in Lusitania is known to us, while we do not know any of the governors in Galatia, Numidia or in the three Gallic provinces Aquitania, Belgica and Lugdunensis.¹⁰

“Dyarchie” in provincial administration?

Actually Palpellius Hister's career inscription as it is now read by us, is rather uncommon. Both during the Early Principate and later it was very unusual for a praetorian official to hold the two different governorships of *legatus Augusti pro pr.* and proconsul. Why was that?

An easy explanation is that there simply were not enough of these posts. Up to AD 37 there were only 11 provinces governed by ex-praetors, five held by legates (who stayed an average of three years in office, so it is

¹⁰ Now an overall view of the provincial governors can be had from B. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidium I*, Göteborg 1984. For Lusitania more specifically G. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses*, Wiesbaden 1969, *passim*.

calculated) and six by proconsuls (for the duration of one year). Only about half of the contingent could hope to get even one governorship of some kind, as the number of the praetors elected every year varied between 12 and 16 (under Claudius sometimes 18).

There is, however, a more important reason given for the unusualness of a praetorian holding both types of governorships during his career: there is thought to have existed a clear distinction between these two types of offices. The praetorians who held the legateships served the Emperor directly, and only the most promising and capable ex-praetors were chosen for this very important task. The office, properly handled, would give them advantageous merits, they could expect to become consuls soon and to make headway in the administration.

The proconsuls governed less important provinces that were formally ruled by the Senate, not by the Emperor. When an ex-praetor was assigned such a province it was a clear sign that he was out of favour, would not have much chance of gaining merits, could not hope to climb high, and would probably never be given the consulate by the Emperor. So no wonder these two types of governorships are seldom found in the *cursus* of a single individual, as they pointed to opposite fates.

The description just given is the common one today in prosopographical circles. The career of Palpellius Hister might give us an incentive to reconsider this “bureaucratic model”.

Making a sharp distinction between provinces and offices belonging to the Emperor, and those under the rule of the Senate actually resembles the old conception of the Roman Empire which Theodor Mommsen once put forward, the concept of “Dyarchie”. According to Mommsen the characteristic feature of the Roman Principate was the underlying fight for power and influence between the Emperor and the senatorial aristocracy. Today this view is superseded and no one any longer thinks the conflicts in the Roman world were purely that clear and simple.¹¹

But the old concept of “Dyarchie” somehow still seems to be present in the view that many scholars hold of the provincial administration of the

¹¹ See for instance L. Wickert, *Neue Forschungen zum römischen Prinzipat*, ANRW II, 1 (1974) 39ff.

Empire. There are, of course, certain facts to sustain such an opinion. During the 20s BC a division of the provinces was undertaken under the supervision of Augustus. The result was that the Caesar became responsible for the administration of the frontier provinces where the armies stood. He governed them by his own appointed senatorial officials called, accordingly, *legati Augusti pro praetore*. The senate was to rule the provinces close to the heart of the Empire. In traditional manner these governors appointed by the Senate were called *proconsules*.¹²

But does this separation in the provincial administration make it correct to talk of the governors as being “in the Emperor’s service” or in “the Senate’s service”? Perhaps not, as we shall see.

The Emperor supervised proconsuls, too

The relations between the Emperor and both types of praetorian governors have recently been studied by Fergus Millar. He concludes that there are no essential differences between the ways the two types of office holders were connected to the centre of the Empire. The Emperor was concerned about the whole of the reign, and he could both follow and influence the proceedings everywhere.¹³

Actually this power of the Emperor over the senatorial provinces has long been noted, even if the proper conclusions have not been drawn. It is known, for instance, that the Emperor had his say when it came to nominating the proconsul (in the *sortitio* procedure), even if it is impossible exactly to define how the ruler influenced the designation.¹⁴

¹² This question is treated in a clear way by R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford 1939. 393ff and Vogel-Weideman, *Die Statthalter von Africa und Asia in den Jahren 14—68 n. Chr.*, Bonn 1982, 5—14.

¹³ F. Millar, *The Emperor, the Senate and Provinces*, *JRS* 56 (1966) 156—66. The only point where Millar thought he could notice a difference was that he did not know of any *mandata* from the Emperor to the proconsuls, only to the legates. New epigraphical discoveries have shown that the Emperor sent *mandata* also to proconsuls, see G.P. Burton, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 63—68 and J.H. Oliver, *AJPh* 100 (1979) 551ff.

¹⁴ On the *sortitio* see B. Thomasson, *die Statthalter der römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas I*, Lund 1960, 19ff and Vogel-Weidemann 12ff.

It might thus be more correct to regard the proconsuls too as being “in the Emperor’s service”. But it is, of course, clear that the two types of offices were not identical in every way. Nearly always a legate had troops under his command in the province, a proconsul only occasionally. Surely these differences were noted and commented upon by the contemporaries and the praetorians themselves. Some might have wished for martial glory, others less so, some might have had geographical preferences and so on.

It must have mattered to an individual governor-to-be which province he obtained. But the question is, whether such preferences were connected in a rational way to his ambitions and prospects of advancing in the administration.

“A praetorian governor in the Emperor’s service could usually expect a consulate as reward when he returned”, it is often said.¹⁵ In a recent work Keith Hopkins doubts this assumption. Did the Romans really see the same causal chains and patterns of office-holdings as scholars do today, he asks.¹⁶ To exemplify: when receiving the consulate, did they hold the reason to be their recent experience as governor, or their high moral qualities, or still something else? This question deserves serious treatment.

Imperial “Karriereschemata”: the place of the proconsulate

Basically, what the question is about is to what extent the Roman administration can be described or analyzed in terms of meritocracy and rationality. This has traditionally been regarded as the best way to approach Roman bureaucracy, for instance, the question regarding governors of “imperial” or “senatorial” provinces.

¹⁵ Eck, ANRW II,1 (1974) 199 expresses this point of view clearly in this major work on the senatorial career structure (where, however, he restricts himself to the period AD 69—138).

¹⁶ Hopkins 165, where he gives the question a much wider treatment than is possible here.

In a thorough study Werner Eck has considered the role of the praetorian proconsulates in senatorial careers. He thinks as a whole they are of less value than the imperial legateships, and tend to mark their holders as men with poor prospects. The few cases where a former praetorian proconsul eventually succeeds in his career, is explained by Eck by pointing to the accession of a new Emperor who for some reason favoured him.¹⁷

This explanation would, of course, fit the case of our Palpellius: when Claudius became Emperor he first appointed him legate and then gave him a consulate. It might be the correct explanation of the whole problem (and of Palpellius' surprising advancement, even if it does not tell us much; we would still want to know what linked him to Claudius), but it is also an easy one.

In the way mentioned every anomaly in the "Karriereschemata" can be given an explanation by pointing to the presumed wishes of the Emperor. In a way it is like having one's cake and eating it. This is how the problem has been handled by the traditional prosopographers. The recent critics can in a case like this be assumed to point to the influence of the Emperor and take it as a proof of their theory. Patronage, not "Beförderungskriterien" determines advancement.

But what if the third explanation were possible, what if the office of praetorian proconsul during the Early Empire (the period must be underlined, since the situation changes in many ways during the second half of the first century AD) ought to be reconsidered altogether, i.e. it was *not* as a rule a post of only minor importance held by less successful senators.

¹⁷ W. Eck, Über die prätorischen Prokonsulate in der Kaiserzeit. Eine quellenkritische Überlegung, *Zephyrus* 23—24 (1972—73) 233—60). On the possible changes under a new Emperor see p. 233. Most of the results (but referring to the period 69—138) are also found in Eck, *ANRW* II,1 (1974) 201—04.

In order not to give a false impression of the opinions of Eck it must be added that he concludes his careful work (p. 260) by noting that the proconsulate, however, cannot automatically be regarded as a stigma on the person in question, especially not under Augustus.

Proconsuls 27 BC — AD 54: 14% known

In order to consider this supposition, we shall take a look at the evidence for praetorian proconsuls for 27 BC—AD 54:¹⁸

	Known number	<i>Cursus</i> inscript.	Also <i>leg.</i> <i>Aug. pr. pr.</i>	Reached consulate
Sicilia	10	2 (1)	2	2
Baetica	6	2	1	—
Narbonensis	5	4	2 + 1?	1
Achaia (not AD 14—41 [44?])	9	3 (2)	2	4
Cyprus	12	2	3	4
Pontus-Bithynia	10	1	1	1
Creta-Cyrene	22	1 (1)	2	4
	74 = 14%	15 (4)	13	16

We might sum up the results like this:

— We know 74 proconsuls by name over a period of 80 years. The one-year term of office means that there were 530 men in office in this period. 74 out of 530 means that 14% are known to us.

— We gain really valuable knowledge about the public career of these men only when we can study *cursus* inscriptions where a whole career is recorded. Unfortunately, we know only 15 such inscriptions. (And in four cases the last recorded office is the proconsulate; sometimes it is difficult to say if the career really ended there).¹⁹ This gives us a total of 20% in our table (15 out of 74), but of the whole material it is a tiny 3% (15 out of 530).

¹⁸ In checking the proconsuls I have used the lists by Eck, *Zephyrus* (who in part relies on E. Groag, *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia*, Wien 1939 and G. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses*) and B. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidium I*.

¹⁹ In geographical and chronological order we have the following proconsuls with a *cursus* inscription: A. Didius Gallus, P. Plautius Pulcher (not beyond the proconsulate), C. Caetronius Miccio, [—] Proculus, Cn. Pullius Pollio, M'. Vibius Balbinus, Novellius Torquatus Atticus, T. Mussidius Pollianus, L. Aquillius Florus Turcianus Gallus (proconsulate), T. Helvius Basila, Martius Macer (proconsulate), P. Paquius Scaeva, C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus, L. Licinius C[rassus?], Celer (proconsulate).

— Mainly thanks to *cursus* inscriptions we know that 13 of these 74 proconsuls have also been governors in so called imperial provinces (some of them only later, after the consulship).²⁰ Following Eck, we could then say that in a little less than 20% of all the known cases the Emperor has changed his mind about their usefulness, or the Emperor himself has changed. Is this a large or small percentage?

To this category further belongs a number of senators who have held both types of provincial commands during this period, but according to epigraphic habit the provinces they have governed are not given. Therefore they are not listed above. Among these is our Palpellius Hister. In this way we get six new cases of double-governors.²¹

We must, of course, remember that this group of 19 who were both proconsuls and legates still constitutes a very small minority of all the 530 proconsuls during this period.

— Finally, we should note that 16 of the 74 proconsuls were also consuls (=23%).²²

²⁰ Q. Junius Blaesus, A. Didius Gallus (both as consulars), C. Caetronius Miccio, [—] Proculus, Cn. Pullius Pollio, M'. Vibius Balbinus, T. Helvius Basila, Martius Macer, L. Tarius Rufus and Paullus Fabius Maximus (both as consulars), L. Licinius C[rassus?], C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus, P. Sulpicius Quirinius, P. Pomponius Secundus (as consular).

²¹ Without pretending to list all the cases we have at least P. Catienus Sabinus (NSA 1928, 381 nr 4), Q. Articuleius Regulus (D 929), Q. Varius Geminus (D 932), Q. Caerellius Q.f.(D 943), Post. Mimisius Sardus (D 947) and perhaps L. Axius Naso (see Bruun, *Arctos* 19 [1985] 15f).

²² The consuls are Q. Junius Blaesus (*cos.suff.* AD 10), A. Didius Gallus (*suff.* 39), T. Mussidius Pollianus (*suff.* Gaius/Claudius), Sex. Aelius Catus (*ord.* 4 BC), Sex. Pompeius (*ord.* 14), Sulpicius Galba (*ord.* 22), L. Junius Gallio Annaeanus (*suff.* 55), L. Tarius Rufus (*suff.* 16 BC), Paullus Fabius Maximus (*ord.* 11 BC), A. Plautius (*suff.* 1 BC), C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus (*suff.* ca 40), P. Pasidienus Firmus (*suff.* 65), P. Sulpicius Quirinius (*ord.* 12 BC), C. Rubellius Blandus (*suff.* 18), Cornelius Lupus (*suff.* 42), P. Pomponius Secundus (*suff.* 44).

Furthermore, mention can be made of C. Vibius Postumus (*suff.* 5), who was praetorian proconsul of an unidentified province (CIL IX 730). As he later held a military command (Vell. 2,116,2) he can be added to the group in note 21.

Praetorian legates twice as often consuls

It might be useful to make a comparison with what is known of praetorian “imperial” governors during the same period. As Eck and many others have stated, their careers look far more successful²³:

	Known number of <i>leg. Aug. pr. pr.</i>	Known to have reached consulship
Lusitania	8	4
Aquitania	3	2
Belgica	1	—
Lugdunensis	1	?
Galatia	14	6
Numidia (AD 37—)	1	1
Lycia-Pamphylia (AD 43—)	3	2
	31	15

In this table we first notice how much better known to us these officials are. Because the term of office was not fixed, we cannot know exactly how many governors were in office during this period (three years is assumed to have been the average term), but it looks as if we know nearly all the governors except those in three Gallic provinces.

The more successful a person has been during his life-time, the greater the possibility that some trace of him will have survived.²⁴ According to this rule, the praetorian legates as a group certainly seem to have been of greater importance than the proconsuls. Still, the situation regarding the Gallic provinces is surprising. Here the praetorian legates seem to have been as obscure as the proconsuls.²⁵

²³ For the lists of governors B. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidium* I.

²⁴ This general rule holds also for antiquity, cf. W. Eck, *Chiron* 3 (1973) 375—94.

²⁵ The various degrees of our knowledge may of course partly be explained by different epigraphic habits in different parts of the Empire, and are not necessarily dependent on the importance of the office. (We get five legates of Galatia in a row from a single inscription from Ankara, cf. R. Sherck, *ANRW* II, 7,2 [1980] 971ff). The methodological considerations that must be made in a case like this are well set out by Eck, *Zephyrus* 258ff.

As the consulate always remained of paramount importance in the senatorial career, it might be useful to total up the frequencies for attaining consulship from 27 BC—AD 54:

known proconsuls known to have been consuls	: 23%
known <i>leg. Aug. pro. pr.</i> known to have been consuls	: ca 50%

We can see that the known imperial legates are twice as successful as the known proconsuls,²⁶ even if the latter probably belong to the most prominent men in their group.

There seems to be no point in continuing to argue for the importance of the praetorian proconsulate. Or perhaps new findings could change this picture?

How many consuls had been proconsuls?

²⁶ It might be useful to compare these figures with the *a priori* average probability for any praetor to reach the consulship during this period. This probability seems to vary between ca 20 and 45%, but fluctuates during this period.

It can be calculated in the following way: The number of praetors per year tended to increase, but varied between 12 and 18 (sources recently in R.J.A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome*, Princeton 1984, 19f). It is perhaps also necessary to consider the death-rates for these imperial administrators before they reached the age when they were eligible for the consulate (cf. Hopkins 146ff), but one might say there were between 10 and 15 praetors competing for the consulship ten years after their praetura.

During 27 BC — AD 40 there were on average about three consulships per annum available — according to A. Degrassi, *Fasti consolari*, Roma 1952 there were altogether about 200 consuls in office in that period, not counting members of the Imperial family or iterated consulships. Then the situation changed remarkably, so that for AD 41—54 we have about 90 consuls, or seven per annum (P.A. Gallivan, LF 102 [1979] 1—3).

Hopkins performs the same calculation, but his results are 2.6 consulates per year during 30 BC — AD 17 and 6 consulships open AD 18—54.

Anyhow, the figures for attaining consulship seem to move within the range of 20 — 45% ; $10:3 = 0.33$, $15:3 = 0.20$, $15:7 = 0.46$.

Finally, we should note that Eck (*Zephyrus* 260), who considers a longer period, gives different numbers:

34% of all the known proconsuls during the whole Empire attained the consulate
76% of the praetorian Imperial legates in 69—138 attained the consulate.

New findings might alter the situation in some ways, but let us first see in what regards new material cannot be expected. New epigraphical findings cannot reveal consulates for the approximately 60 identified proconsuls for whom we know of no such office. This is because we already know practically all the consuls by name up to the death of Claudius. (Even if some are not yet accurately dated). There is simply no place for any of these 60 praetorian proconsuls in the *Fasti consulares*.

But we can look at the question from another angle. During our period about 290 consuls were in office (not counting the members of the Imperial family and *consules II* and *III*). How much is known about the career of these senators? In fact, not much. To be able to say something conclusive about their careers we need to have complete *cursus* inscriptions. Such evidence we have, however, for only a fraction, clearly less than 10% of the consuls.²⁷ As it happens, among the known 14 consular careers we find 4 proconsulates, i.e. 28.5%. But clearly our material is neither large nor representative enough to make any conclusions possible.²⁸

Instead we shall perform a calculation that is seldom done, perhaps wisely so, because of the scarcity of material. Above we noted that 23% of the known proconsuls advanced to the consulate. Perhaps this known group of proconsuls was exceptionally successful. We can be somewhat more careful and use an even 20% as starting point (which is considerably lower than the 34% which Eck gives for later times). This would mean that

²⁷ Hopkins 159 gives the number of 10%, but he uses material selected from the whole Imperial period. G. Alföldy, *Gesellschaft* 141 states that we know 17% of the consular careers during the epigraphically fertile period of 138—80.

A search which has no claim to completeness has revealed only 14 consular *cursus* inscriptions from our period with useful information regarding the praetorian career (D 913. 940. 945.946. 963. 970. 972. 979. 986. 9483; CIL VI 1544; AE 1916,110. 1953,251. 1974,274), while we have 21 more which either are fragmentary or never did contain the complete praetorian career (D 196. 918. 920. 921. 923. 925. 938. 948. 954. 962. 971. 985. 8965; CIL V 7557. VI 1331 = 31631. IX 730; ILG 633. IRT 341. AE 1924,72. 1930,70. 1947,74).

²⁸ The percentage 28.5 would mean that 78 of the other 270 consuls had been proconsul, or that altogether 82 (4 + 78) of the 540 proconsuls had become consuls, i.e. some 15%. But this number strikes us as being too small, cf. note 26 and above, where we noted that 23% of the proconsuls reached the consulate.

in the whole group of 540 proconsuls we had 16 (the known consuls among our 74 identified consuls) + 92 (20% out of 460 unidentified) = 108 senators who became consuls.

If we now change the perspective and look at the group of 290 consuls, we see that, according to our approximate figures, 108 out of 290 = 37% had held praetorian proconsulate. This seems to be rather a large number, it would indeed look as though the proconsulate was not a sign of failure, if a third of all the consuls were former proconsuls.

Thus we might expect new epigraphic findings to give us notice of proconsuls whom we already know as consuls.

Many or few offices for the favourites?

At first sight the preceding conclusion is perhaps not convincing. A common notion in Roman prosopography is that a conscious Imperial strategy existed with the objective of letting promising praetorians reach the consulate as soon as possible, after a short and purposeful period of administrative “training”. They nearly always commanded a legion and often held an Imperial province, but most other offices were of less value and were avoided because they only slowed down the advancement towards the consulate. Only after this point could the man proceed to hold the really important Imperial offices, the army commands in the frontier provinces.

We see that the common opinion adds up to the notion that the men chosen by the Emperor who usually became consuls had few praetorian posts. This makes it less probable that consuls for whom we do not know the complete career had been praetorian proconsuls.

Keith Hopkins has, however, recently shown that this picture is not quite correct. He agrees that the praetorian posts were indeed not distributed evenly to all praetorians, but he holds that the later more favoured and successful senators held the majority of offices while many praetorians held very few posts and later did not get very far in their career.²⁹ (But it must be remembered that a special group among the

²⁹ Hopkins 159ff.

successful senators was constituted by certain patricians, who were promoted very rapidly to the consulship, after only three years in some cases, and thus held very few if any praetorian offices).³⁰

The importance of the proconsulate reconsidered

Speaking of Imperial policy and of the options to give many or few offices to a selected number of favoured praetorians, we might do well to consider to what extent governorships were available during the Early Empire. The situation is a rather different one from what we find during the second century or even during the Flavians.

In the second century AD there were 12 *legati Aug. pro praetore* of praetorian rank. Up to Claudius there were only five (the three Galliae, Lusitania and Galatia; Numidia had been separated as a special command by Gaius, the governor was still called *legatus legionis III Augustae*), under him Lycia-Pamphylia was added.

This means that praetorian commands “in the Emperor’s service” (which probably lasted an average of three years) were very hard to get. Before AD 37 for every year’s crop of praetors there was an average $1\frac{2}{3}$ legateships to compete for. (But because some patricians went straight to the consulate not quite so many took part in the competition).

This being the situation, during the decade about 16 praetorians would be governors in the “Emperor’s service”, or in the language of traditional prosopography, acquire the experience of governing a military province, necessary for holding the important frontier commands in future.

Does this number of trained potential consular governors seem large enough to the traditionalists? Of course we must not forget that praetorians also held command of individual legions as *legati legionis*. These posts were available to a majority of the praetorians, and they could get military experience that way too.

³⁰ Cf. the cases of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, *praet.* 23, *cos.ord.* 26; M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, *praet.* 24, *cos.ord.* 27; C. Cassius Longinus, *praet.* 27, *cos.suff.* 30.

But the point is that if a rational Imperial administration existed which saw to it that some favoured and promising praetorians acquired a proper training, then it was impossible to depend on appointments to *legatus Aug. pro praetore*, because there were so few of these posts.

Could not the post of proconsul have been an alternative in the Early Empire? After all, the tasks were rather similar, as has been pointed out above. Also, in the provinces where a legion was stationed, the tasks of the governor mostly consisted of civilian business. Likewise, both types of governors were under the Emperor's supervision.

Still, perhaps the legateship was the most important of the praetorian posts during the Early Principate, as it seems to have been later on. But looking at our figures and tables one notices surprising features.

We have already commented upon the fact that there were among the legates many more known to have been consuls than among the proconsuls (50% vs. 23%). But all the same this means that half of the known legates never reached the consulate! How is that? To get an appointment as *leg. Aug. pro. pr.* should be a sign that a praetorian belonged to the uppermost favoured group of 10%. One could surely suppose that once a senator had passed through his narrow gate, he would easily advance to the consulate (which was attained by at least 20%)!

Did death interfere? In some cases perhaps,³¹ but still something does not seem right. The solution might be that the praetorian legateship was after all not that all-important in securing a way to the top.³²

Conclusion: something for everyone

Thus the role of the praetorian proconsulate during the Early Principate seems to be in need of reevaluation. This conclusion can be given two explanations.

In line with the traditional view of Roman administration, that it

³¹ Cf. note 26. According to the life expectancy calculations by Hopkins 146ff, 15 of the 18 praetors would still be alive ten years after the praetura.

³² This is a conclusion already reached by Hopkins 164, but in his case perhaps through a somewhat different line of argument.

worked in a rational way along meritocratic principles, we might say that the greater importance of the proconsulate during this time was due to different “Beförderungskriterien”. In training praetorians the proconsulate could assume something of the role of the legateship.

Then again, if we do not accept the traditional view of the Roman world, we might explain what seems like a more prominent role played by former holders of the proconsulate as a new example of how recommendations and favour must have dictated the success of individuals, not fixed “Karriereschemata”.

Or perhaps it is even possible to work out a compromise between the two opinions. In any case the tendencies which we have been trying to show or outline above would seem to argue against the old notion of “Dyarchie” in Roman provincial administration.

Fortuna in the Works of Poggio Bracciolini

IIRO KAJANTO

Fortuna is one of the most enduring and influential legacies of antiquity. While Jupiter and all his retinue of major and lesser divinities vanished after the triumph of Christianity, surviving at most as lifeless symbols or literary ornaments, *fortuna* retained her vitality through the Middle Ages, to receive a new boost during the Renaissance.¹

The popularity of Fortune in Renaissance literature is evident also from the fact that many leading humanists wrote treatises about her. There is Petrarch's *De Remediis utriusque fortune*,² Salutati's *De fato, fortuna et casu*,³ Poggio's *De varietate fortune*,⁴ and Pontano's *De*

¹ For *fortuna* in the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance, see A. Doren, *Fortuna im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance*, *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1922—23 I, 71—144; H.R. Patch, *The Tradition of the Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Philosophy and Literature* (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages III,4) 1922; K. Hampe, *zur Auffassung der Fortuna im Mittelalter*, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 17 (1927) 20—37; V. Cioffari, *Fortune and Fate from Democritus to St. Thomas Aquinas*, 1935; id., *The Conception of Fortune and Fate in the Works of Dante*, Dante Society of Cambridge, Mass., 1940; id., *Fortune, Fate and Chance*, *Dictionary of the History of Ideas* 2 (1973) 225—36; M. Santoro, *Fortuna, ragione e prudenzia*, 1967; C.W. Kerr, *The Idea of Fortune in Italian Humanism from Petrarch to Machiavelli*, a Harvard thesis, 1956, has been unobtainable.

² Printed in 1581; cp. the analysis of K. Heitmann, *Fortuna und Virtus. Eine Studie zur Petrarca's Lebensweisheit* (*Studi italiani* 1) 1958.

³ Printed only in 1985, a cura di Concetta Bianca (*Istituto nazionale di studi sul rinascimento. Studi e testi* 10). Previously discussed by L. Gasparetti, *Il "De fato, fortuna et casu" di Coluccio Salutati*, *La Rinascita* 1941, 555—82; E. Garin, *I trattati morali di Coluccio Salutati*, *Atti e memorie dell' Accademia "La Colombaria"* 1944, 55—88; W. Ruegg, *Entstehung, Quellen und Ziel von Salutatis "De fato et fortuna"*, *Rinascimento* 5 (1954) 143—90.

⁴ Printed in 1723; cp. O. Merisalo, *Le prime edizioni stampate del De varietate fortunae di*

fortuna.⁵ But Fortune was also important in a number of works that were not specifically dedicated to her, e.g. in Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*,⁶ in Alberti's *Della tranquillita dell'animo* and *Della famiglia*,⁷ and especially in Machiavelli.⁸ Apart from these, *fortuna* was a familiar idea and figure in most learned and imaginative literature as well as in the fine arts during the Renaissance.

The persistence of this intrinsically un-Christian idea in a society and culture permeated by the unquestioned doctrines of Christianity and dominated by the unassailable Church is an intriguing problem. This is no place to enter into such a large and knotty problem. We may here rest content with two suggestions. Firstly, the idea of the unreliable and illusory nature of the goods distributed by Fortune was not contrary to the Christian conviction of the transitoriness of temporal things.⁹ Hence there was some common ground between the pagan idea of deceptive Fortune and the Christian renunciation of the world. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, fickle and malicious Fortune could account for all the uncertainties of human life and for its mystifying amorality, the success of evil men and the misfortunes of good people, better than the Christian belief in the world as governed by an all-powerful and benevolent god. These basically incompatible ideas subsisted in a sort of peaceful coexistence. The attempts of the Christian thinkers, from Augustine to

Poggio Bracciolini I, *Arctos* 19 (1985) 81—102. Poggio's idea of Fortune has not been systematically discussed. E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus. Leben und Werke*, 1914=1974, 236—43, treated the subject only marginally. There are brief remarks in Doren (note 1) 111sq. and in Cioffari 1973 (note 1) 235.

⁵ Printed in *Opera quae soluta oratione composuit* 2, 1538; cp. Santoro (note 1) 11—63.

⁶ Printed in 1544. In the preface Boccaccio states his purpose to be to show *quid Deus omnipotens, seu, ut eorum* (scil., *ethnicorum*) *loquar more, fortuna in elatos possit, et fecerit*, 2. Boccaccio's work may not have been without significance for the genesis of Poggio's VF. The very theme is similar. But whereas Boccaccio mainly uses classical examples, Poggio draws upon recent and contemporary histories for the illustration of the theme. The problem will be discussed in ampler detail in my forthcoming treatise *Poggio Bracciolini and Classicism. A Study in Early Italian Humanism*.

⁷ *Opere volgari* 1—2, 1960, 1966; cp. Patch (note 1) 217sq.

⁸ In his *Il principe*, a chapter (25) is dedicated to the problem of Fortune and of the means of opposing her. For the modern discussion, see Cioffari 1973 (note 1) 235sq.

⁹ Cp. Doren (note 1) 83.

Aquinas, to subsume Fortune under Providence were unconvincing and had little influence upon popular ideas.

While there is little doubt that Poggio Bracciolini kept the official faith of his Church and did not seriously question its creed,¹⁰ his piety was certainly of a lower pitch than was that of his predecessors, men like Petrarch and Salutati. It was much more in the background. In fact, in his personal letters and in the whole Corpus Poggianum the number of passages referring to God or to Christian religion is small. Thus in his history of Florence there is nothing comparable to the 14th-century chronicles of Giovanni and Matteo Villani, who thought they perceived consistency with the overriding design of Providence in the evolving of historical events.¹¹

Besides the human factor, the greed and ambition of individuals and peoples, sometimes though less often mingled with nobler passions, patriotism and love of freedom, Poggio considered the course of events to be moulded by the supernatural agencies of Fate and Fortune. It is especially the latter that is conspicuous in most of Poggio's writings, whereas *fatum* played a minor role.¹² Besides *De varietate fortune*, 1448, his last dialogue, *De miseria humane conditionis*, 1455, is also concerned with the influence of Fortune in human life. In his *Historia florentina* and in his letters, in his dialogues and in the funeral speeches he made, *fortuna* is often quoted. It is only his nowadays best-known work, his scurrilous *Facetie*, that carries only a few insignificant references to *fortuna*.

Poggio's discussion of the nature of *fortuna*

Poggio Bracciolini was not an especially original thinker. Almost all his ideas were borrowed. Regarding the nature of *fortuna*, his one analysis

¹⁰ Cp. Walser (note 4) 61—70; P. Joachimsen, *Aus der Entwicklung des italienischen Humanismus*, *Hist. Zeitschr.* 121 (1920) 221.

¹¹ L. Green, *Historical Interpretation in Fourteenth-Century Florentine Chronicles*, *Journ. Hist. Ideas* 28 (1967) 163.

¹² For reasons of space, I have here omitted analyzing Poggio's conception of *fatum*. I hope to return to the subject in another connection.

of her, in VF Book One, 25—33, is a collection of ideas from classical and Christian sources which contains no conclusions of his own.¹³

The contemplation of Rome's ruins brings to mind the omnipotence of Fortune over human affairs. After quoting Virgil (Aen. 8,334), Sallust (Catil. 8,1), Livy (9, 17,3), Caesar (no definite passage, cp. below) and Cicero (off. 2,19), and mentioning the cult of Fortuna in Roman religion, Poggio states the problem. Is Fortune *animus quidam, quiddam divinius* or something *exanime* or *vulgi inane somnium, nomen inane*? Only the first and last alternatives are discussed. It is in fact hard to understand what Poggio meant by *exanime*. The writings of the learned and the general consensus suggest the former, Christian religion and reason the latter alternative. Poggio's interlocutor in the dialogue, his curial friend Antonio Loschi, tries to resolve the problem. He argues that of the ancients it was only Aristotle that defined Fortune. His recapitulation of Aristotle's minute analysis in *Physica* 2,4—6 is very condensed yet succeeds in giving the gist of matter:

*fortunam causam accidentem dixit iis rebus quas agendas susceperis.
Has causas infinitas esse vult et incertam esse fortunam, idque fortuna
fieri quod nobis agentibus preter propositum eveniat, preterque
cogitatum* (Urb. Lat. 224, 9v; VF 26).

He was quoting from the medieval *Aristoteles Latinus*, in places almost verbatim.¹⁴

According to the interlocutor, Aquinas followed Aristotle in his conception of Fortune. But here Aquinas is somewhat misrepresented. Doctor Angelicus discussed Fortune in many connections.¹⁵ In his commentary upon Aristotle's *Physica* 2, lect. 7—10,¹⁶ he explicates

¹³ The quotations from VF are taken from the manuscript Urb. Lat. 224 (Vatican). The 1723 edition is an incorrect copy of Ottob. Lat. 2134. In the following, VF refers to the 1723 edition.

¹⁴ The Latin Text is printed in *Sancti Thomae Aquinatis Opera Omnia* 17², 1949, 274—80, in connection with the commentary of Aquinas.

¹⁵ Cp. Cioffari 1935 (note 1) 103—18. Both Doren (note 1) 97sq. and Patch (ibid.) 184—86 treat Aquinas superficially. According to Doren, Aquinas „hat, wie es scheint, das Fortunaproblem kaum gestreift”; Patch argues that Aquinas “rejects Fortuna utterly”.

¹⁶ *Opera omnia* 17², 1949, 274—82.

Aristotle's doctrine, but except for the conclusion, does not put forward his own ideas. Despite the note in the 1723 edition of VF, Poggio (the real author, not the fictitious interlocutor) does not quote Aquinas from this commentary. The work Poggio utilized was almost certainly *Summa c. gentiles* 3 cap. 91—92, 252—55.¹⁷ Aquinas is not always easily comprehensible. Hence one should not unduly reprehend Poggio for misunderstanding him. In this work, Aquinas represented the Christian reinterpretation of Fortune: *Ex his ergo . . . colligere possumus quomodo humana ad superiores reducuntur causas et non aguntur fortuito* (91,252). These *superiores causae* were of three different type: God, who exerts direct influence upon our will; angels, who govern our faculty of comprehension, and celestial bodies, which rule *corpora nostra et alia quae in usum nostrum veniunt* (ibid.). But though Aquinas concedes some influence from the stars, he is far from a true believer in astrology. For one thing, the stars affected only our bodies, not our souls. Still more important is the fact that the stars were themselves subject to God.¹⁸ Hence Poggio's argument that *Utriusque vero fortune* (viz., adverse and propitious) *causam refert ad superiora corpora: ut quamvis aliquid eveniat preter intentionem hominis, id tamen prodeat dispositione superna ad id inclinante nos licet inscios* (Urb. Lat. 224, 9v.; VF 26), though clearly taken from the discourse of Aquinas,¹⁹ misconstrues his thought. He stood by the orthodox Christian view which subsumed all fortuitous events under Providence.²⁰

But the Poggio of the dialogue is not satisfied with this. Aristotle and Aquinas had defined Fortune too narrowly. Her power is greater, *non accidens quippiam aut preter intentionem, sed firmum quid ac stabile* (Urb. Lat. 224, 10; VF 27). Poggio's desire to refute the definition of *fortuna* as

¹⁷ Ibid. 5², 1948, 252—55.

¹⁸ See especially *Summa Theol.* I—I q. 116 a. 1: *humani actus non subduntur actioni caelestium corporum, nisi per accidens et indirecte.*

¹⁹ Poggio's *cum bonum aliquod eveniat homini preter intentionem* is an almost literal quotation from Aquinas, cap. 92,233: *quando aliquod bonum accidit sibi preter intentionem.* Moreover, *dispositione superna — inclinante* have parallels in Aquinas' text.

²⁰ See cap. 93,154 *Sic igitur hujusmodi fortuiti eventus, reducti in causam divinam, amittunt rationem fortuiti.* Similarly in his Commentary on Aristotle's *Physica* 2, 282. Still more clearly in *Summa theol.* I—I q. 116 a. 1: *ea quae hic per accidens aguntur, sive in rebus naturalibus sive in rebus humanis, reducuntur in aliquam causam praeordinantem, quae est providentia divina.*

chance makes him describe her in terms which are in remarkable disagreement with her accustomed fickleness and malice. He cites Alexander, who enjoyed Fortune's favour for 14 years, *non ex improviso aut preter intentum* (Urb. Lat. 224, 10; VF 28); Caesar, who boasted that he was following Fortune as his leader and who in warfare *non insperato sed optato cogitatoque est beneficio fortune usus* (ibid.), and a merchant who made clever use of a favourable wind (Urb. Lat. 224, 10—10v.; VF 29). But the conclusion drawn from these examples contradicts the preceding statement of Fortune's stability: *itaque . . . existimatur esse maior atque ordinatior quedam divina vis volvens versansque res humanas pro libidine, nihil a se firmum nihil tutum prebens* (ibid.). Part of this confusion may be due to the fact that the ancient idea of the personal *fortuna* was unfamiliar to Poggio.²¹ For Alexander, he was probably following Curtius.²² Regarding Caesar, he had mixed up two quite different things, Caesar's alleged belief in his own *fortuna*, a later legend, and his well-known references to the importance of chance in war.²³ But Poggio also attributes Caesar's victories to a rational factor, to his great knowledge of military matters (VF 28).

Now one could argue that what Poggio here had in mind was the popular medieval idea of *bona fortuna*. This is traceable to the Ps.Aristotelian treatise *De bona fortuna*, composed in the Middle Ages from Ps. Aristotle, *Magna moralia* 2,8, and from *Ethica Eudemia* 7,14, which is today, with some hesitation, ascribed to Aristotle.²⁴ The short discourse, in an inept and often very faulty Latin translation, was held to be a genuine work of the Stagirite.²⁵ It deals with the psychological problem of the repeated luck of some men in things ruled by Fortune (*tykhe*), although they may be foolish and evil. In *Eth. Eud.* the personal instinct (*ὄρμη*, *impulsus*), which guides them to success, is ascribed to divinity, and in *Magna moralia* to Nature.²⁶ This idea of *bona fortuna*,

²¹ See my *Fortuna*, ANRW II 17,1, 524sq. and below p. 35.

²² Ibid. 548sq.

²³ Ibid. 537sq.

²⁴ G. Lacombe, *Aristoteles Latinus* I, 1939, 72; D. Ross, *Aristotle*, 1923 = 1964, 14sq.

²⁵ The short discourse has been printed in *Aristotelis Opera*, 1496, 348r. — 349v.

²⁶ Cp. Cioffari 1973 (note 1) 227.

which conflicts with the popular notion of fickle Fortune, is evident e.g. in Aquinas' discourse in *Summa c. gentiles*. In his treatise *De fato, fortuna et casu*, Salutati dedicated a chapter to *bona fortuna* (III.3), naturally ascribing this kind of luck to God. But although Salutati mentioned Alexander as an example of a man favoured by *bona fortuna*, it is questionable whether Poggio had been influenced by his discussion. Two distinctive features are missing, the reference to the psychological *impulsus* as the cause of lucky choices and decisions, and the ascription of all this to God. In this passage Poggio was no doubt recording ideas culled from classical literature, in which he confused personal *fortuna*, which he probably did not fully understand, with the usual conception of fickle Fortune. Again, the inadequate treatment of Aquinas' conception of *fortuna* as well as his ignorance of or at most vague idea of the *bona fortuna* of Aristoteles Latinus suggests that medieval doctrines did not overly interest him.²⁷

Poggio now proceeds to quote passages from Roman authors to support the idea that fortune was something divine and not simple chance, Cicero, *Manil.* 47; *Marcell.* 6—7; *Att.* 14,17,1; 14,11,1; 14,13,3. He also quotes Theophrastus from *Tusc.* 5,25 (VF 29sq.). But it is Seneca to whom he seems to owe most of his ideas of Fortune. Seneca, a Stoic if not a very dogmatic one, in accordance with Stoic metaphysics believed that the world was governed by a pantheistic divinity, who could equally well be called Jupiter or other gods or Nature or *fatum* or *fortuna* because *omnia eiusdem dei nomina sunt varie utentis sua potestate* (*Benef.* 4, 7—8). In

²⁷ It is equally problematic whether there are any echoes of Plato here. In *Leg.* 709A—C Plato argued that human affairs were not mere *tykhai*, fortuitous events, but were governed by God, assisted by *tykhe* and *kairos*, opportunity. As the third factor Plato mentions *tekhne*, human skill. What is interesting is the fact that as an example of skilful use of opportunity Plato records a helmsman who exploits a favourable wind. Poggio's story of the merchant could be an expanded version of the example. Moreover, his reference to Caesar's skill in warfare could be another example of *tekhne*. But on nearer scrutiny the possibility of direct Platonic influence vanishes. Poggio does not speak about God or *kairos*, in Latin *occasio*. The story of the sailor is similar only in the barest outline. Above all, because Poggio was not fluent in Greek, he had to use Latin translations. Plato's *Laws* were translated into Latin only between 1450—1455, see R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage*, 1964 = 1954, 434.

practice, however, Seneca's Fortune exceeds these philosophical limits, quite apart from the fact that the proper definition of *fortuna* in Stoic philosophy was a knotty problem. In Seneca, whose literary style conformed to the silver Latin blend of rhetorical and poetical elements, Fortune was mainly the fickle, malicious and amoral power of popular belief. Rather than philosophical concept she was a symbol for all the uncertainties, hazards and misfortunes of human life, which the Stoic Wise could defy and overcome by resorting to his *ratio* and *virtus*²⁸.

Poggio begins his quotations from Seneca by summarizing his philosophy of Fortune:

Seneca vero cuius habetur maxima sapientia inter latinos, multum pre ceteris attribuit fortune, quam tanti facit omnibus suis libris, ut hec que vocantur bona externa, queve dari, auferrive possunt, velit illius arbitrio subjecta divitias, opes, dignitates, liberos, corpus ipsum denique, nihil omnino excipiens preter animum . . . (Urb. Lat. 224, 10v—11; VF 29sq.).

His quotations, which need not to be repeated here, include Cons. Marc. 10,6; Cons. Polyb. 13,2; Cons. Helv. 5,4; Tranq. 13,1; Prov. 2,7; probably Cons. sap. 5,4 (VF 30sq.), and a little later Herc.f. 524 — Seneca referred to as *Tragedus* — and Prov. 1,1 (VF 33). In none of the quotations were passages indicated.

Poggios dependence upon Seneca was not absolute. The idea of Fortune as a fickle and malicious power was similar in both, but as will be shown later on, *virtus* as the antidote of Fortune was somewhat different. Here too, in quoting Seneca, he criticizes his austere Stoicism, which did not admit that *fortuna* could in any way, even through bodily torture, afflict the mind (VF 31).

The Antonio of the dialogue counters Poggio's repudiation of the Aristotelian concept of Fortune as chance by suggesting that he should consider the theological definition, *nihil aliud fortunam esse, quam divine*

²⁸ See my *Fortuna* (note 21) 542—44; cp. G. Busch, *Fortunae resistere* in der Moral des Philosophen Seneca, *Antike u. Abendland* 10 (1961) 131—54; M. Rozelaar, *Seneca. Eine Gesamtdarstellung*, 1979, 454—59.

nutum voluntatis, singula aut permittentis aut imperantis fieri, et ita disponentis cuncta que fiunt, ut que prodire a fortuna existimantur, summi dei dispositio efficiat certa ratione, que presit humanis rebus (Urb. Lat. 224, 11v.; VF 31). This is the traditional Christian interpretation of Fortune developed by Augustine and Boethius²⁹ and accepted by Aquinas, Dante, Salutati and others.

But Poggio discards all definitions. It is best to follow Seneca's example who, instead of subtle definitions, gave practical advice how to meet Fortune's challenge. Hence he is much more useful than Aristotle, even as Cicero's *De officiis* is a more serviceable guide to conduct than Aristotle's *Ethics* with all its definitions of virtues (VF 31sq.). Antonio ends the discourse on the nature of *fortuna* by remarking that whether one accepts Aristotle's idea or thinks Fortune to be *quid sublimius excellentiusque*, in any case *preesse mihi videtur rebus humanis, quas pro libidine extollit vel deicit* (Urb. Lat. 224, 12; VF 32). The fickle, malicious and amoral power of Fortune is further described, until he comes to the main theme of VF, the description of *commutabilitas, mutatio, varietas fortune* by examples drawn from contemporary rather than from ancient history.

From a philosophical point of view, Poggio's disquisition of the true nature of Fortune is a disappointment. Apart from the confusion of ideas in some places, none of the three interpretations is finally accepted. The Aristotelian definition of Fortune (*tykhe*) as chance, or coincidence, is most clearly rejected. But no choice is made between the idea of the classical authors of *fortuna* as *vis divina quedam* and the Christian subsuming of *fortuna* under divine Providence.

Nevertheless, certain preferences are observable. Neither here nor elsewhere does Poggio seriously espouse the Christian interpretation, expounded even by his mentor Salutati. The few references to Providence in connection with *fortuna* do not carry much weight (see p. 56). It was the classical idea of *fortuna* as an erratic, malevolent and amoral agency that most appealed to him. But in the last analysis, all definitions of Fortune are of little use and are expendable. What matters is the duty to watch her

²⁹ See my *Fortuna* (note 21) 555—57 and the corresponding passages in Cioffari 1935, 1973 and Patch (note 1).

power over human affairs and to meet her challenge by all the resources of the mind.

More than with Salutati and other philosophically-minded thinkers Poggio agrees with Petrarch in his views of *fortuna*. Although Petrarch in his *De remediis utriusque fortune* gives advice on how to cope with both good and bad Fortune, the former requiring moderation, the latter fortitude,³⁰ he supplies no definition of *fortuna*. But in a later work, *Senilium rerum* lib. 8, epist. 3, 835—38,³¹ he sets forth his ideas about the nature of Fortune. In his *Remedia* he repeatedly mentioned *fortuna* because he was writing to ordinary people, not to philosophers. But fundamentally he thinks that there is no such thing as *fortuna*, there is only the coincidence in the old Aristotelian sense. This, he argues, is the true Christian attitude to *fortuna*. On the other hand, he dare not, without more ado, accept the interpretation of *fortuna* as *providentia ipsa dei occultis homini, sed sibi notissimis causis agens* or as *providentiae ministra, et divinarum voluntatum executrix*. The problem of the true nature of *fortuna* is thus left open.³²

In the last analysis, this indecisiveness was perhaps unavoidable. Pagan *fortuna* and Christian Providence could appear compatible only to a cloistered philosopher, not to a keen observer of the vicissitudes of human life. Poggio, however, differs from Petrarch in that he also rejected the Aristotelian solution. Moreover, the pagan features of *fortuna* are more conspicuous in his works than in Petrarch's, an inevitable consequence of the steady advance of humanism and of the increasing authority of the classics.

A survey of the material in all of the Poggio's writings will show that in ideas no less than in language Poggio's *fortuna* was largely modelled upon classical literature.

³⁰ Rem. fort. Praef.: *utraque fortune acies metuenda, verumtamen utraque tolleranda est, et hec quidem freno indiget, illa solatio, hic animi elatio reprimenda, illic refovenda ac sublevanda fatigatio*, 2; cp. Heitmann (note 2) 89sqq.

³¹ Printed in *Opera*, 1581.

³² Cp. Heitmann (note 2) 51sq.

The characteristics of Fortune

Poggio used the word *fortuna* in most of the senses it had in classical literature. Clearly passive meanings, such as “position”, “property” or simply “lot”, do not interest us here. But it is of course not always easy to tell a passive from an active meaning. Thus, the cases in which the word depends upon the genitive of a proper name are sometimes ambiguous. In a number of relevant passages, the word probably denoted “lot” and did not suggest an agency, e.g. *varia partium fortuna*, Urb. Lat. 224, 17v.; VF 47; *similem fortunam experturos*, Harth 2,155; *miserrima . . . Urbis et Italie fortuna*, Mis. hum. 125.

But the distinction between a passive and an active meaning is not always easy to make, e.g. HF 142: *sed Roberti* (scil. Rupert, Duke of Bavaria) *fortuna . . . exercitum servavit*, his “good luck”. The most important passage is HF 152: *Ladislaum Apulie regem, cujus ope Mediolanensis* (scil. Giangaleazzo, Duke of Milan) *fortuna reprimeretur . . . accersendum putabant* (scil. the Florentines) and a few lines later: *tam favens, propitiaque Galeatii fortuna, tam votis, ceptisque ejus prospera, animum glorie cupidum incenderat . . .* This seems to allow several interpretations. We could consider Ps.Aristotelian *bona fortuna* (see p. 30) or the personal *fortuna* of pagan Roman religion or the usual fickle agency. But as I have already shown, Poggio had scarcely been interested in medieval scholastic cogitations. Again, personal *fortuna* was certainly common in Roman religion and in classical literature. But this type of *fortuna*, originating in pagan cults, did not survive to later ages. There is nothing comparable to *Fortuna populi Romani*, a familiar figure in Cicero and Livy and other Roman authors, who in critical situations manifested herself to save Rome.³³ Another important variety of Fortuna as a guardian spirit was *Fortuna Augusti*, though she was much more common in cults and coinage than in literature.³⁴ For the alleged personal *fortuna* of Alexander and Caesar, see p. 30 above. Less important persons were

³³ See my God and Fate in Livy, 1957, 64—71 and my Fortuna (see note 21).

³⁴ See my Fortuna (note 21) 517sq.

seldom supposed to enjoy the protection of a personal *fortuna*.³⁵ With the disappearance of pagan religion, this variety of *fortuna* also died away.

It is thus no wonder that Poggio never mentions Fortune of Florence, though *fortuna* is otherwise important in his description of the wars between Milan and Florence. He is content with expressions like *favit . . . fortuna Florentinis*, HF 98, where *fortuna* cannot be a special protecting deity of Florence.

The passage from HF 152, quoted above, illustrates the difference between classical and Renaissance ideas of Fortune. This is the story of one of the most dangerous times in the history of Florence, which was only saved from defeat by Giangaleazzo's unexpected death from plague in 1402. This if anything could have been ascribed to Fortune of Florence. *Fortuna* is, however, nothing but the usual fickle and deceitful agency here. Again, far from being Giangaleazzo's protectress, *fortuna* only seduced the Duke to try to seize the mastery of Italy, until all his plans were cut short *divino numine*, by his death. In recording the failure of the Duke's testamentary arrangements for his conquests, Poggio states: *parum sapienter profecto fortunam secundam perpetuo sibi suisque desponderat*, HF 153. The Duke, like so many before and after him, fell a victim to Fortune's insecure favour. *Divino numine* scarcely suggests that Poggio regarded *fortuna* as a handmaid of Providence. This is not the only instance in Poggio of different supernatural agencies juxtaposed without a clear idea of their mutual relations (see p. 40).

In the majority of cases, Poggio's *fortuna* is the classical agent of the whimsical ups and downs in human life. The meaning of "chance" is chiefly limited to Fortune of war (see next chapter). In VF, almost every page will illustrate Fortune's fickleness. In the preface he states that he will describe *fortune instabilis favor . . . et in evertendis que extulit pervicacia*, Urb. Lat. 224, 2; VF 2. Soon afterwards we have a cluster of expressions describing Fortune's fickle power over human beings, *fortune arbitrium, ius, impetus, vires, violentia, varietas*.

³⁵ See my *God and Fate in Livy*, 1957, 71sq. and my *Fortuna* (note 21) 513sq. as well as *Notes on the Cult of Fortuna*, *Arctos* 17 (1983) 14sq. for epigraphical evidence.

Not unexpectedly, Poggio lifted a great deal of the vocabulary of Fortune from the classics. Of the expressions quoted above, all but *pervicacia* were found in Roman literature according to Thes.l.L. A few classical passages had particularly influenced Poggio, thus Sallust's Catil. 8,1: *Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas ex lubricitate magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque*. There are four direct quotations³⁶ while other passages, though they do not acknowledge Sallust, imitate him.³⁷

Another favourite phrase of Poggio, *fortune arbitrium*, may have been borrowed from Seneca, Cons. Marc. 10,6, a passage describing the power of *fortuna* twice directly quoted by Poggio.³⁸

It may, however, be futile to hunt for classical reminiscences in Poggio's vocabulary of Fortune. He was no servile imitator of classical diction. His Latin, maliciously arraigned by Valla for grammatical crimes, was a vigorous creation, able to express subtle nuances of thought and feeling. In the imagery of Fortune, too, Poggio had a number of expressions and metaphors unparalleled in the classics known to him. The world as the theatre of Fortune,³⁹ e.g. *Nos ad theatrum fortune revertamur, in quo quidam adhuc eius ludi nobis spectandi supersunt*; Urb. Lat. 224, 28v.; VF 78,⁴⁰ may have been inspired by Seneca's *ludi fortunae*⁴¹ or *fortunae spectaculum*.⁴² Both these metaphors were frequent in Poggio, e.g. *Adiecit fortuna ad spectaculum suum etiam ludum gabrini cremonensis*, Urb. Lat. 224, 24; VF 70.⁴³ An original metaphor, unparalleled at least in classical literature, is *tanquam adumbratos fortune*

³⁶ VF 85; Mis. hum. 95; Harth 2,190; Ton. 14,256 (see p. 50).

³⁷ E.g. HF 277: *fortuna que in rebus humanis maxime dominatur*; Mis. hum. 100: *eam vitam vivunt, cui nulla in re fortuna dominetur*.

³⁸ VF 30 and Mis. hum. 92.

³⁹ For this idea, cp. R. Fubini, Il "Teatro del mondo" nelle prospettive morali e storico-politiche di Poggio Bracciolini, in: Poggio Bracciolini 1380—1980, 1982.

⁴⁰ Other passages e.g. VF 2,85 and 100.

⁴¹ Epist. 76,4, but cp. Horace's *Fortuna saevo laeta negotio et / ludum insolentem ludere pertinax*, Carm. 3,29,49sq.

⁴² Prov. 2,8 *Ecce spectaculum dignum ad quod respiciat intentus operi suo deus . . . vir fortis cum fortuna mala compositus*.

⁴³ Cp. VF 58; 103; Ton. 14,258; 293.

coloribus, Urb. Lat. 224, 28v.; VF 81, i.e., their unworthiness had been veiled by success.⁴⁴

On the other hand, there are not many instances in Poggio of *fortuna* as a clear personification. Most of them are found in VF, in which Poggio, as he stated in a letter, *extuli paulum dicendi genus*, Ton. 9,351. Personifications of abstract concepts properly belong to poetical style; cp. my remark about Seneca (p. 32). Here are a few examples, *fortuna tanquam beneficiorum suorum peniteret subito conversa est*, Urb. Lat. 224, 16; VF 43; *sed erubuit fortuna contraire moribus suis*, Urb. Lat. 224, 19v; VF 56; *ipsam que ludebat risisse puto*, Urb. Lat. 224, 20; VF 58. The malicious laughter of Fortune was one of Poggio's favourite images, cp. VF 79 and 102. This simile was used by Ovid, trist. 1,5,17, but only as a symbol of her benevolence.⁴⁵ An original metaphora for Fortune's capriciousness is *ad quos fortuna profecta pedem retulit*, Urb. Lat. 224, 36v.; VF 105.

On the whole, these clear personifications were few. Though *fortuna* was conceived of as an agency moulding events, it was seldom presented as a person, still less as a goddess. In fact, Poggio never refers to *fortuna* as *dea*. Even the attributes of Fortune, well-known to us from her classical iconography, were limited to the sole instance of *fortune rota*, which Valla was represented as turning when appraising *prisci illi*, an ironical use, Inv. Valla 1,189.

The two distinctive features of classical Fortune were fickleness and malice. Most of the passages, especially in VF, suggested inconstancy. Yet Fortune's malice was equally essential. She was inherently an amoral power, who raised and ruined with total disregard for just deserts. In a Christian-born writer, this aspect of Fortune is not without significance. As stated (p. 26), the Christian Fathers and scholastics, when they could not totally repudiate the idea of *fortuna*, tried to Christianize it by subsuming *fortuna* under Providence. Consequently, since divine Providence was always benevolent and *fortuna* was only the other name

⁴⁴ The same image in Ton. 10,14: *nullis fortune adminiculis adumbrata*, i.e., by one's own merits.

⁴⁵ Cp. my Ovid's Conception of Fate, 1961, 31.

for Providence, a Christian should not blame *fortuna*.⁴⁶ It goes without saying that all this is quite contrary to the classic idea of malicious Fortune.

In Poggio, the malicious amorality of Fortune is evident from the very language. *Iniquitas Fortune* is a favourite phrase, e.g. *Est . . . tum summa fortune iniquitas iudiciumque perversum, tum frequens commutatio*, Urb. Lat. 224, 12—12v.; VF 33; *crudelitas*, VF 6; *iniuria*, VF 9; *malignitas*, VF 21; *saevitia*, VF 10, and many other frequent expressions also accentuate Fortune's malice.⁴⁷

Only in a few passages does *fortuna* act justly, even then more by accident than by design. Paolo Guinigi, Signore of Lucca, a dreadful tyrant, finally *in carcere finem vite meritum exceptit. Ita ex mercatore tirannum, ex tiranno captivum varie fortuna versavit*, Urb. Lat. 224, 26v.; VF 76, an adaptation of the classic phrase of Fortune making a king into the lowliest thrall.⁴⁸ On the death by a shipwreck of Butillus, a wretched nephew of Pope Urbanus VI, Poggio remarks: *tulit et ipse meritam tante ambitionis penam, vir vecors sola fortuna insignis, quam credo nefas putasse, cuius causa patrium solum tam multas calamitates subisset, ipsum incolumem calamitatis expertem*, Urb. Lat. 224, 28; VF 80, a patent personification.

Nowhere is Poggio's idea of Fortune as an amoral power more in evidence than in his famous description of Rome's ruins in VF Book One. Far from considering Rome's destruction as a just punishment for her paganism and for her wicked empire, as Augustine does, Poggio imputes it all to Fortune's malevolence. Rome was once *rerum domina*, the domicile of famous men and excellent virtues and arts, but now, due to *fortune omnia vertentis iniquitatem*, despoiled of her power and majesty, nothing more than mere ruins. In destroying the Roman Empire, *iure suo fortuna*

⁴⁶ For this idea, see Salutati (note 3) III.7 *Relata ergo divina providentia ad hec que descendunt ab inferiorum agentium ratione tum casus dicitur tum fortuna. quam accusare deum est procul dubio criminari sibi (=ei) talium aliquid imputare. si dei providentiam fortune vel casus intelligimus nomine recte facimus.*

⁴⁷ Cp. Epist. inedita 597 a. 1426 *Fortune iniquitas* exalts men who have no learning and who tolerate only that which agrees with their tastes.

⁴⁸ Enn. ann. 312—13 (Vahlen).

principatum exercet. But there is more cause for sorrow that her *libido* has run riot and raged in razing the city itself to ground (Urb. Lat. 224, 4v; VF 7).

Poggio does not appear to have even made an attempt to bring classical *fortuna* and Christian Providence into some sort of harmony. A particular event is seldom ascribed to God. On the whole, Poggio's God is thanked for life's good things. It is God who has blessed him with children.⁴⁹ While Fortune is in general blamed for life's adversities, it is God who arranges deliverance. In his letter of consolation to Cosimo de' Medici because of his exile, a. 1433, Poggio writes, *Accepisti ob sevam fortune iniquitatem, hanc enim culpam impune licet, gravem iacturam dignitatis tue*, Harth 2, 181. Fortune could be safely blamed, whereas incriminating Florentines might bring serious consequences. But for Cosimo's return from exile gratitude was primarily due to God, *ibid.* 196. A good instance of the imperfect mingling of classical and Christian ideas about the causation of events is the story of the death of Ladislas I King of Hungary at Varna in 1444, VF 115. Poggio primarily attributes his death to *fortune iniquitas* and *vis fatorum*, but shrinks from blaming God, whose ways are inscrutable but always just.

Fortune as a supernatural agency was also at variance with Poggio's analyses of psychological factors as the causes of events. In general, he accords them more weight than he does to Fortune, who often seems to have been mentioned as a mere rhetorical commonplace. One example of this is the story of the downfall of the house of the Guidi, Counts of Casentinum in Tuscany, VF 109sq. Through miscalculation, the last count lost the friendship of Florence and went into exile. Poggio remarks that *fatum* could be safely blamed for the ruin of the family. Here *fatum* is hardly more than a synonym for *fortuna*, for he continues: *Culparem fortunam . . . nisi hoc non nulli ambitioni potius quam fortune vitio acceptum referrent . . . Sed quoniam quicquid hominibus adversi contigit, tribuitur fortune, nos quoque talis viri casum inter fortune opera adnumeremus*, Urb. Lat. 224, 36v. Poggio may really have preferred the psychological explanation, but because of the very theme of VF made a specious concession to popular *fortuna*.

⁴⁹ Harth 2,366 a. 1440; similarly 385 a. 1442; 404; 406; 407, etc.

The realm of Fortune

The province of *fortuna* is defined by Poggio as *res externae*, e.g. Harth 2,131 a. 1431 *Neque ita me dabo rebus externis, ut in me multum possit fortuna*; Urb. Lat. 224, 29v., VF 85, Preface to Book Three, *Rerum externarum vices versare eam, quam vulgo fortunam vocant*; Mis. hum. 96, *externa bona, que sue (scil., fortune) ditionis existunt*. The antithesis of Fortune is the human mind and everything connected with its operations.

Besides these general remarks and frequent phrases like *bona, munera, beneficia, dona fortune*, Poggio was also more specific about the constituents of these external goods. In most cases they consisted of wealth, power and status, thus Harth 2,6 a. 1424, *divitias, opes, dignitates, honores, reliquasque fortune pedissequas*; *ibid.* 123 a. 1431, *divitias, opes, dignitates, imperia ceteraque fortune blandimenta*. But physical attributes, especially health, e.g. Harth 2,182 a. 1433, and even beauty, Mis. hum. 87, as well as family, e.g. Orat. fun. Lorenzo de' Medizi 179, and friends, Epist. inedita 518 a. 1454, also belonged to the gifts of Fortune. In all this Poggio was following the ancient doctrine of the goods, which originated from Plato⁵⁰ and Aristotle, who in *Ethica Nicomachea* 1,8 divided the goods into external, of the soul, and of the body. The first and the last goods were often treated as one, thus Aristotle in the chapter quoted, where he included a physical asset like beauty in the external goods. In *Rhetorica* 2,11,2 he states that by *tykhe* he means noble birth, wealth and power, which thus constituted her realm.

In Roman literature, from which Poggio no doubt obtained his ideas of the external goods, Cicero defined *fortuna* as *domina rerum externarum et ad corpus pertinentium*, Tusc. 5,15. Seneca, epist. 74, 7 specified the goods of Fortune as *honores, divitias, gratiam*. But it was especially in the classical rhetorical doctrine that Poggio found rich material for the description of the external goods. His dependence upon ancient rhetoricians will be clear from the analysis of one of his oratorical masterpieces.

Poggio's funeral speech in memory of Lorenzo de' Medici, 1440, was written in conformity to the rules of epideictic speeches laid down by

⁵⁰ E.g. Euthydemus 279A—B.

Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and Quintilianus. These rhetoricians divided the praise of a person into mind, body, and external circumstances.⁵¹ Though they explicitly subjected only the external circumstances to Fortune, in practice these could be combined with the goods of body. External goods comprised things like descent, education, wealth, power, fame, native country, friends, while with the body it was especially health that was advised to be worth praising. But in eulogizing a person, all this should be of importance only so far as he could be shown to have made good use of these gifts. The main point was always *virtutes animi*.

In Lorenzo's eulogy, Poggio divides his good qualities into the gifts of Fortune, given to him *largam manu*, and the *virtutes animi*, 283. But Lorenzo had made the former *meliora atque illustriora*, using them not *ad fortune nutum* but *ad virtutis normam*. These comprised his birth-place, Florence, made *augustior* and *ornatior* by him; descent from a noble family, whose prestige he increased; wealth, which he used to common satisfaction; fine physique and health; high public office, always utilized for the common good. Having described these *que fortuita estimantur*, he at great length praises Lorenzo's various virtues.

But though things like health, family, and friends were occasionally included in the goods of Fortune, in most cases she was thought to rule over the giving and taking of wealth, power, and status. Hence it was mainly men in high positions that were the sport of Fortune. In the spectacle of VF, the cast consisted of princes and warlords, Popes and cardinals, and other comparable celebrities. Thus Poggio could write to Cardinal Cesarini, Harth 2,131 a. 1431, after the sentence quoted above p. 41 : *Nam ut nunc mee quidem res sunt, est ut non timeam impetum eius (scil., fortune) cuius est maxime, veluti fulgura solent, eminentiora quatere ac dissipare*, a reminiscence of Horace, *Carm.* 2,10,11.

The fortune of war

A special and very important section in the realm of Fortune is her power in war. In classical Roman literature, *fortuna* is very often the

⁵¹ Cic. *inv.* 3,177; *Rhet. Her.* 3,10; *Quint. inst.* 3,7,12.

incalculable element, the accidents and chances that may tip the scales of battles. *Fortuna* in this sense is close in meaning to chance, *casus*. Even a great modern statesman could argue that “it is impossible to forecast the hazards of war”.⁵² The idea was succinctly expressed by Caesar, Gall. 6,30 *Multum cum in omnibus rebus tum in re militari potest fortuna*. That it was chance and not the goddess that he had in mind is evident from what follows: *Nam magno accidit casu ut . . .*⁵³ Cicero in his letter to his brother Quintus, ad Q. fr. 1,1,5, enumerates the unpredictable contingencies brought about by *fortuna* in war. In Sallust, Livy and other historians, Fortune in war was very common, mostly expressed by set phrases like *fortunam temptare* or *fortunae se* or *aliquid committere*. The frequent phrase *fortuna pugnae* or *belli* also suggested the incalculable element in war.⁵⁴

The classical Fortune of war and the very expressions recur in Poggio's *Historia florentina*, which is principally a chronicle of wars. Though it has been claimed that this work was largely modelled upon Sallust,⁵⁵ the influence of Caesar and Livy is patent at least in the idea of Fortune in war. The reflection of Caesar, quoted above, was repeated by Poggio, *fortuna, que plurimum in bello potest* HF 343. The parallel to Caesar is particularly close in another passage. Caesar could avail himself of the notion of *fortuna* to explain away setbacks, e.g. Gall. 6,35,2 the escape of Ambiorix. Similarly in HF 107, an unexpected defeat of the Florentines in 1391 was put down to *fortuna*. The general of the Florentine troops urged the leader of the French mercenaries *ne quam belli fortunam . . . priusquam secum jungeretur, tentaret*. Knowing the impetuosity of that nation, he forbade him *ullo pacto fortune arbitrium, que plurimum in bellis posset, subire*. But his advice went unheeded, the Frenchman *temere in totius Fortune discrimen descendit*, and was duly crushed, HF 108. Besides the comment upon *fortuna*, reprehending the rashness of the Gauls is also found in Caesar, Gall. 3,19,6. The set phrases are frequent in

⁵² Churchill, *The Second World War* 1, Penguin 1985, 534.

⁵³ Cp. similar expressions Gall. 6,35,2; civ. 3,10,6 and 68,1.

⁵⁴ See my *Fortuna* (note 21) 539 and my *God and Fate in Livy*, 1957, 77—79.

⁵⁵ D.J. Wilcox, *The Development of Florentine Humanist Historiography in the Fifteenth Century*, 1969, 131.

HF, *fortunam belli tentare*, 19 and above; *fortuna oppugnandi tentata*, 20; *certam quodammodo victoriam fortune arbitrio commiserunt*, 37: rash action resulted in disaster; *fortunam belli communem* (scil., *esse*), 114;⁵⁶ *fortunam belli experiundam esse dicebant*, 235; *nullis nondum certis inditiis, quo se fortuna* (scil., *belli*) *inclinaret*, 237, cp. 247;⁵⁷ *ne summam belli fortune crederet*, 332, etc.

The hazards of war and the unreliability of Fortune is one of the main arguments in the oration of Niccolò Uzzano when he tried to dissuade the Florentines from the war against Lucca in 1429. Poggio was firmly opposed to the war, which proved to be disastrous for Florence. The oration was composed on the model of classical historians, and its arguments were naturally Poggio's. The speaker points out that

qui in rebus dubiis, et periculo proximis exploratum sibi finem certumque futurorum exitum pollicentur, raro sui desiderii compotes fiunt, cum presertim rerum humanarum, et maxime bellorum dominam constet esse fortunam, cuius est eludere nostras cogitationes . . ., 260.

Those who believe that the war will be short and easy are badly mistaken, *ignari incertos esse bellorum exitus, martemque communem*, 261. But in contrast e.g. to Cicero, who in his letter to Quintus enumerated all the contingencies of war, Poggio is not very specific about the effects of Fortune. This lack of concrete details is characteristic of Poggio as it is of humanist historiography in general.⁵⁸ He is mostly content with general and often tautological expressions like *multa tempus, multa casus, multa fortuna, multa rerum varietas secum ferunt nostris consiliis remota*, 262. He pays, however, some specific attention to unpredictable psychological factors: *quis novit hominum partim novas res appetentium, partim invidorum, partim sibi prospicientium voluntates?* Who can foresee the reactions of the Duke of Milan or of the Pope or of the city of Siena?

⁵⁶ Cp. the classical phrase *Mars communis*, i.e. "impartial", e.g. Cicero de orat. 3,167; Liv. 7,8,1. Poggio, HF 253: *communisque Mars ac belli eventus incertus*.

⁵⁷ Cp. Liv. 3,61,4: *at si fortuna belli inclinet*.

⁵⁸ Wilcox (note 55) 175.

262sq. It is thus folly to be confident of Fortune's favour, *semper in bellis dubia ac dominans*, 263.

In one passage in HF, the parallel to Cicero is close. In Manil. 28 Cicero argues that a good general should possess four qualities, *scientia rei militaris, virtus, auctoritas, felicitas*. The last requirement is defined in 47: *ego enim sic existimo, Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario ceterisque magnis imperatoribus non solum propter virtutem sed etiam propter fortunam saepius imperia mandata atque exercitus esse commissos*, for they enjoyed *quaedam . . . divinitus adiuncta fortuna*. The reference to gods as the origin of this good luck is natural in a speech made *ad Quirites*. Interpreted more rationally, Fortune in war, all the incalculable elements of battle, had constantly been favourable to Pompey and to the other great generals.

Poggio modelled his judgement on a great warlord upon this speech. Ending his description of the defeat of Carlo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini and ally of Florence, by Filippo Maria Visconti in 1429, Poggio concludes by conceding that in his opinion Malatesta was equal to the ancients, *prisci illi*. He enjoyed *maxima auctoritas*, acquired through *plurimae virtutes* and *morum optimorum gravitas*. Moreover, he was a friend of learning and of the learned. *Fortuna tantum in bello, et felicitas pugnandi defuit, que prima in Imperatoribus requiruntur* HF 218sq. This corresponds to Cicero's requirements for a good general, with one difference. Cicero's knowledge of military matters is replaced by the praise of Malatesta's love of learning. As historical truth, this is somewhat biased. Malatesta is known for bigotry rather than *studia litterarum*. His one remarkable act was the destruction of the statue of Virgil at Mantua. But Poggio was not alone in singing the praises of Malatesta. Bruni eulogizes him in almost similar terms.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Epistolarum libri, ed. L. Mehus 1741, III.9, 81 *Principem hujus civitatis, quem quotiens intueor, totiens michi aliquem M. Marcellum, aut Furium Camillum invictissimos bello duces, & eosdem in pace mitissimos atque optimos viros, legibusque obtemperantissimos videor intueri . . . Nunquam vidi hominem, qui magnitudine animi, & ingenii praecellentia, aliisque summo Duce dignis virtutibus ad antiquos illustres viros propius michi videtur accedere.*

Virtus and fortuna

In Roman literature, *fortuna* never reigned supreme. She was resisted and as a general rule mastered by man's inner resources, by his *virtus*. Classical Roman *virtus* originated from the merging of the native manly courage (*vir-tus*) of the Roman with the *arete* of Greek, especially Stoic ethics. Hence its two principal meanings were courage and moral excellence, "virtue", which were not always easily distinguishable. In Cicero, the superiority of *virtus* over *fortuna* is a commonplace, and so is it in Sallust, Caesar and Livy, and the majority of Roman authors.⁶⁰ But it was Seneca who made the greatest contribution to the elaboration of this famous antithesis. It was mainly from him that the humanists learned the principles of *remedia fortunae*.

According to Seneca, Fortune held unquestionable sway over *res externas*. Man was unable to change the course of events. But Fortune could not crush the human spirit, provided it was well prepared to meet all the vicissitudes of Fortune, good and adverse alike. The Stoic wise, who had made reason his loadstar, mastered the former by moderation, the latter by fortitude, e.g. epist. 78,29: *adversis non succumbere, laetis non credere, omnem fortunae licentiam in oculis habere*.⁶¹ The brave man even welcomed the challenge of Fortune because it gave him a chance to test and strengthen his *virtus*, Prov. 4,2; 12.

In the debate on the nature of *fortuna* in VF, Poggio quotes this basic doctrine of Seneca, 30sq. But though he undoubtedly owes a great deal to Seneca's moral philosophy, on some important points his conception of *virtus* differed from Seneca's. Thus, in this very passage, he modifies Seneca's assertion that Fortune can have no power over *sapiens* by remarking that Fortune can certainly afflict him by physical suffering (cp. p. 32).

Poggio's main ideas on *virtus* and *fortuna* are set forth in his letter to his curial friend Antonio Loschi in 1424, Harth 2,5—10. The humanities should free us from the pursuance of the external goods, which the great

⁶⁰ See my Fortuna (note 21) passim.

⁶¹ Other similar passages, epist. 66,6; 71,8; 98,3; nat. 3 praef. 7; cp. Busch (note 28) 143 and 148.

majority, the *vulgus* without intellect and learning, covet. Because *studia humanitatis* have taught us *honestas* and *decus*, i.e. the principles of moral philosophy, it is shameful for us to hanker after things which we know to be unworthy, *instar eorum, qui neque virtutum neque vitiorum ullum discrimen norunt*, 6. Like the other humanists, Poggio was frankly elitist. But no class distinctions enter here. *Vulgus*, who pursue unworthy things are rather the rich and the powerful.⁶²

This philosophy is based upon the idea of Fortune. The classics teach us the primacy of *virtus* over *fortune pedissequas*, riches and dignities. The use we derive from things acquired by great toil and hardship, is *instabilis, fragilis ac perbrevis*, 7, a phrase which suggests the Christian idea of the transitoriness of temporal goods (cp. p. 26).

The idea of future VF is already here in embryo, 24 years before it was actually written. VF illustrated the inconstancy and unreliability of Fortune by examples drawn from recent and contemporary history. In this early letter, too, Poggio records recent cases, first of all Braccio da Montone — very prominent in VF 73—75 — *quem ex infimo homine fortuna extulit* to a great warlord, a menace to a large part of Italy, and who, already confident of victory, *una acie victus cecidit*, 7. Comparison with the ancients, who by their literary genius raised even minor events to fame, is also here: *Qui casus si priscis illis accidisset temporibus, quas illi tragedias, quas nobis scenas exhibuissent?* 7. Later in VF, this served as justification for turning to contemporary instead of to ancient history for examples (see p. 33).

After recording a few other recent cases, Poggio sums up his philosophy: *mecum ipse admiratus rerum mortalium mutationem varietatemque fortune*, etc., the usual complaint of Fortune's fickleness, which should deter us from pursuing external goods. Reason, that gift of God (*divinitus nobis data*) should convince us of the fact that only *virtus* is stable whereas *fortune bona* are *aliena, incerta, caduca*. But very few follow *honestum illud virtutis iter*, 8.

Poggio is, however, no Stoic. He rather subscribes to the peripatetic

⁶² *Itaque alii student opibus et dignitati, alii honores ambiunt, quosdam vexat cupido dominandi, nonnulli voluptatibus deduntur, plurimi ardent pecunie cupiditate*, which are not pursuits of the poor and the lowly.

school, which did not reject *fortuita bona* if honestly acquired and moderately used, 9.⁶³ But virtue is the primary thing. Here he gives his definition of this many-faceted concept:

Hec in adversis animum submittere, in secundis efferre prohibet, hec dolorem, paupertatem, mortem reliquaque, que homines veluti magna exhorrent mala, minime formidanda docebit. Hec nos instruet imperandum cupiditatibus, refrenandas voluptates, libidines coerendas, nihil optandum; nihil ducendum in bonis, quod sit subiectum temeritati fortune.

For him *virtus* is both patience and moderation. Challenged by Fortune, we can resort to the former to face adversities, and to the latter to avoid being carried away by success, always under the menace of Fortune's reversal.

This is the classical doctrine of Cicero and especially Seneca. It is noteworthy that recognizably Christian ideas are much in the background. By his own resources, by resorting to the reason, not by the grace of God, man can learn the principles of moral philosophy. His guide is the classics, not the Bible. The few traces of religious ideas are unimportant. *Ratio divinitus data*, 8, smacks of Stoicism. *Virtus*, besides giving us peace of mind and freedom, also gives us *vita immortalis*, 9. Though this probably refers to the Christian hereafter, gained by virtuous life, at least in this letter the idea is neither very explicit nor prominent.

In a few other letters, this idea is given more weight. In his letter to Bishop Francesco Pizolpasso, a. 1424, Harth 2,38—44, Poggio at some length discourses upon *studia humanitatis*. He argues that pagan philosophy considered only the present life whereas *nostri*, i.e. the humanists, teach us to live so as to secure salvation, 40, cp. 43. In 1438, he urges Richard Petworth, the secretary of an English cardinal,⁶⁴ to leave

⁶³ See Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1,8. In Ton. 14,270sq. Poggio argues that he is no Stoic because he has feelings. He had been educated at the Roman curia, in which both the Epicurean and the Peripatetic philosophy were cultivated. The latter was more befitting human life.

⁶⁴ Concerning him, see Walser (note 4) 73. Their friendship dated from Poggio's sojourn in England.

everything else and to cultivate only virtue, which *sola etiam post mortem nos comitatur*, Harth 2,310. In 1445, in another letter to the same person, the exhortation is repeated. His friend should free his mind of *fortune munera* and instead give his attention to *virtus* and *ea bona, que nos etiam post mortem comitantur*, Ton. 9,294.

Poggio's *virtus* was thus at least in part Christian. Here his position was similar to Petrarch's.⁶⁵ But, as I have already remarked (p. 27), while there can be no doubt of Poggio's basic if somewhat subdued piety, in considering the testimony of these letters, we should give due attention to their addressees. Antonio Loschi shared Poggio's ideas and views. Hence we can assume that in expounding his ideas to Loschi he was more uninhibited than in writing to a bishop and to a friend, who probably held to the Christian doctrine with greater earnest than did the Italian humanists.

Despite these Christian modifications, the classical basis of Poggio's doctrine of *fortuna* and *virtus* is beyond doubt. There is, however, one fresh approach. Poggio lays great stress upon the fact that *virtus* is to be learnt from books, from his beloved classics. Unless they provide us with moral education, by advising us not to attach undue importance to external things, to power, status, and riches, they are of little value and can even be harmful.⁶⁶

Poggio is indeed deeply convinced of the value of learning as the school of morality. Hence, learning is often contrasted with Fortune. Learning alleviates *fortune iniurie*, Ton. 11,102 a. 1454; literary studies free the mind of anxieties and encourage us to despise the things over which *fortuna* has more power than reason, Harth 2,387 a. 1442.

In a letter from a. 1444, Harth 2,431sq., Poggio argues that Fortune's favour makes people despise learning, which has dire consequences after good fortune is reversed: *tunc se insulsos cognoscunt contemptuique habentur apud omnes veluti ridiculi atque insani*. But his young friend, the addressee of the letter, had prudently retained *cum fortune indulgentia*

⁶⁵ See Heitmann (note 2) 194.

⁶⁶ Harth 2,44. This favourite idea of Poggio is repeated in a considerable number of letters, cp., e.g., Harth 2,282 a. 1438 *Credebam litterarum studia sibi (=ei) adeo profuisse, ut priscorum, quorum virtutes legerat, vellet vestigia imitari*.

. . . *priorem discendi animum* and pursued those studies which teach us to bear *utramque fortunam*, success and misfortune, with moderation.

Another favourite idea of the humanists was also connected with Fortune. Poggio took great pride in the fact that only literary monuments saved the deeds and virtues of the high and mighty from oblivion.⁶⁷ The point is stressed in his letter to King Alfonso, Ton. 13,228 s.a.

omnia superiorum principum gesta et virtutes in oblivione ac tenebris obscuras fuisse futuras, nisi litterarum lumine in memoriam hominum atque in lucem educerentur . . . fortune arbitrio sunt subiecta; sole littere supra fortunam sunt, et prestant famam egregiorum principum immortalem.

These praises of learning as the school of virtue, which raises men above Fortune's fickle power, could be multiplied from Poggio's correspondence and dialogues. Their frequency suggests that this was one of his most firmly held convictions, as it was of the other humanists, too. It served both as justification for their *studia humanitatis* and as a source of pride for their important social role.

Poggio's alleged pessimism

Poggio, then, held an optimistic view of *virtus* and *fortuna*, which he summed up in a letter: *Quamvis autem omnibus in rebus nostris fortuna, ut ille* (scil., Sallust, Catil. 8,1, cp. p. 37 n. 36) *inquit, dominetur, tamen plerumque videmus virtuti locum esse*, Ton. 14, 256 s.a. But this view seems to disagree with the two works in which Fortune was of primary

⁶⁷ This was a commonplace in humanist literature. Cp., e.g. P. Vergerio, *Epistolario*, 1934, LXXXI 192, a. 1397: *lateret apud inferos incognitus Hercules . . . nisi poetarum fabule eum figmentaue celebrasset*. Again, Troy, Odysseus, Alexander, Thebes, Pharsalia *nonne nuda hec essent nomina . . . nisi que mortalia natura fuerant, divinis ingenii immortalia redderentur?* A little later, 197: *in illorum* (scil., the princes) *gestis plerumque dominetur fortuna, in horum* (scil., the humanists) *studiis minimum; neque enim in rebus ingenii ullum est ius fortune.*

importance, *De varietate fortune* and *De miseria humane conditionis*, published in 1448 and 1455, respectively. Both seem to suggest a pessimistic outlook, showing mankind as the plaything of irrational forces of *fortuna*. It is especially the latter dialogue which has recently been interpreted as an expression of Poggio's pessimism, his concern for the miseries of the great majority of mankind, his repudiation of Stoic virtue and acceptance of the Christian doctrine of original sin and grace.⁶⁸

VF is undoubtedly a cavalcade of kingdoms and cities, kings and princes, Popes and cardinals etc. tossed up, but mostly cast down, by *fortuna*. It is also true that *virtus* as a remedy of Fortune is rarely mentioned in this dialogue. But VF is only an illustration of the fact that people who hanker after *fortune bona*, riches, power, status, fall victims to her fickleness and malignity. There is nothing to suggest that *virtus* would be of no avail against her.

The theme of the work is explicitly stated in the dedication to Pope Nicholas V, a great friend of humanism, Urb. Lat. 224, 2v—3; VF 3—4. God has, it is true, raised the majesty of papacy *extra fortune arbitrium*. However, because of their possessions, which are *fortune iuri subdita*, a few of the Popes have been tossed about *fortune impetu*. This of course means that Fortune, mistress of the external things, holds sway over the Popes as terrestrial potentates. But Nicholas V is not subject to *fortune vires*, possessing as he does great knowledge of theology and moral philosophy, together with *summa prudentia* and *sapientia*. Nevertheless, he will be made still more cautious by these *preteritorum casus, et exempla, in quibus fortune violentia crassata est*. Reading these books may teach him that the safest policy is to act *modice* in the things in which *plus fortuna, quam ratio, aut consilium possit*.⁶⁹

VF is thus a collection of *exempla* especially for high-placed people not to trust Fortune, to act with moderation in success and with fortitude

⁶⁸ C. Trinaus, *In Our Image and Likeness, Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought* 1 (1970) 258sqq.

⁶⁹ These ideas were repeated in his letter to the Pope a. 1449, Ton. 10, 13sq.: Learning fosters virtue, which teaches restraint of desires and care of salvation. Obeying the precepts of virtue we can enjoy enduring happiness, whereas power and riches and *alia bona quibus fortuna dominatur* are fragile, weak, temporary, in truth *infelicitatis instrumenta*.

and patience in adversity. As a matter of fact, it is mostly the ambiguity of success that Poggio is anxious to bring home to his readers. Though this may imply the classical idea of *hybris* and *nemesis*, Poggio does not seem to have given much attention to this aspect of *fortuna*. One instance may be the description of the downfall of the nephews of Bonifacius IX after the Pope's death: they were *adeo inflati presentium rerum felicitate, ut ipsam qua stabant, fortunam contemnerent, ignari que fata eos manerent*, Urb. Lat. 224, 28—28v.; VF 81. Though *indulgentia fortune* first made them the envy of all, she was ultimately as deceitful to them as to others, *cum eos quos antea tam claros conspicuosque ediderat, mestos deinde ac sordidatos redderet*. But even here, Fortune is not represented as acting vengefully because of these people's arrogance. She casts them down because fickleness is inherent in her nature.⁷⁰

In the new preface to Book Three, the theme of VF is once again set forth: in the examples above Poggio had tried to show that the vicissitudes of the external things were due to what is in general called *fortuna*. Any one surveying these examples with an unbiased mind will be convinced of the truth of Sallust's saying *qua voluit omni re fortunam dominari* (Catil. 8,1; cp. p. 37 n. 36). But he will also perceive the immense stupidity of people, who in this famous theatre of Fortune observe her fickleness yet headstrong and unarmed enter the hard battle, *relictis veris animi bonis, in quibus nullum possidet ius fortuna*, Urb. Lat. 224, 30; VF 85. People ought to crave the good things of Fortune with greater moderation and caution when they see her *impetus* so often frustrate all our hopes and forestall all our plans. But Poggio resignedly states that *nulla ratio, nulla exempla* deter us *per ambitionem* from preferring the goods of Fortune to *virtus* and *ratio*. Hence his conclusion that *hominum vesania auctoritatem tribuit fortune*.

⁷⁰ The *hybris* of the rulers is mentioned in the dialogue *De infelicitate principum*, 1440, according to which princes are very unhappy since they trust to Fortune and rarely follow virtue. One consequence of this is the fact that they will be blinded by Fortune, who is herself represented as blind: *libidine enim pro ratione abutuntur . . . quo fit, ut posthabita honesti cura, cum ad vitia deflectantur, sepissime de statu rerum cadant, et a fortuna deserantur*, 412. But in contrast to original Greek *hybris*, the downfall is due to psychological factors and not to divine justice. Here as in many other passages, Fortune is more a literary ornament than a real cause of events.

Though more pessimistic than some other passages in which *virtus* is presented as an antidote to *fortuna*, there is no suggestion here of Fortune as an irresistible force. Fortune may crush a man in the external things but not in spirit, provided he makes proper use of reason and of the teachings of moral philosophy and history, which is a storehouse of moral *exempla*. If Fortune enjoys great authority, this is due to the folly of mankind, not to Fortune's inherent power.

Apart from the general advice of not trusting Fortune, Poggio is not very specific about the beneficial consequences of trusting to virtue. This lack of specific details is characteristic of him as it is of the humanists in general (see p. 44). But occasionally he is more explicit. Beginning the story of Cardinal Giovanni Cornetano, he admits it to demonstrate *in rebus humanis plus fortune arbitrium, quam ingenium posse*, Urb. Lat. 224, 38v.; VF 110, but corrects this dark vision by maintaining that everybody, and especially men who aspire after power, should try to secure *virtus* . . . *quod unum firmissimum est adversus fortune impetus munimentum*. Here *virtus* clearly denotes moderation, for Poggio writes that it gains the benevolence of people and secures the stability of power, whereas *vitia* subvert it. The next sentence is intriguing: *Ea* (scil., *vitia*) *licet quandoque declinent hominum penas, nunquam summi dei, tamen presens magis quam futura . . . ultio exoptatur*. Though vice may sometimes escape human punishment, God will certainly act as the revenger sooner or later. Fortune and God are opposite forces here, amoral Fortune reigning in the world to a certain extent. This passage is a further instance of the lack of clear vision often observable in Poggio's ideas of the causation of events, in the last analysis ascribable to the imperfect fusing of classical and Christian ideas (see p. 40).

VF, though recording countless examples of Fortune's malignity and capriciousness, does not disagree with Poggio's elitist and humanist view of the possibility of mastering Fortune if men only resort to the precepts of moral philosophy available in the classics.

There can be no denying that Poggio's last dialogue, *De miseria humane conditionis*, is more pessimistic and in places more Christian than his earlier discussions of virtue and Fortune. The debate is conducted by three interlocutors, Cosimo de' Medici, Matteo Palmieri, a Florentine humanist, chiefly memorable for his *Della vita civile*, and Poggio. Cosimo

advocates the optimistic view. Though admitting the power of Fortune, he asserts that with the aid of reason, that gift of God, man can by his own free will muster strength to resist the onslaught of *fortuna*. Only the stupid give in to her, 90sq. This view of Cosimo coincides with Poggio's as described above. It is essentially the traditional classical doctrine of Cicero and Seneca.

Matteo views the problem from the Christian angle. Man is miserable because the consequences of Adam's fall, 89. There are, it is true, a few predestined to beatitude in this and the future life, but they are saved by God's grace, not by their own resources, 101. This is of course the well-known Augustinian dogma.

In the dialogue Poggio is standing between the Stoicism of Cosimo and the Augustinianism of Matteo. He criticizes Cosimo for his over-optimistic view of the human condition and for his ignorance of the misery of the great majority of mankind. The exceptions, the men who by resorting to *ratio* and *virtus* overcome Fortune, are very few indeed. The Stoic wise does not exist: *imbecilles sumus natura omnes, neque ulla sapientia obsistimus fortune temeritati, que cum in suam nos ditionem arbitriumque redegit, infinitis pene miseriis sursum deorsum pro arbitrio versat*, 95. He quotes from Sallust, Cicero and Theophrastus select passages which maintain Fortune's superiority over reason.⁷¹ He admits *animum . . . virtute peditum nulli miserie subesse*, but redresses this by arguing that *externa bona que sue* (scil., *fortune*) *iuris existunt* can afflict such a man with much suffering, 96. This criticism or modification of Stoic *virtus* is quite similar to the passage from VF31 discussed above (p. 46).

To understand Poggio's angle of view in the dialogue, the next passage is crucial: *Non enim nobis sapiens stoicus queritur, qui in tauro Phalaridis futurus sit beatus, sed de communi hominum natura, deque publica totius humani generis miseria disputamus*. In other words, he considers the problem of virtue and Fortune not from his accustomed elitist view but from a broader point of view encompassing the high and the low alike. Hence his ironical description of the Stoic Wise, who would be happy even in the brazen bull of Phalaris.

⁷¹ Sall. Catil. 8,1; Cic. Att. 14,13,3 (not literal) and 14,17,1; Theophrastus from Cic. Tusc. 5,25. The same quotations were found in VF, see p. 28, 31 above.

It is certainly difficult to judge the opinions expressed in a dialogue. To what extent do they conform with the author's views? Now it is obvious that the above passage voices ideas not altogether alien to Poggio the author. He was no harsh Stoic but rather a peripatetic, who conceded some value to the external goods, too. Hence the argument, illustrated with classical examples, that even men celebrated for their *virtus* suffered from misfortunes and adversities, 96sq., does not jar with his philosophy. The view that we should rather consider the sum total of human suffering than a few exceptional individuals, however, clashes with Poggio's usual elitist stance, which despised *vulgus* of any origin.

To understand the real drift of the dialogue we must consider the preface, where Poggio the author speaks in person, and the peroration, which draws the conclusions from the discourse. Both show that there is no serious break with Poggio's views as expressed in his other works. In the preface he states his purpose to be to demonstrate that all our anxieties and miseries come *a fortune donis*, which are specious and deceptive. The only antidote to this is moderation, the restraint of desires and ambition. Rejecting *commercium cum fortune donis* we may acquire physical and mental well-being. The treatise was accordingly composed in the same didactic spirit as was VF. If its purpose had merely been to show that men were helpless victims of Fortune, to be saved if at all only by God's grace, it would certainly have been written in vain.

It is equally significant that Cosimo and not Poggio or Matteo sums up the debate. Thus it was the ideas voiced by him that were meant to linger on in the memory of the reader. That they coincided with Poggio's is evident from their correspondence with the preface and with similar ideas in Poggio's other works. Cosimo admits that human life is frail and uncertain and the goods of Fortune transitory, 130. Hence we should spurn the sensual pleasures and by following reason and virtue secure genuine freedom and peace of mind. There is no difference between Poggio's arguments in the preface and Cosimo's words here. Further, Cosimo maintains that virtue advises us to despise superfluous wealth and to make use of *fortuita bona* as if they had only been lent to us, to be returned at the discretion of the creditor. This illustrates the idea that the goods of Fortune can never be enjoyed in perpetuity.

Even adverse Fortune can be useful since it gives us chance to put our

virtus to the test, an idea clearly lifted from Seneca (see p. 46). Optimistically, Cosimo declares: *Non est tam valida fortune vis, ut a forti et constanti viro non superetur*, 131. Even if she takes from us *opes, vires, valitudinem, uxorem, liberos*, the mind will be free of her power.

But the same incomplete mingling of classical and Christian ideas as elsewhere (p. 40, 53) is evident here, too. The next sentence urges us to accept with equanimity the loss of Fortune's gifts, seeing that all is due to the Providence of God, who knows what is best for us. It is true that the equation of *fortuna* with Providence was an accepted Christian expedient to incorporate *fortuna* into Christian doctrine, but Poggio makes extremely rare use of it.

Cosimo winds up by once more stressing the freedom of will. It is our own choice to follow reason and virtue and thus to attain happiness or to hanker after riches and power, which bring only misfortunes and great unhappiness to most people.

The optimistic view of the possibility of defying Fortune, then, remained with Poggio to the end. But no doubt he had grown more sceptical of the ability of the great majority of people of any social origin to attain that wisdom which would make them invulnerable to Fortune's arrows. It is equally true that his sense of realism had made him increasingly aware of the dark realities of life and of the wretched condition of most people. Poggio seems also to have been aware of the fact that the celebrated Stoic virtue was often a mere boast. Even the wise could be crushed by great misfortunes. While Cosimo sometimes sounded unduly optimistic, Poggio's discourses thus provided the necessary correction. Matteo voiced the traditional Christian view, which Poggio of course could no repudiate but which was of little importance for him.

Conclusion

Although the basic idea of meeting excessive good *fortuna* by moderation and restraint, and adverse *fortuna* by fortitude and patience is similar in Poggio and Seneca as it is in Petrarch, Poggio's *virtus* is clearly less rigorous than Seneca's. Whereas Seneca exhorts the reader to battle against Fortune to test and strengthen one's *virtus*, Poggio mainly advises

avoiding Fortune as much as possible. Resignation is better than open challenge. Clearly *virtus* had lost something of its original meaning of “manly courage”. Moreover, it had acquired a Christian connotation because it was also thought to secure salvation.

Bibliography

With few exceptions, Poggio’s extant works have been reprinted in facsimile in 1962—69, *Opera Omnia* a cura di R. Fubini. The only new edition so far is that of his correspondence, still in progress, by Helene Harth. The following abbreviations have been used:

Harth = *Lettere* 1, 1984, and 2, 1985, by Helene Harth.

HF = *Historia florentina*, printed in 1715, reprinted in *Opera Omnia* 2.

Mis. hum. = *De miseria humane conditionis*, printed in 1538, reprinted in *Opera Omnia* 1.

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

VF, see note 13.

Livia Medullina and CIL X 6561

MIKA KAJAVA

On the basis of the available evidence there is no doubt that “Livia Medullina” of Suet. Claud. 26, 1 and “Medullina, Camilli f(ilia)” recorded by CIL X 6561 (Velitrae) are one and the same person, viz. the second fiancée of the future Emperor Claudius.¹ There are, however, some clear problems relating to her nomenclature and consequently even to her identity. The most conspicuous difficulties emerge from Suetonius’ account (Claud. 26, 1), which records the unhappy fate of the young lady. She died on the day scheduled for the wedding: *Sponsas admodum adulescens duas habuit: Aemiliam Lepidam Augusti proneptem, item Liviam Medullinam, cui et cognomen Camillae erat, e genere antiquo dictatoris Camilli. Priorem, quod parentes eius Augustum offenderant, virginem adhuc repudiavit, posteriorem ipso die, qui erat nuptiis destinatus, ex valetudine amisit.* Why is she here called “Livia”, *Medullina* being a very ancient hereditary cognomen of the *gens Furia*, and did she really use *Camilla* as a kind of supplementary cognomen?

In addition to the Suetonian passage the only source testifying to her betrothal with Claudius is the above-mentioned Velitrean inscription CIL X 6561 (= ILS 199). The text runs as follows: *Medullinae, Camilli f(iliae), / Ti. Claudi Neronis / Germanici sponsae / Acratus l(ibertus) paed-*

¹ For the evidence concerning Medullina and her life, cf. M. Fluß, RE XIII 927—928, No. 40 and L. Petersen, PIR² L 304, with references to earlier research. In the prosopographical studies she appears to have always been a somewhat marginal figure, though E. J. Weinrib’s article in Harv. Stud. Class. Phil. 72 (1967) 274ff. goes into some detail, see in particular pp. 264—265, 272—273. Cf. also R. Syme in his recent work “The Augustan Aristocracy”, Oxford 1986, 255—269 (for Medullina see p. 259).

gogus.² The stone is reported to have been found in the territory of Velitrae towards the end of the 18th century, and it was once preserved in the local epigraphical collection of the Museo Borgiano (according to Clemente Cardinali and Gaetano Marini), but after the dissolution of the museum it soon disappeared and was never later refound by either Mommsen or anyone else.³ The readings given by Cardinali, Fea and Marini are nearly uniform, the only noteworthy divergence being the letter F at the end of the first line. It is only given by Carlo Fea (1753—1836), who also seems to have seen and examined the stone personally, and his text form is accepted by Mommsen in CIL (ed. 1883). Fourteen years earlier Mommsen had wondered⁴ why the inscription called her “Camilli” and not “Camilli f.”, obviously because at that time he was not aware of Fea’s manuscript. As is known, a genitive attached to a woman’s name usually indicates her husband, but sometimes it could also record the cognomen of the father, a habit corresponding to the Greek use of the genitive as a patronymic.⁵ And because our Medullina must in any case have been the daughter of a Camillus, as will be seen later, it is ultimately irrelevant to our argument whether there was the letter F after CAMILLI or not.

The use of a bare cognomen in an epigraphical document from the early Imperial period should by no means be regarded as exceptional. What matters is the way one can be identified. Sometimes the use of a brief nomenclature is dictated by external facts, like the type of inscription (e.g. texts of slaves and freedmen mentioning the names of their masters and ex-masters in an abbreviated form),⁶ lack of space etc., but a woman’s identity was also quite often expressed by recording the name of her father, husband or both. In the present case there was no need to write Medullina’s gentilicium, because the whole context was informative enough, all the more so because *Medullina* and *Camillus* are highly

² The same dedicator is found in a fragmentary inscription from Rome, CIL VI 9741.

³ Cf. Mommsen, ad CIL X 6561, and especially H. Solin, *Suppl. It.*, NS 2 (Velitrae), Roma 1983, 24—25. For the literary transmission of the text, cf. the evidence collected by Mommsen, ad loc.

⁴ *Hermes* 3 (1869) 134, n. 7.

⁵ In connection with the present case this was already divined by Borghesi, *Oeuvr.* III 245.

⁶ Cf. e.g. the examples provided by L. Vidman, *Arctos*, *Suppl.* II (*Studia in honorem I. Kajanto*), Helsinki 1985, 329ff.

distinctive personal names. That she was related to the *gens Furia* must have been clear to the majority of people who could read and see the inscription.

A look at Kajanto's repertorium⁷ reveals that *Medullinus/na* was almost exclusively restricted to the nomenclature of the early Republican Furii (nine persons from 488 B.C. to 381 B.C.). The name is obtained from the place name Medullia (in Latium, not far from Rome), and it certainly records the origin of its bearers, as is usually the case with similar geographical cognomina used by aristocratic Roman families of the Republican period.⁸ Among the generations to come there was no trace of this cognomen until the beginning of the Empire, but this might in part be due to the fact that there is also very little on record about the *gens Furia* itself during the last four centuries of the Republican era. Whatever the case may be, the first instance to be found is in fact our Medullina, the fiancée of the young prince Claudius.⁹

Why she is called "Medullina", although the cognomen seems to have gone out of use centuries before, is not immediately apparent. It is commonly and, I think, correctly assumed that she was the daughter of M. Furius Camillus, consul in 8 A.D.¹⁰ Of him we know that he met with great success in his career. Functioning in his forties as proconsul in Africa he gained particular prestige as one of the conductors of the African war (17—24 A.D.).¹¹ After an intermission of nearly four hundred years he

⁷ The Latin Cognomina, Helsinki 1965, 182.

⁸ Cf. W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, Berlin 1905, 361, and I. Kajanto, *op. cit.*, 48. The whole question will be dealt with more profoundly by H. Solin in his *Beiträge zur Namengebung des römischen Senatorenstandes* (in print).

⁹ There is still another attestation of *Medullina* in Iuv. 6, 322. The name is here recorded as being that of a woman of bad reputation. Her identity, however, remains quite uncertain. The passage was commented on by Giorgio Valla in his Venetian edition of 1486, but he (or his source) clearly confused Medullina with Messalina, wife of Claudius, cf. *Solia in Iuvenalem vetustiora*, ed. P. Wessner, Lipsiae 1931, 94.

¹⁰ For him, see the sources in E. Groag, RE VII 350, No. 45 and PIR² F 576. A useful survey of his activity is given by Weinrib, *art. cit.* in n. 1, 264—265, 272—273 (stemmata I—II, 274f.).

¹¹ The historical context of the War and the Numido-Roman relations involved have been well illuminated by R. Syme, in *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson*, Princeton 1951, 113ff. = RP I 218ff.

was the first *Furius* to appear at the absolute top of Roman society. His membership in the *collegium fratrum Arvalium* under Tiberius together with some of the most prominent Roman citizens and the victory over Tacfarinas in Africa in 17 A.D. with the subsequent *triumphalia* must have renewed the fame of his family and raised its name to much like the same glory it enjoyed in the days of the dictator Camillus.¹² This was also in good accordance with the preferential treatment Augustus accorded to the old Roman *nobilitas*. The Emperor was prompt and willing to favour the ancient houses of aristocracy which had for various reasons fallen into obscurity, and by allowing them a share in power and station he also encouraged them to manifest their birth and pedigree. It was in this context that nomenclature became remarkably significant. Names that were old, expired and unheard of for centuries were now adopted in memory of the great ancestors.¹³ So it might not be impossible that the consul of 8 A.D. also wanted to underscore the early history of the *gens* by giving his daughter the cognomen *Medullina*. This naturally presupposes that *Medullinus* was really out of use for such a long period, perhaps owing to the weakening or dying away of the branch of the *Furii Medullini*. This kind of naming was not unparalleled among the women of nobility. A good example may be produced in the name and person of *Mummia Achaica* (PIR² M 712). She lived some decades earlier than *Medullina*, and she is the only woman of senatorial rank to have used the cognomen *Achaica*. For that name she is naturally indebted to her famous ancestor L.

¹² Cf. Tac. ann. 2, 52: *Fusi Numidae, multosque post annos Furio nomini partum decus militiae. Nam post illum recipiatorem urbis filiumque eius Camillum penes alias familias imperatoria laus fuerat, atque hic, quem memoramus, bellorum experts habebatur*. It is, however, a matter of uncertainty whether a direct genealogical sequence from the dictator down to the consul of 8 A.D. really existed, cf. the testimony of Suetonius, Claud. 26, 1: *e genere antiquo dictatoris Camilli*, where genealogical fraud has been suspected by Weinrib, art. cit., 273, n. 99. The silence over a period of so many years is problematic in so far as a great deal that might have affected the nomenclature could have occurred in the sphere of the family, that is to say, adoptions, marriages, the extinction of branches of the family etc. Be this as it may, the consul of 8 A.D. must have somehow descended from the dictator. The literary sources should not be underestimated, and it was just in this period that ancient aristocratic houses were reinstated.

¹³ Cf. the diligent remarks of R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford 1939, 377 (some examples in note 2) and the Todd Memorial Lecture No. 3, Sydney 1950, 9 = RP I 209.

Mummius, the destroyer of Corinth in 146 B.C. (cf. Suet. Galba 3, 4: *proneptis L. Mummi*). Her father is known to have functioned as legate to M. Crassus in 72 B.C.¹⁴ What is important is that there is no evidence whatsoever to show that *Achaicus* would have been in use during the three generations which separate Mummia Achaica from her great grandfather. Achaica's name appears in Suet. Galba 3, 4 both in the form "Mummia Achaica" and "Achaica", a fact plainly proving that *Achaica* was conceptualized as a personal name. There may have previously existed some kind of fearful respect for *Achaicus* resulting in a total avoidance of it in the nomenclature of the family, and who knows if there was something similar with *Medullinus*, too.¹⁵

We can now turn to the problems presented at the beginning of this paper. First, how is Suetonius' declaration "*cui et cognomen Camillae erat*" to be explained? That she would have been called "Livia Medullina Camilla", as she is often registered in various indices and lexica,¹⁶ seems to me excluded, because the name formula 'one gentilicium — two cognomina' was a phenomenon familiar rather to the second and third centuries A.D., the majority of the cases originating from the Greek-speaking East, where cognomina always had an important role as individual names.¹⁷

¹⁴ Plut. Crass. 10.

¹⁵ The case of Achaica will be studied in detail by H. Solin in his Beiträge (cf. n. 8). In addition we could mention the name of Fabia Numantina (PIR² F 78). Her cognomen recalls the capture of Numantia in 133 B.C., and among her ancestors can be listed the military commander P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Numantinus, second son of L. Aemilius Paullus.

¹⁶ E.g. Suetonius II, ed. and transl. by J. C. Rolfe, London 1914, 534 (index) and Fluß, RE XIII 927—928, No. 40. Surprisingly enough, 'Livia Medullina Camilla' is also accepted by R. Syme, op. cit. n. 1, 259. The style 'Livia Camilla Medullina' is given by H. Ailloud (ed.) in Suétone. Vies de douze Césars III, Paris 1932, 127 (index nominum).

¹⁷ The earliest instances here listed date approximately from the end of the first century to the first half of the second century A.D.: Aemilia Paulina Asiatica (PIR² A 424, most probably of noble birth; her name was found in the Roman fistula aquaria CIL XV 7380), Claudia Ammiana Dryantilla (PIR² C 1069; Lycian), Flavia L.f. Polymnia Marciana (cf. G. Camodeca, Epigrafia e ordine senatorio I, Roma 1982, 541; Cretan), Lar(cia?) Isidora Nea (PIR² L 105, cf. J. Reynolds, Epigr. ord. sen. II, Roma 1982, 676; Cretan), Rutilia M. Clementis pr(aetoris) f. Prisca Sabiniana (W. Eck, RE Suppl. XV 466, No. 45; attested in Aquileia, AE 1934, 241), Vibullia Alcia Agrippina (R. Stiglitz, RE VIII A 2470—71, No. 12; Athenian, mother of the sophist Herodes Atticus).

The problem is, however, that the Suetonian passage would seem to suggest a contemporaneous use of both of the cognomina. In order to solve the difficulty we could suppose that Suetonius was in error,¹⁸ in other words, she was a *Medullina* by birth and never used the cognomen *Camilla*.¹⁹ On the other hand, his text might in theory also be interpreted as referring to a change of the cognomen *Camilla* to that of *Medullina*. In that case she would first have been called “Furia Camilla”, with the natural presumption that the gentilicium derived from her father, and then on some occasion adopted the cognomen *Medullina*. Although there is no obvious explanation for it, this kind of changing one’s cognomen was not totally unknown among the women of nobility.²⁰ In the present context it could hypothetically be regarded as an act of respect towards the glorious past of the family (cf. above) as well as a kind of self-advertisement. And going even further in speculation we might imagine that she took to herself (or was given) both *Livia* and *Medullina* at the same time. But by what detailed procedure, it would not be easy to say. We should immediately note that a complete and sudden change of one’s name, in particular that of the individual one, virtually brings about a new image of identity, which by itself would cause understandable difficulties in one’s relation to society. Accordingly, two alternative possibilities seem to present themselves. First, if one relies on Suetonius’ affirmation about *Camilla*, it would seem plausible that she was originally called “Furia Camilla”, subsequently “Furia Medullina”, and finally “Livia Medullina”. But if we hold that Suetonius’ “*cui et cognomen Camillae*

¹⁸ On this point, cf. my remarks and the literature cited in *Arctos* 18 (1984) 26. An interpolation on the part of some commentator or scribe could also be considered.

¹⁹ For the name *Camillus/a*, see Kajanto, op. cit. 81, 313. Besides the Suetonian instance there is only one attestation of this cognomen in the nomenclature of the senatorial women, i.e. *Arruntia Camilla* (PIR² A 1152), who lived some decades later than *Medullina*, cf. for example P. Setälä, *Private Domini in Roman Brick Stamps of the Empire*, Helsinki 1977, 67–69. For the connection between the *Furii* and the *Arruntii*, cf. also the pages of this article.

²⁰ But it was extremely uncommon. Among the upper classes I can mention only one case, which is in no way to be compared with the present one. The future wife of the Emperor Theodosius II had to forsake her old individual name *Athenais* before the marriage could take place. After having been baptized she was called ‘*Eudocia*’, officially ‘*Aelia Eudocia*’, cf. PLRE II 408–409.

erat” is an erroneous and uncritical statement, then she must have been “Furia Medullina” by birth. For purely practical reasons the last alternative would seem by far the most trustworthy one. As has already been stated above, there would be nothing peculiar about the fact that a woman belonging to the Furii of the Augustan age would adopt an ancient hereditary cognomen of the family (cf. above). In this way we may also escape having to explain the very problematic change of her individual name. And, it should be noted, historians sometimes make mistakes (cf. n. 18).

In the above discussion we have taken for granted that our lady was a Furia and not a Livia by birth. Being the daughter of a Furius, she could practically have been born a Livia only in the case where the gentilicium is inherited from the maternal side. And, sure enough, there is evidence bearing witness to a link between the patrician Furii Camilli and the Livii Drusi under the early Principate, the intermediary between the two families being in fact the otherwise unattested wife of M. Furius Camillus, consul in 8 A.D. In a study of the family connections between the Livii Drusi and the Scribonii Libones E. J. Weinrib²¹ has investigated in depth the nexus of these and related families during the Julio-Claudian period. This is naturally no place to repeat the intricacies involved in detail, and so I will deal with the prosopography only as far as it can elucidate the name of Livia Medullina.

The decisive clues are provided by the children of the consul of 8 A.D., Livia Medullina herself and her two brothers. One of them, homonymous with his father, is attested as a member of the Arval Brethren in the late thirties.²² In that position he took the place of his father. The younger brother was the Claudian rebel L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, consul in 32 A.D.²³ He was adopted by the mighty L. Arruntius, consul in 6 A.D., yet not by testament, because he already bore the new gentilicium during his consular year (32 A.D.), whereas his

²¹ See note 1.

²² Cf. the evidence in PIR² F 577.

²³ PIR² A 1140. The whole name formula is thus preserved in the Dalmatian inscription CIL III 9864a = ILS 5950.

adoptive father did not die until 37 A.D.²⁴ Weinrib has clearly shown²⁵ that *Scribonianus* must have belonged to his nomenclature preceding the adoption, and that it could only derive from the side of his natural mother. Therefore he appears to have been originally called L. (?) *Furius Camillus Scribonianus*,²⁶ and it is convenient to imagine that his mother was called “(Scribonia)”, perhaps “(Scribonia Drusilla)”, but hardly “(Livia)”.²⁷ From around the same period we could list some other cases, too, where an *anus*-ending cognomen is derived from the mother’s gentilicium. The purpose of this kind of naming was simply to express that the person in question was strictly connected with the *gens* of the mother as well.²⁸ It is also quite commonly assumed that this (Scribonia) was the daughter of M. Livius Drusus Libo, consul in 15 B.C., who in turn was the natural son of L. Scribonius Libo, cos. in 34 B.C. The most profitable way to explain the name of Drusus Libo is that he was adopted by M. Livius Drusus Claudianus, the father of Augustus’ wife, Livia.²⁹ Moreover, it should be

²⁴ For the many name variants as used by Scribonianus, cf. PIR² A 1140 and recently H. Solin, *Opusc. IRF* 3 (1986) 74—75. The date of Arruntius’ death is revealed by Tac. ann. 6, 47—48.

²⁵ Art. cit. in n. 1, p. 264.

²⁶ The style ‘Furius Camillus Scribonianus’ is given by Suet. *Claud.* 13 and Dio 60, 15, 2. The praenomen is nowhere attested, but it might have been *Lucius*, because his father and brother were both ‘Marcii’ and *Lucius* was also used by the Republican Furii, cf. Weinrib, art. cit. 264.

²⁷ Weinrib, art. cit. 265, called her, “for simplicity’s sake”, ‘Livia Scriboniana’, but he also stressed that “Scribonia Drusilla and other possibilities also suggest themselves; the exact form does not matter” (p. 265, n. 75). The form ‘Livia Scriboniana’ is retained by R. Syme in his recent book “The Augustan Aristocracy”, Oxford 1986, 259. He also states that “the name Livia indicates her (i.e. Medullina’s) maternal grandfather”.

²⁸ Cf. e.g. *Petronia* (RE XIX 1232—33, No. 97 and RE Suppl. IX 1707) — (Vitellius?) *Petronianus* and Ser. Dolabella *Petronianus*. *Petronia* C.f. (CIL XI 5511; cf. PIR P 242) — Galeo Tettienus *Petronianus*. *Scribonia* (RE II A 892, No. 33; cf. stemma in PIR² L, p. 40) — Crassus *Scribonianus*. *Sulpicia* Telero (I. Cret. IV 292) — A. Larcus Lepidus *Sulpicianus*. *Vespasia* Polla (PIR V 300) — T. Flavius *Vespasianus*. From the latter part of the first century A.D. could be listed (*Marcia*?) (uncertain, cf. H. Temporini, *Die Frauen am Hofe Trajans*, Berlin-New York 1978, 184, n. 3) — (Ulpia) *Marciana*. *Plaria* Q.f. Vera (cf. PIR² A 1120) — A. Egrilius *Plarianus* and M. Acilius A.f. Vot. Priscus Egrilius *Plarianus*. *Vitellia* C.f. *Rufilla* (PIR V 515) — C. Salvius *Vitellianus*.

²⁹ This was one of the main conclusions of Weinrib’s article (cf. note 1). Cf. also the important contribution of J. Scheid, *Scribonia Caesaris et les Julio-Claudiens. Problèmes*

remembered that both brothers of Camillus' wife, consul in 16 A.D. and praetor in 16 A.D., respectively, were called "Scribonii", and her sister was called "Scribonia" (wife of Sex. Pompeius).³⁰ Their father, the consul in 15 B.C., must have been adopted at a considerably earlier date, because Drusus Claudianus died in 42 B.C.³¹ The children, who were born more or less around the year 20 B.C., thus retained their natural father's original gentilicium. This was quite in order, because Libo still belonged technically to the Scribonii, the testamentary adoption in no way affecting his legal position. Taking the gentilicium directly from the mother would not be impossible, yet it is a relatively rare procedure,³² and because Medullina's mother was most obviously a (Scribonia), it would be highly improbable that they both would have used the same gentilicium. Nor does it seem plausible at all that Medullina would have inherited by birth the name of her mother's adoptive father (cos. 15 B.C.). Her brothers were both born as Furi, and, as was stated above, she was probably also a Furia, the original nomenclature emerging as "Furia Medullina". So I am inclined to think that there must be some other explanation for *Livia*.

de vocabulaire de parenté, MEFRA 87 (1975) 349ff. Earlier the identification of Drusus Libo used to be a cause of desperation, cf. R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford 1939, 425 and table V, where neither Libo nor Camillus (cos. 8 A.D.) is placed in the stemma. Cf. Id., *JRS* 56 (1966) 58: "The mysterious M. Livius Drusus Libo (cos. 15 B.C.)". A survey of the earlier debate is provided by Weinrib, art. cit., passim.

³⁰ In this particular point earlier scholars, including Weinrib, art. cit. 262ff., have maintained that the Scribonii Libones, who were in office in 16 A.D., were not sons of the consul of 15 B.C., but of his otherwise unattested brother. But this is not the only possibility. Without going into the details I refer to J. Scheid's interesting remarks, art. cit. in n. 29, 366ff. (stemmata, pp. 368, 370). The problems involved have also been recently studied by J. Hallett, *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society*, Princeton 1984, 159—161 (stemma, appendix V). She has suggested that the gentilicia of the brothers (cos. 16 A.D. and pr. 16 A.D.) would be inherited from the maternal side, either directly from L. Scribonius Libo (cos. 34 B.C.) or from their grandmother's (Scribonia) brother. But this is pure speculation. One cannot fail to suppose that in this way she tries to find support for her general idea that in the name giving in the Augustan period the role of maternal grandparents would have been particularly conspicuous.

³¹ Cf. the sources in *PIR*² L 294.

³² An extensive study on the inheritance of names from the maternal side is being prepared by the author.

A rather tempting hypothesis, not previously exploited, will be at hand if we have a closer look at the background and the historical framework of the betrothal. I am thinking of the possibility that Medullina would have taken the gentilicium *Livia* only at the moment of becoming the fiancée of Claudius, and that Claudius' grandmother Livia, wife of Augustus, would have served as a name model.³³ Among the imperial circles it was not unknown that the future wife was obliged to give up her previous gentilicium, especially if she was of clearly lowlier origins than the emperor. Many illuminating instances could be produced, but they preponderantly come from the third and fourth centuries A.D.³⁴ According to the dynastic requirements the nomenclature sometimes had to be changed in order to guarantee that the marriage could be socially acceptable. In the present case there is, however, no reason to allude to the humble origins. On the contrary, Medullina came from an ancient and prominent aristocratic house. Although this was rare in the case of females, we could argue that the whole procedure was related to a political adoption, somehow resembling a *datio in adoptionem*, like that of her brother Scribonianus. As was stated above, a testamentary adoption of the brother was excluded. One could well imagine that M. Furius Camillus wanted to strengthen his own political status by allowing one of his sons to pass into the family of the Arruntii. L. Arruntius, the *capax imperii*, was obviously married to an Aemilia Lepida,³⁵ and thereby advantageous links were created with the Roman ruling class, i.e. Aemilii, Cornelii Sullae and Pompeii. Through his own marriage Camillus engineered a useful connection with the Scribonii Libones, and by having his daughter betrothed to a member of the imperial house he could even number the Julio-Claudians among his friends. A link with the Livii Drusi already existed, because his father-in-law was adopted by the great Livia's father (cf. above). This might also have facilitated Medullina's entrance into the imperial family and, what is more important, perhaps also in part contributed to the choice of the new gentilicium *Livia*. Camillus was

³³ Her influence on the nomenclature of her Julio-Claudian descendants should also be remembered, cf. the stemma Iuliorum Claudiorum in PIR², IV.

³⁴ Cf. especially M. Kajava, *Arctos* 19 (1985) 41—42.

³⁵ Cf. Weinrib, art. cit. in n. 1, 265ff.

clearly an opportunist, and the betrothal of his daughter with the subsequent change of her name may have only represented a bold political act for him.

The date of the betrothal also appears as particularly interesting. Suetonius, *Claud.* 26, 1, tells that Claudius had to forfeit his betrothed Aemilia Lepida, because “*parentes eius Augustum offenderant*”. The scandal is usually dated to the year 8 A.D.,³⁶ when Claudius was seventeen years old (his birthday was on August 1), still “*admodum adulescens*” according to Suetonius. It was in the same year that Camillus was elected as consul, and it may be that he now exploited the perplexed and scandalous situation so as to enhance his own political prestige. The consular powers may have made his daughter a good candidate to become the wife of Claudius, and what perhaps counted even more, himself to be a fitting father-in-law for the prince. It was under such circumstances that Medullina, approximately coeval with Claudius, may have received the name *Livia*. Her father had obviously no reason to refuse, on the contrary he must have willingly accepted Augustus’ wife as a name model. In the year 8 A.D. that domineering and potent lady was 66 years old and certainly an indispensable person to have among one’s friends.

Earlier it was usual to explain Medullina’s gentilicium *Livia* by referring to an unspecified adoption, the motives of which would be found in the financial insecurity of her father. The Tacitean characterization of her father’s life, *modestia vitae* (ann. 2, 52) has been interpreted as a possible allusion to his bad financial state, but it has also been held that this would contradict the rather different picture provided by the inscription CIL VI 9469 (= ILS 7441), where a slave appears as *M. Furi Camilli ab horr(eis)*.³⁷ Yet all evidence of this kind is too vague and can by no means be regarded as proving anything for or against a possible adoption of Medullina. Weinrib supposed that Medullina would have inherited *Livia* directly from her mother or at least from the mother’s

³⁶ Cf. Tac. ann. 4,72,7 and R. Syme, Bayerische Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Klasse. Sitz.Ber., Jahrgang 1974, Heft 7, p. 33 = RP III 935, n. 99.

³⁷ For these opinions, cf. E. Groag, RE VII 350, No. 45 and Fluß, RE XIII 927, No. 40. Mommsen, Hermes 3 (1869) 134, n. 7, said that it is not clear „warum sie bei Sueton *Livia* heißt“.

family. I cannot agree with this point (cf. above). I maintain that she was originally a Furia and only later, at the moment of her betrothal, took the gentilicium *Livia* after the old Livia, wife of Augustus. At the same time she may have been given in adoption to the new family, and if so, it must have been a purely political manoeuvre.

There remains, of course, the possibility that Suetonius' *Livia* is a mistake. But as its existence is sufficiently plausible, there is no need to appeal to a possible blunder on the part of the historian.³⁸ One should, however, remember that there is also another case, in a sense analogous with the present one. One of the mistresses of the Emperor Caligula is usually known as "Cornelia Orestina/Orestilla", but Suetonius, Cal. 25, 1, gives the form "Livia Orestilla". In a previous article I have argued that there might be an error about the name *Livia*,³⁹ and I still think that this is highly probable, especially because all the other sources uniformly testify to the gentilicium *Cornelia*. Nor is it plausible that she would have changed *Cornelia* to *Livia*. The cases of Orestina/Orestilla and Medullina are not comparable with each other. Medullina was the *sponsa* of Claudius, whereas Orestina/Orestilla was in fact the *sponsa* of C. Calpurnius Piso, the future conspirator. She was abducted by Caligula on her wedding day, but a few days later he cast her off. It would be difficult to understand her changing her name under such circumstances.

The inscription CIL X 6561 must have been set up in the year 8 A.D. or shortly after that.⁴⁰ It is, however, not possible to determine the exact purpose of the monument, because the place where it was originally erected is totally unknown. The circumstances and the precise place of discovery are not known either, and the description of the monument and the architectural context are very insufficiently transmitted. According to the testimony of Carlo Fea (cf. above) it was a "basis quadrata lata palm.

³⁸ The Suetonian name form is also found in the false inscription CIL X 338*, now preserved in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale of Naples, but it only shows that the text of Suetonius was read and studied in past centuries.

³⁹ Arctos 18 (1984) 26.

⁴⁰ C. Cardinali, *Iscrizioni antiche Veliterne*, Roma 1823, 81, No. 30, dated the text between the years 3—13 A.D. Cf. Mommsen, ad CIL X 6561: "obiisse videtur Medullina sub finem imperii Augusti". All the relevant bibliographical references are provided by H. Solin, op. cit. in n. 3, p. 33.

1¹/₂". As is known, the term "basis" as used by antiquaries and scholars of the past centuries is far from exact. It could imply a base supporting a statue of the deceased or it could refer to a funerary altar as well. A substruction "lata palm. 1¹/₂" would, however, hardly be enough for a statue, unless it were of a considerably small size. That it would have been a honorific monument aimed at the general public seems impossible, as it was customary that such monuments were rather prompted by some community as well as by the Emperor or the Senate.⁴¹ Medullina's inscription seems to have been of a more intimate character. It was a private dedication on the part of her previous *paedagogus*, possibly placed inside a tomb or an enclosed funerary garden. In any case the altar ("basis" is thus interpreted here) must have belonged to a funerary sphere.

⁴¹ For the different types of senatorial monuments, honorific or funeral, and the situations in which they were erected, see the important contribution of W. Eck, 'Senatorial Self-Representation: Developments in the Augustan Period', in *Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects* (ed. by F. Millar - E. Segal), Oxford 1984, 129ff.

Graeco-Indica — A Survey of Recent Work

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

Graeco-Indian studies, as I would like to call my field of study, can be viewed from many angles. One fundamental distinction is whether the point of view is classical or Indian, although these two can also be combined.¹ An Indian historian is naturally interested in classical literature only when it gives some real information on India. But in classical philology the picture of India, be it real or imaginary,² is interesting. Though sometimes criticised, the Indian standpoint³ has its justification, although it risks wrong conclusions by ignoring the classical connection. In addition to the question of what the ancients knew about India and what kind of contacts they had with India, it is very important to study classical references and literature on India as literature, especially as an important part of the classical ethnography.⁴ Another question, often discussed but still all but clear, is the relation between classical literary τόποι and really new information from India.

Besides these philological aspects Graeco-Indian studies nowadays have other dimensions. The campaign of Alexander, the relations of Hellenistic monarchies and the Roman Empire with India, as well as the commerce between India and the west bring us to the field of history, and the Graeco-Buddhist art of northwestern India (now Pakistan) to that of art history. The Indo-Greek kingdoms and their successors in Bactria and

¹ This was done e.g. by O. Stein (see p. 75).

² This interesting aspect — the legend of India in classical literature — is discussed in my forthcoming paper *The Country of Fabulous Beasts and Naked Philosophers — India in Classical and Medieval Literature*.

³ It has been severely criticized under the name orientalist standpoint by Zambrini (see note 69).

⁴ This has been done e.g. by Dihle (p. 76) and Zambrini (p. 84).

northwestern India have already been eagerly studied for nearly 250 years.⁵ Here the traditional point of view has been numismatical (with some meagre textual evidence) and numismatics is still one of the most important tools in reconstructing their history. But from the 1920s onwards more and more archaeological⁶ and even epigraphical⁷ material has come to light. The importance of numismatics for the study of the commerce between India and the west has often been underestimated,⁸ and here too we now have some archaeological evidence to deal with.

Much has been written on the supposed influences between classical and Indian religions and philosophy. This can perhaps be labelled history of ideas (and to an extent, comparative religion), but the actual results are rather meagre. With the exception of few striking cases⁹ the supposed influences are mostly based on superficial or general similarities without any evidence of actual contact. The history of science is involved in the influence which took place in astronomy¹⁰ and perhaps in medicine.¹¹ Even literary influences have sometimes been proposed, but nothing has been proven.

In this article I shall mostly concentrate on the philological

⁵ Beginning with T.-S. Bayer, *Historia regni Graecorum Bactriani*, St. Petersburg 1738 (not seen by me).

⁶ The excavations in many cites of Soviet Central Asia, Afghanistan (esp. Ai Khanum and Surkh Kotal) and Pakistan (esp. Taxila) have yielded a rich harvest.

⁷ In addition to the many Indian inscriptions and those written in the Bactrian language (it was one of the official languages fo the Kuṣāṇa empire found only in 1957) there are several Greek inscriptions found during the last 30 years in Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan.

⁸ See P. L. Gupta, *Roman trade in India* (Satkari Mookerji Felicitation Volume), Varanasi 1969, 169—180.

⁹ The Buddhist influence in Manichaeism is perhaps the best case. There is some evidence (and much discussion) for Indian influence in the thinking of Pyrrho and in Neo-Platonism, but even here nothing definite has been shown.

¹⁰ Very ably discussed in many studies by David Pingree.

¹¹ Much is uncertain, but at least the companions of Alexander were impressed by the skill of Indian physicians with snake bites and some Indian medicines were used in Greece. The Indian elephants of Hellenistic rulers had Indian mahouts who taught their science of tending and curing elephants (Filliozat, *Les gajaçāstra et les auteurs grecs*, JA 222 [1933] 163—175).

standpoint. Indo-Greek history I have left out altogether,¹² as well as studies published in Russian¹³ (in fact most of these deal particularly with the Indo-Greek aspect). With these exceptions my task is to give a survey of important contributions to the Graeco-Indian studies published during the last ten years.

Few scholars have made Graeco-Indian contacts their special field of study. Among the most important from the first half of the present century was undoubtedly Otto Stein (1893—1942). A selection of his short studies and reviews has recently been published in the excellent *Glasesapp-Stiftung* series including 25 selections of „Kleine Schriften“ of German indologists.¹⁴ Stein was an indologist interested in the old Indian state and social history, epigraphy and especially the contacts between India and the classical world. Often these interests were connected. In his thesis¹⁵ he made a comparison between Megasthenes and the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya showing that the differences between the two texts are much more important than the similarities. From this he concluded a much later date for the Arthaśāstra, which has recently been confirmed by other means.¹⁶ Another major contribution of his was the long and still extremely important RE-article on Megasthenes.¹⁷

The present volume contains a good and representative selection of Stein's studies. Only 151 pages out of 656 are dedicated to Graeco-Indian questions (other articles contain some incidental references, see the

¹² For this subject see the survey by Frank L. Holt, *The Ancient World* 9 (1984) 2—12.

¹³ At least I would like to mention the volume *Drevnjaja Indija. Istoriko-kul'turnye svjazi*, edited by G. Bongard-Levin and published in Moscow 1982. It contains several articles dealing with Graeco-Indian questions (S. Y. Berzina on ancient India and Africa 17—41, Bongard-Levin and S. G. Karpyuk on Buddhism in classical and early Christian literature 42—52, M. A. Dandamayev on Indians in Iran and Mesopotamia in the Achaemenid period 113—125, V. G. Lysenko on Indian and Greek atomism 187—201 and many others).

¹⁴ Otto Stein, *Kleine Schriften*, hrsg. von F. Wilhelm (*Glasesapp-Stiftung* 25), Stuttgart 1985, XXV, 663 p.

¹⁵ *Megasthenes und Kauṭilya*, Wien 1921.

¹⁶ See note 75.

¹⁷ RE XV 1932, 230—326. He wrote many other RE-articles, among them the long studies on Nysa, Taxiles and Tiladai.

Sachregister), but in these pages there are several important contributions. Thus e.g. the studies on „Wundervölker Indiens bei Skylax“ (90—98), „Indien in den griechischen Papyri“ (163—186) and “Yavanas in Early Indian Inscriptions” (351—365) are still indispensable, although it would be very useful to collect the new material contained in the papyri and inscriptions published since the days of Stein.¹⁸

After a relatively quiet period Graeco-Indian studies have been revived in many excellent studies by the two classical scholars, A. Dihle and F. F. Schwarz. Most of them belong to the 60s and 70s, both scholars having lately turned their attention more to other aspects of classical philology. But now we have a fine volume of the collected articles of Albrecht Dihle.¹⁹ With the exception of *Umstrittene Daten*²⁰ all his contributions to classical ethnography and to Graeco-Indian contacts of the Roman period are included beginning with the early studies in Greek ethnography — „Zur hellenistischen Ethnographie“ (21—46) and the inspiring „Der fruchtbare Osten“ (47—60) — and concluding with a new study, „Serer und Chinesen“ (201—215). It is always a delight to read professor Dihle. With his sound judgement he puts limits on any wild speculation and deserves the full attention of everybody interested in Graeco-Indian questions. “The Conception of India in Hellenistic and Roman Literature” (89—97) is of fundamental importance for our understanding of the classical idea of India and the many contributions to Indian subjects in early Christian literature are always illuminating.

Dihle’s contribution to ANRW is now republished (118—152) with some additions by the author,²¹ but the original volume²² must still be used because of the massive study of Manfred Raschke it contains. Actually this “New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East” with its nearly 800 pages, 1791 footnotes and 158 pages of bibliography is almost

¹⁸ The articles of Stein were published in 1929 and 1935 respectively.

¹⁹ A. Dihle, *Antike und Orient. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, hrsg. von V. Pöschl und H. Peersmann, Heidelberg 1984, 235 p.

²⁰ *Umstrittene Daten. Untersuchungen zum Auftreten der Griechen an Roten Meer*, Köln-Opladen 1965.

²¹ 216—223 contain additions by the author to all articles published here.

²² ANRW II 9, 2 (1978).

awe-inspiring and yet the author has the nerve to call it a paper!²³ The text itself is less than 100 pages and gives — with very full documentation — a realistic appraisal of eastern commerce. Aptly he shows the difficulties of archaeological evidence, thus limiting wild speculation.

During more than twenty years Franz Ferdinand Schwarz has written on many aspects of Graeco-Indian contacts, mostly from the point of view of classical literature but also with attention to the Indian evidence. From the last ten years we have four papers by him. „Herrschaftslöwe und Kriegselefant“²⁴ contains a careful analysis of the Candragupta episode in Justinus' *Epitoma Pompei Trogi*. He tries to reconstruct a western version of the Candragupta legend known from India.²⁵ „Invasion und Résistance. Darstellungsmöglichkeiten in der Alexanderliteratur“²⁶ deals with the divergent accounts of Indian ascetics in Alexander histories. In “The itinerary of Iambulus — utopianism and history”²⁷ he examines the geographical and historical background of Iambulus' utopian romance of travels²⁸ which lies in the Hellenistic knowledge of India and Sri Lanka, the subject of many of his earlier articles. Much space is given also to the ancient Indian (Mauryan) knowledge of Sri Lanka. This he tries to compare with the Diodorus' epitome of Iambulus, although this hypothesis does not seem wholly successful. „Diplomatie und Selbstverbrennung. Strabon über die Indien-gesandtschaft an Augustus“²⁹ examines the Indian (northwest Indian according to Schwarz) embassy to Augustus and the spectacular suicide of Zarmanochegas in Athens. To these we may add the reviews of Eggermont's³⁰, Feldbusch's³¹ and Sedlar's^{31a} studies.

²³ Introductory note in p. 604.

²⁴ *Hommages à M. J. Vermaseren III*, Leiden 1978, 1116—1142.

²⁵ Cf. his earlier article in *Das Altertum* 18 (1972) 85—102.

²⁶ *GB* 9 (1980) 79—110.

²⁷ *Indology and Law (Studies in Honour of Prof. J. Duncan, M. Derrett)*, Wiesbaden 1982, 18—55.

²⁸ Cf. his earlier article in *E & W* 25 (1975) 181—200.

²⁹ *WZRoStock* 34 (1985) 51—55.

³⁰ P. H. L. Eggermont, *Alexander's Campaigns in Sind and Baluchistan*, Leuven 1975, reviewed in *GB* 9 (1980) 212—216.

³¹ *Der Brief Alexanders an Aristoteles über die Wunder Indiens. Synoptische Edition*, hrsg. von M. Feldbusch, Meisenheim am Glan 1976, reviewed in *Gnomon* 54 (1982) 250—254.

^{31a} See note 51, reviewed in *Gnomon* 58 (1986) 510—515.

In spite of those other dimensions mentioned earlier, the texts are always the main source of study. Studying and even translating the texts is an important task because so many scholars with no competence in classical languages are interested in Graeco-Indian questions. Often they can do no better than use McCrindle's old translations, and many problems and misunderstandings can be traced back to McCrindle. Actually John Watson McCrindle (1825—1913) was no bad scholar in spite of his defects. He had a good classical education, but he wrote most of his books³² in India where he apparently had no good library to consult. He did not know what was published in Europe and had to manage with few and often very old secondary sources. Especially in his earlier books the notes were already badly antiquated when they were first published more than a hundred years ago. Yet his books were a remarkable achievement and formed a corpus which gave a good foundation for further studies. With care they can be consulted even now.

But unfortunately the corpus was converted into a canon, a final verdict of Greek accounts of India. This has been true especially in India where classical scholarship is rare and classical libraries nonexistent. His books are reprinted with new notes³³ and there are several rearranged selections from them.³⁴ Too few have understood that his translations are not always reliable, his notes antiquated and his collection of classical accounts incomplete. And even the correct translations are mostly based on now antiquated editions. After Jacoby,³⁵ Frisk,³⁶ Renou,³⁷ Breloer-Bömer³⁸ and many others a new translation corpus is a very urgent

³² Ancient Indian as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, Calcutta 1877, . . . by Ktesias, 1882, . . . by Ptolemy, 1885, . . . in *Classical Literature*, Westminster 1901, *The commerce and navigation of the Erythraean Sea*, Calcutta 1879, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*,² 1896, and *The Christian Topography of Cosmas*, London 1897.

³³ Megasthenes and Arrian, by R. C. Majumdar, Calcutta 1960, the same by R. Jain, Delhi 1972, Ptolemy by R. Jain, Amsterdam and Faridabad n. d.

³⁴ R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, Calcutta 1960; B. N. Puri, *India in Classical Greek Writings*, Ahmedabad 1963; first part of K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, Madras 1939 and others. All these authors are well-known scholars of Indian history, but do not know Greek at all.

³⁵ FGrH II (Historians of Alexander) and IIC (Ctesias and India literature).

³⁶ Periplus-edition, Göteborg 1927.

³⁷ Edition of Ptolemy 7, 1—4 (India), Paris 1925.

³⁸ *Fontes historiae religionum Indicarum*, Bonnae 1939.

desideratum for Indian historians and other scholars unable to use the original sources.

Although the new corpus is still missing, some important translations have actually been published. Leaving aside the translations of classical authors giving some incidental notes on India we can notice that all Jacoby's fragments from the historians of Alexander have been translated in 1953³⁹ although apparently never used in Graeco-Indian studies. But during the last decade three new translations have been published and these we shall deal with more comprehensively.

The posthumous *Periplus* translation of G. W. B. Huntingford⁴⁰ is the fourth English version of this important text⁴¹ but the first one made from the text of Frisk. The author was a specialist on East Africa and his long notes and excursions shed much new light on the parts dealing with Africa and Arabia, but from the Indian point of view they are therefore a little disappointing. Some important secondary sources are missing, but the reviewer is disarmed by the fact that the author was living at Málaga far from all good libraries. Nevertheless it is an important addition to the study of eastern commerce during the Roman period.

The famous French indologist Jean Filliozat (1906—1982) had a lifelong interest in Graeco-Indian studies⁴² and wrote before his death an interesting summary of the field.⁴³ Collaboration with J. André⁴⁴ resulted in a new edition, translation and very elaborate commentary (p. 59—139) of the second part of Pliny's book VI.⁴⁵ The commentary is full of interesting information especially of the geography of India and the neighbouring countries, and an appendix (143—165) gives a more general picture of India as described by Pliny.

³⁹ C. A. Robinson, *the History of Alexander the Great I*, Providence R. I. 1953.

⁴⁰ *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea by an unknown author, with some Extracts from Agatharkhidēs 'On the Erythraean Sea'*, transl. and ed. by G. W. B. Huntingford (*Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series 151*), London 1980, XIV, 225 p.

⁴¹ The earlier were Vincent 1807, McCrindle 1879 and Schoff 1912.

⁴² See e.g. *Les relations extérieures de l'Inde*, Pondichéry 1956, and our footnotes 11 and 56.

⁴³ *La valeur des connaissances gréco-romaines sur l'Inde*, JS 1981, 97—135.

⁴⁴ They were working on another book, *L'Inde vue de Rome. Textes latins de l'antiquité relatifs à l'Inde* (see JA 271 [1983] 7). I hope it will still appear.

⁴⁵ *Pline l'Ancien, Histoire naturelle, Livre VI, 2^e partie. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par J. André et J. Filliozat (Coll. Budé)*, Paris 1980, 182 p., 4 maps.

Our third book is also the result of fruitful collaboration. Gerhard Wirth and Oskar von Hinüber have published a Tusculum-edition of Arrian's *Anabasis* (Wirth) and *Indica* (von Hinüber).⁴⁶ Presently we are more interested in the latter part. The edition is not critical, the Tusculum fashion allows only a small list of variants. But the translation is the first ever made by a competent indologist who is also able to deal with Greek,⁴⁷ and its value is enhanced by a good commentary (p. 1075—1140). Filiozat's Pliny and von Hinüber's Arrian are thus the only up to date and competent commentaries on classical texts dealing with India. After them it would not be too difficult a task to make a new translation and commentary of the fragments of Megasthenes on the basis of Jacoby's text.

There are rather few general surveys in the literature on Graeco-Indian questions. In a way, nobody has superseded the exhaustive study Lassen included in the four volumes of his *Indische Altertumskunde* in the middle of the 19th century. Lassen is, of course, badly antiquated, but nevertheless still worth studying and too rarely studied. McCrindle did not write a general survey and Rawlinson did not even meet the standards of his own time.⁴⁸ A compact and good introduction is the long RE-article „India“ by Wecker,⁴⁹ but it is already 70 years old.⁵⁰ Now we have a new book by Jean W. Sedlar⁵¹ who tries to survey Graeco-Indian contacts from the very beginnings until the rise of Islam. The author is neither a classical philologist nor indologist but a historian. Her attempt is not so much to make an original study as to critically evaluate all the existing

⁴⁶ Arrian, *Der Alexanderzug, Indische Geschichte, griechisch und deutsch hrsg. und übersetzt von G. Wirth und O. von Hinüber* (Samml. Tusculum), München-Zürich 1985, 1152 p.

⁴⁷ Chantraine's edition and translation in Budé-series (1927) is very good, but his notes are shorter and of course already somewhat antiquated.

⁴⁸ H. G. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, Cambridge 1916, 2nd edition with few corrections 1926.

⁴⁹ RE IX (1916) 1264—1325.

⁵⁰ It can be supplemented with many other RE-articles dealing with India written by Tomaschek, Kießling, Wecker himself, Herrman, O. Stein, Treidler and many others. In *Kleine Pauly* Indian questions are examined e.g. by Treidler, Derrett and Schwarz.

⁵¹ J. W. Sedlar, *India and the Greek World*, Totowa N. J. 1980, XXI, 381 p.

studies. There are necessarily shortcomings in a book like this. Too old authorities have sometimes led her to wrong ideas,⁵² sometimes she has not known all the literature involved⁵³ and made bold statements without understanding the complicatedness of the question.⁵⁴ Yet her standpoint is fresh and her judgement very sound. Much space is given to supposed influences in the realm of religion and philosophy. She examines the arguments critically, but without prejudice and shows clearly how weak they are, even in such popular cases as Neo-Platonism and Gnosticism, not to speak of Greek philosophy of the classical period. It is also our opinion that there should be some direct evidence for influence before vague similarities can be taken into account. The sound and cautious judgements of Sedlar deserve to be read with attention by everyone inclined to see influences (Indian in the west and vice versa) everywhere.

Much has been written on the supposed Indian influence in early Greek philosophy. There are many vague similarities, few striking parallels and no evidence of any direct borrowing. Of course it is no longer acceptable to consider Greek philosophy as something self-sufficient and unique. Greek culture and thinking received much from others, from Egypt, from Iran, perhaps even from India.⁵⁵ There was a possibility of direct contact, in the Achaemenian empire and its metropolises where Greek and Indian subjects certainly had an opportunity to meet each other. Nevertheless we are on dangerous ground if we try to build much on this kind of evidence. And even here, there are two approaches. One is to found the hypothesis on really striking points and to try to find the most plausible explanation.⁵⁶ But it is also possible to jump from one vague

⁵² E.g. the supposed vague knowledge of India in Homer (there is none) from McCrindle (1877) in p. 9 and Bactrian inscriptions undeciphered from Schlumberger (1961) in p. 65.

⁵³ Schiern (1875) is the only authority on the gold-digging ants (p. 12) although there are many other, more recent and perhaps better theories.

⁵⁴ The critics of the hypothesis that the Biblical Ophir was located somewhere in India have certainly more to say than “the rather gratuitous assumption that Mediterranean sailors could not possibly have reached so distant a country as India in King Solomon’s time” (266).

⁵⁵ See M. L. West, *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient*, Oxford 1971 (sometimes too bold hypotheses).

⁵⁶ Examples of such attempts are West’s discussion of metempsychosis (o. c. 60—62), Filliozat’s theory of medical influence (*La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne: ses*

possibility to another, to build hypothesis on hypothesis, until one has cooked up a mess which does not really merit a serious discussion. This is unfortunately the case with the recent book by Timothy J. Lomperis.⁵⁷ The ultimate result of his jumping is that Plato has probably studied the Upaniṣads himself or at least got most of his ideas from somebody familiar with them. With his vague and often seeming parallels the author gives a good example of the wrong use of the cumulative method. Of history he seems to have a very vague idea, of criticism perhaps no idea at all.⁵⁸ His conclusive argument is metempsychosis (what else), and as it is so often mentioned elsewhere, a comment is perhaps not superfluous. There really is some similarity between Greek and Indian doctrines of metempsychosis.⁵⁹ According to Lomperis we are underestimating the creative ability of the human mind if we suppose that similar ideas have developed more than once. But when religious ideas are equipped with moral values, is it so strange that similar ideas get similar values attached to them? The ethical doctrine of metempsychosis as it is known from Greece and India is, in my opinion, the most likely moral interpretation of the primitive metempsychosis. Therefore the Thracian origin for the Greek metempsychosis is not out of the question, and anyway it is more safe to turn to West than to Lomperis in search of influences.⁶⁰ In Lomperis' book there is a chain of hypotheses supporting each other instead of a chain of evidence supporting a hypothesis.

origins et se parallèles grecs, Paris 1949) and Pingree's studies in astronomy (summarized in his *Jyotiḥśāstra, A History of Indian Literature VI 4*, Wiesbaden 1981, 8ff.).

⁵⁷ T. J. Lomperis, *Hindu Influence on Greek Philosophy. The Odyssey of the Soul from the Upanishads to Plato*, Calcutta 1984, 87 p.

⁵⁸ Thus he thinks it very likely that there were Indian merchants coming to Athens in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. For the supposed Indian elements in Orphism he quotes Eduard Schuré, who was himself no critical scholar, quoting Francis Wilford who wrote in the beginning of the 19th century and was already then considered too credulous a scholar with a too lively fantasy. As to the parallels of Lomperis, I do not find it too striking that the idea of, say, Radhakrishnan or Gandhi of the Upaniṣads had some common points with Urwick's idea of Plato.

⁵⁹ See West l.c. and Sedlar 22ff.

⁶⁰ It must be kept in mind that the chronology of the Upaniṣads is still more complicated than indicated in standard textbooks.

Few seem to be aware of the fact that Graeco-Indian studies have lately been flourishing in faraway Argentina. Fernando Tola and Carmen Dragonetti, both professors in Buenos Aires and well-known scholars of Buddhist philosophy have written⁶¹ a long article on the idea of India in the Augustan age.⁶² The point of view is Indian and sometimes one misses a little more classical perspective, yet they know very well all the source material and present it aptly. Two thirds deals with the earlier period giving the necessary background — all this was more or less known in the Augustan period. But the importance of the article lies in its concentrating on one clearly defined period, which should perhaps be done more often. They have collected all the passages referring to India from the Augustan poets — as far as I know for the first time.

A pupil of them, Rosalía C. Vofchuk has written a series of articles examining what classical authors have written of Indian religion. This is an often discussed subject, but only too rarely is the point of view of individual authors and their ideas taken into account (with the exception of Megasthenes). Until now she has dealt with Herodotus,⁶³ Ctesias,⁶⁴ Nearchus,⁶⁵ Onesicritus⁶⁶ and Megasthenes⁶⁷ and will probably keep on with her studies. The tone is often rather general — this is probably to be excused because she is writing in Spanish — and in her earlier articles she knows the secondary literature rather imperfectly, but in this as well as in other respects her later work presents a riper accomplishment. Emphasis is again on the Indian side and the meaning of the classical literary traditions is rarely noticed.

Much Graeco-Indian study is concentrated on Megasthenes⁶⁸ and

⁶¹ They have earlier published an article on Las inscripciones griegas del emperador indio Ashoka, AHAM 1977—1979, 251—264.

⁶² F. Tola y C. Dragonetti, Augusto y la India, AHAM 1982, 148—241.

⁶³ R. C. Vofchuk, Las costumbres y creencias filosofico-religiosas de la India según Herodoto de Halicarnaso, Argos 6 (1982) 85—97.

⁶⁴ Costumbres y cr. de los indios s. Ctesias de Cnido, Papeles de la India 10—11 (1981—82) 59—76.

⁶⁵ Las cost. y cr. fil.-rel. de la India s. las informaciones de Nearco de Creta, Bol. Asoc. Esp. Orient. 1982, 277—293.

⁶⁷ Megasthènes y la religion de la India (Oriente-Occidente 1), Buenos Aires 1985, 32 p.

⁶⁸ Among shorter studies on Megasthenes we may note Skurzak, Eos 67 (1979) 69—74,

now we shall turn to him. A long article by Andrea Zambrini⁶⁹ is extremely important from the methodological standpoint. His intention is to connect Megasthenes consistently with the classical tradition, especially with classical ethnography. Actually his two chapters are a kind of introduction to a larger study and we are eagerly awaiting its appearance.^{69a} The first chapter deals with earlier research on Megasthenes (71—102). Schwanbeck, Timmer, Breloer, Stein, T. S. Brown, O. Murray and their methods are critically analysed and their respective weaknesses clearly pointed out. The second chapter analyses the earlier ethnographical literature on India (and Egypt) in its relation to Megasthenes. He is sometimes hard in his criticism (perhaps too hard with Timmer and Brown), but the only real fault of his study lies elsewhere. As so many before him, he is too sure that the extant fragments give a reliable picture of the work. This is not true even in Ctesias⁷⁰ and Megasthenes, not to speak of the meagre remains of Scylax and Hecataeus of Miletus. Yet the author often follows the far-reaching hypotheses of Reese,⁷¹ which are sometimes open to criticism. Nevertheless the way he defines Megasthenes' place in ethnographical literature and his relation especially to Hecataeus of Abdera deserves our praise.

Megasthenes is often discussed among Indian historians. The standpoint is here purely Indian, they do not know Greek and very often have no idea of the problems and methods of classical philology. And when even the methods of Indian historical research are only vaguely

Puskás and Kádár, *ACIDebrec.* 16 (1980) 9—17, Sachse, *Eos* 70 (1982) 237—241, and Falk, *Acta Orient.* 43 (1982) 61—68.

⁶⁹ A. Zambrini, *Gli Indiká di Megasthene*, *ASNP* 3, 12, 1 (1982) 71—149. He has published another article on Megasthenes: *Idealizzazione di una terra: etnografia e propaganda negli Indiká di Megasthene*, *Forme di contatto . . .*, *Atti del convegno di Cortona* (Coll. Ec. Fr. Rome 67), Pisa-Roma 1983, 1105—1118.

^{69a} It is published in *ANSP* 3, 15, 3 (1985) 781—853 and deals with many aspects of the interpretation of Megasthenes. As I obtained a copy only after having finished the present survey I shall deal with it on another occasion.

⁷⁰ See my forthcoming paper *The Indica of Ctesias and its Critics*, *Demetrios Galanos Commemoration Vol.* Bareilly 1987.

⁷¹ See W. Reese, *Die griechischen Nachrichten über Indien bis zum Feldzuge Alexanders des Großen*, Leipzig 1914.

understood, the result may be something hardly worth mentioning. As an example we can take the book by Narain Singh Kalota,⁷² a poor compilation from McCrindle and a small number of other, mostly antiquated authorities put together in a curious English⁷³ without anything new to offer. Fortunately this is not always the case, and the Indian standpoint must have its place in spite of hard criticism. Although Megasthenes is clearly bound to his Greek background he really visited India and described much what he saw there. He is one of the few sources on ancient India which can be dated with any certainty. Yet he must be used with the utmost care and only together with independent Indian evidence. This is done with some success in a recent book by S. R. Goyal⁷⁴ although even he has some shortcomings. The first part (1—69) is purely indological dealing with Arthaśāstra,⁷⁵ the second (70—134) is on Megasthenes. He concentrates mainly on two points, writing in India and the Indian gods. According to Megasthenes the Indians did not know writing — this has often been cited as an example of his errors — and now Goyal examines the possibility that he was right. As he points out there is no certain evidence of writing known in India before Aśoka (3rd century B.C.) and according to his hypothesis it was invented only during his reign. This is perhaps too bold, but anyway writing may have been adopted only during the early Maurya period. Goyal knows very little about anything published outside India but with his sound judgement he makes good use of what he has. Thus he does not know the severe criticism Dahlquist's book⁷⁶ has met in the west, but he knows very well how to show its shortcomings himself. His own theory, that the Indian Dionysus and Heracles are syncretic combinations of many Indian figures, is the same as the one proposed by Vofchuk and, in the case of Dionysus, by von

⁷² N. S. Kalota, *India as described by Megasthenes*, Delhi 1978, 128 p.

⁷³ The only really interesting feature in his book is to notice how much Hindi has influenced his syntax.

⁷⁴ S. R. Goyal, *Kauṭilya and Megasthenes*, Meerut 1985; XVIII, 149 p.

⁷⁵ He supports very aptly the late dating of the work (perhaps in the third century A.D., according to Goyal).

⁷⁶ A. Dahlquist, *Megasthenes and Indian Religion*, Uppsala 1962. See the reviews by de Casparis, *JRAS* 1963, 280—281, Budruss, *Gnomon* 37 (1965) 718—723, Hartman, *Temenos* 1 (1965) 55—64, and Kuiper, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 11, 2 (1969) 142—146.

Hinüber. Personally I disagree with them, because there is now some additional evidence for the traditional theory (Śiva and Kṛṣṇa), but this I shall discuss in another context.

It is gratifying to notice that the tyranny of McCrindle is probably coming to an end even in India. There is one Indian scholar who really knows classical Greek and can use his sources competently. Until now Uday Prakash Arora has published only one book not related to Graeco-Indian questions⁷⁷ and two articles dealing with Megasthenes and other authors,⁷⁸ but we are eagerly awaiting his further studies.

Last I would like to mention a book — in two volumes until now — not connected with India but, unexpectedly, with Tibet. Peter Lindegger⁷⁹ is very well aware that there is nothing definitely connected with Tibet among his sources, but as he writes, “es zeigt sich kein anderer Weg, den tibetischen Raum seiner vermeintlichen Geschichtslosigkeit zu entreißen.”⁸⁰ For this purpose he has collected everything (possibly) connected with the countries bordering on Tibet, translated the passages, analysed and compared them with other, Chinese and Indian as well as archaeological, evidence. There is little perhaps connected with Tibet, but still we must congratulate the author on a very interesting work. The first volume approaches Tibet from the northwest, the second from the southwest. The third and last will deal with Ptolemaic account. We hope it will soon be published and encourage the author to continue his work even further on the same lines.

⁷⁷ U. P. Arora, *Motifs in Indian Mythology, their Greek and other Parallels*, New Delhi 1981 (on comparative mythology).

⁷⁸ India vis-a-vis Egypt-Ethiopia in classical accounts, *Graeco-Arabica* 1 (1982) 131—140, and Greek image of the Indian society, *Μακεδονικά* 12 (1982) 470—482. In addition he has several publications in Hindi.

⁷⁹ P. Lindegger, *Griechische und römische Quellen zum peripheren Tibet. Teil I: Frühe Zeugnisse bis Herodot (Der fernere skythische Nordosten) (Opuscula Tibetana 10)*, Rikon/Zürich 1979, 238 p., and *Teil II: Ueberlieferungen von Herodot bis zu den Alexanderhistorikern (Die nördlichste Grenzregionen Indiens) (Op. Tib. 14)*, *ibid.* 1982, 192 p.

⁸⁰ In preface to part II, VIII.

A Note on *crura* as Used in Gerhard's *Meditationes Sacrae*

SAARA LILJA

In this paper I am indebted to Martti Vaahtoranta, a theological graduate who attended my Latin proseminar in 1985, who wrote one of his essays on the German theologian Johann Gerhard (1582—1637) and his *Meditationes Sacrae*.¹ Gerhard is generally considered to have been the most prominent theologian of the early Lutheran orthodoxy which followed on after the Reformation. While the systematizing *Loci Theologici* was undoubtedly his chief work, it is his more unassuming devotional book, *Meditationes Sacrae*, which turned out to enjoy an unusually large circulation during the centuries that followed.²

Gerhard's *Meditationes Sacrae* is introduced by a brief dedication where he declares that he will imitate those who liken theology to medicine. In this dedication there is a lexically interesting passage: *habet Medicina certa sua principia, λόγον sc. καὶ πείραν, quae ob id crura quaedam ejusdem appellantur*. The plural form *crura* in this passage, as *quaedam* indicates, is used in a figurative sense. ThLL (vol. IV, col. 1252) gives several instances of the metaphorical use of *crus* under the title *de infimis rerum partibus*. The biggest group, for the most part from

¹ The title in full: *Meditationes sacrae ad veram pietatem excitandam et interioris hominis profectum promovendum*. When he published this book in 1606, Gerhard was only 24 years of age. It was reprinted five times during the author's lifetime, in the years 1607, 1611, 1617, 1622, and 1633: see E.R. Fischer, *Vita Ioannis Gerhardi*, Lipsiae 1723, 444.

² In older days *Meditationes Sacrae* seems to have been the book most frequently printed after the Bible and the *De Imitatione Christi* by Thomas à Kempis: see R.P. Scharlemann, *Thomas Aquinas and John Gerhard*, New Haven 1964, 43.

Columella's two works, is concerned with plants.³ Next, there is the use of *crura* to denote lines forming an angle; the two relatively late instances are from Ausonius and Martianus Capella.⁴ The last group — *de aliis rebus, quae hominum forma finguntur* — is formed by *crura ponticuli* (Catull. 17,3), *crus ligneum* (Mart. 10,100,6) meaning a walking stick, and the vigorously phrased *universo dogmati transeunti divaricavit crura mentis suae* (Hier. epist. 96,12).

The majority of the above-mentioned cases in which *crus* is used metaphorically, *de infimis rerum partibus* as formulated in ThLL, are concrete: the lower parts of plants (sixteen instances), the supporting piles of a bridge,⁵ and a walking stick. As regards lines forming an angle, one might call this a case that is halfway between the concrete and the abstract. The only clearly abstract instance is St. Jerome's *crura mentis*, yet the verb *divaricare* makes it a very concrete expression to describe a vulgar prostitute's conduct. ThLL, then, does not give any instance of such an abstract case of the figurative use of *crus* as is found in Gerhard's dedication, where the chief principles of medicine, λόγος and πείρα, are called *crura*. True, Volume IV of ThLL was published as early as 1906—09, and *crus* is marked with an asterisk to indicate that not all passages where it can be found have been collected. One might, however, expect to find one or two instances of *crus* used metaphorically in an abstract case like that in Gerhard's dedication — if the word was used in this way earlier.

Gamberini's stylistic study of Pliny the Younger seemed, at first sight, to be of some use, dealing as it does with several terms which resemble *crura*, because the oratorical style is frequently “compared to a human body” (64).⁶ In a section entitled “Some Lexical Analogies with Other

³ The thirteen instances from Columella are preceded by a reference to Varro: *pedes cruraque arboris ramos appellat Varro* (Gell. 16,16,3). The two further instances *de herbis* are from Pliny's Natural History (17,138) and Palladius (1,35,6).

⁴ Auson. 336,51: *aequilatus vel crure pari vel in omnibus impar (de triangulo)*. Mart. Cap. 6,712: *trigonus. . . ἰσοσκελής, quod ex tribus lineis duas aequales habet, quibus quasi cruribus insistit*.

⁵ The Catullan *crura ponticuli* may be compared with our common usage of speaking of the supports for a table or a chair as legs.

⁶ F. Gamberini, *Stylistic Theory and Praxis in the Younger Pliny*, Hildesheim 1983. See especially 60—72.

Sources” (60ff.) Gamberini describes in detail the metaphorical use of *ossa*, *nervi* and *tori*, *iubae*, *musculi* and *lacerti*. Just a couple of quotations from this section may suffice here in order to clarify the use of *ossa*, a term which will interest us below in another sense, and of *lacerti*, which corresponds to *crura* more closely than the other terms: “in rhetorical contexts the meaning of *ossa* seems to oscillate between references to style and structure of the oration” (60) and, as regards *lacerti*, “the reference is always to the orator’s forcefulness” (61).⁷ As for *crura*, I think that Gamberini would have mentioned its metaphorical use as found later in Gerhard’s dedication if there had been an ancient reference to be made.

“Style and structure of the oration” and “the orator’s forcefulness”, of course, are not what Gerhard had in mind. Admittedly, it is natural to imagine that the two principles in the science of medicine, *λόγος* and *πεῖρα*, being like the two supporting pillars of the whole system resemble the two legs of a human body. This would be all the more natural if Gerhard knew, as he may have known, that the oratorical style was frequently compared to a human body, and that the terms for the limbs of a body were metaphorically used in literary contexts to describe structure and forcefulness. In any case he must have known that the lower parts of plants were figuratively called *crura*.⁸ Thus the *crura Medicinae* could be understood to mean the ground, basis, foundation of this science.

However, there is one detail in Gerhard’s phrasing which seems to contradict the view presented above. If the metaphorical use of *crura* in the way Gerhard employs it should have been familiar from older usage, why does he add *quaedam*, which usually accompanies a newly coined expression?⁹ Vaahtoranta’s tentative suggestion was that, instead of referring to two pillars supporting the science of medicine, Gerhard is speaking of the two equally important fields, theory and practice, which penetrate through the whole system of medicine, thus resembling bones which form the supporting framework of a body. I have not so far come

⁷ Like *ossa*, also “*nervi* can refer both to structure and style (in terms of forcefulness)” (62).

⁸ I formulate “must have known” in view of the large number of instances (though they are only a selection) found in ThLL.

⁹ It is well known that Cicero, for example, repeatedly added this pronoun to indicate that the Latin term he used was new and self-coined.

across any ancient instance of *crura* meaning “skeleton”.¹⁰ If nothing is found it would corroborate the suggestion, based on the use of *quaedam*, that it was Gerhard himself who invented the bold metaphor (supposing *crura* is accepted to mean “skeleton”). Next it might be worth while investigating the equivalents of “skeleton” in antiquity.

In Latin, the common way of expressing “skeleton” was to use the plural form *ossa*.¹¹ There were also a few other occasional designations for it, above all *larva*, which normally meant “evil spirit” or “ghost”. I quote in full the well-known passage in the *Cena Trimalchionis*: *larvam argenteam attulit servus sic aptatam, ut articuli eius vertebraeque laxatae in omnem partem flecterentur* (Petr. 34,8). In ancient Greek, too, the usual equivalent of “skeleton” was the plural form τὰ ὀστᾶ. The term σκελετός, literally meaning “dried up” (σκέλλω), was a noun mostly used to denote a mummy, and it was only in the second century A.D. that the physician Galen began to employ it to mean a skeleton.¹²

Gerhard’s noteworthy use of *crura* — supposing Vaahtoranta’s tentative suggestion proves correct — needs to be explained. My first thought was that σκέλος, the Greek noun for “leg”, might somehow be of background importance, in other words, that Gerhard might have made metaphorical use of *crura*, the equivalent of the Greek σκέλη, owing to an etymological confusion between σκέλος and σκελετός.¹³ Afterwards a more unconstrained explanation came to my mind: the German noun “Bein” (like the Swedish “ben”), which means “leg” as *crus* does, also denotes a bone (as *crus* does not), and not only a shin-bone but a bone in general. Thus Gerhard might have regarded *crura* as a synonym for *ossa*, which was the usual designation for the framework of a body.¹⁴

¹⁰ My investigations have not been meticulous, though. As regards ThLL, s.v. *crus* marked with an asterisk, see above.

¹¹ It cannot be a mere coincidence that *ossa* was used in literary contexts to refer to the structure of the oration (see above).

¹² Liddell and Scott (s.v. σκελετός) refer to Galen 2,221, 222, 734 al. — As regards “squelette” in the passages given by Bailly (s.v. σκελετός), it corresponds rather to the Latin *umbra*, a spirit after death, a very clear example being AP 11,92,392.

¹³ According to etymological dictionaries these two words are not related to each other: see Frisk II (1970) 722—724 and Chantraine (1980) 1012f., each s.v. σκέλλομαι and σκέλος.

¹⁴ The use of *crura* to denote lines forming an angle may have given additional support to the meaning “skeleton”(see above).

It would be interesting to look into the history of how and when the Greek σκελετός came to mean “skeleton”, not only in antiquity but also later in modern languages. This might also throw more light on the possibly unprecedented use of *crura* as found in Gerhard's *Meditationes Sacrae*. The topic is open to investigation to anyone interested.

Zu den *Glosae super Platonem* des Wilhelm von Conches

BENGT LÖFSTEDT

Die Lehrer der Schule von Chartres sind immer mehr ins Zentrum der Forschung gerückt,¹ und mehrere ihrer wichtigsten Schriften liegen in neuen kritischen Ausgaben vor: Die *Cosmographia* des Bernardus Silvestris wurde im Jahre 1978 von P. Dronke herausgegeben (Brill) und sein Kommentar² zu den ersten sechs Büchern der *Aeneis* von J. W. und E. F. Jones (1977; University of Nebraska Press). Was seinen Schüler Wilhelm von Conches betrifft, hat uns G. Maurach eine vorzügliche Ausgabe seiner *Philosophia mundi* geschenkt (Pretoria 1980; hier auch einige kurze Notizen zu Wilhelms Sprache, S. 12ff.); seine *Glosae super Platonem* gab E. Jeauneau im Jahre 1965 heraus (Paris, *Textes philosophiques du moyen âge* Nr. 13), seine *Glosae in Iuvenalem* Bradford Wilson (Paris 1980, *Textes philosophiques du moyen âge* Nr. 18).³ Von

¹ Aus der reichen neueren Literatur über die Schule von Chartres erwähne ich: E. Jeauneau, *Lectio philosophorum. Recherches sur l'école de Chartres*, Amsterdam 1973; P. Dronke, *Fabula. Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism*, Leiden 1974; Brian Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century. A Study of Bernard Silvester*, Princeton 1972; Winthrop Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century*, Princeton 1972. — Ich behalte den Terminus „Schule von Chartres“ bei, obgleich R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism*, Oxford 1970, 61ff. und im Sammelband *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (hrsg. v. R. L. Benson und G. Constable, Cambridge, Mass. 1982) 113ff. die Bedeutung dieser Schule sehr herabzusetzen versucht.

² Es ist allerdings nicht sicher, daß er der Verfasser ist.

³ In wieweit diese Glossen aus Wilhelms Feder stammen ist, allerdings unsicher. Die Ausgabe ist sowieso ganz unzulänglich; vgl. Dronke, *Medium Aevum* 52 (1983) 146ff. und Westra, *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 18 (1983) 368f.; ich bereite eine ausführliche Kritik vor.

anderen Werken Wilhelms sind nur Exzerpte publiziert, z. B. von seinem Kommentar zu Boethius, *Consolatio*, von Ch. Jourdain, *Excursions historiques et philosophiques*, Paris 1888 (Nachdruck Frankfurt 1966), 31ff., von seinen Glossen zu Priscian von E. Jeauneau, *Lectio philosophorum*, Amsterdam 1973, 335ff.

Im folgenden werde ich Jeauneaus Ausgabe des Platon-Kommentars etwas näher untersuchen. Zwei Versionen dieses Kommentars zu Timaeus sind überliefert,⁴ und Jeauneau hat sich damit benügt, die kürzere herauszugeben. Es ist eine vorzügliche Ausgabe,⁵ und die Einleitung und der Kommentar zeugen von der Sachkenntnis des Editors. Es ist zu hoffen, daß die anderen Kommentare Wilhelms mit gleicher Kompetenz herausgegeben werden. Um die Aufgabe künftiger Editoren bisher unpublizierter Schriften Wilhelms zu erleichtern, drucke ich hier einige quellenkritische und sprachliche Randbemerkungen zu Jeauneaus Ausgabe.

Quellen

Seite 61 *Mathesis . . . cum aspiratione est doctrina, sine ea est vanitas*: vgl. Eberhard von Béthune, *Graecismus* 10, 210 (ed. J. Wrobel S. 85) *scire facit mathēsis, sed divinare matēsis*; Ugutio, *Liber derivationum s.v. matesis: hec matesis penultima producta sine aspiratione, id est divinatio*; Johannes von Salisbury, *Policraticus* (ed. C. Ch. J. Webb) I S. 49, 19f. *omnia mathesis, dum penultimam extendis, figmenta ad magicam referuntur*; besonders Hugo von Sankt Viktor, *Diffinitiones* (ed. Baron, *Cultura Neolatina* 16 [1956]) S. 126 *mathesis quando t habet sine aspiratione, interpretatur vanitas . . . quando t habet aspiratum, doctrinam sonat*; s. weiter Blatt, *Novum glossarium s.v. mathesis*.

62 *tymo . . . est floreo*: vgl. Papias, *Vocabulista s.v. timo: floreo onero; circumflexo Timaeus*.

⁴ Vgl. T. Gregory, *Anima mundi*, Florenz 1955, 12ff. und *Platonismo medievale*, Rom 1958, 56, Anm. 1f., Jeauneau, *Lectio philosophorum* 230 und Anm. 5.

⁵ Ich habe nur eine Stelle gesehen, an der Jeauneaus Text sicher zu verbessern ist: 250 *Remotis a corpore potentia discernendi et intelligendi, attribuit eas anime*; m. E. muß man mit cod. V (vgl. Anm. 14) *potentiis* schreiben.

64 *Trice sunt macule retis; inde intricare dicitur involvere*: vgl. Papias a.O. s.v. *trice: sunt impedimenta gressuum; inde troico as*.

66 *Sollon . . . est commune; inde sollemnia dicuntur festa communia*: anders Aug. serm. 267, 1 (PL 38) S. 1229f. *Solemnnitas . . . ab eo quod solet in anno, nomen accepit*.

86 *est idem Neuth lingua egiptiaca quod Athena grece et immortalis latine, quod est nomen Palladis*: vgl. Fulg. myth. 2, 1 (ed. Helm S. 38, 10ff.) *Minerva . . . et Athene grece dicitur quasi athanate parthene, id est inmortalis virgo*.

92 *monimenta, quia eis monemur de transactis*: vgl. Varro ling. 6, 49 (ed. Goetz-Schoell S. 74, 10f.) *monimenta . . . quo praetereuntis admoneant . . .*; s. weiter ThLL 8, 1461, 33ff.).

96 *Soloecismus est ut: urbem quam statuo etc.*: das Zitat stammt aus Verg. Aen. 1, 573, und diese Stelle wird von römischen Grammatikern oft als Beispiel für Soloecismus angeführt, z. B. von Donatus (ed. L. Holtz) S. 656, 15.

118 *consuetudo est altera natura*: vgl. Cic. fin. 5, 25, 74 *deinde consuetudine quasi alteram quandam naturam effici* und die anderen von A. Otto, Die Sprichwörter der Römer (1965) 90f. angeführten Belege; auch bei Bern. Silv. (?) in Aen. (ed. J. W. und E. F. Jones) S. 32, 2f.

172 *similia gaudent similibus*: vgl. Macr. sat. 7, 7, 12 *similibus . . . similia gaudent* und weiter Otto a.O. 264.

Zur Sprache

Was die Orthographie betrifft erwähne ich lediglich die Schreibung *arismeticus* statt *arith-* 61, 122 u.a. (vgl. Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch [Mlat. Wb.] 1, 955, 34f.) sowie die Rekomposition *tresdecim* 166.

Das Gebiet der Syntax ist ergiebiger. Zum Accusativus mensurae 136 *quantum est subtilior ignis et levior aere, tanto aer aqua* s. J. B. Hofmann-A. Szantyr, Lateinische Syntax (1965) 135. — Eine hyperkorrekte Konstruktion von *pertinere* mit dem Dat. statt mit *ad* haben wir 81 *intentioni eorum non pertinet*; vgl. Verf., Corpus Christianorum 133 C S. X über *respicere* mit dem Dat. statt mit einer Präposition. — Französisch beeinflußt ist die Konstruktion von *plus* mit *de* statt mit dem Gen. 121 *si in*

aliqua parte illius plus fuit de igne; vgl. unten zur Glosse 114 *ratio huius rei id est de ea re*.⁶ — In der Hs. A wird *planeta* zweimal als ein Fem. behandelt: 171 *ipsas planetas* und 172 *eas* (mit bezug auf *planetas*); in Anbetracht der Deklination des Wortes ist der Irrtum nicht erstaunlich. — Den Komparativ statt des Superlativs haben wir 191 *inter alia . . . animalia sunt digniora*. — *Talis* im Sinne von *hic* begegnet mehrmals, z. B. 58 *Causa vero compositionis huius operis talis fuit*; 60 *Agit hoc modo de tali materia: . . .*; vgl. Hofmann-Szantyr a.O. 205f. Zu beachten ist aber, daß an den zitierten Stellen *hic* neben *talis* begegnet; es ist möglich, daß *talis* dort zwecks Abwechslung verwendet wurde. — *Quod* statt *ut* nach *tantus, talis* u. dgl. ist häufig, z. B. 90 und 185; bemerkenswert ist das volkssprachliche *sic quod* 78, 286 (vgl. frz. *si que*) gegenüber dem gelehrten *ita ut* 287. Nach *Verba eveniendi et dicendi* begegnet *quod* im Sinne von „daß“ z. B. 79 *contingebat quod*; 172 *putaret forsitan aliquis quod*. — 175f. *ad solutionem questionis . . . an . . . vel . . . vel*. Dieser Typus der mehrgliedrigen indirekten Frage wird von Hofmann-Szantyr a.O. nicht notiert.

Unser Text bietet mehrere unklassische und interessante Wörter, Ausdrücke und Suffixableitungen, von denen hier nur einige erwähnt werden sollen. 65 und 160 *ad minus* „mindestens“, = frz. *au moins*; weitere Belege bei Verf., *Arctos* 14 (1980) 46 und *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 18 (1983) 278. — 225 *gumphus* (für *gomphus*) *est latens coniunctio duarum gantarum in rota*. Das Wort *ganta* lebt im frz. *jante* „Radfelge“ weiter, das im Frz. seit dem 12. Jh. belegt ist (s. von Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 2:1, S. 125 a); DuCange⁷ s.v. *canta* belegt das lat. Wort erst v. J. 1375. — 213 *par* „fähig“; *est usualis locutio: „sum par huic scientie“*, *id est sufficiens*; vgl. *ThLL* 10:2, 269, 3ff. — 237 *subtiliare*; auch im Boethius-Kommentar des Nicolas Triveth (ed. Jourdain, *Excursions historiques*) S. 51 Anm. 1; s. auch Verf., *Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala, Årsbok* 1985, S. 135.

Von Ableitungen seien die folgenden notiert: Auf *-bilis*: 74 *constringibilis* (einige spätere Belege bei DuCange); 283 *traducibilis*. — Auf *-inus*: 93 *draguntinus* (statt *draconteus*). — Auf *-ivus*: 241 *appetivus* (ein Beleg im

⁶ Maurach in seiner Ausgabe der *Philosophia* 13 zitiert ähnliche Belege.

⁷ DuCange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, Paris 1883—87.

ThLL, mehrere im Mlat. Wb.); 241 *expulsivus* (vom ThLL aus Cassiodor belegt); 191 *inclusivus* (in Word-List⁸ aus dem 13., von Plezia⁹ aus dem 14. Jh. belegt); 241 *retentivus* (in Word-List seit dem 13. Jh. belegt; auch bei Albert. M. anim. 2, 2, 8 [ed. Borgnet, S. 226b, 25]; animal. 1, 575 [ed. Stadler, S. 206, 3] und 602 [S. 215, 28]; eth. 4, 1, 4 [ed. Borgnet, S. 279a, 21]; mem. 2, 7 [ed. Borgnet, S. 118b, 15]; usw.; Caes. Heist. hom. S. 30b; Conr. Mur. [ed. Kronbichler, S. 163, 13]; Urso gloss. 60 [ed. Creutz, S. 101, 9]). Vgl. im Priscian-Kommentar S. 368, 22. 25 *rationativus* (auch bei Albert. M. phys. 4, 1, 6 [ed. Borgnet, S. 251a, 11]) und 370, 4 *subcontinuativus*. — Auf *-lis*: 176 und 177 *sensilis* (bei Lukrez und Chalcidius belegt; Wilhelm hat wohl die Ableitung dem Chalcidius entnommen; sie steht auch bei Bernh. Silv. Cosmogr. Microcosmus 10, 9 [ed. Dronke, S. 140]). Vgl. im Priscian-Kommentar 367 ,21 *dictionalis*, *orationalis*, *sillabalis* (Augenblicksbildungen nach *litteralis*); 368, 23 *sermocinalis* (auch bei Albert. M. anim. 1, 1, 2 [ed. Borgnet, S. 119b, 8]; herm. 1, 1, 1 [ed. Borgnet, S. 375b, 13]; metaph. 4, 4, 1 [ed. Borgnet, S. 254a, 23]; praedicab. 1, 4 [ed. Borgnet, S. 7a, 27]). — Auf *-orium*: 67 *expositorium* (von Bartal¹⁰ belegt).

Was den Wortschatz betrifft, sind Wilhelms zahlreiche Glossierungen einzelner Wörter der Timaeus-Übersetzung von besonderem Interesse. Es handelt sich hier durchaus nicht nur oder nicht in erster Linie um Erklärungen von Spezialtermini, sondern gewöhnlich um Glossierung rein klassischer, häufiger Wörter. Um zu zeigen, was ein Lehrer in Chartres im 12. Jh. als für seine Studenten erklärungsbedürftig erachtete, gebe ich eine große Auswahl solcher Glossen. Ich verzichte auf Gruppierung nach Wortklassen u. dgl., sondern verzeichne sie in der Ordnung, in der sie im Texte vorkommen. Gewöhnlich brauchen sie nicht erörtert zu werden: es ist offensichtlich, daß ein etwas selteneres Wort durch ein häufigeres oder ein im Französischen weiterlebendes ersetzt wird. Aber einigemal füge ich einen kurzen Kommentar hinzu: 73 *sponte id est sine magna occasione*. 76 *utpote id est sicut* (auch 138, 241 u. a.). 77 *altis id est nutritis*. 80 *promulgatum id est persuasum* (dieses Interpretament von *promulgare* wird im Thesaurus glossarum nicht verzeichnet, auch nicht in

⁸ R. E. Latham, Revised Medieval-Latin Word-List, London 1965.

⁹ M. Plezia, Lexicon mediae et infimae Latinitatis Polonorum, Warszawa 1953ff.

¹⁰ A. Bartal, Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis regni Hungariae, Leipzig 1901.

gleichzeitigen Wörterbüchern wie im *Vocabulista* des Papias). 82 *siquidem id est quia* (auch 109, 140, 239, usw.; *id est certe* 126). 96 *tam id est tantum, quam id est quantum* (zum Ersatz von *tam* und *quam* durch *tantum* und *quantum* im späten Latein s. E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica* 1 [1942], 266f.). 105 *porro id est certe* (auch 117 u. a.; *id est etiam* 140; *id est sed* 193, 222). *quippe id est quia* (*id est certe* 185). 106 *minime id est non* (auch 115, 125 usw.). 108 *citra id est sine* (vgl. ThLL 3, 1204, 33ff.: seit Ovid). 109 *substantiam id est subsistentiam* (auch 207; eher Etymologisierung als Übersetzung). 112 *sin id est si istud non est sed contrarium. fas id est licitum*. 114 *ratio huius rei id est de ea re* (ein gewöhnlicher Genitiv mußte also durch eine *de*-Konstruktion erläutert werden; ebenso heißt es oben auf derselben Seite *ratio . . . generis id est de genere*). 115 *valuerim id est poterimus* (hier ist nicht nur der Ersatz von *valere* durch *posse* bemerkenswert, sondern auch der des Fut. exact. durch Fut. simpl. und der der 1. Sing durch die 1. Plur.). 125 *nemini id est nulli*. 126 *at id est sed* (auch 240, 252f. usw.). *perinde id est taliter* (auch 134, 191 u. a.). *omnifariam id est omnibus modis*. 134 *quadrat id est concordat*. 137 *ex omni id est ex toto* (>frz. *tout*). 139 *congruam id est convenientem*. 146 *quo id est ut* (auch 157, 207). 150 *hoc pacto id est hoc modo*. 159 *consequenter id est convenienter*. 171 *vero id est sed* (auch 187, 195; vgl. *verum id est sed* 183). 175 *quid id est aliquid* (auch 221, 240, 262, 274 wird das indefinite *quis* durch das wegen des frz. *aucun* bekanntere *aliquis* erklärt). *sensibile id est potens sentiri*. 180 *fors id est forsitan. una id est simul* (auch 229). 182 *concurrit id est simul currit* (die Wiedergabe von *con-* durch *simul* ist bei Grammatikern und Lexikographen häufig¹¹). *fit id est contingit*. 188 *quoque id est etiam. simillimum id est valde simile* (auch 255). 198 *contigue id est vicine*. 202 *asserzioni id est affirmationi*. 204 *observanda id est quae observare et agere debent*. 207 *suppeditato id est ministrato*. 208 *par est id est equum est*. 209 *demum pro deinde* (auch 266). 210 *propemodum id est fere*. 223 *quam optime id est valde optime*. 229 *illecebra id est delectatione*. 230 *autumant id est putant*. 235 *presto id est possibilis et facilis*. 239 *defluere id est deorsum fluere*. 240 *sortitum id est adeptum*. 247 *item id est similiter. renitet id est resplendet*. 250 *autem id est sed*. 252 *enim id est quia* (vgl. 277 *etenim id est quia*). 255 *licet id est quamvis*. 265 *admodum id est valde* (auch

¹¹ Vgl. Verf., Corp. Christ. cont. med. 40 C S. XXXV.

284). 270 *ordiamur id est incipiamus. semota id est separata*. — Während der kommentierte Text nicht einfach ist und der Kommentar selbst offensichtlich für fortgeschrittene Studenten geschrieben ist, zeugen die zitierten Glossen davon, daß es um die Lateinkenntnisse dieser Studenten schlecht bestellt war.¹²

¹² Ich danke Donna Kriger (Pasadena) für einige bibliographische Hinweise und auch für die Anregung, mich mit diesem Latein zu beschäftigen.

Le prime edizioni stampate del De varietate fortunae di Poggio Bracciolini

II

OUTI MERISALO

1. Poggii Florentini de fortune varietate Urbis Rome: & de ruina eiusdem Descriptio, *in* Poggii Florentini Oratoris clarissimi ac secretarii apostolici historiae conuiuales disceptatiuae orationes inuectiuae epistolae descriptiones quaedam: et faceciarum liber. Argentinae: J.Knoblouch 1511; Schmidt RBS 7.66; Ritter RBU 1900—1901; Chrisman H1.3.32. Esemplari studiati: Oxford Bodl.Douce P.15; Cambridge Univ.F.151.b.1.4.

2. *in*: Poggii florentini oratoris clarissimi: ac secretarij apostolici - - - Parrhisijs: J.Petit e N.des Prez, s.d. (1511—1513 ca); Renouard-Moreau 2.693. Esemplari studiati: BN Rés.Z.10008; BL 638.h.30.

3. *in*: Poggii florentini oratoris clarissimi, ac sedis apo. secretarii operum Primae partis contenta - - - . Argentinae: J.Schott per J.Knoblouch 1513; Schmidt RBS 2.22; Ritter RBU 1902; Chrisman H1.3.32; Proctor 10272. Esemplari studiati: BN Rés.Z.276; UB Amsterdam 268 B 23.

4. *in*: Poggii florentini oratoris et philosophi opera, collatione emendatorum exemplarium recognita - - - . Basileae: H.Petri 1538;¹ Proctor 12 788. Esemplari studiati: BN Z.566; KB Den Haag 229 C 17.

¹ Abbreviazioni oltre a quelle elencate nell'articolo precedente n.20: Schmidt RBS = C.Schmidt, Répertoire bibliographique strasbourgeois jusque vers 1530 1—9, Stras-

0. Introduzione

Nell'articolo precedente abbiamo accennato alla circolazione separata del testo del primo libro del VF nel '400, non comparabile a quella del fortunatissimo libro quarto. Se la prima e sola versione stampata di quest'ultimo sembra farsi presto rara, un estratto della descrizione delle rovine di Roma è invece incluso in una rassegna di opere di Poggio edita a Strasburgo nel 1511, ristampata a Parigi verso la stessa epoca, allargata a Strasburgo nel 1513 e ristampata a Basilea nel 1538. Fino all'edizione parigina del 1723 dell'intero VF, sembra rimanere la sola parte del testo latino "*in c.g.*".

1. L'edizione strasburghese del 1511.

1.0. Introduzione

La cultura umanistica strasburghese del primo Cinquecento si collega strettamente alle manifestazioni dell'umanesimo dell'Impero in genere. I contatti tra gli eruditi alsaziani soprattutto con le altre città della valle del Reno sono così fruttuosi come frequenti.² Secondo l'analisi di E.Staehelin, l'umanesimo in Alsazia può essere diviso in tre fasi: il preumanesimo, interessato alla riforma degli studi e del linguaggio (latino), all'educazione dei *cives*, ma sostanzialmente conservatore dal punto di vista politico-culturale (esponenti più importanti: J.Wimpfeling, S.Brant); la seconda fase, coincidente con la riforma patristica di Erasmo

bourg — Baden-Baden 1893—1963. Ritter RBU = Répertoire bibliographique des livres du 16^e qui se trouvent à la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg 1— . s.d.n.l. Chrisman = M.U.Chrisman, Bibliography of Strasburg Imprints, 1480—1599. New Haven (Conn.) — London 1982. Renouard-Moreau = P.Renouard — B.Moreau, Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI^e siècle 1—3. Paris 1965.

² Per i contatti con il Nord, v. Vansteenberghé, Influences rhénanes, L'Humanisme en Alsace. Association Guillaume Budé. Congrès de Strasbourg 20—22 avril 1938, Paris 1939 (=HA), 10—27; per i contatti con Basilea e le altre città al sud di Strasburgo, E.Staehelin, Bâle et Alsace, HA 30—41.

(B.Rhenanus, collaboratore dell'erudito olandese, Capitone, O.Nachtigall, detto Luscinius), copre il periodo dal 1510 al 1523; infine dal 1523 in poi, la Riforma, con il suo biblicismo, che domina la vita culturale di Strasburgo e dell'Alsazia.³ Conviene sottolineare la vivacità di questa cultura umanistica in tutte le sue fasi: l'attività degli stampatori strasburghesi nel divulgare le opere di autori classici e umanistici nei due primi decenni del '500 si collega strettamente a quella della *sodalitas litteraria*, fondata da Brant e da Wimpeling sul modello della *sodalitas Rhenana* di Conrado Celtis a Heidelberg, ulteriormente ispirata dall'Accademia pomponiana.⁴

La prima edizione del testo qui discusso si colloca nell'ambiente della *sodalitas litteraria*. L'editore, Thomas Didymus Aucuparius (Thomas Heinrich Vogler, morto nel 1532), *poeta laureatus*, la dedica allo stesso Brant, *viro excellenti & p(re)stantissimo studioru(m) omniu(m) obseruatori / benefactoriq(ue) precipuo* (f.<1v>). Aucuparius avrebbe studiato giurisprudenza in una città italiana; in ogni caso soggiornò in Italia e vi collezionò iscrizioni.⁵ Fu apprezzato dal suo professore Wimpeling⁶ e da B.Rhenanus che gli dedicò una rassegna di poesie di autori italiani su recenti avvenimenti politici;⁷ il suo poema in occasione della visita di Erasmo a Strasburgo ispirò la risposta cortese di questi

³ Ibid. 33—41; v. aussi C.Schmidt, *Histoire littéraire de l'Alsace à la fin du XV^e et au commencement du XVI^e s.* 1—2, Paris 1879, xv—xxv.

⁴ Per la *sodalitas litteraria*, v. soprattutto Schmidt, *Histoire xvii—xix*; per le altre *sodalitates* germaniche, H.O.Burger, *Renaissance, Humanismus, Reformation, Deutsche Literatur im europäischen Kontext*, Frankfurter Beiträge zur Germanistik 7, Bad Homburg V.D.H. — Berlin — Zürich 1969, 274—275.

⁵ Schmidt, *Histoire* 2.149—154.

⁶ *Epithoma rerum Germanicar(um) vsq(ue) ad nostra tempora*, contenuto in: *Hic subnota co(n)tinetur Vita .M.Catonis - - -* (J.Prüss, *Argentinae* 1505, Chrisman A 5.1.1.), f.xli verso: *Loquar de Thoma n(ost)ro aucupario ob breuitate(m) reliquis obmissis* (sc. in medicina; poetica) *qui nescio q(ui)d magni ac alti de se pollicetur / qui si aetate p(ro)cesserit p(ro)culdubio no(n) ta(m) Alsatiam q(uam) germania(m) poematis suis illustrabit* (passo citato in parte in Schmidt, *Histoire* 2,150).

⁷ *Heus lector nouarum // rerum studiose, // hic habentur. // De fortuna Francisci Marchionis Mantuae; // F.Baptistae Mantuani Crame(n) (sic) - - -* (M.Schürer, *Argentorati* 1510, Schmidt RBS 8.36); nella lettera dedicatoria l'editore lo chiama *suauissime Thoma* (f. aijj, errore per ajj).

(1514).⁸ Nello stesso anno 1511, Aucuparius curò un'edizione scolare di Terenzio con spiegazioni di parole difficili.⁹ Nel 1522 pubblicò un'edizione di Tolomeo.¹⁰ La sua produzione consiste altrimenti di poesie sparse in diverse pubblicazioni.¹¹

L'edizione aucupariana è interessante per più ragioni ma soprattutto perché contiene opere fino ad allora inedite; è la prima edizione di opere poggiane a Strasburgo, e, nella sua versione del 1513, ne rimase anche l'ultima. Risulta dalla lettera dedicatoria che i testi pubblicati furono raccolti dall'Aucuparius stesso; non è chiaro da quanti mss. diversi li abbia estratti.¹² All'origine dell'idea di un'edizione fu lo stampatore Johann Knoblouch che gli chiese un esemplare delle *Facetiae*.¹³ L'edizione poggiana s'inserisce senza difficoltà nel suo profilo di produzione: aveva stampato opere di Battista Mantovano (c.1500), di Pico della Mirandola (1506, 1507), di Ficino (1507), di F.Filelfo (1509) e, dopo la nostra edizione, avrebbe pubblicato Landino (1511), Pontano (1515) e Platina (1517).¹⁴ Anche se non sembra esser stato un personaggio di cultura uguale a quella di uno Schürer o di uno Schott, né, come stampatore, del loro livello, e benché la sua produzione, fino alla Riforma, avesse

⁸ Le due poesie pubblicate in Desyderio Erasmo Roteromagus // damo.Ia. Vuimphelingus Seletstanus. no(m)i(n)e sodalitatis literariae Argentinensium .s., s.d.n.l. (databile dopo il 21 settembre 1514); inoltre, nella sua lettera di risposta, pubblicata insieme alla lettera di Wimpheling e alle poesie, f. iij: *Thoma(m) item Aucupariu(m), quem ego sane uel ob hoc laurea dignu(m) existimo quod ab omni fastu longe sit alienissimus, cui morbo fere genus hoc homi(nu)m videmus obnoxium, Hunc cu(m) plurimi facia(m), tamen quo parcius laude(m), ipse fuit in causa, qui me suo carmine laudarit, non dicam q(uam) vere, sed proprius ama(n)tissime.* (Allen op. ep. 2,305).

⁹ Publii Terentii Come//diae cum breui uo//cabulorum difficilium enarratio(n)e // pro puerulis a Tho. Aucu//pario condita, Argentoraci, J.Grüninger 1511 (Chrisman A4.1.3).

¹⁰ Claudii Ptolemei - - - opus Geographiae nouiter castigatum et emendatum. J.Grüninger ciuis Argentoratensis opera et expensis - - - 1522 (Schmidt, RBS 11.187)

¹¹ Schmidt, Histoire 152.

¹² f. < 1v > *ego qui varia eius opera diuersis in locis quedam venusto caractere p(er) librariorum quo(n)dam co(n)scripta collegi. quedam carię & uetustate pene corrosa ab interitu quoda(m)modo non sine difficultate eripui.*

¹³ *Ioanni Knobloucho publico rei litterarie architecto & benefactori. quum Faceciarum librum prius impressum / iteru(m) formis suis multiplicare instituisset: & a me illius exemplar postularet.*

¹⁴ V. Chrisman (section H1, Italian Humanists).

contenuto solo il 30% di opere umanistiche, egli contribuì in modo decisivo al movimento umanistico alsaziano. Nel 1515 cominciò a stampare testi greci.¹⁵

1.1. Osservazioni sull'insieme dell'edizione.

1.1.1. La data

La datazione dell'edizione qui discussa è alquanto problematica. Certe copie, come quella della Bodleiana, presentano alla fine del volume la data del *III.Idus Februarii MDX*; Schmidt segnala la data del *III.Februarii MDXI* in altre.¹⁶ Nella discussione conviene ricordare due fatti importanti: (1) Le Facetie hanno una fogliotazione separata. La data si trova alla fine di questa parte del volume, e al limite potrebbe riferirsi ad essa sola; anche se esistono esemplari della prima parte senza le Facetie, non sembrano contenere il colofono con l'anno di stampa.¹⁷ La lettera dedicatoria non sembra permettere di ipotizzare una prima pubblicazione

¹⁵ Fu un editore con contatti commerciali in diverse parti dell'Impero, L.Febvre - H.J.Martin, *L'apparition du livre. Bibliothèque de Synthèse historique "L'Evolution de l'Humanité"* 49, Paris 1958 (1971), 182; F.Ritter, *Histoire de l'imprimerie alsacienne aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles. Publ.Inst.Hautes Et.Alsac.14. Strasbourg - Paris 1955, 193—194; P.Kristeller, Die Straßburger Bücher-Illustration im XV. und im Anfange des XVI. Jahrhunderts, Leipzig 1888, 12; v. anche J.Benzing, Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet². Beitr.z. Buch- u. Bibliothekswesen 12, Wiesbaden 1982, 438.*

¹⁶ Schmidt RBS 7. 66; citato da Ritter in RBU nn. 1900—1901. Notiamo che Ritter, *Imprimerie 196* data l'edizione del 1511; si vedano anche le osservazioni di R.Fubini nella premessa alle *Opera omnia* 1, viii n.8.

¹⁷ L'esemplare della Cambridge Univ.Libr. (v. H.M.Adams, *Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe 1501—1600 in Cambridge Libraries* 2, Cambridge 1967, n. 1710), non comprende data dopo l'ultima lettera a Guarino Veronese; mancano le Facetie come gli indici. Per Hollins College, Roanoke, Va. il NUC dà la notizia sorprendente secondo la quale le Facetie stampate nel "1510" sarebbero "bound together with" l'edizione del 1511 (datata in base alla lettera dedicatoria?).

separata delle Facetie.¹⁸ (2) La lettera di Aucuparius è datata del *XXIX.mensis Ianuarii Anni .M.D.XI*, e per questo punto non abbiamo potuto scoprire alcuna variazione. Una confusione attribuibile a stili di datazione diversi non sembra probabile, visto che non fu usato lo stile di Pasqua in Alsazia.¹⁹ Sembra quindi probabile che l'anno 1510 sia un errore, e che l'edizione aucupariana debba esser datata dell'11 febbraio 1511.

1.1.2. Il contenuto della lettera dedicatoria

Oltre ad un'argomentazione elaborata sul tema, tipico del primo umanesimo alsaziano, della funzione essenziale della letteratura "utile" nella formazione dell'uomo,²⁰ incontriamo una giustificazione della pubblicazione delle opere di Poggio, presentato come un autore degno d'ammirazione dal punto di vista morale (f. 1v):

Poggius hic Flore(n)tinus orator clarissimus: qui annos plus q(uam) quinquaginta secretarius apostolicus cu(m) octo summis po(n)tificibus in Romana curia familiariter magno cum honore vixit. doctrina / eruditio(n)e / & scriptis elegantissimis tempora sua decorauit. quibus vitae integritate(m) & animi constantia(m) ostendens / precipuus virtutum amator se beneficentissimu(m) & memoria posteroru(m) dignu(m) monstrauit.

¹⁸ V. la citazione n.13. La frase *prius impressum* sembra riferirsi ad edizioni precedenti delle Facetie, non identiche al testo knoblouchiano; inoltre, il contributo di Aucuparius è essenziale per la costituzione di questo testo (*a me ecc.*).

¹⁹ A.Cappelli, *Chronologia, Cronografia a Calendario Perpetuo* - - -,⁵ Milano 1983, 16.

²⁰ V. Schmidt, *Histoire xxx*; citiamo Germania di Wimpfeling (J.Prüss, Argentina 1501) eⁱⁱⁱⁱ (v): *libros inq(uam) In quibus sapientiam: iusticiam religionem: prudentiam: foelix republicę regimen: iustas leges: historias: gesta veter(um): optimos mores / p(re)claras virtutes: naturaliu(m) reru(m) causas: rigidar(um) legu(m) moderame(n) & equitate(m): disciplina(m) militare(m): & strategemata fugerent* - - -. È nota la sua posizione negativa (condivisa da Brant) verso *lasciuos poetas*, tra cui collocava la maggioranza dei poeti pagani, e la battaglia con J.Locher Philomusus, v. Schmidt *Histoire* 1, 228—230; 148—153. Si veda l'importante analisi in O.Herding, *Pädagogik*,

È per mettere in valore questi pregi, ricavabili da tante delle sue opere, che Aucuparius ha voluto curare l'edizione:

ne optimus ille vir & clarissimus orator omnem etate(m) sua(m) in facetijs (que plerisq(ue) in locis lasciuiunculeꝝ admodum sunt pro scribendar(um) rerum exigentia & spurceꝝ) contriuisse existimetur

Notiamo un giudizio nell'insieme favorevole anche sulle Facetie e conviene ricordare l'uso educativo che fece Wimpheling di questo genere di storie.²¹ Concludiamo quindi per l'accettazione di tutti gli aspetti della personalità e dell'opera di Poggio in quest'ambiente preoccupato dall'utilità delle lettere.

Conviene segnalare anche il fatto che nonostante la fortuna delle Facetie, Aucuparius crede di far opera importante per salvare Poggio dall'oblivio: *ego qui varia eius opera - - - ab interitu quodammodo non sine difficultate eripui*. Tenendo conto del possibile valore topico di tale affermazione,²² conviene ricordare la negligenza della maggior parte della sua produzione da parte dei primi stampatori.²³ La quasi totalità dei testi del volume in oggetto erano infatti inediti. Queste indicazioni suggeriscono ch'è ad eccezione delle fortunatissime Facetie, le opere di Poggio non fossero estremamente conosciute nell'ambiente strasburghese.

Politik, Geschichte bei Jakob Wimpheling, XVIII^e Colloque Internat. de Tours. L'Humanisme allemand (1480—1540). Hum.Bibl.38 = De Pétrarque à Descartes 37, München - Paris 1979, 124.

²¹ V. Schmidt, Histoire 1, 138—141.

²² S'incontra ad es. in un'edizione delle poesie di Petrarca a cura di Albanus Torinus (H.Petri, Basilea 1541).

²³ A parte le Facetie, *nihil fere* di Aucuparius è esatto quantitativamente anche se qualitativamente sembra esagerato: De auaritia, Colonia 1473, Proctor 1101; Historia florentina (Vinegia 1476, GW 5613); Invectiva in L. Vallam (Au soufflet Vert, Paris, 1475?); Pogii: In hypocritas et delatores invectiva (Paris: Au soufflet vert, 1475?); In Laurentium Vallam - - - Pogii invectiva - - - (Parisius in vico sancti Jacobi in intersigno follis viridis, 1479); Pogii florentini de Infelicitate principum epistola - - - (Parisiis, Per Petrum Caesaris et socium, 1474; H 13204); De origine nobilitatis (Paris s.d.); Pogij Flore(n)tini in librum de nobilitate prologus epistolaris - - - Pogij Florentini de nobilitate Liber explicit - - - (per Gherardum leeu, Antwerpie, 1489; H 13206, Proctor 9385).

1.1.3. I testi; particolarità grafiche (dittonghi, rubriche)

Nella tavola 1 vengono elencate le opere contenute nel volume del 1511. A parte le *Facetie* notiamo l'assenza di testi lunghi. Gli argomenti sono diversi, e non sembra possibile scoprire un principio di ordinamento nella scelta dei brani pubblicati. La descrizione delle rovine è inserita nella parte contenente 18 lettere, seguita dalla lettera a Bruni sui bagni di Baden-Baden e da quella allo stesso sulla morte di Geronimo di Praga.

I dittonghi *ae oe* sono segnalati molto irregolarmente, nella maggioranza dei casi con una cediglia. Notiamo che nell'edizione contemporanea di Terenzio le note di Aucuparius per lo più non segnalano i dittonghi; nel testo invece sono notati sia con la cediglia, sia in digrafia.

Il volume non contiene titoli correnti. Occorrono sporadicamente titoli marginali che indicano personaggi nel dialogo o fatti importanti nel testo.

1.2. L'estratto del primo libro del VF.

1.2.1. Considerazioni generali

Il *De varietate fortune Urbis Rome: & de ruina eiusdem descriptio* corrisponde ad una parte del primo libro (ff. 3—7, dall'inizio *Nuper cum pontifex a altero super alterum positus constat*, nel codice Vat. Urb.lat.224). La presenza di *de varietate fortune* nel titolo non è eccezionale nelle versioni indipendenti del libro quarto; non l'abbiamo incontrato nel ms. contenente solo parte del primo libro nel nostro corpus. Non sembra probabile che Aucuparius avesse colto la descrizione da un ms. del VF intero: l'assenza di riferimenti all'esistenza di più di un libro e le caratteristiche testuali (v. la sezione seguente) suggeriscono una versione circolante separatamente.

1.2.2. Il testo stampato nella tradizione del VF

Ci contentiamo anche qui (cf. l'articolo precedente pp.96—98) di dare appunti piuttosto generali sulla collocazione del testo di Strasburgo del 1511 nella tradizione per quanto ci è nota attualmente. Finora abbiamo potuto scoprire 25 codici (su un totale di 45) contenenti il testo intero o un estratto del primo libro e ne abbiamo potuti esaminare 22. Quantitativamente, le nostre indicazioni sul testo del primo libro hanno quindi un certo carattere di affidabilità, anche se la rarità di una versione circolante separatamente (che finora conosciamo, oltre al testo del 1511, in soli due codici, uno dei quali è il Bayer.Staatsbibl. Clm 716 che non abbiamo ancora potuto esaminare) rende possibili differenze radicali tra i testimoni dell'opera intera e quelli della versione indipendente. Per il presente saggio, abbiamo confrontato il testo stampato con la parte corrispondente del primo libro nei mss. seguenti:

- 1 Vat.Urb.lat.224
- 2 Vat.lat.1784
- 3 Vat.lat.1785
- 4 Vat.Barb.lat.331
- 5 Vat.Ott.lat.1863
- 6 Vat.Ott.lat.2134
- 7 FI Naz.Magl.XXI—104
- 8 FI Ricc.871 (solo microfilm)
- 9 FI Ricc.980 (id)
- 10 MI Ambr.G 95 sup. 4
- 11 VE Marc.2560
- 12 VE Marc.3488
- 13 VE Marc.4596
- 14 BN lat.7854
- 15 BN lat.7866
- 16 BN nal 709
- 17 Kues Bibl.Hosp.557
- 18 Gottinga UB theol.136
- 19 BL Add.8799
- 20 Bodl.d'Orv.513 (estratto del primo libro)
- 21 Bodl.Canon.Misc.557
- 22 Duke University, Latin 21 (solo microfilm)

Un esame globale dei codici elencati, con le riserve formulate sopra, permette di giungere alle seguenti conclusioni provvisorie:

(1) I codici Vat.Ott.lat.2134, Gottinga UB 136, BN lat.7854, BN lat.7866, VE Marc.3488, VE Marc.4596, MI Ambr.G 95 sup. 4, Bodl.d'Orv.513, Vat.lat.1784 e, in una misura molto più limitata, VE Marc.2560 presentano una decina di varianti che non occorrono negli altri mss. Per quanto riguarda il quarto libro, abbiamo accennato ad una strutturazione rapidamente diversificata della tradizione, dividendola grosso modo in due gruppi (fasi), quello rappresentato dai codici Vat.Urb.lat.224, Kues Hosp.157 e Bodl.Canon.Misc.557 ed i codici da loro derivanti, e quello, leggermente differenziato, attestato nei codici Vat.Ott.lat.2134 e Gottinga UB theol.136, sviluppatosi poi radicalmente nelle versioni circolanti separatamente. Con molta cautela possiamo costatare una divisione simile nella tradizione alla luce dell'esame del brano discusso qui. Due gruppi: (1) Vat.Urb.lat.224, Kues Hosp.157, Bodl.Canon.Misc.557 e i codici da loro derivanti; (2) i codici dipendenti da Vat.Ott.lat.2134 e Gottinga UB theol.136, il Marc.2560 associandosi a questi due in un modo per ora difficilmente determinabile.

(2) Solo Bodl.d'Orv.513, del gruppo 2, presenta affinità strette con il testo stampato. Contiene un estratto del primo libro intitolato *Pogii flore(n)tini oratoris (et) hystorici libellus siue dyalogus de edificiis urbis rome uet(er)ibus (et) nouis* (ff. 46—50v), corrispondendo ai ff.3—9 del Vat.Urb.lat.224, pp.5—25 dell'edizione 1723 (fino a *ditioni fortune subicientium* Vat.Urb.lat. 224, *s(er)uie(n)tiu(m)* Bodl.d'Orv.513). I due testi presentano caratteristiche assenti negli altri mss. studiati:

(1) omissioni

Vat.Urb.lat.224f. 4v eam (sc. urbem) variis operibus exornassent (sc. Augustus et amici) / ipse etiam suo nomine non nulla addidisset preter pantheum

ipse - - - addidisset, vacant

Vat.Urb.lat. 224f. 5v lauacra plebis /in modum prouinciarum (+var.) /ut
annianus (+var.) marcellinus (+var.) refert / extractas / que

in - - - extractas vacant

Conviene segnalare che questo passo è notato nel margine, sembra dalla mano principale, nel BL Add. 8799, e da una mano diversa nel Ricc. 871, che non fanno parte del gruppo 2.

Vat.Urb.lat.224 f. 6 quibus in locis fuerunt (+var.)
fuerunt, vacat

duo sunt insuper
sunt, vacat

f. 6v quod est media fere urbe
est, vacat

opus diui Vespasiani
diui, vacat (così anche in Ricc. 980)

f. 6v Circi maximi celeberrimi quondam spectaculi /
nunc ortis oppleti (+var.) in quo & obeliscum
ingentem & arcum triumphalem .T. uespasiani
fuisse legimus / parum quid uisu reliquit
uetustas. Pars theatri pompeii - - - detrahebat
verbis fidem
Circi - - - fidem, vacant 1511
nu(n)c - - - legimus, vacant d'Orv.513
Pars - - - fidem, vacant d'Orv.513

f. 7 diui antoni(n)i
diui, vacat; antonij

f. 7 altero super alterum (+var.) positus constat
positus, vacat

(2) sostituzioni di parole o di forme con altre

f. 3	secessisset	secessit (id Ricc. 980)
	sepius	sepe
	possit	posset
	ueterem	ueter(um)
	paulum	paululum
f. 3v	dictu mirabile	d. admirabile
f. 4	inferrentur	infererentur d'Orv.513
		inferentur 1511
	representet	representat
f. 4v	Cestij	Cesij
	referunt	f(er)unt
f. 5	minime	nunc
	pro ligneis	pro lignis (ambr.G 95 sup.3 lignis)
	sculptum	i(n)sculptum
	pone	penes
		(cf. poene Ricc. 980, pene BN lat. 7854)
	dicatum	dedicatum
	oppressus	oppressu(m)
	nuper	nunc
f. 5v	corrupto uerbo	c. uocabulo (id BN lat. 7854)
	uotum	notum (id BN lat. 7866)
f. 6	in circo maximo	(et) M.Maximo d'Orv.513
		Marco Maximo 1511
	uenationes	uenatione(m)
f. 6v	epigramma	
	restitutus	e. referens d'Orv.513
		e. referente 1511
	L.septimio	L.septimo
	abstultitia	ob stulticia(m)
	obeliscis	obliscis
f. 7	nomen seruet	n. seruat

(3) aggiunte

f. 3v huc illuc	huc & illuc
f. 6 & opere (+var.)	& etiam opere

(4) ordine di parole

f. 3v manus hominum	h.m.
sanctiones legum	l.s. (<i>id</i> Marc. 4596)
f. 5 suffultum columnis	c.s.
f. 6 nihil certi nobis	n.n.c.

Con poche eccezioni, tutte segnalate sopra, queste varianti sono uniche nella tradizione studiata.

(3) Bodl.d'Orv.513 non è pertanto identico al testo stampato. Oltre al suo volume più importante, presenta particolarità assenti in quest'ultimo; d'altro canto, il testo del 1511 è in certi casi conforme a quello degli altri mss.; qualche volta contiene varianti uniche:

(1) omissioni

f. 3v ut puto templi	<i>vacant</i>
belli ducum	belli <i>vacat</i> (bellorum d'Orv.513)
per fortune	per <i>vacat</i>
f. 4 omnibus aut publicis	o.a. <i>vacant</i>
videbantur certatura	v. <i>vacat</i> (facta esse videnba(n)tur (et) d'Orv.513)
f. 4v magno sumptu	m. <i>vacat</i>
op(us) absolutum	a. <i>vacat</i>
montem & ripam tiberis	& r.t. <i>vacant</i> (Mo(n)tem & tiberis, s <i>corr. in m</i> d'Orv.513)
f. 5 herent	<i>vacat</i> (discernu(n)tur d'Orv.513)
f. 5v omni decore amisso /	

ut nihil sit quod affirmare queas alicui certo usui deputatas	decore vsui deputatu(m)
f. 6 ubi nunc siluestri ecclesia est nomen earum martiam tepulam iuliam hodie in urbem fluit	est <i>vacat</i> earum <i>vacat</i> t. <i>vacat</i> h. <i>vacat</i>
f.7 id ipsum	ipsum

(2) sostituzioni

f. 3 gratia quidem	causa q(uo)d
f. 3 possit quas natura tulit rerum	posset quos n.t. eor(um)
f. 3v Liuanio (+ var.)	Liurio (Luciano d'Orv.513)
f. 4 Missa cum ipsa immortalitate uexanda quippe tantis mirari Q.lutatium.Q.F.& Q. Catulum co(n)ss. (+ var.)	missas (Missu(m) d'Orv.513) c.i. mortalitate uexando q(ui)dem cunctis minui Q.luctatiu(m) Q.F. & .Q. cattulum coss. (Q.lucatiu(m) Q.fabriciu(m) & Q.Catulu(m) cons. d'Orv.513)
f. 4v L.fabritium C.F. curatorem accipiant prisca ex testamento eruens oppressus senatorie dicerentur	L.faricu(m) C.si citratorem accipiu(n)t scripta ex teston erutas (erruens d'Orv.513) oppressu(m) oratorie dicebantur

Asinius	Asnius
f. 5 M.agrippe	Magrippe
Extat (et)	Erat
scrobes faciens	faciens strobeas
fastidiumq(ue)	fastidium quoque
f.5v S.P.Q.R. incendio	S.P.Q.IS. Incendiu(m)
consumptum restituisse	co(n)su(m)ptu(m) restituisse (S.P.Q.R. cetera incedio co(n)sumpta resistere no(n) potuisse d'Orv.513)
Saluatorem intellune (+ var.)	Saliatorem intelluuie (Saluatore(m) i(n) telumo d'Orv.513)
nobilis	nobis
Nicolaum	Michaelem
petronium perpennam	patronum p. (cf. petronum Ricc. 980)
M.Agrippe	N.Agrippe
rudera	ruveri
f. 6 Siluestri	Siluestris
obliterauit (+ var.)	obliterant
edificatarum (+ var.)	edificatis
tripolim	Triopolim
quod sciam proditum	p(ro)ditu(m) est
habemus	
septimi (+ var.) seueri	septem seueri
quedam precipui operis	q(ui)dam p.o.
dicunt	dicunt(ur) (cf. dicit(ur) Marc. 4596)
obsoleuit (+ var.)	absoleuit (<i>id</i> BN lat. 7854) (aboleuit d'Orv.513)
tito (+) uespasiano	i(n) Vespasione
indicat	iudicat
frontinus	froneus
Anienem ueterem	amennem ueterem (Amonem u.

	d'Orv.513)
sumptuoso opere	sumptuosa opera
a diuo nerua	ab diuo neruo (Neruo Kues Hosp.157)
scribit	ostendit
f. 6v celimontanum	celi monte(m) (celii montanu(m) d'Orv.513)
a solo - - - restitutus	a Sala - - - referente
ex latere cocto (+var.)	e.l.carto
in quo & hodie	
quoq(ue)	In q(u)o & quiq(ue) romani hodie
romani quotannis ludos	q(u)otta(n)nos ludos
insulster	infulserit
Sepulchra	Speulchra
Mausoleum (+var.)	Mausedium
specioso	speciose (<i>id</i> lat. 7854)
f. 7 nulle (+var.) resident	Mille (<i>id</i> lat. 7866) r.l.
(+var.) littere	

(3) aggiunte

f.3v iniquitatem	in iniquitatem
f. 5 tigna enea	tigna al(ias) eria

(4) ordine delle parole

f. 4v altera occidentem ./	a.orientem a.occ.v. (<i>id</i>
altera orientem uersus	BL Add. 8799)
ut existiment id	u.i.e.
f. 5v testimonio est	t.epigramma e.
epigramma	
f. 6v celium usq(ue) montem	C.m.u.
sunt plures columne	p.s.c.

Come risulterà dai passi sottocitati, la maggioranza delle modifiche di entrambi i testi (Bodl.d'Orv.513 e 1511) così come quelle dell'edizione stampata, possono spiegarsi con la lettura erronea sia di lettere (ad es. *minime* letto *nunc*, *uotum* letto *notum*, *circo* letto *Marco*; *mirari* letto *minui*, *fabritium* C.F. *curatorem faricu(m)*, C.si *citratorem*, S.P.Q.R. letto S.P.Q.IS., *Saluatorem* letto *Saliatorem*, *intellume*, variante caratteristica del gruppo 2, letto *intelluuie*, ecc.), sia di abbreviature (*uenationem* pro *uenationes*, *oppressum* pro *oppressus* si spiegherà con l'uso dell'abbreviazione **3** per la nasale); le lacune attestate saranno anch'esse attribuite alla negligenza dei copisti. È notevole che l'edizione stampata non tradisce nessuna ambizione emendatoria: il testo, che a volte non ha senso (ad es. *faricum* C.si *citratorem*, in *Vespasione Marco Maximo* ecc.), è stato stampato tale e quale, con l'aggiunta di eventuali errori di stampa. Non testimonia quindi in favore delle capacità editoriali di Aucupario, anche tenendo conto del livello generale delle edizioni contemporanee.

2. L'edizione parigina (1511—1513 ca.)

2.0. Introduzione

Non è necessario sottolineare l'intensa attività delle officine parigine del primo Cinquecento nel divulgare opere classiche ed umanistiche. Tra questi editori, stampatori e librai, una posizione importante fu occupata da Jehan Petit che, in diverse associazioni con officine, promosse in misura considerevole la conoscenza degli *humanitatis studia* a Parigi.²⁴ Il suo sodalizio con Jodocus Badius Ascensius fu lungo e fruttuoso.²⁵

L'edizione parigina fu copiata quasi senza modifiche su quella strasburghese del 1511, uso conosciutissimo nei primi tempi della stampa,

²⁴ Febvre-Martin 180—181; Ph. Renouard, *Josse Badius Ascensius* 1, Paris 1908, 19, 22; 23—24. Petit aveva fatto pubblicare *De infelicitate principum* nel 1511 (Renouard-Moreau 2, n. 206).

²⁵ Renouard, *JBA* 1, 23; Febvre-Martin 181—182.

e presenta lo stampatore Nicolas des Prez (Nicolaus Pratensis) in associazione con il finanziatore Petit.²⁶

2.1. Osservazioni sull'insieme del volume

2.1.1. La data

L'edizione parigina non porta indicazioni sull'anno di stampa. Renouard-Moreau la datano del "1513 ca." in base al marchio di Jehan Petit;²⁷ conviene segnalare comunque che il marchio nel presente volume corrisponde esattamente a Renouard, Marques n. 890,²⁸ attestato nel 1511 (22 sett.) e totalmente diverso dal n. 893, del 1515. L'assenza di argomenti più precisi in Renouard-Moreau rende difficile una valutazione definitiva della loro datazione. In questa sede, possiamo solo ipotizzare come *terminus ad quem* la pubblicazione della seconda edizione strasburghese, vista la poca probabilità di una riproduzione della versione meno ampia dopo questa data. Accettiamo dunque come datazione provvisoria quella del 1511—1513 ca.

2.1.2. I testi; particolarità grafiche

Per quanto abbiamo potuto scoprire, l'edizione parigina non presenta modifiche testuali notevoli. Troviamo, alla fine della prima parte, una vita di Poggio che è quasi identica alla biografia nel lib.14 (ad a.1416) del Supplementum supplementi cronicar(um) di G.F.Foresti (Jac.Phil.Bergomensis) (A. de Lissona, Venetiis 1503, Proctor 12387), tranne l'elenco delle opere che è una riproduzione del contenuto del volume edito. Le rubriche delle opere sono le stesse, vengono aggiunti

²⁶ Renouard, JBA 1, 23—24; id., Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens - - - Paris 1965, 114—115.

²⁷ Renouard-Moreau 2, n. 693.

²⁸ Ph.Renouard, Les Marques typographiques parisiennes des XV^e et XVI^e siècles, Paris 1926.

titoli correnti; per l'estratto del primo libro, le rubriche marginali sono quasi identiche a quelle del 1511. La grande differenza consiste nel segnalare i dittonghi, notati nella maggioranza con una cediglia.

2.2. Le caratteristiche testuali

La tavola 2 indica le modifiche portate al testo di 1511. Vediamo che esse non presuppongono una consultazione di mss., né tradiscono un'ambizione editoriale eccessiva; l'editore, pur correggendo qualche errore evidente, ha lasciato immutati passi corrotti (ad es. *si citratorem viarum, Marco Maximo*), ed ha introdotto nuovi errori (di stampa, *ad se pro ab se*, forse l'asintattico *tiburtini pro tyberim*). Risulta chiaro che l'edizione parigina, almeno per il nostro testo, non dipende dalla seconda versione strasburghese.

3. L'edizione strasburghese del 1513

3.0. Introduzione

L'edizione del 1513 fu finanziata da Knobloch e stampata da Johann Schott (attivo 1500—1548), che, insieme a M. Schürer, fu uno dei grandi stampatori umanistici del primo Cinquecento strasburghese. Dopo i suoi studi a Friburgo i.B., Heidelberg e Basilea, continuò a Strasburgo l'attività tipografica di suo padre Martin Schott. Aveva una solida cultura classica, come testimoniano le sue prefazioni; sin dal 1503, appaiono sporadicamente caratteri greci nei suoi volumi, poco più tardi iniziò, sul modello di Schürer, la stampa di testi greci. Nei due primi decenni del Cinquecento la sua produzione è caratterizzata da un'intensa attività di pubblicazione di opere greche, latine ed umanistiche. Dopo il 1520 ca. si volge alla stampa di opere riformatrici, come la maggioranza dei suoi colleghi strasburghesi.²⁹ Lavorò principalmente per committenti, così a

²⁹ Ritter, *Imprimerie 170—176*.

Strasburgo come a Lipsia, Vienna e Milano.³⁰ La versione del 1513 è quindi, al pari dell'edizione primitiva, un prodotto dell'umanesimo strasburghese, nonostante contatti più ampi (v. sotto).

3.1. Considerazioni sull'insieme del volume

L'edizione del 1513 presenta notevoli modifiche in confronto a quella del 1511.

(1) Anche se la lettera di Aucuparius ed i testi editi da lui sono conservati senza sostanziali alterazioni, un numero considerevole di aggiunte è stato effettuato (v. tavola 3).

(2) Almeno una parte di queste aggiunte si mettono in rapporto con la contribuzione dell'umanista tubinghese Heinrich Bebel (1471—1516 ca.), di cui sono inserite due lettere, la prima indirizzata a Leonard Dür, abate di Adalberg (Madalberg, diocesi di Costanza), datata del 1513, la seconda a Johann Streler, *doctor utriusque iuris* e *triumvir* della Federazione sveva.³¹ La presenza di Bebel collega la nuova edizione con ambienti umanistici più ampi. Aveva studiato a Cracovia con Lorenz Rabe (Corvinus) all'inizio degli anni 1490, entrando in contatto con le idee umanistiche presenti in questa università accanto all'insegnamento tradizionale; poi a Basilea, dove probabilmente aveva ascoltato Brant nel 1495; dal 1496—7 al 1518 occupò a Tubinga la cattedra di eloquenza e di poesia.³² Fu un campione instancabile degli *humanitatis studia*, pubblicando, oltre alla sua copiosa produzione di *Facetiae* e di poesie latine di diversi generi,³³ un manuale sullo stile epistolare, un opuscolo sulle

³⁰ Ibid. 174.

³¹ Lo stesso Streler figura anche ad es. nel volume *In hoc libro continentur Haec Bebeliana opuscula noua & adolescentiae labores*, f. Qij verso (lettera sulla morte di Conrad Hohenstetter indirizzata a Streler, menzione nell'epitaffio del poeta morto).

³² G. Bebermeyer, *Tübinger Dichterhumanisten, Bebel/Rischling/Flayder*, Tübingen 1927 (Hildesheim 1967), 10—12; J. Haller, *Die Anfänge der Universität Tübingen 1477—1537* 1—2, Stuttgart 1927 (Aalen 1970), 212—213.

³³ Haller 1, 213—215.

*elegantiae*³⁴, ed editò la *Cosmographia* di Rabe.³⁵ I contemporanei testimoniano del suo contributo decisivo alla penetrazione della lingua latina umanistica in Germania.³⁶ Per quanto riguarda la sua ideologia nazionalistica, egli non si stacca troppo dai primi umanisti alsaziani: come per Wimpheling e Brant, il suo sistema si fonda sul primato terreno dell'imperatore, ed il suo patriottismo germanico (con l'accento svevo) non rimane al di qua di quello dell'autore di Germania.³⁷ I suoi contatti con la *sodalitas litteraria* furono stretti e numerosi:³⁸ gli stampatori strasburghesi curarono frequenti edizioni delle sue opere.³⁹

³⁴ Commentarii Epistolarum conficiendaru(m) Henrici Bebelij Iustingensis Poetę // Laureati, poetica(m) & oratoria(m) publice profi // tentis in studio Tubingensi - - - Phorce, Thomas Anshelm 1508, Proctor-Isaac 11769 (1509); nello stesso volume, f. z< viij > Castigatio commentariorum de abusio // ne linguae latinae cum retractatione multorum locorum Henrici Bebelij // Iustingensis - - - (id. per la prima ed.), Haller 2, 80—81. Per ulteriori opere sul latino, v. Haller 2, 81.

³⁵ *Cosmographia dans manuductionem // in tabulas Ptholomei ostendas omnes regiones terrae habitabiles diuersa hominu(m) genera: diuersis moribus & conditionibus viuentes: - - -* (Basilea [1496], Proctor 7691).

³⁶ Michael Coccinius (Köchlin) nel volume segnalato sopra nota 35 f. I_(vj) (verso): *Na(m) docendo q(ui)d rei litterarię contulerit, Tubingensę (sic) gymnasiu(m) satis superq(ue) testat(ur), ad q(u)od omniu(m) primus ma(n)suetiores musas tersamq(ue) latinitate(m) sanis persuasionibus inuexit - - - Ipsu(m) ex omnibus germanię scriptoribus de ipsa germanica iuuentute qua(m) meritssimu(m) (sic) co(m)probabit.* Per Köchlin, v. Haller 1, 237—238, per altre testimonianze, Haller 2, 181.

³⁷ V. Haller 1, 218—221 e 2, 78—79; per le idee di Wimpheling, v. Germania e Schmidt, *Histoire* 1, 31—45 (controversia con Th. Murner, cf. Burger 303—305); per Brant, v. Schmidt, *Histoire* 1, 203, 280sq. — Il patriottismo, sotto diverse forme ed in diversi gradi, fu caratteristico in quell'epoca dell'umanesimo dell'Impero, v. ad es. P. Laurens, *Rome et la Germanie chez les poètes humanistes allemands.* *Hum.All.* 339—335; Burger 224—225.

³⁸ Schmidt, *Histoire* 1, 234: elenca Aucuparius, Matthias Ringmann, Thomas Wolf; fu apprezzato da Wimpheling, cf. sopra.

³⁹ Tra altri (per la difficoltà di recensione delle opere di Bebel, sparse in diverse pubblicazioni, v. Haller 2, 76) *In hoc libro continentur Haec Bebeliana opuscula noua & adolescentiae labores - - - Argentorati, M.Schürer 1512* (Schmidt, RBS 8.87); *Opuscula, Argentorati, J.Grüninger 1509* (Schmidt, RBS 1.96; Chrisman H1. 1. 17); *Opusculum Henrici Bebelii de institutione puerorum - - - , Argentorati, M.Schürer 1513* (Proctor 10132).

Il contributo di Bebel all'edizione del 1513 rimane alquanto difficilmente determinabile. Dalla lettera a Dür risulta che aveva trovato nel suo monastero (f.32v)

queda(m) nondu(m) impressa aut. multu(m) vulgata licet in aliquibus manca opuscula Poggij Florentini - - - Vnde sum no(n) paru(m) gauisus: q(uod) tuo auspicio / & mea opera etiam aliquando in lucem prodirem (*sic, pro prodirent*, 1538) - - - Et licet nimis acerbe insectetur Laurentiu(m) Vallam ho(m)i(n)em doctissimu(m): - - - Vnum de nobilitate iucundissimu(m): Aliu(m) aute(m) de miseria humanę conditionis - - -

Secondo la lettera a Streler, aveva letto (*Cum nuper legissem*, f.111v) la lettera di Poggio a Cosimo de' Medici sui vantaggi della vita in campagna. F.112: *Sed lege Poggium: qui tibi copiosius haec explanabit*. La prima lettera è datata del 6 marzo, la seconda del 25 febbraio 1513, e coincidono quindi cronologicamente con la data di stampa. Non conosciamo altra pubblicazione di Bebel contenente le opere citate. Anche se sorprende l'assenza di ogni riferimento allo stampatore strasburghese, dobbiamo considerare probabile il ruolo d'editore di Bebel per questa parte del volume. Rimane del tutto oscura la provenienza delle altre opere aggiunte.

Concludiamo dunque per l'allargamento non solo del corpus delle opere stampate, ma anche dell'ambientazione dell'edizione: al cerchio degli umanisti strasburghesi si aggiungono personaggi svevi, e acquista quindi un carattere più generalmente germanico.

(3) La tavola 2 permette di costatare le modifiche nella disposizione del volume. Il numero delle opere non è stato solo aumentato considerevolmente; l'ordine dei testi si trova inoltre quasi completamente cambiato. Notiamo la scomparsa della sezione *Descriptiones quaedam* e la costituzione di un corpus omogeneo di lettere, tra cui vengono inserite la descrizione dei bagni di Baden-Baden e della morte di Geronimo. L'estratto del primo libro del VF viene dopo *de miseria hum.cond.*, le due opere formando quindi un'unità tematica. Constatiamo una certa tendenza al raggruppamento tematico e formale: dialoghi, traduzione, in-

vettive, orazioni, epistole, facezie, tendenza pressoché assente nell'edizione del 1511.

(4) La disposizione esterna del volume si trova ugualmente cambiata. La notazione dei dittonghi è accuratissima; se le rubriche delle opere non presentano modifiche, sono stati aggiunti *titoli correnti* e indici accurati. La paginazione è unica in tutto il volume.

3.2. L'estratto del primo del VF

La tavola 2 indica le modifiche portate al testo del 1511. Per l'edizione del 1513 vale grosso modo quanto detto su quella parigina: la segnalazione dei dittonghi, aggiunte di nuovi errori (ad es. *Aeneas* che sarà stato una glossa marginale nell'edizione precedente, mentre *pare(n)team/t* è chiaramente un errore di stampa). Qualche errore evidentissimo fu eliminato (*Vespasione fronemus* come nell'edizione parigina, mentre *S.P.Q.IS.*, corretto nella parigina, fu lasciato, come anche *Si citratorem* e *Marco maximo*.) C'è solo una vera emendazione (la lacuna *Vsui deputatu(m)*, cf. sopra 1.2.2:(3)(1) e tav. 2: f.5v), completata probabilmente con una congettura.

Il testo dell'estratto non dà dunque una testimonianza molto favorevole della diligenza degli editori della casa Schott. Uno studio puntuale degli altri testi, che non ci è stato possibile effettuare, sarebbe necessario per un giudizio sul valore dell'insieme del volume.

4. L'edizione basileense del 1538

4.0. Introduzione

È conosciuta l'attività qualitativamente e quantitativamente eccezionale degli stampatori di Basilea della prima metà del Cinquecento, degli Amerbach, dei Froben, della famiglia Petri.⁴⁰ Un'economia fiorente,

⁴⁰ A.F.Johnson, *The First Century of Printing at Basle. Periods of Typography*, London

la presenza di eruditi, tra cui Erasmo, che soggiornò a Basilea dal 1514 alla sua morte nel 1536, gli impulsi dati dall'università contribuirono al rifiorire degli studi umanistici.⁴¹ Dal secondo decennio fino al 1540 ca. la produzione basileense, con certe fluttuazioni, dominò il mercato europeo, specie per le lettere classiche.⁴²

La dinastia dei Petri (Johann, suo nipote Adam, il figlio di questo Heinrich, i suoi eredi) rivalizzò con Froben nel pubblicare testi umanistici sin dal 1509; Heinrich Petri contribuì alla divulgazione di testi greci e latini come di quelli più recenti (Valla, Poggio, Petrarca).⁴³

I contatti tra le città della valle del Reno sono più volte stati analizzati.⁴⁴ Oltre al programma schiettamente umanistico di Heinrich Petri, la ristampa dell'edizione strasburghese del 1513 si spiegherà in parte con i frequenti scambi tra le due città.

4.1. Osservazioni sull'insieme del volume

4.1.1. I testi

Il contenuto del volume strasburghese del 1513 fu riprodotto quasi integralmente. Notiamo leggere modifiche nelle rubriche, nei margini; i dittonghi sono per lo più notati in digrafia; l'interpunzione è caratterizzata dall'uso della virgola.

1926, 5—20; C.W.Heckethorn, *The Printers of Basle in the XV. & XVI. Centuries. Their Biographies, Printed Books and Devices*, London 1897, 6, e *passim*.

⁴¹ Per l'importanza dell'economia, v. l'interessante comunicazione di P.Amelung, *Humanisten als Mitarbeiter der Drucker am Beispiel des Ulmer Frühdrucks*, F.Krafft-D.Wuttke ed., *Das Verhältnis der Humanisten zum Buch*, Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Komm. für Hum.forschung, Mitteilungen 4, Boppard 1977, 130; Heckethorn 6; per quella dell'immigrazione, P.G.Bietenholz, *Basle and France in the Sixteenth Century, The Basle Humanists and Printers in Their Contacts with Francophone Culture*, TRH 112, Genève 1971, 21; M.Welti, *Le grand animateur de la Renaissance tradive à Bâle: Pierre Perna* - - - , *Hum.All.* 131.

⁴² Johnson 6, 20.

⁴³ Heckethorn 155; R.Schmidt, *Deutsche Buchhändler, Deutsche Buchdrucker 1—6*, Berlin 1902—1908 (Hildesheim-New York 1979), 768—769.

⁴⁴ V. ad es. il colloquio di Strasburgo nel 1938 (sopra n.2); specie la comunicazione di Staehelin.

La modifica più significativa è l'omissione della lettera dedicatoria di Aucuparius; rimangono le due lettere di Bebel. L'edizione perde così il suo carattere particolare strasburghese, e rimane (per la vaghezza dei commenti bebeliani, cf. sopra 3.1.) collegata con il solo ambiente svevo. È difficile trovare ragioni precise per questo distacco, se non, oltre alla volontà di presentare il volume come un prodotto basileense, la voglia di eliminare dall'insieme due personaggi ormai noti per le loro opinioni antiriformistiche.⁴⁵

4.2. L'estratto del primo libro del VF

Le modifiche, come risulta dalla tavola 2, sono di ordine ortografico (*syluestribus* pro *silu-*, *literae* pro *litt-*) con l'aggiunta di qualche nuovo errore di stampa (*parenteam*, & *foede* può anche esser considerato come un tentativo di emendare un passo incomprensibile; *ex S.C.* diventato & *.S.C.*, *obsoleuit* trasformato in *oboleuit*; *C.Si citratorem* diventò un nome: *C. Sicitratorem*).

Neanche l'editore dell'officina petriana ottenne risultati molto soddisfacenti per il nostro testo. Conviene sottolineare la poca fortuna testuale della sola parte del VF in circolazione fino al primo Settecento.

5. Conclusione

La storia delle prime edizioni stampate del *De varietate fortunae* illustra in modo interessante l'imprevedibilità della diffusione di certi testi. Nel Quattrocento il VF. conobbe un primo considerevole successo in circolazione manoscritta, una storia testuale differenziata per due estratti particolarmente interessanti, diffusione in stampa soprattutto per la descrizione delle rovine di Roma, scarsa fortuna per l'incunabolo del

⁴⁵ Per modifiche nelle lettere dedicatorie in edizioni piratae, v. Renouard, *JBA* 1,13. Per le opinioni religiose di Brant e di Aucuparius, v. Schmidt, *Histoire* 1,234—236 et 2,154.

quarto libro, un successo importante per le traduzioni stampate fatte su testi in circolazione manoscritta (v. l'articolo precedente). La struttura aneddottica del VF prestandosi benissimo all'estrazione, gli argomenti forse più attuali dal punto di vista della storia della cultura (l'archeologia classica ed i viaggi di esplorazione) continuarono la loro carriera testuale oltre a quella dell'opera intera.

Un membro della *sodalitas litteraria* di Strasburgo, con interessi archeologici, Thomas Aucuparius incluse nella sua edizione di diversi testi poggiani una copia abbastanza corrotta di una parte della descrizione delle rovine di Roma, probabilmente circolante separatamente come l'estratto del primo libro contenuto in Bodl.d'Orv.513, testualmente apparentato al passo stampato. Le nostre conoscenze attuali suggeriscono un'origine comune, collegata al gruppo di codici del VF intero rappresentati ad es. da Vat.Ott.lat.2134 e Gottinga UB theol.136. Il testo aucupariano presenta più di un passo indubbiamente corrotto. Nell'edizione parigina sono stati corretti alcuni errori, ma una revisione sistematica magari *ope codicum* sembra da escludere. La nuova edizione strasburghese, collegata almeno per una parte con l'umanista svevo Bebel, contiene opere assenti nel volume precedente, e presenta un carattere esterno più curato (segnalazione di dittonghi); l'evidenza indica un'attitudine negligente nello stabilire il testo (un'emendazione, probabilmente congetturale, insieme a qualche errore corretto e nuovi errori aggiunti). L'edizione basileense che toglie ogni collegamento con Strasburgo ma conserva quello con l'ambiente umanistico svevo, riproduce i testi dell'edizione strasburghese del 1513, aggiungendo alla descrizione delle rovine di Roma qualche nuovo errore di stampa.

L'edizione parigina del 1723,⁴⁶ anch'essa di qualità insoddisfacente,

⁴⁶ Per questa edizione, v. adesso I.Kajanto-O.Merisalo, *The 1723 Edition of Poggio Bracciolini's De varietate Fortunae*, Human.Lovan. Per riproduzioni del testo dell'edizione basileense, v. l'articolo precedente n. 10. Citiamo il passo seguente per illustrare le correzioni arbitrarie in Sallengre: (ed. basileense) *Liuius doctissimo Graeco autore, cum ad amicum suum scriberet, Romam uidere cupiente(m), non urbem, sed quanda(m) quasi coeli partem appellatam*. Sallengre: *Et quidam doctissimus Graecus Auctor, cum ad amicum suum scriberet, Romam videre cupientem, non urbem, sed quandam quasi coeli partem appellat eam*. — Clausingius sembra indipendente da Sallengre.

reintegrò i due estratti nel contesto originale, concludendo così una storia di *varietas fortunae* testuale.

Tavola 1. Testi delle edizioni strasburghesi del 1511 e del 1513

Lettera dedicatoria (Aucuparius a Brant)	id.
Historie conuiuales disceptatiuae	id.
Orationes 1—4 (N.B. n. 4 = n. 5 del 1513)	De nobilitate Lettera (Bebel a Dür) Argumentum (Bebel) De miseria humanae conditionis De varietate urbis Romae eiusque ruinarum descriptio Tractatus/Comoedia Lucii (i.e. Luciani) de Asino
Inuectiue	Inuectiuae
— in Felicem antipapam	id.
— in Philelphum 1—3	id.
— in Vallam (N.B. = n. 2 del 1513)	in Vallam 1—3, 5
	Orationes 1—5 Lettera (Bebel a Streler)
Epistolae 1—18	Epistolae 1—45
Descriptiones quaedam	(contenendo le
— la morte di Gerolamo da Praga	descrizioni della morte di Gerolamo da Praga, dei
— i bagni di Baden-Baden	bagni di Baden-Baden
De varietate fortune vrbis Rome eiusque ruinarum descriptio	e la lettera a Guarino)
Epistola ad Guarinum	
Facetie	id.

Tavola 2. Modifiche portate al testo del 1511 nelle edizioni successive

Urb.lat. 224	1511	P1513	S1513	B1538
f. 3v	ob ueteru(m) stupendam exosi crassatam siluestribus posset appulisset Marij illius Africam	grassatam Afr-	ob <i>vacat</i> tum st. exesi crassatam possit appulisset M.i.Aeneas aphricam	 sylu-
f. 4	parente/tam fede recognoscat tabularium Q.luctatium aduentinu(m) Publitio vii.viri	tabularium Q.Luctantium au-	pare(n)team/t foede recognoscant Q.luctatium	
f. 4v	ccc.xxx. fructiceti ex S.C. piramidem In hoc laudo opresse	pyr-	publicio septimi v. ccc.xxx.p(er)fectum fruticetis	& S.C.
f. 5	Asnius Magrippe tyberim strobeas	Asinius M.a. tiburtini scrobeas	i. quo l. exp(re)ssę tyberim	
f. 5v	lauachra N.Agrippe priori decore vsui deputatu(m) adue(n)ti- nu(m) incorruptiora S.P.Q.IS.	M.Agrippe au-	lauacra priori decore exutę : olim co(m)muni usui deputatę incorruptior S.P.Q.IS.	
f. 6	in Vespasione absoleuit fronemus	i(n) Vespasiano frontinus	obsoleuit	oboleuit

	amennem	anienem	Amenem	
	amenem	anienem	Amenem	
	Anio		Auio	
	collopse	collapse		
f. 6v	septimo Seuero		septimio S.	
	obliscis		obeliscis	
f. 7	manibus		nauibus	
	titulum		tituu(m)	titulum
	ab se	ad se	ab se	

Zum Gebrauch der griechischen Lehnwörter bei Vergil

III. Gibt es „homerische“ Lehnwörter in der Aeneis?

TEIVAS OKSALA

Dieser Aufsatz ist die Fortsetzung zu *Arctos* 18 (1984) 45—63 und 19 (1985) 103—123, wo ich Vergils *Bucolica* und *Georgica* untersucht habe. Diesmal möchte ich mit der *Aeneis* beginnen.

In der *Aeneis* gibt es im ganzen 86 solche Lehnwörter, deren griechische Stammwörter bei Homer vorkommen und die also in diesem weiten Sinn als „homerisch“ zu bezeichnen sind. Die folgenden eingebürgerten Lehnwörter werde ich als insignifikant und indifferent ohne weiteres beiseitelassen: *bracchium*, *contus*, *corona* (im Griechischen nicht in der Bedeutung „Kranz“), *hora*, *nauta*, *olea*, *oliva*, *oleum*, *olivum*, *poena*, *tessera*, *tus*, *viola* (zus. 13 Wörter). Unter den übrigen 73 Wörtern verdienen besondere Aufmerksamkeit jene 33 Lehnwörter, deren homerische Färbung durch ein Homerzitat fixiert wird.

Von den 9.996 Versen der *Aeneis* gibt es ein oder mehrere Lehnwörter in den 1.025 Versen (Belege gibt es 1.144).¹ Von diesen gibt es etwa ein Viertel (263) als „Homerverse“ (von Homer direkt oder *mutatis mutandis* entnommene Verse)² zu bezeichnen. Nur in 63 Fällen (etwa ein Fünftel)

¹ Ich habe meine Tabelle in *Arctos* 18 (1984) 45 etwas korrigiert.

² Für „Homerverse“ bezeichne ich die zwei ersten Zitatklassen bei Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer*, 1964, 364: a) (. . .) Vergil hat den Homervers oder -abschnitt so gut wie wörtlich übernommen, ‚zitiert‘. b) (. . .) Vergil hat den Homervers oder -abschnitt, wenn auch variiert, übernommen. — Dazu vgl. die eigenen Worte des Dichters in

hat Vergil das griechische Wort mit dem entsprechenden Lehnwort wiedergegeben, also ein Wort samt Motiv entlehnt. Eben diese 33 Wörter möchte ich zuerst in einer alphabetischen Ordnung genauer behandeln.

a e g i s (αἰγίς bei Homer mehrmals als Schild des Zeus oder der Athene): Das Wort kommt 2 mal im achten Buch mit griechischer Flexion (*aegida*) vor, einmal als Jupiters Attribut, einmal als das der Pallas. Die beiden Belege tragen homerische Färbung, im letzten Fall handelt es sich um ein Zitat (Aen. 8,435): *a e g i d a que horriferam, turbatae Palladis arma* (vgl. Il. 2,446—447: Ἀθήνη | αἰγίδ' ἔχουσ' ἐρίτιμον).

a ë r: Das Stammwort ἀήρ bedeutet bei Homer 1) die untere Luftschicht und 2) die Nebel, mit der z.B. ein Gott oder eine Göttin seinen Günstling umhüllt. Bei Vergil ist das Wort in beiden Funktionen belegt (4mal im Akkusativ *aëra*), und es hat eine allgemeine homerische Färbung. In unserem Zitat handelt es sich um einen Schutznebel (Aen. 1,411): *at Venus obscuro gradientis aëre saepsit* (vgl. Od. 7,14—15 u. 13,189—190).

a m b r o s i u s: Dieses Adjektiv, das bei Homer mehrmals belegt ist, kommt in der Aeneis nur einmal vor und zwar in einer Wendung, die ziemlich genau ihrer homerischen Vorlage entspricht (Aen. 1,403—404 u. Il. 1,529—530:

*a m b r o s i a e que comae divinum vertice odorem
spiravere* (von Venus gesagt)

ἀμβρόσια δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος
κρατὸς ἀπ'ἀθανάτοιο (von Zeus gesagt)

Auch das entsprechende Substantiv wird nur einmal in der Aeneis genannt als ein von Venus angebotenes Heilmittel.

Suetonvita 46: *Asconius Pedianus libro, quem contra obtretractores Vergilii scripsit, pauca admodum obiecta ei proponit eaque circa historiam fere et quod pleraque ab Homero sumpsisset; sed hoc ipsum crimen sic defendere adsuetum ait: cur non illi quoque eadem furta temptarent? Verum intellecturos facilius esse Herculi clavam quam Homero versum subripere.* — Meine Synkrisis beruht wesentlich auf Knauers Zitatlisten.

a n t r u m : Dieses Fremdwort, das in den Bucolica durch die Theokritbelege motiviert wird,³ kommt in der Aeneis 24 mal in wichtigen Zusammenhängen vor. Die Aeneisbelege entsprechen dem reichlichen Gebrauch von ἄντρον bei Homer. Zweimal handelt es sich um ein Homerzitat. So wird das Idyll der Nymphengrotte für *antrum*/ἄντρον bezeichnet (Aen. 1,166—168 u. Od. 13,103—104):

*fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus a n t r u m ;
intus aquae dulces vivoque sedilia saxo,
N y m p h a r u m domus.*

ἀγχότι δ' αὐτῆς ἄ ν τ ρ ο ν ἐπήρατον ἠεροειδές,
ἱρὸν Ν υ μ φ ἄ ω ν , αἱ Νηϊάδες καλέονται.

Dieses Motiv hatte schon Theokrit gebraucht (7,137: Νυμφᾶν ἐξ ἄντροιο). Der andere Fall betrifft die Grotte des Polyphem (Aen. 3,631—632): *iacuitque per antrum | immensus* (vgl. Od. 9,298: κεῖτ' ἔντοσθ' ἄντροιο τανυσσάμενος). Auch die anderen Belege der Polyphemgeschichte (Aen. 3,617; 624; 641) beziehen sich allgemein auf Od. 9,105—566, wo eben ἄντρον gebraucht wird⁴ (dazu vgl. außerdem Aen. 8,419; 424; 451).

a s t r u m : Der Gebrauch dieses Fremdwortes entspricht der ganz allgemeinen Verwendung von ἀστήρ/ἄστρον bei Homer. Einmal und zwar in einem epischen Vergleich kommt die offensichtliche, wenn auch freie motivische Parallelität hinzu (Aen. 8,589—590 / Il. 5, 5—6): *bes. Oceani perfusus . . . unda / λελουμένος Ὠκεανοῖο*.

b a r a t h r u m entspricht dem homerischen βέρεθρον in zwei Belegen. Homer verwendet dieses Wort in der Beschreibung der Skylla, Vergil überträgt es in das Bild der Charybdis (Aen. 3,421 / Od. 12,94).

³ Arctos 18 (1984) 49, 54, 55, 59 u. 62. Vgl. auch georg. 4,44 u. 152; dazu Arctos 19 (1985) 117.

⁴ Vergil gebraucht hier nur *antrum*. Bei Homer kommt neben ἄντρον (7 mal) auch σπέος (12 mal) vor, das sicher als eine Entsprechung für das lateinische *specus* empfunden wurde (einige Male in der Aeneis).

c e d r u s (3 mal bei Vergil): Bei Homer kommt κέδρος nur einmal vor; das wohlriechende Zedernholz gehört wesentlich zur Umgebung der Kalypso (Od. 5,59—61):

πῦρ μὲν ἐπ' ἔσχαρόφιν μέγα καίετο, τηλόσε δ' ὀδμῇ
κ ἔ δ ρ ο υ τ' εὐκεάτοιο θύου τ' ἀνὰ νῆσον ὀδώδει
δαιομένων (. . .)

Vergil gebraucht dieses Motiv zur Beschreibung der kirkeischen Atmosphäre (Aen. 7,13): *urit odoratam nocturna in lumina c e d r u m* (vgl. weiter Aen. 11,137).

c h o r u s u. c h o r e a: Das Wort *chorus* (13 mal in der Aeneis, χορός ganz allgemein bei Homer) ist geeignet, eine musische Gemeinschaft anzudeuten. Jedoch findet man keine zitatgemässe Entsprechung zwischen den eigentlichen Wörtern, wohl aber zwischen *chorea* (χορεία kommt nicht bei Homer vor) und χορός Aen. 6,644 u. Od. 8,264): *pars pedibus plaudunt choreas* (. . .) / πέπληγον δὲ χορὸν θεῖον ποσὶν (. . .).

c o m a: Das Wort ist etwa so häufig bei Vergil (25 mal) wie κόμη bei Homer. Nur eine zitatgemässe Parallelität ist festzustellen (Aen. 9,478—479 u. Il. 22,405—407): *evolat infelix et femineo ululatu | scissa c o m a m* (. . .) / ἦ δέ νυ μήτηρ | τίλλε κ ὀ μ η ν (. . .) κώκυσεν δὲ μάλα μέγα παῖδ' ἔσιδοῦσα.

c r a t e r: Dieses Fremdwort mit seinen griechischen Flexionsformen (*cratera, crateras*) hat eine stark homerische Färbung (κρητήρ bei Homer sehr häufig), die noch dadurch verstärkt wird, daß das Wort das Kennzeichen eines wiederkehrendes Motivs ist (Aen.1,724): *c r a t e r a s magnos statuunt et vina coronant*; (Aen.7,147): *c r a t e r a s laeti statuunt et vina coronant* (vgl. Il. 1,470 = Od. 1,148 etc.: κοῦροι δὲ κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο).

c y c n u s: Dieses Wort kommt in der Aeneis 5 mal vor, 3 mal in einem epischen Vergleich, 2 mal bei einem wichtigen Vorzeichen. Bei Homer findet man es nur 2 mal in epischen Vergleichen; die beiden Fälle sind von Vergil entlehnt worden. In einem Fall wird das marschierende und lärmende Heer durch den Vergleich erläutert, und es handelt sich

besonders um die Langhalsigkeit der Schwäne (Aen. 7,699—702 u. Il. 2,459—461):

*ceu quondam nivei liquida inter nubila c y c n i
cum sese e pastu referunt et longa canoros
dant per colla modos, sonat amnis et A s i a longe
pulsa palus.*

τῶν δ', ὡς τ'ὄρνιθων πετεηνῶν ἔθνεα πολλά,
χηνῶν ἢ γεράνων ἢ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων,
Ἄσιω ἐν λειμῶνι, Καῦστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα,

Der Gesang der Vögel wird von Vergil hervorgehoben. Bei Aen. 11,458 wird aus derselben Quelle geschöpft. In dem anderen Vergleich raubt der Adler einen Schwan (Aen. 9,563—564 u. Il. 15,690—692):

*qualis ubi aut leporem aut candenti corpore c y c n u m
sustulit alta petens pedibus Iovis armiger uncis*

ἀλλ' ὡς τ'ὄρνιθων πετεηνῶν αἰετὸς αἴθων
ἔθνος ἐφορμᾶται ποταμὸν πάρα βοσκομενάων,
χηνῶν ἢ γεράνων ἢ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων,

Der Inhalt dieses Vergleichs wird noch als Motiv bei zwei wichtigen Vorzeichen gebraucht (Aen. 1,393—395 u. 12,247—250). Alle fünf *cycnus*-Belege bei Vergil sind also ziemlich direkt mit Homer zu konfrontieren. Das einheimische Wort *olor*, das als Alternative zur Verfügung gestanden hätte, wird nur in der Camillageschichte verwendet, wo von einem Jagdvogel gesprochen wird (Aen. 11,580).

d e l p h i s : Bei Homer kommt δελφίς (oder δελφίν) 2 mal vor, bei Vergil *delphis* (oder *delphin*) 4 mal. Beide Dichter verwenden das Wort in der Skyllaepisode, jedoch ohne eine genaue Parallelität. Homer läßt das Seeungeheuer u.a. δελφῖνάς τε κύνας fressen (Od. 12,96), Vergil beschreibt seine äussere Gestalt (Aen. 3,427—428): *postrema immani corpore pistrix | delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum.*

d r a c o : Das Wort entspricht dem δράκων, das mehrmals bei Homer belegt ist. Eine motivische Entsprechung ist festzustellen: *draco*

(bzw. δράκων) wird als Beute eines Adlers genannt (Aen. 11,751—752 u. Il. 12,201—202).

e l e p h a n t u s : Das Wort ἑλέφας in der Bedeutung „Elfenbein“ kommt einige Male bei Homer vor; in der Aeneis treffen wir es nur 2 mal. Um eine motivische Entnahme handelt es sich dort, wo Vergil vom Ausgang der falschen Träume spricht (Aen. 6,895): *altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto*. Dazu vgl. Od. 19,563—564:

αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχεται, αἱ δ' ἑλέφαντι
τῶν οἱ μὲν κ' ἔλθωσι διὰ πριστοῦ ἑλέφαντος

In der Fortsetzung variiert Vergil den Ausdruck (Aen. 6,898: *portaque emittit eburna*).

e u r u s : Dieses Wort, das auch als Eigenname aufgefaßt werden kann, entspricht dem εὐρος bei Homer. Bei den Vergilischen Windbeschreibungen ist Homers Einfluß offensichtlich und zitatgemäß. So bezieht sich die Sturmszene in Aen. 1,81—91 auf Od. 5,291—296⁵ (bes. Aen. 1,84—86 u. Od. 5,295—296):

*incubere mari totumque a sedibus imis
una Eurisque Notisque ruunt creberque procellis
Africus, et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus*

σὺν δ' Εὐρός τε Νότος τ' ἔπεσον Ζέφυρός τε δυσαῆς
καὶ Βορέης αἰθρηγενέτης, μέγα κῦμα κυλίνδων.

Die Worte *una Eurisque Notisque* entsprechen ganz genau dem homerischen Ausdruck σὺν δ' Εὐρός τε Νότος τ'. Dagegen Ζέφυρος und Βορέης werden von Vergil nicht entlehnt, obgleich es durchaus möglich gewesen wäre (*Zephyrus* bei Vergil 8 mal, *Boreas* 3 mal). Die Zusammenwirkung von *Eurus* und *Notus* wird bei Vergil noch weiterentwickelt (Aen. 1,108—111): *tris Notus abreptas in saxa latentia torquet* (. . .) *tris*

⁵ Zur näheren Synkrisis der beiden Stellen, siehe T. Oksala, Studien zum Verständnis der Einheit und der Bedeutung von Vergils Georgica, 1978, 89—90.

Eurus ab alto | in brevia et Syrtis urget (vgl. bes. Od. 5,331—332; weiter Od. 12,427 u. Il. 2,145).

g u b e r n a t o r : Dieses eingebürgerte Lehnwort, das an sich keineswegs griechische Vorstellungen hervorruft, bekommt *in casu* eine homerische Färbung durch das Zitatverhältnis (Aen. 3,269): *qua cursum ventusque gubernatorque vocabat* (vgl. Od. 12,152: τὴν δ' ἄνεμός τε κυβερνήτης τ' ἴθυνε).

l e b e s : Bei Homer findet man λέβης mehrere Male in der Bedeutung „Kessel“ oder „Waschbecken“. Bei Vergil kommt *lebes* 2 mal vor. Beide Belege (Aen. 3,466; 5,266) sind auf einen bestimmten Vers bei Homer zu beziehen (Od. 13,13; vgl. auch Il. 23,259 u. 267).

l e o : Das Wort λέων ist ganz häufig bei Homer, besonders in epischen Vergleichen. Das Lehnwort gehört etwa gleich wesentlich zu der Vergilischen epischen Sprache (17 mal in der Aeneis). Nicht weniger als sechs Belege kann man als Homerzitate auffassen. Das Löwenfell wird als heroisches Kleid verwendet (Aen. 2,722): *fulvique instrenor pelle leonis*; (Aen. 7,66): *tegimen torquens immane leonis* (zu beiden vgl. Il. 10,23: ἔέσσατο δέρμα λέοντος). Auch der Löwenvergleich wird bei Vergil nach einem bestimmten homerischen Vorbild gebraucht (Aen. 9,792—796 / Il. 11,548—555): z.B. *ceu saevum turba leonem* / ὡς δ' αἴθωνα λέοντα (weiter Aen. 10,454—456 / Il. 16,756—758; Aen. 10,723—728 / Il. 3,23—26; Aen. 12,4—8, bes. 6 / Il. 5,136—142; 12,41—48; 20,164—173).

n o t u s : Wie die anderen entlehnten Benennungen für Winde trägt auch dieses Wort eine homerische Färbung. Zweimal handelt es sich um eine zitatgemässe Beziehung (siehe oben zu *eurus*).

o c e a n u s : Das Wort steht ganz allgemein bei Homer als mythischer Eigenname. Bei der Formel *Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit* (Aen. 4,129; 11,1) variiert Vergil eine homerische Wendung (Il. 19,1—2).

p a e a n : Dieses Wort finden wir bei Vergil 2 mal in der Akkusativform *paean* (in der Ilias auch 2 mal). Beide Belege sind zugleich motivische Entlehnungen. Erstens (Aen. 6,656—657 u. Il. 1,472—474):

*conspicit, ecce, alios dextra laevaue per herbam
vescentis laetumque choro p a e a n a canentis*

οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μολπῇ θεὸν ἰλάσκοντο
καλὸν ἀείδοντες παῖ ἠ ὄ ν α κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν,
μέλποντες ἑκάεργον (. . .)

Die Zusammenwirkung der nebengestellten Fremdwörter *chorus* und *raean* erzeugt eine musisch-hellenische Vorstellung. Zweitens (Aen. 10,738): *conclamant socii laetum p a e a n a secuti* (vgl. Il. 22,391: νῦν δ' ἄγ' ἀείδοντες παῖ ἠ ὄ ν α (. . .)

p e p l u m : Der einmalige Beleg dieses Wortes, das schon bei Plautus vorkommt, bezieht sich auf eine bestimmte Stelle bei Homer (Aen. 1,479—481 u. Il. 6,301—304):

*interea ad templum non aquae Palladis ibant
crinibus Iliades passis p e p l u m que ferebant
suppliciter, tristes et tunsae pectora palmis;*

αἱ δ' ὀλολυγῇ πᾶσαι Ἀθήνη χειῖρας ἀνέσχον·
ἦ δ' ἄρα πέπλοισι ἐλοῦσα Θεανῶ καλλιπάρηος
θῆκεν Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἠυκόμοιο.

Die Eigennamen *Palladis* und *Iliades* verstärken die griechische Atmosphäre. Das Wort πέπλος ist ganz häufig bei Homer.

p h a r e t r a : Das Wort, das zur epischen Sprache bei Vergil gehört (13 mal), entspricht dem φαρέτρη bei Homer (einige Male belegt). Zweimal ist es das Kennzeichen einer motivischen Entlehnung (Aen. 9,659—660 / Il. 1,45—46; Aen. 11,858—862 / Il. 4,116—126, bes. 116—117).

p o n t u s : Das Wort ist ein durchgehendes Element in der epischen Orchestration der beiden Dichter (in der Aeneis 31 mal, ganz allgemein bei Homer). Diese stilistische Parallelität wird durch drei zitatgemäße Entlehnungen sozusagen bestätigt (erstens Aen. 3,104 / Od. 19,172):

C r e t a Iovis magni medio iacet insula p o n t o
Κ ρ ῆ τ η τις γαῖ' ἔστι μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι π ὄ ν τ ω

(Aen. 5,613—615 / Od. 5,156—158):

*at procul in sola secretae Troades acta
amissum Anchisen flebant, cunctaeque profundum
p o n t u m aspectabant flentes.*

ἤματα δ' ἄμ' πέτρησι καὶ ἠϊόνεσσι καθίζων
δάκρυσι καὶ στοναχῆσι καὶ ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ἐρέχθων
π ό ν τ ο ν ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον δερκέσκετο δάκρυα λείβων.

(Aen. 10,337—338 / Il. 15,739—740)

*ecce maris magna claudit nos obice p o n t u s,
deest iam terra fugae: pelagus Troiamne petamus?*

ἄλλ' ἐν γὰρ Τρώων πεδίῳ πύκα θωρηκτάων
π ό ν τ ω κεκλιμένοι ἐκάς ἡμεθα πατρίδος αἴης·

Bei den motivischen Entnahmen wäre unser Dichter imstande gewesen, jedes homerische πόντος mit *pontus* wiederzugeben, aber er gibt der Variierung und Verkürzung den Vorzug. Beim ersten Zitatpaar handelt es sich um eine beabsichtigte metrische Entsprechung.

p u r p u r e u s : Obgleich es sich um ein eingebürgertes Lehnwort handelt, übt es eine griechische Wirkung aus, wegen der Parallelität *purpureus* / πορφύρεος (allgemein bei Vergil und Homer). Eine einzige motivische Übernahme ist zu notieren (Aen. 6,221—222): *purpureasque super vestis, velamina nota, | coniciunt* (vgl. Il. 24,796: πορφυρέοις πέπλοισι καλύψαντες . . .).

p y r a : Das Wort, das 5 mal bei Vergil als Variante für *rogus* gebraucht wird, trägt homerisches Kolorit (allgemein bei Homer). Ein Beleg gilt für eine motivische Entnahme (Aen. 6,215): *ingentem struxere pyr a m , cui (. . .)* (vgl. Il. 23,164—165: ποίησαν δὲ π υ ρ ῆ ν ἑκατόμπεδον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, | ἐν δὲ π υ ρ ῆ ὑπάτη . . .).

s c e p t r u m : Bei Homer steht σκῆπτρον ganz allgemein in der Bedeutung „Herrscher- oder Heroldstab“. In der Aeneis kommt *sceptrum* sehr häufig (18 mal) vor, einige Male in seiner konkreten Bedeutung, am

meisten aber in einer übertragenen Bedeutung „Herrschaft, Königswürde“ und im Plural, ohne jedoch seine konkrete Symbolkraft einzubüßen. Bei einem Schwur des Helden (Achilleus, Latinus) handelt es sich um das Zitatverhältnis (Aen. 12,206—211 u. Il. 1,234—239):

ut s c e p t r u m h o c ' (d e x t r a s c e p t r u m n a m f o r t e g e r e b a t)
' n u m q u a m f r o n d e l e v i f u n d e t v i r g u l t a n e c u m b r a s ,
 (. . .)

καὶ μὰ τόδε σ κ ῆ π τ ρ ο ν , τὸ μὲν οὐ τότε φύλλα καὶ ὄζους
 φύσει (. . .)

s c o p u l u s : Dieses eingebürgerte Lehnwort, das dem bei Homer entspricht (einige Male), ist bei Vergil sehr häufig. Eine gewisse epische Färbung bekommt es im Zusammenhang mit der Skyllaepisode, denn bei Homer finden wir σκόπελος 6 mal in diesem Kontext. Um einen Zitatvers handelt es sich in drei Belegen, in denen von der Skylla gesprochen wird (Aen. 1,201 / Od. 12,220; Aen. 3,559 / Od. 12,220; Aen. 3,566—567 / Od. 12,238—239).

t a l e n t u m : Dieses eingebürgerte Lehnwort bekommt (6 mal in der Aeneis) im Plural und am Versschluß homerisches Kolorit (Aen. 5,112): *argenti aurique talenta*; (Aen. 9,265): *auri duo magna talenta* (vgl. Il. 23,269 u. 614 δύο χρυσοῖο τάλαντα; Il. 9,122: δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα). Vgl. weiter Aen. 5,248: *et argenti magnum dat ferre talentum*.

t h a l a m u s : Bei Homer ist θάλαμος ganz allgemein in der Bedeutung „Frauengemach“. Einmal in der Aeneis handelt es sich um einen Zitatvers mit diesem Wort (Aen. 2,503): *quingenta illi thalami*, (. . .) (vgl. Il. 6,244: πεντήκοντ' ἔνεσαν θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίθοιο). Im übrigen bekommt dieses Fremdwort in der Aeneis eine wichtige und signifikante Funktion sowohl in seiner konkreten als in der übertragenen Bedeutung („Ehe“, am meisten im Plural).

t h o r a x : Dieses Fremdwort, das erstmals bei Vergil belegt ist, weist mit seinen Flexionsformen *thoraca*, *thoracas* auf Homer, der θώραξ in der Ilias häufig verwendet. Auch ein Zitatverhältnis ist festzustellen (Aen. 11,487—488): *iamque adeo rutilum thoraca indutus aënis | horrebat*

squamis (vgl. Il. 3,332: δεύτερον αὖ θώρηκα περὶ στήθεσσιν ἔδυνεν).

t r i p u s : Das Wort τρίπους (ganz allgemein bei Homer) gehört wesentlich zur gegenständlichen Welt der homerischen Epen. Von den drei Vergilischen Belegen sind zwei zitatgemäß auf Homer zu beziehen. Erstens Aen. 5,110: *sacri tripodes viridesque coronae* (vgl. Il. 23,259: λέβητάς τε τρίποδάς τε) Zweitens wird das Zitatverhältnis durch zwei Lehnwörter unterstrichen in Aen. 9,265 (dazu vgl. Il. 9,122):

et t r i p o d a s geminos, auri duo magna t a l e n t a

ἔπτ' ἀπύρους τ ρ ί π ο δ α ς , δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τ á λ α ν τ α

Bei Vergil handelt es sich um jene Ehrengeschenke, die Ascanius dem Nisus verspricht.

z e p h y r u s : Das Fremdwort hat wie die anderen Benennungen für Winde einen stark homerischen Charakter. In dem folgenden Vergleich ist ein freies Homerzitat festzustellen (Aen. 2,416—418; dazu vgl. Il. 9,4—6):

*adversi rupto ceu quondam turbine venti
confligunt, Z e p h y r u s que Notusque et laetus Eois
Eurus equis (. . .)*

ὡς δ' ἄνεμοι δύο πόντον ὀρίνετον ἰχθυόεντα,
Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος , τώ τε Θρήκηθεν ἄητον,
ἔλθόντ' ἕξαπίνης (. . .)

Die Ähnlichkeit beruht wesentlich neben der epischen Situation auf dem Fremdwort *Zephyrus*.

Die oben behandelten Stellen haben eine Sonderstellung unter jenen Versen, die Vergil dem Homer entnommen hat. Der Zitatcharakter wird durch eine lexikalische Wortwahl verdeutlicht, die ihn sozusagen fixiert. Es handelt sich nicht eigentlich um eine motivische oder lexikalische Abhängigkeit, sondern um ein bewußtes Stilmittel, das dazu geeignet ist, dem ganzen Vers homerische Klangfarbe zu verleihen. Überall ist ein

weiter künstlerischer Spielraum spürbar: der Dichter unterliegt nicht dem Zwang, ein griechisches Lehnwort zu verwenden, vermeidet aber auch nicht um jeden Preis griechische Entlehnungen; er spielt mit den griechischen Wörtern.

Vergils großzügige Freiheit im Gebrauch der Entlehnungen kommt noch deutlicher zum Ausdruck, wenn man längere parallele Abschnitte in dieser Hinsicht vergleicht. Es lohnt sich z.B. eine Synkrisis zwischen den Skylla und Charybdis-Episoden der beiden Dichter durchzuführen (Aen. 3,420—432 u. 554—569 / Od. 12,73—126 u. 234—259). Bei Vergil findet man die Lehnwörter *antrum*, *aura*, *barathrum*, *delphis*, *pistrix*, *spelunca*, die zur griechischen Färbung beitragen. Nur *barathrum* und *delphis* sind in der entsprechenden Homerstelle belegt, aber nicht in derselben Funktion. *Barathrum* wird bei Vergil mit Charybdis verknüpft, bei Homer βέρεθρον mit Scylla. Bei Homer fischt Scylla Delphinen, bei Vergil gehören diese zur Mischgestalt des Ungeheuers. Von der Höhle der Scylla verwendet Homer das Wort σπέος, Vergil aber *antrum* und *spelunca*. Das Wort σκόπελος kommt in der homerischen Schilderung 6 mal vor. Die Entlehnung *scopulus*, die im allgemeinen bei Vergil ganz häufig ist (27 mal in der Aeneis), fehlt in Aen. 3,420—432, kommt aber in Aen. 3,554—569 2 mal vor (vgl. weiter Aen. 1,200—201 von Scylla gebraucht).

Dann gibt es solche Lehnwörter, die nicht zitatgemäß gebraucht werden, wohl aber zur allgemeinen homerischen Färbung beitragen. Erstens haben wir eine Gruppe solcher Fälle, die sowohl in den homerischen Epen als in der Aeneis zahlreich oder wenigstens einige Male vertreten sind: *aether*, *boreas*, *chorus*, *heros*, *marmor* (bei Homer einigemal, in Aen. 6 mal), *musa*, *nympha*, *pelagus* (einmal in Il., 6 mal in Od., 43 mal in Aen.), *phalanx* (ganz allgemein in Il., 7 mal in Aen.).

Ziemlich groß ist die Gruppe der Wörter, die ganz allgemein oder wenigstens mehrmals bei Homer vertreten sind, aber nur ein paarmal in der Aeneis vorkommen: *acta*, *ambrosia*, *arctos*, *aula*, *cetus*, *laena*, *mitra*, *nothus*, *plaga*, *pompa*, *tapes*. Weniger häufig sind solche Lehnwörter, die in der Aeneis ziemlich zahlreich vorkommen, die aber bei Homer nur selten vertreten sind: *adytum*, *aura* (einmal in Od., 85 mal in Aen.), *glaucus* (einmal in Il., 4 mal in Aen., 8 mal bei Vergil überhaupt), *hymenaeus* (einmal in Il. 'carmen nuptiale', 14 mal in Aen. in der übertragenen

Bedeutung), *prora* (einmal in Od., 16 mal in Aen.).

Viertens gibt es solche Entlehnungen, die bei Vergil nur selten vorkommen und deren Stammwörter auch nicht häufig bei Homer zu finden sind: *aethra*, *crocus* (einmal in Il. u. in Aen.), *cupressus*, resp. *cyparissus*, *electrum*, *gorytus* (einmal in Od. u. in Aen.), *hyacinthus* (einmal in Il. u. in Aen.), *hydrus*, *lychnus* (einmal in Od. u. in Aen.), *nereis*, *phalerae*, *scyphus* (einmal in Od. u. in Aen.), *stomachus*, *tholus* (einmal in Od. u. in Aen.). Von diesen möchte ich neben *aethra* und *electrum* die einmalige Fälle *gorytus*, *lychnus* und *tholus* hervorheben. *Stomachus* wird nach Homer verwendet und kommt in ganz neutraler Bedeutung vor.

Zuletzt findet man solche Fälle, die eine gewisse homerische Färbung tragen, obgleich die Entsprechung bei ihnen nicht direkt und eindeutig ist. Das Adjektiv *eous* „zum morgen gehörig“, „östlich“ (ἠῶος ist nur in der homerischen Hermeshymne 17 belegt) ersetzt gewissermassen das Substantiv ἠώς, das wesentlich zur homerischen Sprache gehört (z.B. in Aen. 3,588—589 mit *Aurora*). Das bei Homer häufige Epitheton ῥοδοδάκτυλος wird von Vergil nicht in dieser Form angestrebt, doch wird dasselbe Farberlebnis durch das Adjektiv *roseus* wiedergegeben: *roseis Aurora quadrigis* (Aen. 6,535); *Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis* (Aen. 7,26). Dasselbe betrifft den homerischen Ausdruck ἠώς κροκόπεπλος, den man nicht zwanglos durch eine entsprechende Zusammensetzung wiedergeben konnte (Aen. 4,585 u. 9,461): *Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile* (vgl. weiter *pictum croceo velamen acantho* in Aen. 1,711 und *croceam chlamydemque* in Aen. 11,775). Auf diese Weise wird der Eos-Charakter der *Aurora* verstärkt.

Oben habe ich 33 solche Lehnwörter gezählt, die im Verhältnis zu Homer sozusagen zitatgemäß gebraucht werden. Drei von ihnen — *ambrosius*, *lebes* (2 mal) *thorax* (3 mal) — sind erstmals in der *Aeneis* belegt. Darum könnte man sagen, daß sie von einer bestimmten Homerstelle ins Lateinische entlehnt worden sind, wenn damit etwas Wesentliches gesagt würde. Es soll nochmals betont werden, daß der Dichter mit diesen homerischen Möglichkeiten ohne jeden äußeren Zwang künstlerisch spielt. Dies kommt z.B. in jenen Fällen zum Ausdruck, wo Vergil ein eingebürgertes Lehnwort (*gubernator*, *leo*, *scopulus*, *talentum*) oder ein allgemeinpoetisches Fremdwort (*aer*, *coma*,

pontus) *in casu* zitatgemäß verwendet. Einige Wörter tragen an sich schon eine homerische Prägung, z.B. neben den obengenannten Erstbelegen *aegis*, *crater*, *paeon*, *peplum*, *pyra*, *sceptrum*, *thalamus*, *tapes* und Windnamen (*Eurus*, *Notus*, *Zephyrus*). *Antrum* trägt gewiß in der Aeneis eine homerische Prägung, wurde aber in der Eklogen als theokriteisch empfunden. Von jenen Wörtern, die nicht in Zitaten vorkommen, haben sicher z.B. *heros*, *phalanx* und *aethra* eine homerische Färbung. Auch Eigennamen können zitatgemäß gebraucht werden.

Ligoriana

OLLI SALOMIES

Daß Pirro Ligorio¹ ein Fälscher von Inschriften war, weiß jeder Epigraphiker. Aber Ligorio hat auch echte Handschriften kopiert, und so sind in seinen Inschriften neben den zahlreichen Fälschungen auch echte Inschriften überliefert. Ein bekanntes Beispiel ist die nur durch Ligorio überlieferte Inschrift des Senators M. Claudius Fronto CIL VI 1377, die wegen CIL III 1457 (IDR III,2,90, bekannt seit 1823) schon früh, vor dem Erscheinen von CIL VI,5 (*Inscriptiones falsae urbi Romae attributae*, 1885) als echt erkannt wurde. Und in den *Addenda et corrigenda* in CIL VI,5 findet man, daß viele der in CIL VI,5 zunächst als Fälschungen angesehenen ligorianischen Inschriften tatsächlich echt sind oder zumindest echt sein können.² Seitdem haben sich noch weitere ligorianische Inschriften als echt herausgestellt, so z.B. die Inschrift des Prätorianerpräfekten T. Furius Victorinus CIL VI 1937* (s. CIL VI 39440; PIR² F 584). Weitere Beispiele bei G. Ramilli, in: Bartolommeo Borghesi. *Scienza e libertà* (Akten des Borghesi-Kolloquiums, Bologna 1982)

¹ S. über ihn W. Henzen, CIL VI,1 S. LI—LIII u. die Einleitung bei E. Mandowsky — C. Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities. The Drawings in MS XIII.B.7. in the National Library in Naples* (Studies of the Warburg Institute 28), London 1963, S. lff. Eine "general study" über Ligorio von D. R. Coffin (vgl. ebd. S. 1 Anm. 2) ist m. W. bis jetzt noch nicht erschienen.

² S. CIL VI,5 zu Nr. 914. 922. 1002. 1047. 1083. 1124. 1150. 1289. 1318. 1384. 1408f. 1417. 1476. 1518. 1530. 1593. 1608. 1675. 1677. 1687a. 1708. 1751. 1786. 1791. 1816. 1825. 1864. 1870. 1880. 1900f. 1943. 1968. 2003. 2059f. 2096. 2125. 2129f. 2132. 2194. 2228. 2362. 2411. 2440. 2446. 2464. 2508. 2549. 2640. 2688. 2708. 2726. 2769. 2823. 2870. 2900. 3004.

S.495f.; s. auch etwa PIR² C 1270; R. Syme, JRS 43 (1953) 154 = Roman Papers I (1979) 241; L. Moretti, Pirro Ligorio e le iscrizioni greche di Ravenna, RFIC 110 (1982) 446—454.

Echtes von Unechtem zu scheiden würde leichter sein, wenn es unter den bei Ligorio überlieferten Inschriften bloß richtig kopierte echte und, andererseits, in ihrer Gesamtheit gefälschte unechte Inschriften gäbe. Denn die Fälschungen Ligorios sind gewöhnlich leicht zu entlarven. Aber die echten Inschriften gibt Ligorio oft nicht richtig wieder. Lücken in fragmentarischen Texten füllt er mit Interpolationen, und Interpolationen findet man bei ihm auch in solchen Inschriften, deren Text ihm vollständig vorlag. Gelegentlich interpoliert er seine eigenen Fälschungen mit Echtem; so findet man in seinen Fälschungen bisweilen Personennamen, Datierungen usw., die aus echten Inschriften stammen.³

Unter den Ligorianae steckt gewiß noch viel Echtes und Brauchbares. Dieses Material muß aber zum großen Teil der Forschung unzugänglich bleiben, solange die Genese der ligorianischen Sammlung ungenügend bekannt ist. Eine umfassende Untersuchung über Ligorio und seine Arbeitsweise aus der Sicht eines Epigraphikers wäre also sehr wünschenswert. Die folgenden Beobachtungen über einzelne ligorianische Inschriften sollen als ein Beitrag zu der Entstehung einer solchen Untersuchung verstanden werden.

CIL VI 106* *aeternitas* (sic) / *sacr.* / *soli et lunae* / *p.novellius p.fil.* / *pal. verus d.d.* / *XXVIII* (sic) *kal. iul. l.* / *ser.scipione orfito* / *et q.non.prisco cos.* (149 n. Chr.). Das Datum stammt wohl aus der echten Inschrift CIL VI 327, da nur in dieser Inschrift der zweite Konsul von 149 mit dem Gentilnamen *Non (ius)* bezeichnet wird. In CIL VI 327 hat der erste Konsul das Pränomen *Ser(vius)*. Etwas auffallend ist, daß Ligorio den Konsul offenbar mit dem zusätzlichen Vornamen *L(ucius)* versehen hat — wenn man nicht annehmen will, das *l* nach *iul.* sei bloß ein Versehen —,

³ Man beachte z.B., wie aus dem Datum *Severo et Quintiano cos.* in der Inschrift CIL VI 617, die also aus dem J.235 n. Chr. stammen soll, *M.Aurelio Iunio Severo et L.Ragonio Urinatio Largo* (sic) *Quinctiano cos.* geworden ist. Den ersten Namen hat Ligorio, wie den Rest der Inschrift, frei erfunden, aber der zweite Name stammt aus einer echten Inschrift (deren Kenntnis Ligorio wohl Panvinius verdankt, vgl. O.Panvini . . . *Fastorum Libri V*, Heidelberg 1588 — ursprünglich 1558 —, S.256; vgl. auch u.).

denn der Konsul wird auch in einer im J.1896 gefundenen griechischen Inschrift mit zwei Vornamen sowohl als *Lucius* als auch als *Servius*⁴ bezeichnet, und führt in der Inschrift genau denselben Namen wie in der ligorianischen Inschrift (IG XII,3,325 Z.17f. Λ.Σεργίῳ Σκειπίωνι Ὀρφίτῳ, Κ.Σοσσίῳ Πρείσκῳ ὑπάτοις).

CIL VI 111* *apollini conservatori salutis suae / silvius iunius silvinus aedem fecit*. Der Name erinnert mich an einen Appius Silvius Iunius Silvinus (PIR S 524; RE III A 132 Nr.3), der auf der bloß durch Metellus (16 Jh.) bekannten Wasserleitungsröhre CIL XV 7539 genannt wird.⁵

CIL VI 129* *apollini et dianaē inv(i)c(tis) / sacrum q.anneius q.f. princeps / et magister fact(ionis) russatae . . . / c.acilio aviola et l.correllio pansa cos.* (122 n. Chr.). Die *factio russata* und das Datum stammen sicher aus der echten Inschrift CIL VI 10048. Etwas auffallend ist, daß Ligorio den zweiten Konsul Corellius Pansa (PIR² C 1293), der in CIL VI 10048 bloß *Corellius Pansa* genannt wird, *Lucius* nennt. Für diesen Konsul ist ein Vorname nirgends bezeugt, und dementsprechend wird er in der Forschung gewöhnlich bloß *Corellius Pansa* genannt.⁶ Aber gelegentlich wird er auch von modernen Forschern mit dem Vornamen *Lucius* versehen,⁷ vermutlich deshalb, weil man ihn für einen Sohn eines L.Corellius Celer Fisius Rufinus hält.

CIL VI 255* *genio aeliae / familiae usw. (ganz absurd) . . . / dedic. non. apr. / imp. aurelio probo / aug. III et Ovinio / Paterno cos.* (279

⁴ Σέργιος die Inschrift. *Sergius* ist eine häufige Schreibung des Vornamens *Servius* in Inschriften des Kaiserzeit. Der Gentilname *Sergius* sollte nicht in diese Sache verwickelt werden (vgl. die ganz unannehmbaren Ausführungen von J.H.Oliver, GRBS 13 [1972] 103—7).

⁵ Aber hat es einen Appius Silvius Iunius Silvinus tatsächlich einmal gegeben? Der Name des Mannes, der nach W.Eck (Tituli 4 [1982] 221) ein Senator gewesen sein könnte, scheint mir aus mehreren Gründen sehr suspekt. Man sollte sich vielleicht fragen, ob der Name nicht korrupt sein könnte (könnte nicht vielmehr der Konsul von 28 n. Chr., Appius Iunius Silanus, gemeint sein?).

⁶ So z.B. PIR² C 1293; R.Syme, Roman Papers (1979) I 350. II 714; A.R.Birley, The Fasti of Roman Britain (1981) 91; L.Vidman, ZPE 43 (1981) 383; G.Alföldy, Tituli 5 (1982) 356; M.Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Tituli 5 (1982) 83; M.Torelli, Tituli 5 (1982) 177. 180; W.Eck, ZPE 50 (1983) 196ff.

⁷ So W.Eck, RE Suppl. XIV (1974) 106. 107; G.Camodeca, Tituli 5 (1982) 123.

n. Chr.). Sollte das Datum aus einer echten Inschrift stammen, dann hätte man eine Bestätigung der Annahme von G.B.De Rossi (im Kommentar zu ICVR I [1861] Nr.14), daß der Konsul von 279, für den in einer Inschrift der Gentilname *Nonius* bezeugt ist,⁸ auch den Gentilnamen *Ovinus* hatte und somit mit einem *Ovinus Paternus*⁹, der im J.281 Stadtpräfekt war, identifiziert werden sollte.¹⁰ Aber das Datum von CIL VI 255* stammt wohl kaum aus einer echten Inschrift. Denn obwohl De Rossi nicht auf ältere Forscher verweist, wenn er die Vermutung ausspricht, der Konsul von 279 sollte mit dem Stadtpräfekten identifiziert werden, und obwohl der Konsul von 279 z.B. in den *Fasti Romani* (1845) von Clinton¹¹ bloß als *Paternus* bzw. *Nonius Paternus* bezeichnet wird, war De Rossi keineswegs der erste Forscher, der den Konsul (auch) mit dem Gentilnamen *Ovinus* versehen wollte. Die Gleichsetzung des Konsuls von 279 mit dem Stadtpräfekten findet man nämlich schon in den *Fasti* des Panvinius, die im J.1558 in Venedig erschienen (*O.Panvini Veronensis . . . Fastorum libri V*, S.50 der Heidelberger Ausgabe [1588]; vgl.S.258: “*Probo III et Paterno cos. . . . hic est Ovinus Paternus qui & ipse praef. urbi aliquando fuit*”). Ligorio hat das Buch des Panvinius, mit dem er befreundet war, sicher gekannt, und folglich muß auch das Datum der hier behandelten Inschrift aus dem Werk des Panvinius stammen. Dies geht übrigens auch daraus hervor, daß weder Panvinius noch Ligorio die Tatsache berücksichtigen, daß der Konsulat des *Paternus cos. 279* nicht ein erster, sondern ein zweiter war. Für die Kenntnis der Methoden Ligorios ist CIL VI 255* also von nicht ganz geringer Bedeutung. Für seine Fälschungen konnte Ligorio also — neben seiner Phantasie — nicht nur solches Material heranziehen, das er aus echten inschriftlichen Texten kopierte,

⁸ Diehl, ILCV 645 (Rom) *imp. Probo Aug. III et Nonio Paterno bis cons.* Die Lesung des konsularischen Datums in ICVR 8716 muß unsicher bleiben.

⁹ PIR O 125; RE XVIII,1,1994f. Nr.8; G.Barbieri, *L'albo senatorio da Settimio Severo a Carino* (1952) 300 Nr. 1681.

¹⁰ Die Möglichkeit, daß der Konsul von 279 mit dem Stadtpräfekten identifiziert werden könnte, wird in der Forschung gewöhnlich offengelassen. Ausdrücklich bestritten wird sie m.W. nicht; vgl. etwa H.Dessau, PIR N 113; O 125 (“*fortasse non diversus*”); E.Swoboda, RE XVII 898 Nr.42; E.Groag, RE XVIII,1,1994f. Nr.8; M.Hofmann, RE XVIII,2,2161.

¹¹ H.F.Clinton, *Fasti Romani* I (1845) 318; II (1850) 193.

sondern auch solches Material, das er in gelehrten Zusammenstellungen vorfand (vgl. übrigens auch schon o. Anm.3).

CIL VI 1329* *p.audasi (mulierum duarum) l. dionysi / p. (audasi) (mulieris) l. aniceti / θ noniae sp. l. tertiae / c. satti c.l. xanthi / nautiae (mulieris) l. epistolion(is) / usw.* Diese Inschrift könnte sehr wohl echt sein. P.Audasius (mulierum duarum) l. Dionysius und P.Audasius (mulieris) l. Anicetus erinnern mich an einen P.Audasius (mulieris) l. Stepanus, der in der stadtrömischen Inschrift CIL VI 12804 = I² 1254 genannt wird. Alle drei Männer sind wohl von derselben Audasia P.f. freigelassen worden.

CIL VI 1793* (“in Roma in vendita”) *q.elpidio l.f. pol. rufo / lolliano entiano / auguri, cos., procos. prov. / asiae usw.* ist eine teils korrupte, teils interpolierte Kopie der spanischen Inschrift CIL II 4121 = G.Alföldy, die röm. Inschriften von Tarraco (1975) 139.

CIL VI 1832* *l.fadienus l.f.vetur. felix / veteranus leg.I miner. / usw.;* 1833* *d.m.s. / m.fadieno m.f. vetur. / gratidiano / equo publico usw.* Der Gentilname *Fadienus* ist nur aus den folgenden Inschriften bekannt: CIL III 2915. V 2469. 7002. XI 1217. AE 1952,150 (Oberitalien). Auffallend ist, daß ein Beleg, die Inschrift CIL XI 1217, aus Placentia stammt. Die Männer in den soeben zitierten ligorianischen Inschriften haben die Tribus *Veturia / Voturia* von Placentia (außer Placentia ist die Tribus *Veturia* nur für die Städte Antium (?), Ostia, Caere (?) und Bergomum bezeugt, s. L.R.Taylor, *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic* [1960] 276).

CIL VI 2755* *m.silanio civio / m.f. cl. prisco / sacerdoti titiali, / pr. inter civis et / peregrinos, tr. pl., / quaestori, proc. / aug. XX hered.* (“mancava il fine”). Die erste Zeile (*m. silanio civio*) hat sich Ligorio einfallen lassen, der Rest stammt aus der Inschrift CIL VI 1523, wobei zu beachten ist, daß Ligorio nur Teile dieser Inschrift benützt hat: seine zweite Zeile (*m.f. cl. prisco*) stammt aus der ersten Zeile von CIL VI 1523, der Rest aus den Zeilen 8—10. Den Anfang und die späteren Phasen der Karriere des *Staius Priscus* hat Ligorio nicht berücksichtigt.

CIL IX 10* (“vico Triuptii in agro Lupiensi”) *dis manibus / t.follio q.f. carino / patrono munic. usw.* Der Gentilname *Follius* ist bloß in zwei Inschriften belegt, die beide erst neulich gefunden worden sind, AE 1978,110 und L.Gasperini, 3. misc. gr. e rom. (1971) 193 Anm.4. Es ist

etwas auffallend, daß die letztere Inschrift — AE 1978,110 stammt aus der Nähe von Aquinium — aus Tarentum stammt. Tarentum liegt nicht sehr weit von Lupiae (Lecce).

CIL X 977* (angeblich aus Antium) *q.fadius rytisi filius rytisianus* erinnert mich so viel an einen gewissen Q.Fabius Africani l. Cytisus, der aus der Inschrift CIL VI 1815 (vgl. 32266) bekannt ist, daß ich es für ganz sicher halte, daß der Name bei Ligorio aus der stadtrömischen Inschrift stammt. Die Korruptionen bei Ligorio sind beachtenswert.

CIL XI 48* (angeblich aus Caesena) *l.titurio l.f. arn. modesto / grammatico, vix.ann. lvi / m.titurius l.f. arn. crispus / fecit* usw. Vielleicht könnte in dieser Inschrift etwas Echtes stecken. Der seltene Gentilname *Titurius* erscheint in Verbindung mit der Tribus Arnensis auch in der Inschrift CIL VI 27539 (bekannt seit den 70er Jahren des 19. Jh.), in der ein L.Titurius Vib.f.Arn.Sabinus genannt wird. Aufgrund dieser Inschrift und der "sabinischen" Themen auf den Denaren des Münzmeisters L.Titurius Sabinus (M.H.Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* I [1974] 352) hat man übrigens die senatorischen Titurii Sabini der Republik (RE VI A 1575 Nr.1.2) mit der Tribus Arn. versehen und für Sabiner gehalten (vgl. T.P.Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate 139 B.C. — A.D.14* [1971] 267 Nr.438; M.Torelli, *Tituli* 5 [1982] 197).¹²

CIL XIV 147* *dis manibus / m.novellius m.f. ouf. / manlianus eques rom.* usw. Nur in einer Stadt Italiens ist der sonst nicht häufige Gentilname *Novellius* öfters belegt, und zwar in Mediolanum.¹³ Die Tribus von Mediolanum ist die Oufentina.

Einige interessante Gentilnamen. Die folgenden Gentilnamen, die aus ligorianischen Inschriften bekannt sind, sind jetzt auch in echten Inschriften belegt. *Acirius* CIL V 609* (Comum): jetzt auch in AE 1979,259 (Opitergium, ein Zenturio); L.Robert, *La Carie* II (1954) 362

¹² Dabei sollte man an Ocrinum als die Heimatstadt dieser Männer denken, da die Tribus Arnensis in dieser Gegend nur für Ocrinum bezeugt ist. Ocrinum, obwohl später als eine umbrische Stadt angesehen, war eine "uralte Sabinersiedlung" (A.W.Van Buren, RE XVII 1780). Den L.Titurius Vib.f.Arn.Sabinus würde man übrigens auch deswegen für einen Ocrinulaner halten, weil *Vibius*, das Pränomen seines Vaters, ein typisch umbrisches Pränomen ist und weil es in Umbrien keine anderen Städte in der Arnensis gab.

¹³ CIL V 5874f. 5902. 5940. 5957. 6011. 6051—55. 6080. 6091. 6101. PIR N 141.

Nr.183 (ders. SEG XIX 685). — *Ansidius* CIL X 389* (Atella): auch in NSA 1923,367 (Rom). — *Roscilius* CIL VI 2624*: auch in I.Ephesos 20,A,50; 1648. — *Stasius* CIL VI 2772*: auch in AE 1973,533 (Prymnessus). — Die folgenden Gentilnamen sind nicht aus echten Inschriften bekannt. Sie sind aber deswegen interessant, weil sie an sich gar nicht suspekt sind. Wenn Ligorio sie erfunden hat, dann hat er sie gut erfunden. *Axidius* CIL V 594*. 597* (Bergomum): neben *Axius* und *Axilius* (W.Schulze, Zur Geschichte lat. Eigennamen [1904] 70) ganz plausibel. — *Fidienus* CIL V 149* (Ferrara): *Fidenus* ist belegt (Schulze, aaO. 559 aus CIL XI 4704 [Tuder]), so daß man sowieso auch die Existenz der Form *Fidienus* postulieren sollte.¹⁴ Gentilnamen auf *-ienus* waren übrigens besonders häufig in Umbrien und in der Aemilia (Schulze, aaO. 105), und Ferrara liegt ganz an der Grenze zwischen Regio VIII (Aemilia) und Regio X. — *Oscidius* CIL X 894* (Circei): neben *Osciis* (Schulze, aaO. 522) ganz in Ordnung. — *Paccienus* CIL VI 1425* (wo in der Funktion eines Cognomens): neben *Paccius*, *Pacenus* (Schulze, aaO. 203f.), *Pacenius* (CIL I² 2821 [Patavium]) ganz plausibel.

Zum Schluß lasse ich noch zwei Bemerkungen folgen, die nicht ligorianische Fälschungen betreffen. CIL VI 3279* (unter den falsae Gutenstenianae) *l.cassi kaeciani / cassia l.f.f. / usw.* Der Name des Vaters stammt aus der Münze M.H.Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage I (1974) 325 Nr.321. — CIL IX 384* (Aequiculi, durch den Fälscher Martelli [vgl. Mommsen, CIL IX S.388f.] bekannt): *c.cloelius l.f.cla. / corvinus / vestinae helenae / coniugi benemerenti*. Mommsen: “potest esse genuina, etsi suspectum est *Vestinae* nomen”. Der Gentilname *Vestinus* ist in den Inschriften CIL XI 6216. 6415; IGR IV 1431 (Smyrna) belegt.

¹⁴ Vgl. etwa *Alfenus* neben *Alfienus* (Schulze, aaO.119f.); *Ancharenus / Ancharienus* (ebd.122); *Aufidenus / Aufidienus* (ebd.203); *Betilenus / Betilienus* (ebd.406 Anm.7); *Burrenus / Burrienus* (ebd.110 mit Add.); *Bussenus* (AE 1976,113 u. sonst) / *Bussienus* (Schulze, aaO.213); *Camurenus / Camurienus* (ebd.141); *Desidenus* (CIL III 9027) / *Desidienus* (TLL Onom.; PIR² D 51); *Fadenus* (Schulze, aaO. 132) / *Fadienus* (CIL XI 1217 u. sonst; s.o.); *Lucenus / Lucienus* (Schulze, aaO. 105. 183); *Messenus / Messienus* (ebd. 193 mit Anm.6); *Muttenus / Muttienus* (ebd. 193f.); *N(a)evenus* (CIL III 9773) / *Naevienus* (ILJug. 738); *Passenus / Passienus* (Schulze, aaO. 213 mit Anm. 6) usw.

Analecta epigraphica

HEIKKI SOLIN

CV. WEITERE BEMERKUNGEN ZU INSCRIFTEN VON CAPUA

Unten folgen einige weitere Bemerkungen zu Inschriften aus Capua, denen im vorigen Band des *Arctos* ein längerer Beitrag gewidmet wurde.¹ Ich konnte am 8.6.1986 im sog. Cortiletto und in zwei angrenzenden Räumen des Museo Campano weitere Inschriften besichtigen und gebe zu ihnen hier einige neue Lesungen und Interpretationen. Capua bereiste ich in Begleitung von Timo Sironen.

CIL X 3777 besser EE VIII 460 vgl. CIL I² 676. In 5 kann man das Gentilicium unversehrt lesen: *Sempronius*.

3902. Liegt jetzt in der Erde im sog. Cortiletto, von uns 1986 gesehen. Die Lesung der ersten Zeile war schon für Mommsen hoffnungslos und wird heute dadurch noch erschwert, daß die Schriftoberfläche durch zahlreiche Kratzer beschädigt ist. Mommsen hat in 1 VSCOLVR erkennen wollen, aus seiner Transkription zu schließen. Wenn er alles wirklich so richtig gesehen hat, kann man damit nichts anfangen. Da er aber den zweitletzten Buchstaben falsch gedeutet hat, kann er auch den Rest nachlässig wiedergegeben haben, und einige Beschädigungen, die einer Deutung hemmend entgegenstehen, können schon zu seiner Zeit bestanden haben; er hat sie vielleicht nur nicht berücksichtigt. Der Weg zu einer völlig neuen Lesung steht also offen. Der zweitletzte Buchstabe ist kein V, sondern ein O; man sieht deutlich, daß der Steinmetz, der sich einer mit kursiven Zügen durchsetzten Schrift bedient, O und V klar unter-

¹ *Arctos* 19 (1985) 155—192.

scheidet. Ferner braucht der letzte Buchstabe kein R zu sein, vielleicht birgt sich in der beschädigten Oberfläche ein C oder ein N. Und die Zeile kann statt mit VSC auch mit VM beginnen. Bis auf weiteres möchte ich auf eine Deutung verzichten. In 3 ist zu lesen RI (vom rechten Fuß des R kann man den rechten Rand unterscheiden).

3985. Das Ende von 1 liest Mommsen NICEPHOr (von O hat er nur die erste Hälfte erkennen wollen). Für ein R ist da aber kein Raum, und auch O ist höchst dubiös (was Mommsen als die Reste des O deutete, ist eher ein Riß an der Oberfläche). Außerdem wäre eine Abkürzung *Nicepho.* etwas ungewöhnlich. Ich verstehe ohne Zögern *Niceph(or)*.

4053 vgl. Arctos 19 (1985) 161. Nach erneuten Bemühungen lese ich in IV 1 jetzt *Quarto* oder *Quartion*[i]. Den vierten Buchstaben hatte Mommsen als D gedeutet, doch muß die Oberfläche schon zu seiner Zeit hier sehr verwittert gewesen sein, wie aus seiner Wiedergabe dieser Zeile hervorgeht, weswegen seine Verlesung von R als D mehr als verzeihlich ist. QVARTION stünde raummäßig ein bißchen besser als QUARTO und ist außerdem als Sklavename üblicher;² ferner habe ich nach O Reste einer Haste erkennen wollen, die also den Anfang von N bilden würde.

4119 vgl. Arctos 19 (1985) 162. Hier sei noch hinzugefügt, daß die Inschrift aus Mazzocchis Scheden bei Iannelli ihren Weg in EE VIII 609 unter Isola di Sora gefunden hat! Ihm hat in EE die Angabe 'Castelluccio' fälschlich auf 'Castelluccio di Sora' bezogen.

4220 vgl. Arctos 19 (1985) 166f. Zu unseren Ausführungen in Arctos ist noch hinzuzufügen, daß die Inschrift auch von C. Esperti, *Memorie ecclesiastiche della città di Caserta, Napoli 1773* (Neudruck Bologna 1978) 181 (daraus Iannelli, *Atti Caserta* 1883, 123 und Ihm, EE VIII 496, ohne die Identität erkannt zu haben) publiziert worden ist. Die Angaben von Esperti erhärten die Annahme der Herkunft der Inschrift aus Capua, denn Esperti hat sie zusammen mit CIL X 3939 gesehen, die sicher aus Capua stammt. Esperti las MESSILIAE SVTERAE (von Ihm in *Superae* verbessert). Nach dem Wegfall dieses Belegs steht die ganze Existenz eines

² *Quartio* ist allein aus der stadtrömischen Dokumentation 19mal als Sklavename belegt (*Quartus* dagegen nur zweimal: CL VI 3304. 29003). Üblich auch im südlichen Latium und Campanien.

Gentiliciums *Messilius* auf dem Spiel.³

4449. 3 FLAV, kein Punkt zwischen N und T. Ich lese [*feceru*]nt *Flav(ia) T*[- - -]. Die Deutung von TRANS bleibt offen. Vielleicht handelt es sich um einen Soldaten, der aus einer Truppenabteilung in eine andere *translatus* ist.

4502. Mommsen hat den Text dieser von ihm gesehenen Inschrift nachlässig wiedergegeben. Die letzten Wörter IND·XV + bilden eine vierte Zeile. 2 kein Punkt zwischen ET und CATEL; ANPM. 3 VC·CONS.

4518. 2 REQUIESCIT ist unversehrt erhalten. 7 ein Kreuz nach PASCES.

8220. In der letzten Zeile nach IVTRICIS wahrscheinlich CV[- - -].

8377 b. 1 *hic*. 4 ANN mit viel kleineren Lettern geschrieben. 5 eindeutig LXXVII.

EE VIII 470 (= CIL X 4370). Die Zeile unter dem Hauptrelief ist unleserlich geworden. DVCE·PVL von Iannelli bei Ihm in EE ist aber falsch. Als weitere Information könnte hier die Angabe der Größe des Grabgeländes gestanden haben (das wurde gelegentlich in diesen campanischen Stelen angegeben). Rechts, eben anstelle von DVCE PVL (aber nach „PVL“ folgt deutlich eine senkrechte Haste) könnte sich eine diesbezügliche Angabe finden: mit größtem Vorbehalt möchte ich *quoq(uo) v(ersus) p(edes) VII* vorschlagen. Aber was links davon steht, kann nicht eruiert werden.

507. 2 wohl ATHE; 4 [*inco*]mpara[*bili*]. Der Sinn ist etwa [- - -]us *v(erna) Athe/[naidi con]iugi uni/[virae et inco]mpara/[bili - - -]*.

³ Schulze ZGLE 193. 449 kennt einen einzigen Beleg, CIL III 2791 (Rider). Dort erscheint *Messilia* aber ohne Cognomen als Name der Frau eines Tertius, ist also als Individualname gebraucht, d.h. sollte besser als Cognomen genommen werden. Man fragt sich auch, ob hier nicht *Messilla* gelesen (oder wenigstens verstanden) werden könnte. *Messilla* kommt auch sonst in Dalmatien vor (s. Alföldy, Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia, Heidelberg 1969, 247, der auch in CIL III 2791 eine *Messilla* erblickt) und kann dort epichorisches Namengut vertreten; sonst in Norditalien (CIL V 1438) und in Aemilia (Epigraphica 42, 1980, 180 aus Voghenza = Vicohabentia). Anderweitige Belege dürften kaum vorhanden sein (das kann ich aufgrund einer ausgedehnten Sondierung versichern).

Wenn M in 1 etwa in der Mitte des Inschriftfeldes war, kann man die Länge der fehlenden Partie links etwa berechnen, und damit stünde *Athe/naidi* in Einklang, wie auch *uni/virae*; dagegen wäre *uni/cae* etwas zu kurz und *uni/ci exempli* etwas zu lang.

520. 3 [p]lus.

880. Nachlässig von Iannelli (daraus Ihm in EE) wiedergegeben: 7 XIII KALOC mit einem kleinen kursiven *a*; 8 TOBR PC mit Supralineatur. Das Interessanteste ist aber die Wiedergabe des Wortes *diaconus* in 4, das Iannelli und Ihm DIACI mit kürzerem Schluß-I drucken, als stünde da die Kontraktion *diac(on)i*. Dieses Zeichen ist aber kein I, sondern ein S-ähnliches Zeichen, das kürzer ist als die übrigen Buchstaben. Man könnte es an sich als ein S deuten, wobei sich die Kontraktion *diac(oni)s* ergäbe. *Diaconus* wird ja bekanntlich oft nach der 3. Deklination flektiert. Es ist aber wahrscheinlicher, daß dieses Zeichen einfach ein Interpunktionszeichen ist; dieser Worttrenner ist ja nicht unüblich in der spätesten Antike. Auf diese Weise wird das Zeichen in der gleich zu behandelnden Inschrift der Proiecta gebraucht.

NSc. 1893, 164 = CIL I² 687. 8 nicht *eidem lu[dos fecerunt]*, sondern *eidemqu[e - - -]*.

De Franciscis, NSc. 1952, 331 aus Maddaloni. Ich habe diese Inschrift Arctos 19 (1985) 188—190 versehentlich als ein Ineditum publiziert. Die Lesung in NSc. nachlässig: 6 ANN XV, 7 MENS VII ET V DIEB, 8 VIRIVS. Zu De Franciscis' Deutung von *Virius* als lokaler Name sei angemerkt, daß er in der Kaiserzeit äußerst selten im kampanischen Raum vorkommt; und erst recht ist *Quintus* unbekannt als Praenomen von Virii.

Iannelli, Atti della Commissione conservatrice dei monumenti ed oggetti di Antichità e Belle Arti nella Provincia di Terra di Lavoro, Caserta, 23 (1892) 22—26 = Egbert, Suppl. Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome 2 (1908) 288 Nr. 11 vgl. Arctos 19 (1985) 186f. Die Inschrift ist jetzt wiedergefunden worden. Die Lesung von Iannelli wird bestätigt (dagegen ist Egberts Wiedergabe des Textes auffallend nachlässig), bis auf das Ende der ersten Zeile, wo nicht L mit Punkt steht, sondern S. Der Text beginnt also [- B]laio S[- - -]. Eine Filiation wird auch nicht erwartet, da die Inschrift aus der vorgerückten Kaiserzeit stammt und der Errichter keine führt.

Egbert 287 Nr. 7 = Garroni, NSc. 1915, 142 Nr. 7 als Ineditum (aus Egbert Diehl ILCV 3188a und Rugo IV 103). Die christliche Grabinschrift der Proiecta. Als Worttrenner wird hier das S-ähnliche Zeichen verwendet, das uns schon oben in EE VIII 880 begegnete. Dieses Zeichen findet sich auch nach OCTOBR in 3, wo Egbert OCTOBRI druckt, und in 4 nach CONS.

CVI. ZU CALENISCHEN INSCRIFTEN

Hier wird die Reihe verschiedener Beobachtungen zu Inschriften aus dem nordkampanischen Raum fortgesetzt.⁴ Neben Capua war Cales eine wichtige Stadt in diesem Raum, und das spiegelt sich auch in der epigraphischen Dokumentation wider, die sich von der frühen republikanischen Zeit bis zum Ausgang des Altertums erstreckt. Ich übergehe hier solche schwierigen Probleme wie das der Aussonderung calenischer Inschriften unter den epigraphischen Materialien unbekannter Herkunft im Museo Campano in Capua oder das der Ausdehnung des calenischen Territoriums und gebe nur einige Bemerkungen zur Lesung und Deutung einzelner Inschriften.

CIL X 4636. Von uns im Jahre 1983 an der Außenwand des Hauses Via Nazionale 60 in Calvi Risorta eingemauert gesehen. VITRA für VITRASI schon in EE VIII 526 richtiggestellt. Aber ein harter Brocken bleibt der Text unten in den Randpfeilern, die von den alten Gewährsleuten PRAEF (links) ODII oder OPPIDI (rechts) gelesen wurden. Rechts scheint aber *operi* zu lesen zu sein. Waren also die in dem Laterculus aufgezählten Sklaven *praefecti operi* bei der Errichtung des Kultbaus an Mens Bona? *Praefectus* wird ja oft in einem solchen Zusammenhang gebraucht (vgl. ThlL X 2, 623, 75—79), ohne einen eigentlichen Beamten zu bezeichnen. Also eine Kommission ad hoc. Daß sie aus Sklaven bestand, mag auffallend erscheinen, ist aber durchaus nicht ausgeschlossen.⁵

⁴ Vgl. Arctos 18 (1984) 127—139. 19 (1985) 155—193.

⁵ Sklaven kommen als *magistri* religiöser Kollegien in den bekannten minturnensischen Listen CIL I² 2678ff. vor.

4677. Von uns im Jahre 1984 in Pignataro Maggiore, Via Duca d'Aosta 2 gesehen. Die Lesung wird dadurch erschwert, daß die Oberfläche schwer verwittert ist, sowie dadurch, daß die vermutlichen Buchstabenzeichen mit roter Farbe aufgemalt worden sind. Jedenfalls hat Mommsens Mitarbeiter Duhn nicht sonderlich besser gelesen als die älteren Autoren. 4 vielleicht *Avia Gemel(la)*; 5 deutlich *b.m.* Mommsen wählt Duhns L·M und deutet es (S. 1167) als *libens merito*, ein seltsamer Einfall, handelt es sich doch um eine Grabinschrift.

4699. Heute im Museo Campano. Die Lesung von Duhn, von Mommsen abgedruckt, ist auffallend nachlässig, denn trotz der teilweise starken Verwitterung der Oberfläche steht der Großteil des Textes doch fest. Ich gebe ihn in extenso hier wieder:

*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum). M. Vultricius
Verinus, qui vix(it) an(nis) VIII,
mes(ibus) XI, dieb(us) XX, M. Vultrici-
us*

5 *Ius[tus? - - -] fil(io) (?) fecit.*

4715. Obwohl die Oberfläche in der Mitte der Tafel schwer verwittert ist, kann man mit gutem Willen in 1 *dulcissimo Marcello* unterscheiden. Die zweite Zeile ist ein harter Brocken. Nach *anno uno* kann man an der stark verwitterten Oberfläche DI unterscheiden und danach noch eine Vertikalhaste. Rechts scheint XLVI sicher; davor hat Mommsen MI erkennen wollen, aber von dem vermutlichen M ist nur der rechte Teil sichtbar, weswegen ebensogut ein A vorliegen kann, und die senkrechte Haste kann an der verwitterten Oberfläche auch ein E vertreten. Die einzig sinnvolle Lesung, die mir einfällt, ist *anno uno, dieꝛ[qu]æ XLVI. Dies* kann mit dem vorangehenden *annus* gelegentlich durch *-que* verbunden werden.⁶ Zu der hohen Zahl der Tage vgl. ähnliche Fälle in altchristlichen Inschriften bei Diehl ILCV III S. 514. — In der dritten Zeile ist wohl *Florentius [et A]xia* zu verstehen.

EE VIII 534. Von uns jetzt in Camigliano (Via Varacchi 20) gesehen. Die in Arctos 19 (1985) 182 festgelegte Lesung erwies sich als richtig.

⁶ CIL VIII 21426 *vicsit m. XI diesque nove.*

539. 2 *Tertiae*. So verschwinden alle exegetischen Schwierigkeiten. Merkwürdig, daß Ihm nicht emendiert hat.

544. 3 nicht C·ENI, sondern *Geni*(). Als plausibles Cognomen kommen in Frage *Genice*⁷ oder *Genialis*, freilich selten als Frauennamen belegt.⁸ Der von Ihm angegebene horizontale Strich in 1 über I ist nur eine Beschädigung der Oberfläche.

545. Der Name ist zu lesen *Murelliae* / *Philemat[ionis]*.

547. 1 heißt *Opsia aram* (Ihm versteht *Opsia Ara. . .*), es handelt sich also um eine Motivinschrift. Nicht nur deswegen ist in 2 statt FIDELI(S) zu lesen *Fidei d.* Rechts haben unsere Vorgänger IRI gesehen, vielleicht ERI. Wäre da *muneri* möglich? Aber *dedit muneri* wäre etwas ungewöhnlich in Motivinschriften.

551. Der Mann braucht nicht *L. Planius P.l. Diomedes* zu heißen. Von dem Vornamen des Mannes ist nur ein kurzer waagerechter Strich unten erhalten, der bisher als Querstrich von L gedeutet wurde. Es kann sich aber ebensogut um eine Serife handeln, denn die Serifen sind in der Inschrift markant eingehauen, wie man gerade aus den P sieht. Und man würde ja *Publius* als den Vornamen des Freigelassenen erwarten.

552. Ich lese *Rufa, Vorena P.l. Ge.* *Rufa* ist die links im Relief abgebildete Tochter. *Vorena* ist natürlich ein Gentilicium (Schulze ZGLE 261), von Ihm mißverstanden (er stellt es im Index 570 unter die Cognomina).

558. In der Inschrift werden wahrscheinlich zwei Personen erwähnt, die Tochter *Zosima* und die Mutter *Thalamium*. Ihm hat nichts verstanden, denn er gibt im Index 570 *Zosima Thalamiuma*, was ein Monstrum ist. *Thalamium* ist ein guter Frauennamen.⁹

Zu der von Maiuri, NSc. 1929, 31 (AE 1929, 166) veröffentlichten Inschrift des Konsuls M. Vinicius, wobei er mit seiner falschen Lesung *L.*

⁷ Zu *Genice* s. mein Namenbuch 973 mit 4 Belegen. Sonst CIL X 2645. EE VIII Hisp. 106 usw.

⁸ Kajanto Latin Cognomina 260 verzeichnet zwei feminine Belege.

⁹ Dazu mein Namenbuch 1166 mit zwei Belegen: CIL VI 4990 *Avenia Thalamio*. 14849 *Thalamioni* (hier bleibt allerdings der Sexus unsicher). *-io* und *-ium* erscheinen oft nebeneinander in Frauennamen dieses Typs. Eine sehr nahe kommende Bildung ist übrigens der beliebte Frauennamen *Iconio -ium*.

pron. statt der richtigen *P. pron.* viel Schaden und Kopfzerbrechen gestiftet hat, siehe ZPE 66 (1986) 178.

Johannowsky, *Bollettino d'Arte* 46 (1961) 264, Anm. 46 publiziert flüchtig eine archaische Inschrift, aber nicht gut. Die richtige Lesung heißt *C. Calpu[rnio - - -] / C. Apruc[io - - -] / L. Calp[urnio - - -] / L. Vibio [- - -]*. (2 CAPRV, 3 CALPVR, aber ohne Praenomen, 4 ebenfalls falsch Johannowsky). Die Namen dürften alle im Nominativ gestanden haben, wie es in diesen frühen Zeiten üblich war. Da nun *Vibio* in 4 feststeht, gehört die Inschrift in eine Zeit, da man den Nominativ durch *-io* wiedergab. Daraus ergibt sich eine Datierung ins 3. Jh., welcher Ansatz durch die Buchstabenformen wie das spitzwinklige L und das P unterstützt wird. Der einzige zweifelhafte Punkt betrifft die Lesung von 2, denn zwischen C und A ist kein Punkt sichtbar, da aber keine Gentilnamen auf *Capruc-* vorhanden sind, ist es vorzuziehen, trotz des fehlenden Punktes *C. Aprucio* zu verstehen.

CVII. EINE INSCHRIFT AUS S. ANDREA DEL PIZZONE

Eingemauert in der linken Ecke der Kirche von Maria SS. della Grazia in S. Andrea del Pizzone (Territorium des Ager Falernus) befindet sich die folgende Inschrift, deren Text ich hier vollständig wiedergebe, weil davon nur die korrupte Abschrift von W. Johannowsky, *Rendiconti Accad. Napoli* 50 (1975) 33 Nr. 3 vorliegt. Johannowsky druckt den Text folgendermassen ab: *M M S / CORNELIA ADA / .AE QUE VIXIT / . . .* Ich habe die Inschrift zusammen mit Mika Kajava im Jahre 1985 aufgenommen; wir konnten die Lesung, abgesehen vom Gentilicium des Ehemannes, ohne Mühe festlegen.

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum)
Serviliae Adau-
ctae que vixit
ann(os) XXVIII, m(enses) V, A.

5 *Staius Vitalis*
coiugi
incomparabili
b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

Der Schriftträger ist ein Grabaltar aus Kalkstein. Sowohl die Schrift als auch die Diktion und die Namen (besonders *Adauctus -a* ist ein später Name) lassen das Denkmal in die vorgerückte Kaiserzeit, etwa ins 2. Jh., datieren.

CVIII. MINIMA CANUSINA

Einige kleinere onomastische Bemerkungen zur neuen Edition der Inschriften von Canusium: *Le epigrafi romane di Canusium I*, a cura di M. Chelotti, R. Gaeta, V. Morizio, M. Silvestrini, Bari 1985.

Nr. 86 (ein Ineditum): das Praenomen des Caesius Frequens ist nicht *Numerius*, sondern *Manius*. Die Form der Abkürzung ist ganz normal, wie man anhand des Photos leicht feststellen kann.

145: die Errichterin hieß wohl *Iulia Chrysario*.

146: nicht [- - -] *Sp.l.* / *Isargyrus*, sondern [- - -] *s P.l. Isargyrus*. Die Inschrift scheint aus dem 1. Jh. n. Chr. zu stammen, und in dieser Zeit war *Spurius* kaum mehr in Gebrauch. In ganz CIL IX kommt *Spurius* ein einziges Mal vor, und auch dieser Beleg ist suspekt.¹⁰ Denselben Fehler begeht auch die editio princeps (und danach AE 1972, 124).

147: Statt *Antistia Sapida* würde ich als Namen der Frau *Antistia Sapidia* vermuten, überliefert ist ja PIDIA. *Sapidus* war als Cognomen in der fortgeschrittenen Kaiserzeit im Umlauf, und es bereitet keinerlei Schwierigkeiten, eine Suffixbildung *Sapidia* anzunehmen.¹¹

169 wird verstanden [*Pri*]scus *Pellio* / [. .] *Prisco f(ilio)* gegen [*Pellius Pri*]scus *Pellio* usw. der Erstherausgeberin. Ich hatte *Arctos* 8 (1974) 153 statt *Pellio* die Dienstbezeichnung *pellio* vorgeschlagen, da die Struktur des Texts diese nahelegte. Daran möchte ich immer noch festhalten, denn es wäre recht ungewöhnlich, wenn der Vater, der zudem im Text zuerst

¹⁰ 5407 (Firmum Picenum) *D.M. Sp. Saufeius Sp. filius* usw. Man sieht leicht, daß im überlieferten Text nicht alles in Ordnung ist. — *Sp. Fadenus Eros l.* 5104 ist sicher falsch überliefert.

¹¹ Vgl. Kajanto *Latin Cognomina* 250. Die dort suspekt angeführte Bildung *Sapidianus* ist jetzt durch ILAlg. II 5872 und PLRE II 976 sichergestellt worden.

erwähnt wird, das Gentilicium entbehren würde. Es ist freilich so, daß der Name des Errichters freier gestaltet werden kann als der des Verstorbenen,¹² aber hier wäre die Weglassung des Gentiles auffallender, weil der Errichter der Vater ist und im Text zuerst genannt wird. Wenn trotzdem an der Deutung der Editorin festgehalten werden muß, dann bleibt als einziger Ausweg anzunehmen, daß der Vater ein Sklave war, der Sohn ein freier Bürger.

215: der Name der Verstorbenen wird gelesen *Severiae Aphroditi* mit Nexus von ITI. *Aphroditi* soll Dativ eines verbreiteten Namens *Aphrodites* sein. Ein solcher Name existiert aber nicht. Die Frau hieß *Severia Aphrodite*, und es ist zu erwägen, ob in der Inschrift nicht einfach *Aphrodite* gelesen werden kann; jedenfalls ist so zu verstehen.

227: könnte da ein Nexus von C und H stehen? (oder ist der kurze waagerechte Strich zwischen C und I unzugehörig?). Wenn so, könnte *Epitynchanus* verstanden werden?

CIX. VERKANNTEN NAMEN

Homuncio. In CIL VI 31076 *a* ist wahrscheinlich [*Hom*]uncio zu ergänzen.

Passer. ILAlg. II 7132 aus Sila heißt *Quarta Passaris f(ilia) vix(it) an(nis) XXV*. Dem Editor zufolge sei *Passaris* "génitiv d'un surnom indigène inconnu par ailleurs". Vielleicht liegt hier eher das gut lateinische Cognomen *Passer* vor, das die besonders in späterer Zeit belegte Nebenform *Passar* hat.

Pthonge Pthongus. In CIL X 5427, von einem mittelmäßigen Gewährsmann abgeschrieben, ist das Cognomen überliefert I IHONCVS. Die Emendation *Pthongus* ergibt sich von selbst. Φθόγγος ist ein guter griechischer Name und wird im Lateinischen regelrecht mit *Pth-* wiedergegeben. Notiert sei hier ferner, daß in CIL X 4342 (verschollen) das sinnlose Cognomen PIRITONGE von Mazzocchi *Pthonge* gelesen wurde (Mazzocchi Sylloge f. 177).

¹² Dazu Solin, QUCC 18 (1974) 106ff.

Sophon. Bull.com. 83 (1972—1973) 139 = 90 (1985) 392
Sophonitat - - - , als ob ein Name wie *Sophonitas -tis* vorläge. Natürlich
Sophonit[at] (von mir am Photo verglichen).

Ulpiosa (?). Könnte in ILAlg. II 7051 aus Sila *Ulpiosa* vorliegen?
 Dieses Cognomen wäre freilich eine neue Bildung, aber neben *Iuliosa* usw.
 durchaus plausibel, um so mehr als *-osa* ein typisch afrikanisches Suffix
 ist.¹³

CX. VERKANNTÉ IDENTITÄTEN

CIL X 8300 = VI 17858. Die Herkunft dieser Inschrift steht nicht mit
 völliger Sicherheit fest. VI 17858 wurde von Mommsen in Neapel gesehen
 (sie findet sich auch heute noch im Archäologischen Museum); da sie aller
 Wahrscheinlichkeit nach aus dem Museo Borgia in Velletri nach Neapel
 gelangte, optiert der Editor von VI 17858 für stadtrömische Herkunft.
 Nun stammen fast alle nicht-veliternischen Inschriften des ehemaligen
 Museo Borgia in der Tat aus Rom. Dem steht entgegen, daß sich diese
 Inschrift im Codex Marucellianus A 79 f. 65 unter antiatischen Inschriften
 findet (daraus Mommsen CIL X 8300 unter Antium). Die Entscheidung
 fällt nicht leicht, wegen des namentlichen Zeugnisses des Codex Marucel-
 lianus würde ich jedoch am ehesten für antiatische Herkunft plädieren.

CXI. EINE NEUE HEBAMME AUS ROM

In einem Gasthaus an der Via Nomentana in Rom wird eine Inschrift
 aufbewahrt, die noch der Erklärung harret. Sie wurde von A. Ferrua,
 Rend. Lincei 1981, 100 Nr. 10 und dann besser von M. G. Granino Cecere,
 Bull. com. 90 (1985) 278 Nr. 17 mit gutem Photo publiziert. Damit der
 Leser meinen Interpretationsversuch besser verfolgen kann, gebe ich den
 ganzen Text nach dem Photo bei Granino Cecere wieder, so wie ich ihn
 verstehe:

¹³ Vgl. Kajanto Latin Cognomina 122f. Pflaum, Ant. Afr. 14 (1979) 213—216.

[D(is)] M(anibus)
 [- - -] TROMAE
 [- - -] imae et
 [- - -] issimae
 5 [- - - m]erenti
 [- - - co]nser(vae)
 [- - -] +

Die Lesung der zweiten Zeile, die das eigentliche Rätsel der Inschrift darstellt, dürfte feststehen. Ferrua optiert für ein Cognomen *Roma*, aber abgesehen davon, daß *Roma* als Frauenname praktisch unbekannt ist,¹⁴ findet sich vor R kein Punkt, obwohl die Inschrift anscheinend Worttrenner gebraucht hat, wie man an der dritten Zeile sieht. Aufgrund derselben dritten Zeile wird deutlich, daß rechts nichts fehlt, denn im entgegengesetzten Fall würde man einen Punkt nach ET erwarten. Man kann den links fehlenden Raum ungefähr berechnen. In Zeile 4 kann links nur der Anfang des Epithetons fehlen, und in Zeile 5 steht demnach [benem]erenti fest. Links fehlen also rund fünf bis sechs Buchstaben. Die von Granino Cecere vorgeschlagenen Ergänzungen [cariss]imae et [sanct]issimae passen vorzüglich. Aber die zweite Zeile? Es stehen, soweit ich es übersehe, keine antiken Personennamen auf *-troma -e* zur Verfügung.¹⁵ Ich vermute hier die Erwähnung einer Hebamme. Neben der üblichen Bezeichnung für die Hebamme, *obstetrix*, findet sich in römischen Inschriften gelegentlich der Terminus *iatromea*. Diese Bezeichnung ist sehr selten und m.W. nur zweimal inschriftlich überliefert (CIL VI 9477. 9478), beide Male eben in der Form *iatromea*. Es dürfte aber keinem Zweifel unterliegen, daß sie auf das im Griechischen an sich unbelegte *ιατρόμια* zurückgeht.¹⁶ Die so benannten Frauen mochten ärztlich geschulte Hebammen sein. Der neue Beleg erhärtet diese

¹⁴ Dazu vgl. meine Überlegungen in ZPE 39 (1980) 249—254.

¹⁵ Im Griechischen ist ein mythologischer Name Ἄτρομος überliefert (Apollodor. 2, 7, 8). Die Möglichkeit, daß dazu in Rom ein Frauenname auf *-a* (nicht einmal auf *-e*) gebildet worden wäre, ist nur theoretisch.

¹⁶ Fälschlich wird das Wort zusammengestellt mit einem angeblichen *ιατρόμια* z. B. von O. Weise, Die griechischen Wörter im Latein, Leipzig 1882, 442 und Georges' Wörterbuch s.v.

Ableitung. Zu schreiben wäre im Text entweder *[ia]tromae/[ae]* oder eher, da der zur Verfügung stehende Raum in 3 vor *[cariss]imae* kaum noch weitere Buchstaben zuläßt, *[ia]tromae(ae)*. Für den Namen dieser Hebamme bleiben etwa vier Buchstaben übrig.

CXII. VARIA URBANA

1. CIL VI 30371, 1 ist überliefert PH/////IO. Wenn da ein Frauenname auf *-io* mit dem Anfang *Ph-* vorliegen soll, dann kommt zunächst *Philematio* in Frage. Nach dem Druckbild des CIL zu urteilen, würde es auch raummäßig passen. *Philematio* ist ein wirklicher Modename, besonders in älterer Zeit (späte republikanische und frühe Kaiserzeit), und die Inschrift scheint aus der frühen Kaiserzeit zu stammen.

2. Ich komme auf die schon in *Arctos* 19 (1985) 203 kurz behandelte Inschrift CIL VI 30971 zurück. Dort ging es um die Festlegung der überraschenden onomastischen Form *Pothinius*. Zu meinen Darlegungen möchte ich noch hinzufügen, daß *Pothinius* mit seinem Suffix *-ius*, wenn auch erklärbar als okkasionelles Produkt der neuen onomastischen Trends des 3. Jh., auch eine sozusagen graphische Erklärung zulassen könnte, wenn man in *-nius* eine Wiederholung von *Vibennius* sehen darf.

Aber nun zur Inschrift selbst. Es handelt sich um eine Votivinschrift, die aber nicht der *Kybele* gewidmet zu sein braucht, trotz der Inschrift auf der Rückseite. Der Text ist vor allem syntaktisch bemerkenswert. Auf den Ablativ *salvis seis* (d.i. *suis*) folgt im Nominativ *felices Neptunalis et Tertius*. Was danach folgt, ist nicht ganz sicher, mir scheint aber am ehesten *inquili/nis* mit einem Efeublatt am Ende der Zeile nach LI zu lesen zu sein. Der Buchstabe Q ist sicher, die Wiedergabe im CIL nachlässig (Jory in seinem Wortindex hat das nicht verstanden und liest INOVILI). Das Efeublatt wurde vielleicht gesetzt, um den Raum auszufüllen, denn es gab für die letzten Buchstaben noch Raum in einer Zeile unten. NIS wurde dann etwas eingerückt (andererseits ist es nicht ganz ausgeschlossen, daß vor NIS noch etwas gestanden hat). Wenn *inquilinis* die richtige Lesung vertritt, dann ist der Schreiber aufs neue zum Ablativ übergegangen, nachdem er die Aufzählung der Namen der ‚Seinigen‘ beendet hatte. Der relationslose Nominativ bei Aufzählungen von Namen ist nicht selten im

volkstümlichen Latein, und nicht nur bei Eigennamen, wie hier *felices* zeigt; die Wahl von *felices* wurde übrigens vielleicht durch das Streben nach gleicher Endung mit *salvis seis* erleichtert.¹⁷

Zu Einzelheiten. *seis* 5 ist anscheinend gleich *suis*, wohl eine Umgestaltung nach *meus*. Ganz ähnliche Formen sind mir nicht bekannt, vgl. aber *siae* CIL IX 3472 und 17. BRGK (1927) 188 (Germania Superior) *cum filiis sivis. salvis seis* vertritt eine übliche Formel, die freilich in dem epigraphischen Jargon nicht sehr häufig verwendet wurde; eine ähnliche Wendung in der stadtrömischen Motivinschrift CIL VI 413 *salvis candidatis huius loci*. Mit den *sui* meint Vibennius Pothinius wohl seine Familie, und als Ergänzung dazu werden mit *inquilini* etwa seine Insassen angeführt. Wie schon bemerkt, ist die Lesung *inquilinis* nicht über alle Zweifel erhaben, denn von NIS ist nur die obere Hälfte erhalten. Doch ist NIS der Kombination NVS vorzuziehen, aufgrund des Photos zu urteilen. Außerdem müßte *Inquilinus* als ein weiterer Eigenname aufgefaßt werden, was nicht sonderlich einleuchtet, denn *Inquilinus* war als Name praktisch ungebräuchlich.¹⁸ — Am Anfang wäre etwa *sanct[o deo]* raummäßig eine passende Ergänzung. — F in *felices* ist sicher.

Der Text der Inschrift würde nach dem oben Dargelegten folgendermaßen lauten: [- - -] / *sanct[o deo]* / *Sex. Vibenni/us Pothinius / libens d.d. / salvis seis / felices Neptu/nalis et Terti/us et inquilin/is*.

3. CIL VI 31073. Der Editor (Henzen oder Hülsen?) schöpft aus zwei Quellen: Ciacconius, Codex Raffaelli f. 79 und Mommsen, IRN 6315, der die Inschrift im Neapler Museum sah. Daß die Identität dieser zwei Fassungen unsicher ist, wurde schon im CIL bemerkt: „Esse aram eandem parum certum est“. In der Tat handelt es sich um zwei verschiedene Altäre mit der identischen Inschrift SACRVM. Es ist der Forschung bisher entgangen, daß die von Mommsen im Neapler Museum gesehene Inschrift früher im Territorium des antiken Capua gesehen wurde; dieser Herkunft bewußt hat Mommsen sie CIL X 4433 an richtiger Stelle publiziert, ihm ist aber wiederum entgangen, daß diese Inschrift keine andere ist als die von

¹⁷ Vgl. das Paradebeispiel *vixit annis . . . menses . . . dies . . .* mit der klassischen Behandlung von E. Löfstedt, Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae, Uppsala 1911, 51—56.

¹⁸ Kajanto Latin Cognomina 313 kennt nur einen Beleg von *Inquilina* aus der Zeit des ausgehenden Altertums: Cassiod. var. 4, 37 (507/511 n. Chr.).

ihm früher in den INR 6315 veröffentlichte. Da die von Ciacconius überlieferte Inschrift einmal in Rom war, muß es sich demnach um zwei verschiedene Inschriften handeln.

4. Die in der Abteilung 'Notiziario di scavi e scoperte in Roma e suburbio' Bull.com. 90 (1985) 418 aus "Inventario dell'Antiquarium Comunale" 7142 wiedergegebene Inschrift [- - -] / *Papusi* / *Philargur* / [- - -] *L Calpu/rnius Phil* / [- - -] *earo* [- - -] / *L Calpurni* [- - -] / [- - -] *fecer*[*unt*] scheint eine korrupte Abschrift von CIL VI 12249 zu sein. Der Fundort stimmt überein, wie auch die Steinart. Die großen Divergenzen in der Textform dürften auf die Beschädigung der Schriftoberfläche zurückzuführen sein, aber die korrupte Abschrift im Notiziario offenbart eine große Ignoranz; die Textform von Forcella im CIL bleibt unangetastet.

In demselben Notiziario finden sich auch andere schon in CIL VI publizierte Texte. Aus demselben Grabgelände kommen CIL VI 17715 und 24699, die im Notiziario 418 bzw. 420 als Inedita wiedergegeben werden (ohne Divergenzen in der Textform). Bekannt war auch die im Notiziario 420 wiedergegebene Inschrift *P. Tullius P.l. Argaeus* usw., die schon Epigraphica 27 (1965) 138 publiziert wurde, aber schlecht (richtig S. Priuli, Rend.Lincei 1974, 512). — Die im Notiziario 422 wiedergegebene Inschrift aus dem Gelände von Via Talamone *C. Naevi C.l. Philomusi* wurde schon von Mariano Armellini abgeschrieben und aus seinen Papieren von A. Ferrua, Epigraphica 28 (1966) 39 Nr. 42 ans Licht gezogen. — Das im Notiziario 436 aus IAC 6311 mit Photo publizierte Ineditum enthält das Cognomen *Fructuosa* (es ist kein Appellativum!). Und die ebendort aus IAC 8241 publizierte Inschrift verbirgt das seltene Cognomen *Phascusa*, im Notiziario als *Rhascusa* wiedergegeben (von mir am Photo verglichen).

5. CIL VI 37278 = ICVR 292 = Diehl ILCV 482 aus Vaglieri, NSc. 1906, 432. Der Name der Frau ist bisher noch nicht richtig gedeutet worden. Vaglieri (und danach Bang im CIL VI) las *August...*, was dadurch hinfällig wird, daß der rechte Rand unversehrt erhalten ist. Silvagni in ICVR las besser *Aucust/ace*. Das versucht Ferrua, Vet.Chr. 19 (1982) 303 näher zu begründen; nach ihm sei *Aucustace* gleich *Augustiaca* und verhalte sich dazu wie *Cyrace* zu *Cyriaca*. Dieser Vergleich hat nicht viel Sinn, denn die Grundform des letztgenannten Namens ist *Cyriace*;

außerdem steht dieser Fall auch sonst ganz anders. Vor allem aber gibt es keinen Namen *August(i)aca*. Ich habe die Inschrift am 24.5.1986 in S. Croce in Gerusalemme gesehen und aufgenommen.¹⁹ Silvagnis Lesung der Inschrift ist sonst ganz richtig, nur ist die letzte Zeile unten abgebrochen, weswegen der dritte Buchstabe ebenso gut ein F wie ein E sein kann. Nun findet sich zwischen dem C und dem dritten Buchstaben ein längerer Abstand als sonst, was gegen *Aucustace* sprechen könnte. Ich lese *Aucust/a c.f.* So gewinnen wir eine neue senatorische Frau für den Ausgang des römischen Altertums (ihr Ehemann starb im Jahre 496, sie etwas später), worüber sich auch unser Landsmann Johannes Sundwall gefreut hätte.²⁰ Diese Deutung wird noch dadurch erhärtet, daß auch der Ehemann als ein *palatinus* zu den besseren Kreisen gehörte. Diese Frau ist in der *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire II* 185 mit dem richtigen Namen *Augusta* verbucht, allerdings ohne Erkenntnis der Sigel *c.f.* Da die PLRE aus dem CIL schöpft, muß sie sozusagen versehentlich zum richtigen Namen gekommen sein! — *Augusta* ist nicht selten in der altchristlichen Namengebung. Allein die neun ersten Bände der ICVR verzeichnen 8 Namensträgerinnen (dazu 4 Träger des Männernamens *Augustus*). *Augusta c.f.* paßt also dem Kontext nach wie angegossen.

6. ICVR 2886 verschwindet. Unter dieser Nummer publiziert Silvagni aus de Rossis scheda 2296 den mittleren Teil von ICVR 2826, von der er selbst auch den linken Teil im Archäologischen Museum in Neapel gesehen hat (heute ist der linke Teil nicht mehr auffindbar). Das ist ein reines Versehen, denn Silvagni zitiert an beiden Stellen Mommsens IRN 6734. Von mir 1983 in Neapel kontrolliert. Zur Lesung sei notiert, daß in 2 mit 2826 *XXX[II]* gegen *XXV...* von 2886 zu lesen ist.

7. ICVR 2835 = CIL X 3218. De Rossi hielt die Inschrift für christlich, was nachzuweisen wohl unmöglich ist. Auch ihre stadtrömische Herkunft muß offen bleiben. In 1 ist *-VCIANA*, nicht *-YCIANA* zu lesen. *Eutyrciana*, so von Silvagni in ICVR ergänzt, muß auch aus meinem Namenbuch 809 entfernt werden.

¹⁹ Dem Parroco der Gemeinde einen herzlichen Dank für die Hilfe bei der Suche der Inschrift.

²⁰ Vgl. Sundwall, *De sista romarinnorna*, *Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar* Afd. B 61, 3, 1919.

8. ICVR 21943 ist mit Sicherheit gleich 21987. Ferrua hat 21943 aus einer Abschrift von Wilpert, ohne bemerkt zu haben, daß es sich um die in 21987 richtig gegebene Inschrift handelt. So verschwindet auch der einzige Beleg des angeblichen Gentilnamens *Pecorius*.

9. U. M. Fasola, Riv.arch.crist. 61 (1985) 39 publiziert folgendermaßen eine fragmentarische Inschrift aus einer Grabstätte der via Appia: D.M. LIC(i)AE·HEVRESI·CONIVGI·SVAE·B·M / T·FLAV(i)VS·NICIPPVS, wohl aus dem 2. Jh. (die Inschrift ist nicht christlich). Bemerkenswert ist das Cognomen des Mannes *Nicippus*, das hier zum ersten Mal in der römischen Namengebung auftaucht.²¹ Bemerkenswert wäre auch *Licia*, denn ein Gentilname *Licius* ist praktisch unbekannt, nur aus der afrikanischen Inschrift ILAlg. II 5535 belegt. Ich habe den Verdacht, hier ist *Livia* zu verstehen: wenn der erste Strich von V etwas gebogen war, wie es oft der Fall ist, und der zweite Strich in der Lücke stand, versteht man die Verlesung gut.

10. E. Leone publiziert aus der Sammlung Zeri in Mentana eine altchristliche Inschrift wie folgt:²² *Dorm(ienti) Regine s(ervae) Gaudenti[ae] benemere[n]ti*. Es muß natürlich heißen *dorm(itio) Regines Gaudenti[us]* (oder u.U. *Gaudenti[a]*). [Korrekturzusatz. Richtig schon A. Ferrua, Riv.arch.crist. 59 (1983) 324.]

²¹ Auch im griechischen Bereich nicht sonderlich verbreitet. Diskret in Attika, Lakonien und Boiotien belegt, auch in Kyrene, sonst eher zerstreute Belege.

²² E. Leone, in *Il Lapidario Zeri di Mentana*, Studi pubbl. dall'Istituto Italiano per la storia antica 32, Roma 1982, 365 Nr. 281.

PHOENIX·FELIX·ET·TV*

Remarks on the Representation of the Phoenix in Roman Art

ANTERO TAMMISTO

Introduction

Among the various fantasy birds, the phoenix has throughout history had a unique position as the myth has been widespread in various forms and contexts. Whether or not people believed in its real existence, nobody had, of course, ever seen one. This caused considerable variation in the descriptions and representations of the phoenix. In both literary and visual sources the tradition is far from fixed and, moreover, both the literary descriptions and visual representations seem to have had only a little interrelation. This partly explains the numerous identification problems met within the phoenix representations in ancient art, and is surely a reason for the lack of a comprehensive study on its iconography even after many diligent studies.¹ In the following, we will deal with these problems.

* CIL IV 9850; I wish to express my sincere thanks to Doctors Mariette De Vos and Margareta Steinby for reading the manuscript. I also wish to thank Prof. Rostislav Holthoer for checking the Egyptological content, and Prof. Heikki Solin for discussing problems concerning the inscription cited in the title (see note 18). For the content of this paper I am of course the solely responsible. Because most of the representations which will be mentioned are already published I have restricted the illustration to drawings (from photographs) of particularly relevant and/or unpublished representations only.

¹ In the basic work by R. Van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix according to Classical and Early Christian Traditions* (EPRO 24), Leiden 1972, is given also a brief but the more learned sketch of the earlier research on the phoenix which shows among other things

The present study by no means attempts to review all the problems concerning the iconography of the phoenix and its identification in ancient art, but presents material and observations hitherto absent in the studies which have clarified the main lines of the iconography of the phoenix.² The results of the preceding studies must first be briefly summarized.

The nimbus and/or sun rays around the bird's head are attested as an unambiguous feature of the phoenix and a fairly constant element in the representations of the bird.³ These we meet in a long-legged and long-necked bird looking like a crane or a heron from the coins from Hadrian and Antonine's time onwards.⁴ These characteristics are usually also found in the later representations, most of which are in Palaeo-Christian

how much work was needed to disprove the beliefs that it existed (*ibid.*, 3—13). Van den Broek magnificently analyses the manifold symbolism assigned to the phoenix in antiquity. The work does not aim to be a systematic description of this symbolism, but an attempt to show "that the symbolic interpretation of the phoenix had a strong influence on the development of the myth" (*ibid.*, 422). Also the visual sources are used from this point of view, though not systematically (*ibid.*, 425—464, Pl. 1—40); F. Bisconti, *Lastra incisa inedita della Catacomba di Priscilla (con note di revisione critica sul metodo di individuazione della fenice nell'arte paleocristiana)*, *RACrist* 57 (1981) 43—67 also lists earlier research (especially in notes 8—9 and 23) and makes valuable observations on the identification of the phoenix in Palaeo-Christian art. For the phoenix mainly in Egyptian art, see also L. Kakosy, *LÄ IV* (1984) 1030—1039 *s.v.* 'Phönix'. Most of the studies deal with the myth of the phoenix in literary sources and, moreover, as a Christian symbol. The most extensive collection of visual material is still the one by G. Türk, *Roscher-Lexikon III* 2, 3465—3472 *s.v.* 'Phoenix' and H. Leclercq, *DAcL XIV* 1 (1941) 686—691 *s.v.* 'Phénix'. See also A. Rusch, *RE XX* 1 (1941) 414—423, *s.v.* 'Phoinix' and E. Josi, *Enc. Catt. V* (1950) 1151—1152 *s.v.* 'Fenice'. Of more recent studies concerning the phoenix we mention Marthe de Chambrun Ruspoli, *Le retour du Phénix*, Paris 1982 (which according to R. Tefnin in *AC* 54 [1985] 456—458 is disastrous) and P.G. Christiansen-J.L. Sebesta, *Claudian's Phoenix*, *AC* 54 (1985) 204—224 (which concerning visual sources treats only some coins; *ibid.*, 211—214).

² This article has emerged as an excursus of my dissertation which I am preparing on the bird motifs in Romano-Campanian wall paintings. Many preliminary observations of the material are introduced in this paper without bringing together all the evidence.

³ Van den Broek, 233ff. The sun rays are not obligatory if identification as the phoenix is made clear by other means, e.g. the bird shown with a palm branch or sitting in a palm tree, see Bisconti.

⁴ Van den Broek, 427—433, Pl. 6—7.

mosaics, where the bird often more resembles a porphyryion.⁵ This appearance is considered to go back to the Egyptian sun bird benu (*bnw*). During the Old Kingdom (OK) it was represented as a bird mostly resembling a passerine in general more than any specific species. Sethe's suggestion that it might represent a wagtail is still repeated in all the handbooks, though neither Sethe nor anyone else has been able to present any reasons for this identification.⁶ From the Middle Kingdom (MK) onwards, however, it is clearly a heron, the grey or the purple one (*Ardea cinerea* / *Ardea purpurea*). The long legs and the long neck are indeed common with the later Roman phoenix, which, however, usually has a shorter bill and only in some cases the crest and long breast feathers of the benu. A further difference is that the Egyptian benu bore the sun disc on its head whereas the nimbus is clearly around the head.⁷

According to R. Van den Broek it seems plausible that in the Roman Egypt the benu and the phoenix became associated and acquired the same appearance. The sun disc became associated with the nimbus and it is probably in Roman Egypt around I c. AD that the benu-phoenix got its appearance which the Hadrian coins repeat. These were struck after Hadrian's stay in Syria, which might have influenced the adaptation of the subject.⁸ In fact some magical amulets of clearly Egyptian models showing

⁵ Van den Broek, Pl. 18, 2; 19; 23; 31. On the I—II c. AD liturgical garment from Saqqara the bird's bill and head are somewhat flamingo-like (*ibid.*, 426, Pl. 2—3). Later the phoenix is also represented as looking like a dove and even confused with the cock, see Bisconti.

⁶ K. Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, Leipzig 1930, § 31. A representation of the bird is e.g. in K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte II*² (1960) n. 1652. The bird in a relief fragment treated by Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte III*, Leipzig 1923, 122 note 3, Pl. 60 is rightly identified as a plover species, perhaps the Spur-winged Plover (*Vanellus spinosus*), though all distinguishing marks are not represented as Wreszinski notes. Cf. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 514ff. s.v. 'Phönix', Van den Broek, 15ff. and Kakosy, 1030—1031.

⁷ Van den Broek, 15ff., 233ff.; cf. Kakosy.

⁸ Van den Broek, 244ff., Pl. 6. Hadrian's relations to and special interests in Egypt are well-known and attested e.g. in the realization of the Villa Hadriana, see A. Roulet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing monuments of Imperial Rome (EPRO 20)*, Leiden 1972, 49—51, cf. also J. Raeder, *Die statuarische Ausstattung der Villa Hadriana bei Tivoli (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 37, 4)* Frankfurt-Bern 1983.

this kind of phoenix have been found in Syria and these might be earlier than the Hadrian coins. Also the liturgical garment from Saqqara showing the benu-phoenix might be already from the I c. AD.⁹

The association of the benu and the phoenix myths is understandable as they were put in relation to each other already in the early quotations by Hecataeus apud Herodotus, and, although the classical phoenix myth did not derive directly from the benu myth it was influenced by the latter. This is shown by the many common elements of the myths even if the external appearance of the birds does not yet seem to have had any resemblance.¹⁰ In the classical phoenix myth, which was a Greek conception of the various sun bird traditions of the East, the phoenix was usually described by comparing it to another sun bird, the eagle, and to the exotic and splendid peacock.¹¹ We do not know whether and how the phoenix was represented in Greek art; so far no bird motifs from the archaic or classical time have been identified as a phoenix (cf. later p. 216f.). The question is particularly problematic because the relationship between bird-sun-soul in archaic art is far from clear.¹² Moreover, the phoenix of Mycenaeans — the *po-ni-ke* — is considered to have been the griffin adopted from the Phoenicians. Whether this was so, and how the creatures came to be distinguished remains to be studied.¹³ Another problem so far unanswered, which in the following we will go into, is the representation of the phoenix in Roman art before the II c. AD.

The phoenix in the Euxinus tavern sign and in the Temple of Isis in Pompeii

We start with the only representation where there is no doubt about the identification of the phoenix. This is the, in fact, well-known painting

⁹ Van den Broek, 426—427, Pl. 2—3, 9—11.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 25ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 28ff. and 245ff.

¹² J.L. Benson, *Horse, Bird & Man. The Origins of Greek Painting*, Amherst 1970, 20—31, 60—76 with further references.

¹³ Van den Broek, 25ff. and 379ff. The griffin in Greek and Roman art came to have an “independent life”, cf. the literature mentioned in note 100.

which served as a shop sign for the so called *Caupona di Euxinus* in Pompeii (I 11, 11; fig. 1).¹⁴ The picture, found near the entrance (now in the Antiquarium of Pompeii, inv. 2195), shows two hanging garlands with the usual ribbons and below them a large golden bird standing between two bushes, on the top of which small passerines (probably some *Sylvidae* species) are perched — in the middle a third flies above them. Below the strokes representing the ground is a similar, but smaller, scene with two peacocks standing between bushes. Between the two representations there is a dipinto in black: *PHOENIX·FELIX·ET·TV*.¹⁵

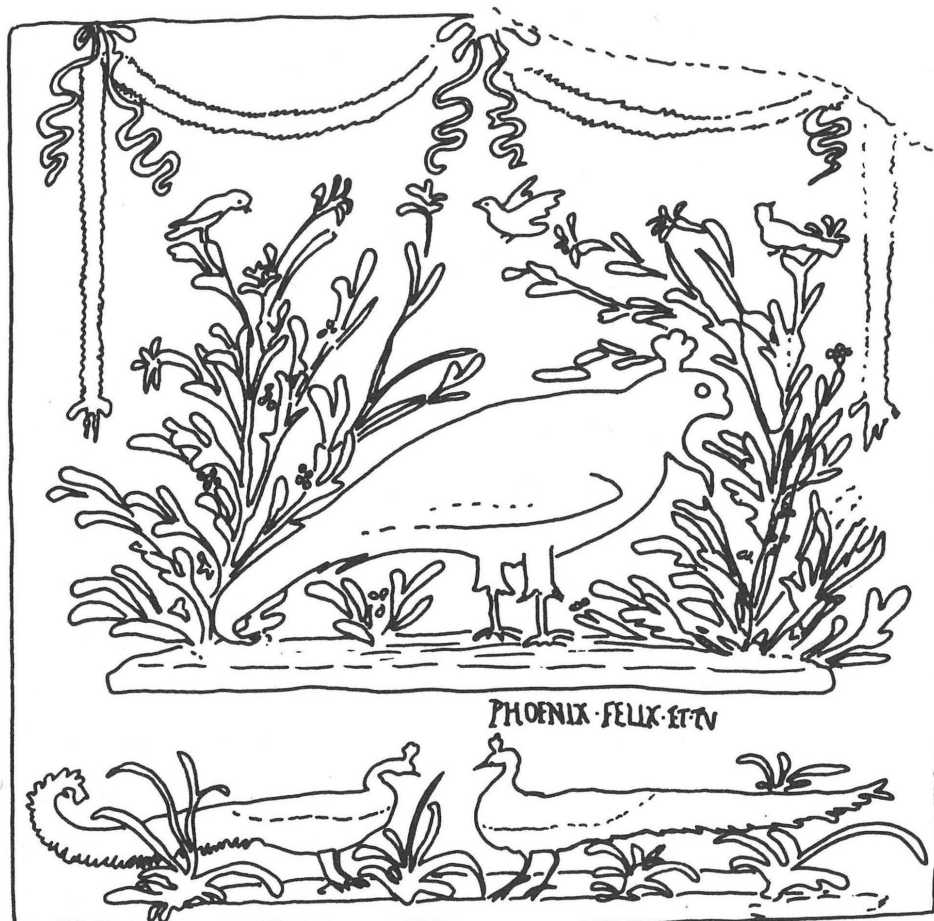
Whether the dipinto belonged to the painting or was added afterwards, and how it should be read cannot be judged with certainty.¹⁶ The dipinto, however, is certainly not completely incidental here, and attests that the bird in the centre made the writer think about a phoenix. As a sign for a tavern the picture — independently from the dipinto — makes sense only as a kind of an advertisement apparently comparing the effects of the tavern's service to the features assigned to the representation. And we can find an even more specific allusion. In fact, the phoenix is here represented in a reduced garden scene, like those met in Pompeian *lararia*, and this combination brings to mind the bird Elysium from Ovid's *Amores* 2, 6 in which the phoenix is one among other birds. Even if our picture is not an exactly corresponding illustration of the view described by Ovid, the similarities are obvious.¹⁷ As the picture refers to happiness

¹⁴ The tavern has been studied by W. Jashemski, *The Caupona of Euxinus at Pompeii*, *Archaeology* 20 (1967) 36—44 and *Id.*, *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the villas destroyed by Vesuvius*, New York 1979, 172—175.

¹⁵ CIL IV 9850. The commentary erroneously tells that the colour of the phoenix was red. The painting is published in colour e.g. by Jashemski, *The Caupona*, 36 and in *Pompeji. Leben und Kunst in den Vesuvstädten*, Essen 1973, 47, cf. *Kat. n. 277* on p. 197 (the former being of deplorable quality as far as the colours are concerned).

¹⁶ For these problems, see the commentary in CIL IV 9850 (cf. however, the following notes 17—18). The dipinto here seems much more an integral part of the sign — and makes much more sense — than as a later addition, which H. Solin, *Pompeiana*, *Epigraphica* 23 (1968) 123f. thinks to be possible. In the picture the dipinto is somewhat asymmetric and squeezed, but this is not unusual in texts in Pompeian wps.

¹⁷ *Ov. am. 2, 6, 49—56: Colle sub Elysio nigra ilice frondet, / udaq̄ue perpetuo gramine terra viret. / Signa fides dubiis, volucrum locus ille piarum / dicitur, obscenae quo prohibentur aves. / Illic innocui late pascuntur olores / et vivax phoenix, unica semper avis; / explicat ipsa*



1. Wall painting from the entrance of the so-called Caupona di Euxinus in Pompeii (I 11, 11; now in the Antiquarium of Pompeii, inv. 2195; drawing from photograph, see note 15).

suas ales Iunonia pinnas, / oscula dat cupido blanda columba mari. Cf. also the repique by Statius (silv. 2, 4) of Ovid's poem where the parakeet's death which is lamented in the poem is compared to the phoenix, which is described as happy. It is possible that the peacocks are presented below the phoenix, not only as a standard element of garden paintings and as another splendid coloured inhabitant of Elysium, but also because both they and the phoenix were assigned similar associations with eternity. Further proof is that the peacock was known (mainly in the East) as a sun bird and later used in Christian art as the symbol of apotheosis. There is, however, no decisive evidence to judge this or to prove any allusions to Christianity here (cf. Jashemski, *The Caupona*, 44; for the peacock in Christian art, H. Lothar, *Der Pfau in der altchristlichen Kunst*, 1929, 12ff.).

representing the phoenix in a little bird Elysium, it is most plausible to interpret the dipinto as underlining the message that a visit to this inn makes one feel like the happy phoenix.¹⁸

This is the background for the curious representation and not the event of seeing the phoenix in the year 34 AD, mentioned e.g. by Tac. ann. 6, 28, as A. Baldi assumed.¹⁹ Baldi's dating proposal — soon after that year — must be rejected because the owners of the tavern, Euxinus and Iustus, were active in the Flavian period, as is attested by the electoral

¹⁸ There is a danger of anachronism in this interpretation, suggested in most of the earlier publications (see literature mentioned here in notes 14—16 and 19) as it is the closest to modern thinking — “feel phoenix” is not too bad a name or advertising slogan for a modern inn either. H. Solin, 123ff. has shown the various possibilities of reading the dipinto. Because of the use of the formula *felix et tu* in other occasions (in a graffito from the Domus Tiberiana in Rome and CIL IV 1736) Solin thinks that this is the case here too, and rejects the reading *Phoenix felix: et tu*. This reading, however, would best underline and correspond with the content of the painting, and therefore the possibility cannot be excluded by the parallels referred to by Solin. As the formula *felix et tu*, on the other hand, seems to have been well known, the most likely explanation to my mind is that the ambiguity is intentional. The happiness assigned to the phoenix is emphasized with a conscious word play with the name phoenix and the formula *felix et tu* (used as a “formula di augurio, una sorta di *acclamatio*” *felix et tu* is found in an inscription from the 3rd century AD, see A. Frascetti in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* I [1982] 553—558 [note 30 with references]). At the same time the dipinto may have had the function of explaining the message of the painting to the less educated part of the potential guests. In this light Solin's suggestion that the dipinto would be a greeting to a person called Phoenix is in my mind highly improbable. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the choosing of the phoenix as the emblem of this inn may have been inspired by a person called Phoenix (perhaps an earlier owner?). As Prof. Solin kindly reminds me, e.g. in sepulchral inscriptions of persons with an animal's name, this name may have inspired the eventual (relief) decoration (for examples, see T. Ritti, *Immagini onomastiche sui monumenti sepolcrali di età imperiale*, Roma 1977, 298—306, n. 37—71). However, in this case there is no further evidence, and it would not change the interpretation of the sign as presented above. As a parallel to the phoenix in a tavern's sign we can mention its occurring (though in the benu form) in magical amulets from Roman Egypt, which were to help the digestion, Kakosy, 1036 note 111.

¹⁹ A. Baldi, *Elementi di epigrafia pompeiana*, *Latomus* 23 (1964) 798ff. There was some confusion about the year which e.g. in Plin. nat. 10, 5 is 36 AD.

notice²⁰ below the picture which, in addition, is clearly of the IV style. The birds are naturalistically depicted despite the curving tail of the peacocks and the phoenix's stiff legs with their "socks", its tuft in the throat and, above all, the marked crown (different from those of the peacocks). This phoenix has clearly nothing in common with the Egyptian benu in the form of a heron or its later Roman versions. Its raptor like strong bill and relatively long, but not wader like, socked legs together with the long tail (the top of which is slightly curved) create the impression of a raptor or a parrot. The crown and the tuft together with the colour confirm that the bird is meant to be a fantastic one. Therefore it cannot ornithologically be identified with any specific species, but we must ask whether it shows any significant similarities with any real birds or other bird motifs in wall paintings (hereinafter abbreviated as wp).

As we shall see, similar birds in various forms are in wide ornamental use from the II style wp:s onwards, especially in the III and IV style wp:s. Now we must study whether all these could have been identified as the phoenix or perhaps as some other bird(s), the image of which was used by the painter of the Euxinus sign to illustrate the phoenix. Would perhaps the ancient onlookers already have had similar difficulties in the identification of these birds as the scholars of our times have had, as shown by the confusion in their nomenclature in modern scientific literature (cf. note 97)?

The solution is in the related question of the origins of this phoenix image. The key to this is the bird in another well-known Pompeian painting. One of the landscapes from the Ekklesiasterion in the Temple of Isis (VIII 2, 28; now in the Museo Nazionale of Naples, inv. 8570, hereinafter referred to by this number) showing buildings sacred to various Egyptian gods presents a sacred gate in a rocky landscape with a mummy standing between two sarcophagus shaped columns supporting a simple architrave. A large bird is sitting on the mummy, and in front of the

²⁰ CIL IV 9851, cf. P. Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus. Polity and society in Roman Pompeii* (AIRF 8), Roma 1975, 152—153, 210—211. A photograph of the sign still *in situ* where also the electoral notice can be seen is published in the catalogue of the exhibition *Pompei 1748—1980. I tempi della documentazione*, Roma 1981, 159 fig. 14 A 1.

sacred gate is an altar on which a hierogrammateus is making libation.²¹ According to O. Elia this is a representation of the cult of Isis-Osiris, which evokes the crucial moment of the Osiris myth when Isis in the form of the sacred Egyptian sparrowhawk came to call to life the dead god and to receive Horus from Osiris. Elia referred to parallels in the Egyptian art without saying exactly what monuments she had in mind. Corresponding representations are not known to the present author, but the subject of Isis as a hawk on or above the mummy of Osiris is well-known in Egyptian art.²² Here reference must be made above all to the reliefs decorating the so called *Osiris-Gemächer* on the Hathor temple of Dendera as they are chronologically and thematically fairly close to MN 8570. Among representations of rites of the so called mysteries of Osiris there is Isis as a hawk flying above the (ithyphallic) mummy of Osiris. Apart from evident differences, the scenes I have referred to can be considered as thematic parallels to MN 8570, which apparently represents the rites of Osiris mysteries (which Apuleius testifies were also known to Romans).²³

²¹ For a more detailed description, see O. Elia, *Le pitture del Tempio di Iside* (Monumenti della pittura antica, Pompei, fasc. III—IV), Roma 1941, 33—34, Pl. C, 2; W. J. T. Peters, *Landscape in Romano-Campanian mural painting*, Assen 1963, 169; V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Le culte d'Isis à Pompeii*, Paris 1964, 142—143, 146, Pl. 10, 2; cf. Van den Broek, 242—243, 247, Pl. 4—5.

²² Hereinafter 'hawk' is used for diurnal raptors in general, not only for the *Accipitres* species. Most of the numerous hawk representations in Egyptian art — which some call (sparrow) hawks others falcons — are in general not clearly identifiable with specific species. Mostly they resemble falcons (often the *Falco peregrinus*), sometimes an *Accipiter* species.

²³ The Hathor temple of Dendera was for the most part completed under Cleopatra VII (47/44—30 BC). For the referred scenes, see E. Otto, *Osiris und Amun, Kult und heilige Stätten*, München 1966, 65, Pl. 20. A similar scene is known from the Sokar room of the temple of Sethos I (1304—1290 BC) in Abydos, where Isis in the form of a hawk flies over the ithyphallic figure of Osiris (*ibid.*, 65, Pl. 17). Contrary to MN 8570, the mummy is lying on the bed and the hawk is flying above it. Even when posed on the mummy it is represented with spread wings as in the so called Osiris bed (in black granite) from Abydos (about 663—525 BC), see Otto, 65, Pl. 18—19. For the Osiris mysteries see E. Chassinat, *Les mystère d'Osiris an mois de Khoyak*, Cairo 1966, cf. A. Giammarusti-A. Roccati, *File*, Novara 1980, 97—101.

This seems to justify us in calling the bird in MN 8570 the “divine Egyptian hawk”, though contrary to the naturalistically depicted hawks in Egyptian art, the bird in MN 8570 is a fantastic one and consequently ornithologically not exactly identifiable. Thus we must be cautious with comparisons to Egyptian art as well as in estimating the content and interpretation of such pieces. Especially here, where the bird is, apart from some minor differences, clearly the one which in Euxinus’ tavern sign is called a phoenix.²⁴ Does this, on the other hand, justify us in calling the bird in the MN 8570 a phoenix, as did V. Tran Tam Tinh followed by M. Malaise and R. Witt (neither of whom presented any evidence)?²⁵ It is improbable that the sign of Euxinus’ tavern should be a singular case where the painter used the “divine Egyptian hawk” to illustrate the phoenix through lack of knowledge of its “real” appearance. But what other evidence is there to show that the phoenix was also elsewhere identified with the “divine Egyptian hawk(s)”?

²⁴ For Dendera reliefs see the literature of the preceding note (23). In the picture from the Isis temple (in Pompeii) the bird’s colour looks more brownish green than golden yellow, the wings and tail are slightly longer and the tuft at the throat is not clearly visible. There is, however, no doubt that the habitus is of one and the same bird (n.b. the bill and legs), which is ultimately confirmed by the crown. The crown, though not exactly identical is so similar to the one in the Euxinus sign, that it most probably represents the same emblems. From Elia, 34 onwards the crown on the head of the bird in the Isis-temple painting is said to consist of an uraeus, a lunar crescent and a sun disc. The last is the only clearly identifiable emblem, and I can see no trace of an uraeus. The lunar crescent is not clearly visible, but the view that it is meant is supported by the crown in the Euxinus sign. Here the sun disc is particularly evident, and probably because of stylization and perhaps some uncertainty — it looks too round at the top. These emblems can in several ways be here mainly emphasizing rebirth. In unclear representations there may have been some confusion with the Isis crowns consisting of a sun disc between the horns (of Apis), though these are usually longer than a half circle, cf. however, the one in the III style paintings of the tablinum of the Villa dei Misteri, M. de Vos, *L’egittomania in pitture e mosaici romano-campani della prima età imperiale* (EPRO 84), Leiden 1980, 9—12, Pl. C and 6.

²⁵ M. Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie* (EPRO 22), Leiden 1972, 161; Tran Tam Tinh, 142—143; R. E. Witt, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World*, London-Southampton 1971, 44, Pl. 25.

The question is particularly interesting because the phoenix was identified with the Egyptian benu, which — as already noted — was usually represented as a heron. We only wish to point out the representation where it is called the soul of Osiris and is found in an willow tree near Osiris' tomb (not on the mummy; cf. later p. 191). The answer is to be searched in the syncretism and eclecticism of Roman religion and art, particularly in the use of Egyptian elements, and ultimately in the character of Egyptian beliefs and art where syncretism also plays a prominent role. In Egyptian religion and art one form could express many subjects or features, and vice versa, many forms could express more or less the same thing. Thus we can find the most manifold interrelations and associations between the benu and the gods Atum, Re, Osiris, and Horus, and between these gods and hawks, which were often emblematic of the gods and their soul.²⁶

The phoenix identified with the divine Egyptian hawk

The explanation for representing the phoenix as a fantastic Egyptian(izing) hawk instead of a heron, the usual form of the benu, with which the phoenix was identified, can be summed up in the following arguments:

1) The benu were assigned similar features as hawks, the most prominent birds in Egyptian religion and art, prevalently associated with solar and ruler beliefs as being emblems of the gods Horus, Re(-Atum) and Osiris, to

²⁶ Here the word soul is used of the Egyptian conception 'Ba', though in fact they are not equivalent. This has less importance because already in antiquity Ba was translated as 'psyche', and the Ba represented as a human-headed bird was understood as a soul bird. For Ba, see L. V. Zabkar, *LÄ I* (1975) 588—590 *s.v.* 'Ba' (with further references). For the syncretism in Egyptian religion we refer here only to J. Leclant, *Points de vue récents sur le syncrétisme dans la religion de l'Égypte pharaonique*, and to F. Dunand, *Les syncrétismes dans la religion de l'Égypte romaine*, in F. Dunand & P. Lévêque (eds.), *Les syncrétismes dans les religions de l'antiquité* (EPRO 46), Leiden 1975, 1—18 and 152—185 (of the identification of the king with Horus, 174; for Ba see the intervention of A. Gutbub, 15—18).

which the benu was also connected.

2) Thus both the hawk(s) and the (heron)benu are in many respects parallel and complementary appearances. As such they are in a particularly prominent position in death and resurrection beliefs, both being forms taken after death.

3) As the name benu could be used of Re-Atum and Osiris and of their Ba's, which on the other hand, were known to appear as hawks, the latter could also be regarded as an appearance of the benu.

We shall first of all deal with the hawk(s) in Egyptian religion and art, and then compare the benu to these.

Because of their impressive flying and fierceness hawks — especially falcons — were from the earliest times regarded in Egypt (and not only there) as divine birds. Several gods were represented in the form of hawks, and they became emblematic of the concept of divinity in general.²⁷ As the hawk's flight became a natural image of divine access to heaven, the hawk acquired a prominent role in resurrection beliefs. This is expressed e.g. in Coffin texts where numerous formulae refer to transformation into a hawk. Also Ba is most often represented as a hawk-like bird (though with a human head; cf. below p. 186).

Hawks became best-known as the figure of the sky god Horus, who, identified with the Pharaoh, seems to have become the first overregional god. Thus many local numina (and not only the hawk-shaped) tended to become associated with Horus, further strengthening its importance. Horus became connected with and dominated by the sun god Re, who was both *Götterkönig* and *Königsgott*, and also took the appearance of a hawk. In Heliopolis, the centre of the sun cult, the gods were combined as Re-Harachte.²⁸ The solar and ruler associations, which hawks prevalently

²⁷ The best evidence here is the falcon as a hieroglyph, which is a definition for god (*ntr*) and gods, and from the MK an ideogram of the 1st. person singular for divine being. Cf. the word 'achom', which originally meant the body of a god (as the opposite of Ba) and early on came to mean falcon formed cult-statues, and later falcon in general. The 'divine falcon' or 'big falcon' mentioned in the Coffin texts only seldom refer to any specific god, see B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten* (Göttinger Orientforschungen IV, 7), Wiesbaden 1975, 59—61; cf. H. Altenmüller, *LÄ I* (1975) 55—56 s.v. 'Achom'.

²⁸ Harachte, the 'horizontal Horus' was especially connected with the Re of the morning which could appear also as the benu, because they occurred in the same part of the sky.

emblemized, were respectively emphasized with a sun disc or the double crown (*p3 shmty*) on the bird's head. In this form Egyptian hawks became known to Romans, most of whom could not be aware of the great variety of significant details in Egyptian iconology. Nor here can we deal with the variety (e.g. the many types of crowns).²⁹

Because of the connection between Re and Atum, and of the syncretism in general, the latter god could also appear in the form of a hawk. From OK onwards Atum was described as the father of Horus, the association being known also in Roman times, and in the syncretistic sun god of the NK Atum is equated with Re-Harachte. This is expressed in the Book of the Dead where Harachte, Atum, Kephri as well as Horus are solar phases of one syncretistic god in the form of hawk. Thus the hawk may appear in the place of the night-sun and, identified with Atum — a process completed in the Graeco-Roman time — enters into the hereafter.³⁰

Osiris was, on the other hand, regarded as the night-sun, and became the leading god of the dead. This lunar aspect of Osiris and the combination of his Ba-form with that of Re explains the Re-Osiris mentioned in the Coffin texts, which is neither equalization nor amalgamation, but duality. From the NK onwards Osiris and Re are in fact regarded as two aspects of the same great divine soul, complementary

See B. Altenmüller, 6—7 for namecoupling, and solar syncretism, 59—61 (for falcon), 101—120 (for Re) and 138—155 (for Horus). Cf. W. Schenkel, *LÄ II* (1977) 14—25, *s.v.* 'Horus'. Note that Re is originally a cosmic-universal divinity, which only later was worshipped locally (this concerns also Heliopolis), see W. Barta, *LÄ V* (1984) 156—180, *s.v.* 'Re', and J. Assmann, *LÄ II* (1977) 956—961, *s.v.* 'Harachte'.

²⁹ Of the great number of hawk representations in Egyptian art we here refer only to the following, showing hawks as both solar and ruler birds: The comb of King Wadji showing a hawk standing in a sun boat on top of spread wings representing the sky, below which stands Horus on a palace, see W. Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn* (Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 10), Berlin 1966, 22—23 fig. 14 with further references. In later piece Harachte is shown as a hawk with a sun disc between the two horizon lions and in an upper register the hawk is standing on a palace (*ibid.*, 83, fig. 75). For Egyptian Horus sculptures in Rome, see Rouillet, Pl. 179—182 figs. 263—268.

³⁰ K. Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum, Band I, Die heiligen Tiere des Atum* (Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 5), Hildesheim 1978, 69—74.

instead of opposite elements.³¹ Here we refer to a representation in one of the sarcophagi from the shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon. It shows the Ba of Re as a hawk with a sun disc, standing on a base (or a palace) between two Djed (*dd*) pillars together with the Ba of Osiris, a human-headed hawk (with the white crown of lower Egypt on its head).³² Because Osiris was regarded as the ruler of the dead, it was natural to identify the dead Pharaoh with him. As the living Pharaoh was identified with Horus, Horus was later connected with the Osiris myth, as the son of Osiris and Isis. Connected to the Isis myth, and along with her, Osiris was one of the best-known Egyptian gods to the Romans. Associated also with fertility (later with vegetation) he became the central figure in immortality beliefs, a saviour god emblematic of resurrection. Not only the dead Pharaoh, but later also the ordinary mortals identified themselves with Osiris.³³

Being flying creatures, birds among the forms taken after death had a primary position in death and immortality beliefs. We have already referred to the importance of hawks as the solar and ruler associated birds. Besides them, the Books of the Dead mention the swallow, and, what interests us here, the heron, mostly identified as the benu. The Book of the Dead, Chapter 77 is concerned with “performing the transformation into a hawk of gold”. The vignettes in papyri show a golden hawk standing on a *nbw*-sign holding a flail (sometimes without it), emblematic of rule. Chapter 78 is concerned with “making the transformation into a divine hawk”, the vignettes in papyri showing a hawk (usually painted in green), holding a flail, sometimes standing on a pylon-shaped pedestal. Chapter 83 is on the transformation into the benu, the vignettes in papyri showing the heron-form. Chapter 85 is on transformation into a Ba, the vignettes in papyri showing a human-headed bird and Chapter 86 is on transformation into a swallow, the vignettes in papyri showing the bird (the exact species usually not identifiable).³⁴

³¹ Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 43—44.

³² A. Piankoff & N. Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (Bollingen Series XL 2), New York 1955, 55 fig. 16.

³³ J. G. G. Griffiths, *LÄ IV* (1982) 623—633, *s.v.* ‘Osiris’.

³⁴ The citations are from E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead. The Chapters of Coming forth by Day*, London 1898, 132—133, cf. M. Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches. Texte und Vignette* (Arch.

Before treating the benu's relation to hawks and the gods for which the benu and hawks were emblematic, reference must be made to the falcon god Sokar, with whom Osiris was identified and from whom Osiris is thought to have taken his form as a hawk. Though Sokar was originally a god of the Memphite cemeteries, he does not seem to have been predominantly a god of the dead, this aspect being much enhanced by his association with Osiris. This goes back to Pyramid texts where Sokar is a name or aspect of Osiris, Osiris-Sokar occurring from the NK onwards, but common only in the Graeco-Roman period. Also the connection of Sokar with Re-Harachte becomes common in the Graeco-Roman time when Sokar-Re is known as "the little sun". This god has particular interest here, because the so called festival of Sokar was incorporated into the Khoiak festivities of Osiris, which seem to have been well known to Romans also.³⁵

To these festivities belonged also the Sokar boat, which referred to the part of the Osiris myth where Isis carries in a boat the remains of the

Veröffentlichungen 46, DAI Abt. Kairo), Mainz am Rhein 1984, 40 fig. 27 (Chapter 77), 41 fig. 48 (Chapter 78), 46—48 fig. 54 (Chapter 83), 48 fig. 55 (Chapter 85) and 49 (Chapter 86). In this instance, a text accompanying a picture of the heron-benu in a tomb TT 290 (6) in Deir el Medinah is worth citing (translation by Saleh, 47): „Spruch des Rituals (der Spruch, der anzuwenden ist) über (für) Osiris, der sich in seiner Gestalt eines heiligen Benu in der Mitte von Busiris aufhält. Re ist es, der ihn selbst erzeugt hat. Gegrüßt seist du lebender Ba des Re, in seinem Leib von Osiris. Du fährst in der Sonnenbarke. Deine Mannschaft gehört dir, in Jubel und Jauchzen, ihre Herzen sind zufrieden. Du fährst in deiner Erscheinungsform nach Abydos (und) als lebender Ba nach Busiris. Osiris NN ist einer von den Göttern die im Gefolge des Re und Osiris sind.“ For birds accompanying the later funerary portraiture, see K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler*, Wiesbaden 1966, Pl. 46, 3 falcon with *p3 shmty* (to the right, pendant to the left has been destroyed), Pl. 47, 4 a swallow to the left, to the right a passerine or parakeet (falcon?), Pl. 57, 1 to the left on a pillar a falcon with *p3 shmty* and a lotus-flower at the neck, there is also a falcon in a representation of the Sokar boat, Pl. 58, 1 two human-headed soul birds (with hands on breasts), Pl. 58, 2 two soul birds (without hands), a falcon also in a Sokar boat representation, Pl. 59, 1 two human-headed soul birds, Pl. 60, 2 to the left below Osiris under a tree a human-headed soul bird, to the right below an Anubis and palm a falcon (above the Horus eye), Pl. 60, 3 same as the previous but the falcon and the soul bird have changed places.

³⁵ See above note 23, cf. E. Browarski, *LÄ V* (1984) 1055—1074 s.v. 'Sokar', and W. Helck, *LÄ V* (1984) 1074—1075, s.v. 'Sokarfest'.

dead god in a box. Though different from representations of the Sokar boat in Egyptian art, a scene in the painting from the sacrum of the Temple of Isis in Pompeii (now in the Museo Nazionale of Naples) refers, as Elia noted, to the *inventio Osiridis*. Above a lararium scene with two snakes on the sides of a golden chest (decorated with the lunar crescent), there are, between two busts of river gods, two floating boats. In the left one stands a female figure, apparently Isis, who is pulling the boat to the right with a rope. In this boat there is a yellow box and in front of it a naturalistically-depicted hawk.³⁶ The festivities of Khoiak are directly represented in the relief decoration of a silver cup found in Pompeii (near the Palaestra together with another cup which is also decorated with scenes of Egyptian religious ceremonies). On one side an entrance to a sacral building is represented and on the opposite side, i.e. probably alluding to the inside of that building, there is a human-headed hawk-like bird on a pillar decorated with lotus leaves. On its left side an Isis priestess is holding in her left hand a statue of a hawk-like bird with opened wings standing on some kind of a pedestal. To the right of the pillar there is a male figure with a vase. Apparently the priestess is carrying a cult statue of Sokar, in whose representation a hawk standing on a pedestal is prominent, and the human-headed bird on the pillar represents the Ba of Osiris. Noteworthy is the fact that the bird carries a crown with the lunar crescent and a solar disc.³⁷ We shall return to the representation of the Ba of Osiris when treating the benu.

³⁶ In the photograph published by Elia, 22 fig. 26 the bird looks black above and white in the under parts. It might indeed represent an *Accipiter* sp. (probably *Accipiter nisus*). The question remains open why it is not represented as posed on the box (as Elia erroneously states). It might be meant to represent the decoration of the box as suggested by M. Malaise, *Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en Italie* (EPRO 21), Leiden 1972, 279—280, but it more closely resembles a real bird. Of Sokar in the boat in Egyptian art we refer here only to two interesting tomb paintings, see Saleh, 91—92 fig. 120.

³⁷ AA 56 (1941) 595—599, figs. 110—116. The Sokar falcon is so small that it is ornithologically identifiable only as a raptor. No wonder that the identification suggestions have varied from A. Maiuri's ichneumon, corrected to a vulture in AA 56 (1941) 597 and to Picard-Schmitter's (72—73, fig. 19) Sokar. In AA 56 (1941) 598, fig. 111 the crown of the Ba of Osiris is identified as the sun disc carried on the horns of Apis.

The benu

The parallel use of the benu and the hawk(s) in the cult of the dead is only one expression of their more general relation, which comes from the benu's association to the same gods for which the hawks were predominantly emblematic. Because of this high ranking, the benu also became connected with gods and the divine in general. In the Demotic Book of the Dead (Tb 125) the benu is translated as "god".³⁸ It was called not only divine, but also "the big god".³⁹ When more influenced by the iconography of gods it could be represented as a god in human form,⁴⁰ or as a mixed figure, as in Medinet Habu, where it is represented as the falcon-headed Re.⁴¹ It is precisely with Re and Atum associated to him that the benu is primarily connected. The benu is „eine Erscheinungsform des Re zugleich und zwar in deren urgöttlichen 'Nunform' (*bnw nwj*)"⁴² and further „sein Name der 'Aufgehende' (oder: der sich strahlend Erhebende) beschreibt den Phönix programmatisch als morgendliche Gestalt des solaren Atum".⁴³ The earliest preserved text mentioning the benu tells that Atum appeared in the so called phoenix house (*Hwt bnw*) in Heliopolis⁴⁴ and a Coffin text calls Atum the big benu in Heliopolis. Here the bird is also called Osiris.⁴⁵

The equalization of Atum with the benu, and the latter's role in creation point to the fact that the benu was regarded as the *Urgott*.⁴⁶ As such it was associated with the Nile's flood, regarded as a yearly creation and renewal. The fact that herons as marked waders must have been of all birds the most emblematic of the flood, must certainly have influenced the fact that the heron was regarded as a form of the benu. This is shown by the well known fact that the word flood (*b^ch*) was written with a sign

³⁸ F. Lexa, *Das demotische Totenbuch*, Leipzig 1910, 13, II 2.

³⁹ Medinet Habu VII Pl. 553.

⁴⁰ Edfou X Pl. 91 (II register) and III Pl. 80 (lower register).

⁴¹ Medinet Habu VII Pl. 553.

⁴² CT IV 45 k.

⁴³ CT I 287 e; CT IV 341 a—b; CT V 231f.; see B. Altenmüller; cf. above note 29.

⁴⁴ Pyr 1652.

⁴⁵ CT IV 198—199.

⁴⁶ Kakosy, 1033 notes 58—60 with further references.

showing a heron on a pole (*Urhügel?*), which was known as late as at the time of Horapollon.⁴⁷ On the other hand it was the hawk, thought to come from the *Welt-Ei*, which was in the *Urwasser*, the Nun. Horus as the rising sun was not only rising daily from the Nun, but his birth was associated with the flood (cf. above Atum as the father of Horus, p. 183). The equivalence of the benu and the hawk in this respect is expressed in a papyrus where Atum is addressed as both the “noble falcon” as the “divine benu”.⁴⁸ The benu is further equated with Horus who in the so called Metternichstele is called the benu, and with Harpokrates (the young Horus) who is represented, or even substituted by, the benu-phoenix.⁴⁹

The soul of Re was also called benu (Tb 29B, 1—2) and the benu was used also of the *hprw* or *ssmw* of Re.⁵⁰ When referring to the hawk as the primary figure of Re and his soul and of the latter’s relation to Osiris, we have to emphasize the importance of the cults celebrated in Philae. Of particular interest here is the fact that indeed a living hawk was venerated as the living soul of Re. It was regarded as having come as the “divine hawk” from Punt (the land of the gods) and Strabo (17, 1, 49) tells that a new bird was brought from Aethiopia when the old was dying, which as Strabo noted: “. . . they call (this bird) a hawk, though to me it appeared to be in no respect like the hawks in our country and Egypt, but was both greater in size and far different in the varied colouring of its plumage”

⁴⁷ Horapollo I, 34. Here too, the Greek word for the benu is used confirming the identification of these birds. See also D. Wortmann, *Kosmogonie und Nilflut*, Bonner Jbb. 166 (1966) 62—112, for phoenix 103—104. Also Ach. Tat. 4,12,2 states that the flood was announced by the appearance of the phoenix.

⁴⁸ S. Morenz, *Ägypten und die altorphanische Kosmogonie*, Antike und Orient (Festschr. Wilhelm Schubart), Leipzig 1950, 64—111, 71—82. A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series*, Chester Beatty Gift, London 1935, 75.

⁴⁹ Wortmann, 103—104 (cf. fig. 10). Harpokrates was often represented on the lotus flower, which also was considered to rise from the *Urwasser* and was equated with the rise of the *Urhügel*. Besides the benu-phoenix, Harpokrates could be represented with a falcon or an eagle (on the back of an eagle or a lotus-flower on a gemma, see Wortmann, 69—72, fig. 6). Cf. here a text in Dendera, which is translated: „Die Sonne, welche von Anbeginn besteht, steigt wie ein Falke empor aus der Mitte ihrer Lotosknospe.“ (Wortmann, 69 with references).

⁵⁰ Kakosy, 1032, notes 38—39 with further references.

(transl. H. L. Jones, Loeb ed., 1932). This bird is considered to have been the Bataleur Eagle (*Terathopius ecaudatus*), which is in fact found in Aethiopia.⁵¹

On the other hand, Philae was known for the Osiris mysteries celebrated there, above all for the famous Abaton, where the tomb of Osiris was considered to be, located now on Philae's neighbouring island, the (modern) Bigge. In Graeco-Roman time this site seems to have overshadowed Busiris, where the tomb of Osiris was originally considered to be, as well as other, at least 14—16, cites where Osiris relics were worshipped.⁵² In the Abaton of Philae were said to be kept the feet of Osiris, considered as the source of the Nile, and consequently the yearly flood started there.⁵³ It must be pointed out that both the (Horus) falcon and the benu (cf. above) were associated with the flood as a yearly creation. The Ba of Osiris worshipped in the Abaton of Philae, however, though connected with the Heliopolitan benu, by which name it was explicitly called, was thought to appear and was represented in the form of a human-headed hawk. It was told that the gods themselves had brought this Ba from the obelisk house in Heliopolis. Kees notes that: „Mit der Baigestalt als Seele des Rê und des Osiris zugleich, fing man in großzügiger Weise alle in Heliopolis entwickelten uniuersalistischen Gottesgedanken ein.“⁵⁴

From the Abaton itself nothing has remained but the cults connected with it are known from the decrees found in the inner walls of the so called Hadrian's Gate. Among its decoration from the time of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus must be mentioned the famous representations of the Ba

⁵¹ See H. Junker, Der Bericht Strabos über den heiligen Falken von Philae im Lichte der ägyptischen Quellen, Wiener Zeitschr. f. die Kunde des Morgenlandes 26 (1912) 42f.; Cf. A. Steinmeyer-Schareika, Das Nilmosaik von Palestrina und eine ptolemäische Tierexpedition nach Äthiopien, Diss. Bonn 1980, 94—95 fig. 50. The bird is represented in the Palestrina mosaic in its place in the first pylon (ornithologically it mainly resembles an eagle).

⁵² E. Winter, LÄ I (1975) 2 s.v. 'Abaton'.

⁵³ H. Junker, Das Götterdekret über das Abaton, Denkschr. Kaiserl. Akad. Wiss. Wien 56 (1913) 40 (fig. 9). Only texts in Philae speak of both feet; e.g. in the list of Dendera only the left foot is mentioned. Cf. Kakosy, 1033, notes 61—63 with further references.

⁵⁴ H. Kees, Götterglaube im alten Ägypten, 1956², 407—410; Junker, Götterdekret, 62.

of Osiris as the human-headed hawk being worshipped in the holy shrine of Abaton.⁵⁵ Though Philae was already before the Ptolemaic period highly esteemed as the original cult centre of Isis, it was only in the Roman period that it — together with the cult of the goddess — reached the high point of its fame. This is also shown, apart from the references known from some classical authors, by the building activities of which many can be attested to date from Augustus onwards.⁵⁶ Though much of the Osiris cult seems to have been a local peculiarity, characteristic mainly of Philae, it seems to have had a particularly important position in the development of the identification of the Ba of Osiris with hawks (and vice versa), and especially in making this known to the Romans. Not without interest is the fact that the benu was said to occur in Philae and also in Punt (from which the hawk god came), which may have influenced the phoenix myth of the bird's origin in an exotic land.⁵⁷

Concerning the relation between the benu and Osiris we have mentioned earlier the Coffin text identifying the benu in Heliopolis with Osiris (CT IV 199). Similarly, the Demotic Book of Respiration calls Osiris-Sepa the benu in Heliopolis.⁵⁸ In a papyrus (Jumilhac VIII 4, 119)

⁵⁵ Junker, Götterdekret, 58 fig. 20. To the right of the picture is conserved the recension of decree I, which Junker, V translates: „a) Anrede: ‚Heil dir, heiliger Ba des Osiris Onnophris, göttlicher Ba, auf sich selbst entstanden. Allereinzigster, der alles was da ist, erschuf. Heiliger Urgott der Seelen des Totenreiches.‘ b) Litanei: ‚Heiliger Ba‘ ist dein Name auf dem Abaton; ‚göttlicher Phönix‘ ist dein Name in Bigge; ‚starker Ba‘ ist dein Name im Hause der Sechmet; ‚*špd irw* (?) Ba‘ ist dein Name in Philae; ‚beweinter Ba‘ ist dein Name in *hp.t*. Du bist der Ba über die Seelen der Götter.‘“. Cf. also Junker, Götterdekret, 1—5 with commentary and further references. In the II decree (above the representation referred to) is written (translated by Junker, VI): „Es kommt der Ba des Osiris zu (auf) dessen Leichnam auf dem Abaton. Er ist ein heiliger Falke mit Menschengestalt und wohnt auf den Bäumen des Menta-haines. Isis und Nephthys stehen dabei vor ihm und Amon, Re und Thot preisen ihn.“ Cf. Junker, Götterdekret, V—VII with reference to papyri and classical authors (Plutarch, Diodorus, Strabo, Servius, Seneca; *ibid.*, 69—88) and translation with commentary (*ibid.*, 25—27).

⁵⁶ In addition to Hadrian's Gate referred to above we mention the Mammisi, begun by Euergetes II and completed under Tiberius, the crypt of which was decorated mainly with scenes of the birth of Horus. See e.g. E. Winter, LÄ IV (1982) 1022—1027 s.v. 'Philae'.

⁵⁷ Kees, Götterglaube, 407—410; S. Sauneron, Inscriptions romaines au temple de Khnoum à Elephantine (Beiträge Bf. 6), Cairo 1960, 44.

⁵⁸ Botti, JEA 54 (1968) 227.

Osiris is said to take the form of the benu, and also in Dendera it is told that Osiris wakes up from sleep and „fliegt empor als Phoenix und nimmt am Himmel Platz als der, der seine Zeit wiederholt (Mond) . . .“⁵⁹ This did not necessarily imply that the benu should have been represented in a form other than the usual heron. If the drawing depicting a now vanished Ptolemaic tomb painting from Hu (Diospolis parva), where an Osiris-benu called *Wn-špsf* was worshipped⁶⁰, is reliable, then the Ba of Osiris was represented as the heron benu in a willow tree near the tomb of Osiris.⁶¹ However, it is not a long way from calling Re(-Atum) and Osiris and/or their Ba's a benu to calling their other appearances, here hawks, by the same name.

The position of the cults and representations from Philae in this development, to which they presumably contributed, was mentioned above. The fact that then also the divine Egyptian hawk was understood as the benu-phoenix, i.e. the bird could appear in this form, is shown not only by the above two Pompeian representations, but further confirmed by a relief in a funerary ara from Roman Spain showing the Ba of Osiris as a (benu-)phoenix. In the funerary altar found in Guadix, dated to the II c. AD, there are, in addition to an interesting inscription to Isis, relief decorations on both sides. On the right side above the bull of Apis there is a scene with a male figure sleeping on a rock in the shade of a tree in which a bird is sitting. On the left side there is Anubis with an ibis near a palm tree. Though a part of the sleeping figure is destroyed, in such a context it can hardly be anyone else than Osiris, which is further confirmed by the *pedum*, known to be emblematic of him. Thus the bird in the tree must be

⁵⁹ Kees, *Götterglaube*, 407.

⁶⁰ S. Sauneron, *Kêmi* 16 (1962) 40g.

⁶¹ Van den Broek, 426, Pl. I, 2 with further reference. Here the bird's similarity to the benu in the Mensa Isiaca from Torino (not in a tree, however) is remarkable. In both birds the bill resembles more that of cormorants than of herons. In the Mensa Isiaca the benu bears a lunar crescent on its head (the winged sun disc with urei flies over its back), see E. Leospo, *La Mensa Isiaca di Torino* (EPRO 70), Leiden 1978, 80 Pl. 28b, who suggests in the lunar crescent a confusion to Thot. More probably this comes from the connection to Osiris, to the lunar value of which also Leospo refers (mentioning even as a benu-phoenix the bird in MN 8570, cf. above note 25). About the tree at the tomb of Osiris, see Junker, *Götterdekret*, 51ff.

the Ba of Osiris in the form of the benu-phoenix. Noteworthy here is the resemblance of the scene to certain representations of Ganymedes, in which the eagle may be similarly represented. A possible interconnection remains, however, to be studied. Unfortunately, the upper part is destroyed and does not allow us to estimate whether or not the bird had a human head and a crown on it. Judging by the long tail still intact the bird seems, however, to have been a similar fantastic hawk as those in the Pompeian paintings, referred to above. Such a tail is not known of representations of the Ba of Osiris in Egyptian art and any rate the bird does not represent a heron.⁶²

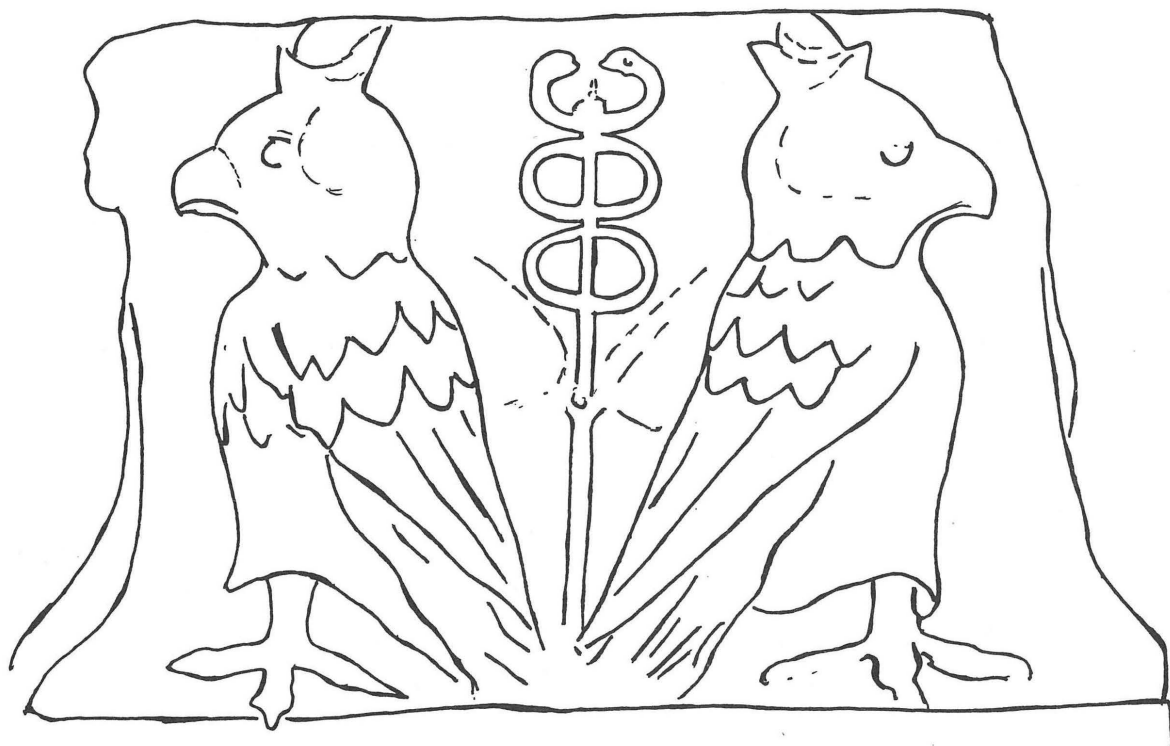
Here we have to refer to some interesting representations which show that the Egyptian hawks were evidently understood as soul birds, but that they are not, on the other hand, necessarily identifiable as the phoenix. Indicative of the content of the representations of the Egyptian hawks is the fact that in the representations where their divinity is strongly emphasized, the relevant gods are the most prominent underworld gods, Osiris and/or Anubis

A marble fragment of a cornice, found reused at the Pantheon and assumed to have come from a temple of Hermanubis, is clear in this respect as it shows two Horus hawks (with the usual *p3 shmty* on their heads) standing on both sides of a *caduceus*, the emblem of Hermes, identified with Anubis (fig. 2).⁶³ Two Egyptian hawk-like birds in the so called *Haterius* relief from the II c. AD also represent gods. The birds standing on both sides of a *baetylus*, are considered to have been emblematic of Osiris. They constitute a part of the decoration of the so called *Arcus ad Isis* above the figure in the right vault. The figure is either Osiris as M.-Th. Picard-Schmitter suggests on the basis of the *baetylus*, or

⁶² G. J. F. Kater-Sibbes - M. J. Vermaseren, *Apis II. Monuments outside Egypt* (EPRO 48, 2), Leiden 1975, 32 n. 327, Pl. 84 (with further reference).

⁶³ C. L. Visconti, *Di un frammento architettonico spettante all'Iseo ed al Serapèo della Regione IX di Augusto*, *BullCom* (1876) 92—101, especially 94—96, Pl. 14—15 figs. 3—4. Roullet, 60 n. 28, Pl. 39 fig. 54 speaks of “some sort of crown”, but instead of a photograph gives the drawings published by Visconti which misleadingly show a clear lunar crescent and a solar disc. For various soul bird representations see O. Waser, *Roscher-Lexikon III*, 3213ff., s.v. ‘Psyche, Seelenvogel’.

Anubis, if the figure was animal-headed.⁶⁴ The surface of the relief is worn, and it cannot be judged with certainty whether the birds resembled traditional Egyptian hawks or the fantastic type treated here. Neither can it be judged whether or not the birds had a lunar crescent on their heads as Picard-Schmitter stated. The present writer has not been able to find any such indication (the bird to the right might have had a crest). Be this how it may, the occurrence of these birds in such an emblematic use further confirms that as such they were well known. It is less important here that the decoration represented in the *Haterius* relief did not exactly depict the decoration of the real buildings. Though there are examples of inaccuracy and artistic freedom in the execution of known monuments, these are not



2. Detail from the relief decoration of a fragment in a marble cornice now in the Pantheon, presumably from the temple of Hermanubis (drawing from photograph, 1985).

⁶⁴ The *Haterius* reliefs represent Roman monuments in whose construction or restoration (under Domitian) the dead probably had participated. The triumphal arch called the Arcus ad Isis shows in the left vault Isis with a mystic chest (and a snake) above her, and in the central vault Minerva with two owls above her. Malaise, *Inventaire*, 190 n. 342 with further reference, specially note 1; M.-Th. Picard-Schmitter, *Bétyles hellénistiques*, MMAI 57 (1971) 43—88.

contradictory to the function of each monument, nor are they meaningless decoration.⁶⁵

Also noteworthy is the decoration of the base of an Anubis statue found in Sarsina. On one side there is a hawk (with a *p3 shmty?*), on the opposite side a vulture (allusion to Nekhbet) and on the third side an ibis or a heron. Unfortunately the latter is damaged and it remains open whether it could be connected with the (heron-)benu.⁶⁶ Uncertainty also remains in the case of the puzzling decoration of a vase from the Villa Hadriana. In the so far unsolved series of scenes there are hawks (in pairs) and a heron (ibis?) and another bird resembling these, which might represent the more heron-like appearance of the phoenix, which becomes established probably from Hadrian's time onwards. On the other hand, a sarcophagus from Hierapytna is considered to date from the time of Hadrian. The sarcophagus is decorated with a relief where a raptor-headed male figure, probably Osiris, holds in his left hand a sceptre from which emerges an uraeus snake with a raptor's head.⁶⁷ A further example of interpretation difficulties caused by eclecticism is offered by a little statue from Roman Egypt — now in the Musée du Louvre (inv. 7977). It represents a male figure in a Roman officer's costume but with a hawk's head. Whether this is a statue of the god Horus or of some leading person

⁶⁵ For these, see F. Castagnoli, *Gli edifici rappresentati in un rilievo del sepolcro degli Haterii*, *BullCom* (1941) 59—69 (for the *Arcus ad Isis* 65—66 Pl. 2). There are many other birds represented in the relief decoration of the other buildings and the sculptor of this relief seems to have been particularly fond of them. This is shown by the occurring of several birds in a prominent position in the arch of Titus where they in reality were not found (the upper part is, compared to the lower part of the arch, so freely executed that it is supposed to have been done during the construction when the arch was not yet finished, Castagnoli, 64, Pl. 1). Noteworthy here are the herons, which most probably represent the stork, which was the symbol of *pietas*.

⁶⁶ Malaise, *Inventaire*, 39, Sarsina 2; J.-L. Grenier, *Anubis Alexandrin et romain* (EPRO 57), Leiden 1977, 142 n. 217 with further reference (e.g. RM 73—74 [1966—67] Pl. 59).

⁶⁷ G. J. F. Kater-Sibbes - M. J. Vermaseren, 5—8 n. 270 Pl. 12—13 with further reference (on p. 6) speaks about a vulture head, but F. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée II. Le culte d'Isis en Grèce* (EPRO 26), Leiden 1973, 208—211 Pl. 27 about an uraeus with a sparrowhawk's head. Grenier, 151 n. 235 Pl. 25 calls the figure Osiris.

(most probably the emperor) in the form of Horus, it is noteworthy that in addition to the *p3 shmty* and a laurel crown the head is adorned with sun rays around it, the typical feature of the phoenix.⁶⁸

Concerning the connection between benu and Anubis in Egyptian sources we can notice that a benu of Anubis is mentioned in the Coffin texts (CT V 393a—b). Kakosy suggests that the Benu's relation to hawks has influenced to the belief that Hathor arises to the sky in the form of the benu.⁶⁹ In Edfou the benu as one form of Horus is mentioned as the father of Hathor.⁷⁰

It is true that the benu in Egyptian art was predominantly represented as a heron, but hitherto it has not been sufficiently stressed that the word benu could also be used of other figures, i.e. the benu could appear in other forms besides the heron, as shown above. The benu is rather a conception of an imaginary bird to which certain features were assigned, and the appearance of which, though predominantly the heron's, is not entirely fixed. The following observations can be added to support this view:

We have already noted that no one has been able to present convincing arguments for the identification of the bird which stands for the word benu in the Pyramid texts during the OK (Pyr 1652). This is most probably not due to the possible inaccuracy of the representation, which perhaps did not allow the execution of ornithological details, but to the fact that the bird was meant to represent a bird in general, not any specific species. Further support is found in the Paheri stone where the benu is the first transformation form mentioned after death, followed by the swallow, hawk and heron.⁷¹

Against this background Herodotus' (2, 73) description of the picture of the benu, which he says he saw in the temple of the Sun in Heliopolis might indeed refer to a real picture of the benu as a raptor-like fantasy bird. Herodotus describes the bird in the picture as gold and red feathered, mainly resembling the eagle in size and appearance. These features might

⁶⁸ For the various identifications, see V. Chapot, *L'Horus garde-frontière du nome Sethroïte* (Mel. Masperot 2, Orient et byzantin), Le Caire 1934—37, 225—231, Pl. 67.

⁶⁹ Kakosy, 1032 note 52.

⁷⁰ Edfou VIII 146, 7.

⁷¹ Kakosy, 1035 (Urk IV, 113).

also derive, as Van den Broek believes, from the name and the character of the sun bird without being based on any representation, but the reasons with which Van den Broek doubts the reliability of Herodotus' description are not sufficient to exclude the possibility that there indeed was a picture of the benu, not as the usual heron, but as a bird resembling a raptor⁷² (cf. later p. 217).

The benu in Heliopolis was important, not only to the Egyptian, but also to the Graeco-Roman world. The story about the flight of the phoenix to Heliopolis seems to have been incorporated into the phoenix myth due to the association with the benu, made by Herodotus, who among other learned Greeks visited the city.⁷³

Excursus: Herons in Roman art (and their relation to the benu)

When treating the benu we must briefly concern ourselves with the heron representations and their possible relation to the heron-benu. The only "classical" Egyptian heron-benu known to me in Roman art is in the so called *Mensa Isiaca*, which, though evidently not authentically Egyptian, is based on Egyptian motifs.⁷⁴

⁷² Van den Broek is lead to this view by the observations that 1) Herodotus seems to have taken the description of the bird from the *Periegesis* by Hecataeus of Miletus, who before mentioning the phoenix describes the hippopotamus quite erroneously, and 2) the "description does not correspond in any respect to that of the Egyptian benu, which was worshipped in Heliopolis, for the latter was without exception represented as a bluish-grey heron." Even if the first argument may be right it would not as such override the possibility that there could be a picture of the benu, which Hecataeus may have seen (or heard of?). The second argument is at any rate erroneous, because the heron, in fact, is only one of the forms of the benu.

⁷³ A further example of the identification of the benu with the phoenix offers a translation made by a certain Hermapion of the text of a Heliopolitan obelisk preserved by Ammianus Marcellinus (15, 4, 20) where the *hwt bnw* is translated as the house of the phoenix. Ammianus also tells that this obelisk was erected on the Circus Maximus by Augustus. This now stands in the Piazza del Popolo. The *hwt bnw* is indeed found in its text, but Hermapion's translation cannot concern this obelisk as shown by A. Erman, *Die Obelikenübersetzung des Hermapion*, Sitz.Ber. Akad. Wiss. Berlin 1914, 245—273 in particular 269—270. Cf. Van den Broek, 24—25 (note 4).

⁷⁴ Leospo.

The herons, usually represented as picking up a snake (or other reptile, sometimes a butterfly) is a widespread subject in Roman art. The subject of *ophiomachia* (heron picking up a snake) is found already in Greek geometric pottery, to which it is considered to come under Mesopotamian influence, having a primitive divine solar character. From Greek glyptics it is then known as an apotropaic subject (the bird was regarded as a positive prodigium). The various solar and eternity beliefs connected to the subject must be the reason for its widespread use, particularly in sepulchral art, where the heron = the soul fighting against a snake is considered to have apotropaic value and, was also generally associated with goodness, peace and justice. This must also be the background in the predominantly decorative use, as in wp:s.

Though the connections with Egypt as regards the belief in the ibis as a destroyer of snakes are considered to have contributed to the growth of the popularity of the subject, it has not yet been clarified to what extent herons in Roman art were connected, or perhaps even identified with the benu. This is probably the case in some heron representations in a strongly Egyptianizing context (see later p.205 f.), where the herons are used together with other bird motifs (hereinafter abbreviated bm) referring to the same sphere, but it is a misleading simplification to generalize this to all heron representations.⁷⁵ In this respect a detail in the decoration of the Ara Pacis Augustae (APA) is indicative.

Taking into account the detailed symbolism of the decoration of the APA, the heron (probably the Little Egrett, *Egretta garzetta*) in the famous Terra Mater relief is particularly interesting. Could this bird representing rivers, and generally fresh water as pendant to the seas

⁷⁵ Note that in the numerous ophiomachia representations the heron represents mostly an egret instead of the *Ardea cinerea*/*A. purpurea* which was the Egyptian heron benu (cf. p. 195—198). In only one ophiomachia representation is the snake really the Egyptian *Naja haje* (this is the often published fragment from the house V 1, 18 in Pompeii, now MN 11086). Here I'd like to thank M. De Angelis d'Ossat for the permission to consult her unpublished thesis on the ophiomachia (*Ricerca sull'iconografia e sul simbolismo nelle rappresentazioni classiche della lotta fra uccello e serpente. Tesi di laurea in Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte greca e romana. Università degli Studi di Roma, Facoltà di Lettere, 1973—74*).

represented with the ketos to the right, apart from its general apotropaic value, also refer to the benu-phoenix? This is suggested by Picard-Schmitter to be the case at least in the variant of the relief which was found in Carthage (now in the Musée du Louvre) where the Terra Mater figure is Isis and the heron stands near a figure interpreted as Osiris.⁷⁶

Whereas Picard-Schmitter suggests the Carthage relief to be from the III c. AD, M. Torelli considers it to be a “local copy of the Roman altar, erected by the Augustan colonists in honor of their powerful patron and founder.”⁷⁷ Further the Carthage relief seems to be a closer derivation of the assumed Hellenistic Alexandrian prototype(s), which “wanted to represent a broad, loose idea of *Oikoumene*, Ghê in the center with all her flourishing attributes of land, animals, rivers, and Okeanos, Helios and Selene as necessary complements to the allegory of the Universe.” The chosen animals — in the Carthage relief a frog and a snake are near the heron (which is not an ibis as Torelli calls it) — may, however, in addition to enriching the river fauna, also emphasize the ideas of eternity to which they also were connected. Thus the heron in the Carthage relief — being probably close(r) to the assumed Hellenistic original(s) — might indeed also refer to the benu, though this cannot be considered as proved.

Doubts arise because in the Terra Mater relief of the APA similar references do not seem to be so dominant. The omission of the frog and the snake points to this, though the heron to my mind cannot be considered as “significantly censored” as too Egyptian a motif as Torelli states.⁷⁸ It seems less probable that the absence of the frog and the snake in the Terra Mater relief would depend on their occurring in the scroll motif decorating the long sides (thus avoiding repetition). In the Terra Mater relief the heron seems to be predominantly an allusion to fresh water(s) as a

⁷⁶ M.-Th. Picard-Schmitter, *L'Allegorie de L'Egypte sur un relief provenant de Carthage*, RA (1971) 29—58 followed by Van den Broek, addenda to p. 242ff.

⁷⁷ M. Torelli, *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs*, Ann Arbor 1982, 39—43.

⁷⁸ Torelli, 39—40 does not precisely say what he means by censoring in this occasion. He erroneously identifies the bird as the (sacred) ibis, which indeed was considered as Egyptian bird par excellence, but was not confused with herons (at least in visual sources).

representant of the fauna connected with them (as such it is used in a similar way in the famous III style painting representing Orpheus with animals in the Casa di Orfeo in Pompeii VI 14, 20). The possible additional values associated with the heron in the above relief are thus rather to be found in the already mentioned generally known features connected to the bird as a good omen and as an allusion to *pietas*. These values are also associated with the herons which in the *Haterius* reliefs are represented as decorating the arch of Titus, showing how well-known this association was (cf. above p.192 f.), and that it was not necessarily a background feature only. Precisely because of these fairly well-established associations, the herons in Roman art were not necessarily identified with the Egyptian heron-benu. In fact, until evidence to the contrary is shown, we have to consider most plausible the view that only in markedly Egyptianizing representations could herons be understood to also refer to the Egyptian heron-benu.

Egyptian hawks, parakeets, griffins or phoenixes?

In the foregoing it has been shown that the bird on the mummy of Osiris in MN 8570 is the “divine Egyptian hawk”, though different from those in Egyptian art. It has further been discussed why and how the bird, on the other hand, became to be thought of as the phoenix. The fact that it bears a crown with the lunar crescent and the sun disc, which is found on the same bird in the sign of the tavern of Euxinus, where the bird is explicitly called the phoenix, shows that this name is to be preferred for both birds. As several names would be possible what about the identification of the numerous similar *bm:s* in *wp:s* on which such a crown is in fact not found? These and related birds in II and III style *wp:s* have been listed in table 1 where the changing of major features is also indicated (see table 1). Relevant birds in IV style *wp:s* (in Pompeii) are listed in table 2.

It is precisely in the Pompeian *wp:s* that these *bm:s* are most abundantly preserved. They are used almost exclusively as ornaments, and as such they are among the most numerous of all *bm:s* (in *wp:s*).⁷⁹

⁷⁹ The material collected for my dissertation I am preparing about the *bm:s* in Romano-

Because of the ornamental use, the representations providing additional elements referring to the significance and identification of these birds are rare, the above treated phoenix dipinto remaining the only explicit identification. In widely used ornamental motifs the significance of their content tends to diminish, often being limited to the mere decorative value. In such motifs it is often difficult, if not impossible, to judge to what extent certain features are significant and to what extent they are due only to stylization and/or pure fantasy.⁸⁰ This may cause much confusion, which is not unfrequent in the *bm:s* in *wp:s* even in the case of well-known species. The fact that painters working with various models often had no idea of, or did not pay attention to, the content of their subjects is shown by the occurrence of several variants of a bird in one wall and, on the other hand, by the variation of one and the same model for different birds.⁸¹ A

Campanian *wp:s* contains so far over 4500 *bm:s* from Pompeii of which about 350 are of the spoken type.

⁸⁰ An extreme example is offered by the birds in fragments of IV style resembling *wp:s* from Augsburg. Here their habitus is dove-like were it not that they have a very long crest and tail feathers which at the top are divided into three and two tufts respectively. It cannot be judged whether these are stylization of peacocks or of the type treated here; see K. Parlasca, *Römische Wandmalereien aus Augsburg* (Materialhefte z. bayr. Vorgesch., Heft 7), Kallmünz/Opf. 1956, 8ff., Pl. 2—3, 5.

⁸¹ A good example of the variation of the birds treated here are the birds in the IV style paintings of the Casa del Principe di Napoli (VI 15, 7—8) in Pompeii recently well published by V. M. Strocka, *Casa del principe di Napoli VI 15, 7—8* (Häuser in Pompeji I), 1984. The birds in the middle zone of the S wall of the cubiculum f have an erected short crest feather, a tuft at the throat, long slim curved wings and a long slim forked tail (*ibid.*, 23 figs. 85—86). In triclinium k, decorated with paintings of better quality, there is an otherwise similar bird on the plinth, but the tuft is absent, the wings shorter and broader and not curved at the top, the tail being unforked (*ibid.*, 26 fig. 116); notice that in the drawing reproducing this wall (fig. 105) this bird is erroneously depicted as a swan. In the same wall there are two further birds flying in the architecture of the upper part (on the left and right side, *ibid.*, 28 figs. 142, 150). Unlike the bird on the plinth these hold taeniae in their bills and claws, as do the birds in cubiculum f. The birds in the upper part also have no tuft, and have broader and shorter (not curved) wings. The tail is forked, but less than in the birds in cubiculum f. The head and bill are further more dove-like than the usual raptor- or parakeet-like head and bill (e.g. compared with the other birds we have referred to in the house). A further example of the difficulties in estimating the role of confusion versus stylization is offered by the white birds around the candelabra in the III style *wp:s* in the Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto (V 4, 11; room g). The habitus and the pure white colour make the birds most closely resemble a pigeon (*Columba livia*), but taking

further reservation is caused by the fragmentary and occasional preservation of the material, which concerns the II style *wp:s* in particular.

The earliest examples of these birds preserved in *wp:s* are in the late II style paintings (dated about 35—20 BC) in the Casa di Livia on the Palatine. The birds in the sacral-idyllic landscapes in the middle aediculae of the SE and SW walls of the so called Sala dei Paesaggi are the only ones preserved in landscapes (in addition to the Pompeian phoenixes referred to above) and thus represent the most marked exception to the ornamental use. The landscapes offer certain elements which aid their identification, but also here a residual ambiguity will be observed apart from the uncertainty due to the partial preservation.⁸²

The NE wall is destroyed, and because it seems to have been a pendant to the SW wall, it most probably had a similar landscape in the middle aedícula. Thus it is difficult to judge to what extent the landscapes had been related in content, and what part the destroyed landscape and the possible bird(s) in it played in the whole? Even if the main features of the remaining badly damaged landscapes can be estimated with the help of reproductions made at the time when they were better preserved, these do not reveal the faded colours of the bird in the SE wall, nor anything of the upper right part of the landscape in the NW wall (destroyed already at the time when the drawings were made). Therefore it is difficult to judge whether on the SW wall the bird to the right of the *baetylus* in the sanctuary is sitting on a column as usually stated, or rather on a *pithos* as Picard-Schmitter suggests. The latter interpretation is the more likely one, but it remains open whether there was perhaps something on the other *pithos* to the right. It is further left unanswered whether the bird had a

into account the Egyptianizing context the birds more probably derive from Egyptianizing hawks (because of the white colour resembling a statue close to the birds n. 1 in table 1; as this is uncertain they are, however, not included to the table 1).

⁸² Another example from the same house of the uncertainty caused by fragmentary preservation are the birds standing on the flower ornaments in the frieze of the NE wall of room n. III. Only the strong feet can be now seen and it is not possible to judge whether they indicate a bird as it seems (or perhaps a peacock, though they look too strong), and how this was like; G. E. Rizzo, *Le pitture della 'Casa di Livia'* (*Monumenti della pittura antica*, III, Roma, fasc. III), Roma 1936, PL. B.

crest as did the bird in the SE wall, or some other head decoration. Judging by the remaining part, there seems to have been no *p3 shmty* or other bigger crown, but the possibility of the lunar crescent and sun disc similar to those on the two Pompeian phoenixes is not to be excluded (cf. above p. 174f.; here fig. 3). This is not without significance because the bird with its big size, green colour, and habitus is very similar to the one in MN 8570.



3. Detail from the painting on the SW wall of the so called Sala dei Paesaggi in the Casa di Livia (Palatine; drawing from photograph, 1985).

Thus the bird might also here be the divine Egyptian hawk symbolizing the resurrection of Osiris as suggested by Picard-Schmitter, who, basing her judgement on the Egyptianizing elements in the painting, considers the sanctuary to be sacred to Isis (more than to Artemis-Hecate as suggested so far). The view finds support in the hawks around the baetylus in the relief representing the Arcus ad Isis in the *Haterius* relief.⁸³

Here too, though to a lesser degree, the bird is a fantastic one as shown by the colour, long wings and tail and the unnaturally large size. In comparison to the sanctuary, to the goat between the pithos and the baetylus and the three ducks swimming below, the size is intentionally unnaturally large. Even if size relations in Roman painting are often insignificant or erroneous, this is not likely in such a sophisticated work. Besides the fantastic feature, the big size emphasizes the divine character of the bird. The green colour also has similar double implication. In addition to its exotic value, green was also the colour of growth and, consequently, of virility and power. Thus it was associated with resurrection, especially with Osiris (cf. the so called Korn-Osiris) and with royalty. Thus the bird is clearly not a parakeet which perhaps it ornithologically most resembles, and with which it has from Rizzo onwards usually been identified.⁸⁴

In addition the bird in the landscape on the SE wall sits in a rustic sanctuary which, on the basis of hanging shields decorating the column might be thought to be sacred to Isis. The bird itself is also very similar, though it is not the same fantasy bird. Its fantastic size compared to the goats below is even more clearly emphasized. Common with the former bird is also the general impression of the habitus, especially the long bushy tail. Here, however, the latter is differently executed in detail. Single feathers have been emphasized with stronger strokes creating a more straggly impression. There is a crest which seems to have been absent in the

⁸³ Picard-Schmitter, *Bétyles hellénistiques*; cf. Rizzo, *Casa di Livia*.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* If the doubtlessly very qualified painter had a parrot in mind, he certainly could have done a more accurate representation of this familiar bird — e.g. as a pet —, which was a well-known and widespread subject in mosaics and also in wp:s. In these the species represented — often in a very accurate way — is always the ring-necked parakeet (*Psittacula krameri*) with its characteristic strong red bill and green colour with the red collar.

former bird. Also the colours seem to differ, though they can no longer be judged with certainty. The upper part was dark — probably green — and the lower a light colour (yellow ?), and also the wing had some other colour (fig. 4).

Though perhaps it most resembles a parrot, this bird cannot be identified with any particular species or family. As this bird resembles a raptor even less than the bird on the SW wall, it seems less probable that the two birds would represent two Egyptianizing hawks.⁸⁵ Could it then



4. Detail from the painting on the SE wall from the so-called Sala dei Paesaggi in the Casa di Livia (Palatine; drawing from photograph, 1985).

⁸⁵ See above p. 184 (especially note 34) with reference to the Book of the Dead mentioning as following transformation forms the golden falcon and, on the other hand, the divine falcon. Though the latter's plumage is described as splendid and of many colours, which the bird's plumage on the SE wall seems to be, the monochrome bird on the SW wall is green instead of golden yellow (the latter bird is, in fact, not polychrome as Rizzo, *Casa di Livia*, 57 and Picard-Schmitter, *Bétyles hellenistiques* state).

be that the Isiac sacral-idyllic landscapes in this room would show a divine Egyptianizing falcon referring to the resurrection of Osiris on the SW wall, and on the SE wall another famous bird emblematic for resurrection, the phoenix? Then the possible bird in the third landscape might have been the benu in the form of a heron, or perhaps a swallow (or even the human-headed Ba-bird).

At this stage we cannot give a final answer. At any rate, both remaining birds in the Sala dei Paesaggi seem distinctive instead of occasional, and thus different from the majority of the fantasy birds in II style wp:s among the bm:s of which fantasy birds have a prominent position.⁸⁶ Thematically, chronologically and geographically closest to the above are the birds in the sacral-idyllic landscapes in the so-called Casa di Augusto (on the Palatine). These are, however, quite different. They are small passerines, not clearly identifiable, typical of II style wp:s, and used as landscape elements without any emphatic position. They are not in the sanctuary, nor unnaturally large. Neither can the other related representations provide a satisfactory solution, though these also point to a double and/or parallel use of the bm:s as assumed in the case of Casa di Livia. These are treated in the following.

In the vault decoration of the Aula Isiaca stylized fantasy birds grow from floral ornaments. In the reproduction published by E. Rizzo they have a bluish red plumage.⁸⁷ Though they have no crest or tuft, they seem, on the basis of the head, wings and plumage to resemble the treated type. In the frieze decorating the lunette the same birds (though the plumage is more greenish) alternate with a similar bird with a human head (growing out from floral ornaments). The human-headed bird must be the Ba, which supports the view that the other fantasy birds carry similar

⁸⁶ In the fantasy birds in the II style wp:s can, however, be distinguished: 1) naturalistically depicted birds representing exotic birds in general as they were imagined to be and, 2) intentionally bizarre, fantastic creatures which seem to be occasionally created without exact or more established models. Intermediary forms are naturally not absent. Unusual feather decorations like crests, tufts and especially long tails are, often together with marked colour(s), standard features emphasizing the bird's exotic and/or fantastic character.

⁸⁷ G. E. Rizzo, *Le pitture della Aula Isiaca di Caligola* (Monumenti della pittura antica III, Roma fasc. II), Roma 1936, Pl. B.

associations. Evidently the latter birds are meant to refer to the divine Egyptian hawk as a transformation form after death. Though neither the Ba nor the fantasy hawks have any specific Osirian emblems, they can be regarded as alluding to him in general. This interpretation finds support in the birds decorating the frieze of the long wall. Rizzo identified them as ibises, but the crest and the tuft in the breast show them to be herons, though somewhat stylized, which explains the long tail (and the slight curving of the bill which resembles ibises). In this context these can be regarded as representing the heron-benu.⁸⁸

We have already referred to the reasons for the confusion caused by various models in parallel use, which is all the more natural when both the outer appearance and the features assigned to certain subjects are similar. Thus we find in the stuccos in the cubicula B and E of the Villa Farnesina ornamental heron(-benu) and ibis representations with similar use growing out of floral parts of candelabra. The extreme stylization makes it at first difficult to identify them, the tail being extremely long and the feet absent.⁸⁹

In the paintings of the Villa Farnesina we can also find a swallow⁹⁰ and two Horus falcons, but these are not in such close connection to each other and the birds in the stuccos as the birds we have referred to in Aula Isiaca. No such close parallels to the Horus falcons in the Villa Farnesina paintings have been preserved among the numerous *bm:s* in Romano-Campanian *wp:s*, in which the Egyptian character is so evident. The Villa

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ The bill of the birds in cubiculum B is too short for herons, but being slim and direct it is quite different from the raptors. That it belongs to the benu, however, is confirmed by the benu in the so called Mensa Isiaca, where its bill more closely resembles that of cormorants (cf. above note 61; for the stuccos in the Villa Farnesina, see I. Bragantini - M. De Vos, *Le decorazioni della villa della Farnesina*, Roma 1983, figs. 17, 57).

⁹⁰ The swallow is quite separate in a still life sitting on the handle of a chest with fruits among theater masks. It is so far a unique representation, as the completely black bird can be identified as some *Apus* species, though the long forked tail resembles more that of a swallow. The bird's prominent position and distinctive representation exclude an occasional or merely decorative character here, and taking into account the sacral aspect of still lifes, this species is most plausibly one of the transformation forms after death (cf. above note 61).

Farnesina falcons are sitting on floral volutes of the candelabrum on which an Isis figure stands.⁹¹ A further difference is that the execution is not only of better quality, but the birds also resemble the Egyptian representations more than the later ones. The Villa Farnesina falcons are though statue-like — because of the pose and the whitish-grey colour — naturalistically depicted. These are also among the few which also ornithologically can be identified as falcons (*Falco* species).

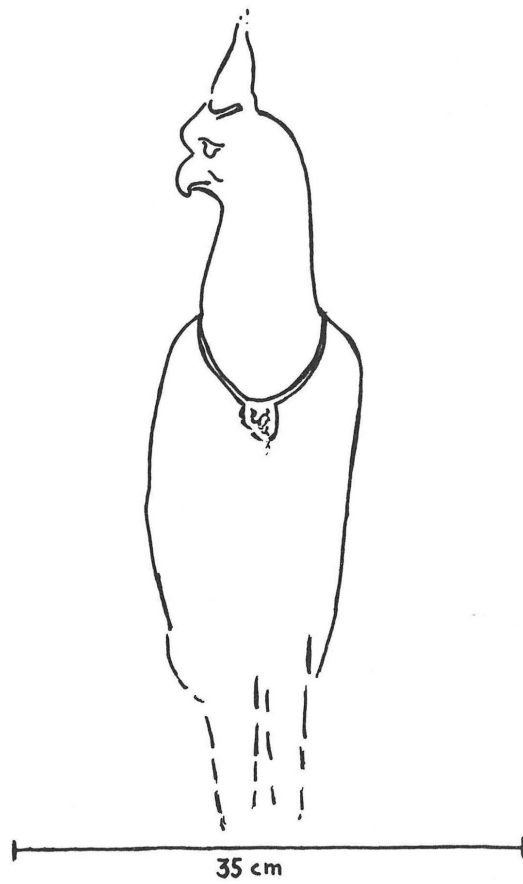
As they represent statues of Horus falcons (or statue-like Horus falcons?), closest to the birds in the Villa Farnesina paintings are the ones serving as caryatids in the garden painting in the apsis of the caldarium of the Casa di Labirinto (n. 10 in table 1; fig. 5). These, too, are greyish white and also here the Egyptian character is specially emphasized. Apart from the *p3 shmty* — which here is so stylized that it rather resembles a crest — there is a bulla around the bird's neck. This is the only case where the birds (in wp:s) clearly refer to Harpokrates.⁹²

The quite differently executed bird n. 30 has no bulla, which, on the other hand, is the only parallel to n. 10 because it also serves as a caryatid, which here too is in a garden painting (fig. 6). Here it is, however, among the other birds and is executed in a similar fashion, and its nature as a statue (or as a statue-like bird) has evidently been obscured.⁹³ Its strange look is probably caused by the bird being confused with herons which are usually found to serve as caryatids. Its curved bill shows it to be a raptor, though otherwise the body is more like that of a heron. The head decoration is clearly not a *p3 shmty*, but something between a kind of a crown and a crest (a similar one has the heron serving as a caryatid in the black cubiculum of the Casa del Frutteto I 9, 5). The fact that the herons as

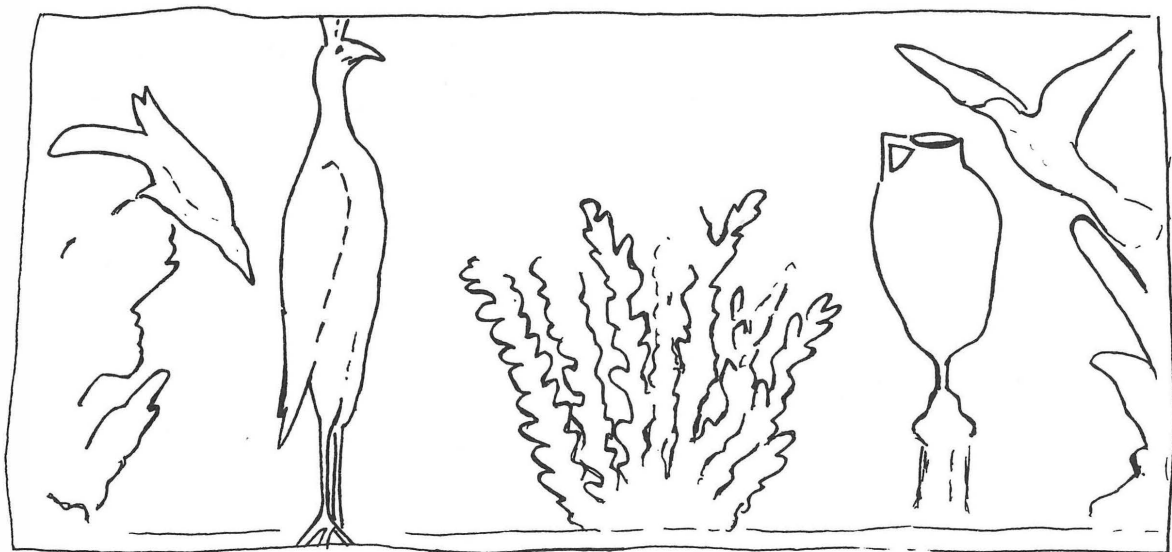
⁹¹ Bragantini - De Vos, 155, Pl. 550 (inv. 1117).

⁹² Harpokrates, the young Horus, was usually represented as a child, being in the Graeco-Roman world associated with Eros. Many of the Harpokrates statues found in Pompeii show at the feet of the child the remains of a bird, most probably a falcon, see Tran Tam Tinh, 162 n. 104 Pl. XXI 2, 163 n. 109—110. For the association and substitution of Harpokrates with the benu-phoenix in Egyptian gemmae from the Roman period, see Wortmann (above notes 47, 49).

⁹³ The plumage in n. 30 is executed differently from n. 1 and 10. The fragments MN 8758 and 8763 are now located in Herculaneum by E. Moormann, Een beeld van een tuin en andere fragmenten, Om de tuin geleid (Festschr. W. J. T. Peters), 57—68.



5. Detail from the painting in the apsis of the caldarium (room n. 22 in the Casa del Labirinto, VI 11, 10; drawing from photograph, 1985).



6. Detail from the painting from the Insula Occidentalis II la in Herculaneum (now MN 8758; drawing from photograph, 1982).

caryatids are eventually substituted precisely with the Horus falcons supports the possibility that the herons are associated with the benu. This is also supported by the fact that those serving as caryatids are indeed to be identified as an *Ardea* sp. (*Ardea cinerea*/*Ardea purpurea*), unlike the other *Ardeidae* species in wp:s which are usually egrets (*Egretta* sp., mostly *Egretta garzetta*).⁹⁴

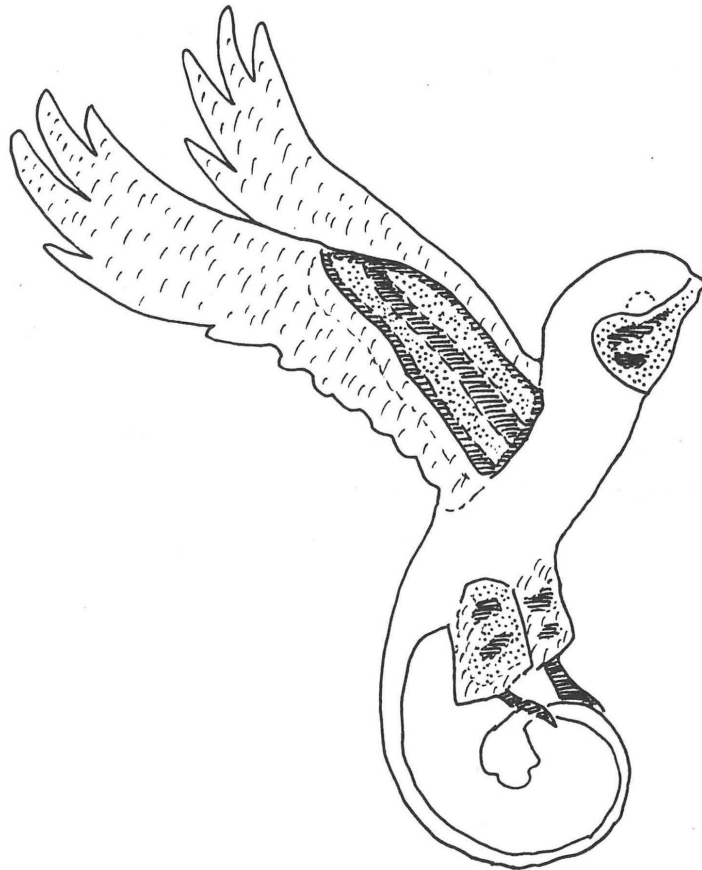
Here it is worth mentioning that in the famous early III style paintings from the so-called Villa di Agrippa Postumus we find egrets alternating with two kinds of Egyptianizing hawks (these are n. 6 and 7 in table 1). The birds in paintings from nearby rooms are in correspondent positions standing on architectural candelabra. Though they are small ornamental details, we may — especially because the paintings are of exceptionally high quality — ask whether they were intentionally chosen to refer to the three transformation forms taken after death mentioned in the Books of the Dead (the heron and the golden and divine hawks, cf. above p. 184). The possibility is tempting, but we must be careful of overinterpretation, especially as so fragmentarily preserved paintings are concerned. Thus at this stage we prefer an easier explanation: the appearance of the observed birds results from a more occasional use of the realm of Egyptian(izing) art. This view is supported by the absence of any special reference in the birds mentioned above. The divine Egyptian hawk was said to have a splendid coloured plumage⁹⁵ and indeed the bird n. 6 has a polychrome ornamental plumage. Otherwise its appearance does not correspond to the divine hawks (mostly falcons), as they are more naturalistically depicted, even if the plumage may be ornamentally coloured. Further, it is difficult to see bird n. 7 as a golden hawk (which in Egyptian art was mostly represented this way) as it is one of the few




⁹⁴ The *Ardea* species serving as caryatids are also found only in III style wp:s. Preserved ones are in the houses I 7, 19; I 9, 5 and VI 14, 20 in Pompeii. These herons have spread wings unlike the birds n. 10 and 30, and unlike birds 1 and 10 their plumage is executed (as in n. 30). Thus they are less statue-like (except that the heron in I 9,5 has a similar crown as the bird n. 30). Cf. later pp. 210—215.

⁹⁵ See Junker's translations of the texts in Philae cited in note 55.

representations in wp:s depicting an *Accipiter* species (most probably the sparrowhawk, *Accipiter nisus*) naturalistically.⁹⁶

In wp:s naturalistically depicted raptors are relatively rarely represented apart from some owls and, naturally, eagles, the great majority of which are stylized ornamental birds, often with fantastic features. As regards hawks, we refer to the birds listed in table 1, which are almost all varyingly ornamental fantasy hawks, mostly resembling falcons (cf. also table 2). These can roughly be divided into two main types: the light coloured one (which may also have ornamental colouring) deriving from the monochrome statue-like representations of which the most outstanding examples are birds n. 1 and 10, and the ornamentally coloured ones, where the dominating colours are green and yellow (fig. 7).



7. Detail from a fragment of a wall painting, now MN 9898 (drawing from photograph); key to colours  = red,  = light bluish green,  = yellow ochre (the rest is dark green, not indicated).

⁹⁶ Besides the painting from the Temple of Isis in Pompeii (above p. 186) the so far unique still life from Herculaneum (now MN 8757) depicts naturalistically a sparrowhawk (with prey and a crow, *Corvus cornix*, also a rarely depicted species).

In addition to the splendid colouring, the fantastic and exotic character is shown by another common feature, the emphatic display of feathers. These, especially the dominating — long, curved and/or forked — tail, together with the green colour have caused the similarity with the *Psittacidae* species, the species with which they have often been identified by modern scholars.⁹⁷ Some representations seem to indicate that such confusion was already evident in antiquity,⁹⁸ but it is difficult to judge to what extent the similarity between parakeets and ornamental fantasy hawks was a result of or the reason for such confusion. The confusion with parakeets seems to have been mainly indirect. The ring-necked parakeet is an exotic bird par excellence, and being one of the best-known species, it was for many “the” exotic bird. Thus it is very likely that precisely the parakeet had much influence on the conception of exotic and fantasy birds in general.

The *bm:s* in table 1 are, however, prevalently derivations of Egyptian(izing) hawks, from which the ornamental colours, strong socked legs and, naturally the *p3 shmty* are taken. As for the identification of these birds, it is to be stressed that the *p3 shmty* is, however, fairly rare. Thus it seems that in only a few cases were they regarded as Horus falcons and usually they were seen as Egyptian(izing) divine hawks, emblematic also of the soul and its immortality.

The changing of features (shown in table 1) allows great variation, and identical representations are practically absent until the occurrence of the fairly well established type in late III style paintings (in stage 2b).⁹⁹

⁹⁷ For varying identifications we give only some examples: I. Bragantini - M. De Vos - F. Parise Badoni, *Pitture e pavimenti di Pompei I, Regioni I—III* (Rep. fot. Gabin. fot. naz. ICCD), Roma 1981, 51 n. 107011608 ‘grifi(?)’, 71 n. 107180C05 ‘uccelli’, the latter by K. Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis. Topographisches Verzeichnis der Bildmotive*, Berlin 1957, 35 ‘Ägyptische Falken’; ICCD I, 73 n. 107190A05 ‘pappagalli’, 244 n. 30201D08 ‘pappagallo’, the latter by Schefold, 56 ‘Sperber’. The birds in the atrium of the Casa dei Quadretti teatrali I 6, 11 Schefold, 25 calls ‘Ägyptische Sperber’, but the bird in the retrobottega I 6, 10 with an Egyptianizing crown (probably the *p3 shmty*) he calls a griffin.

⁹⁸ E.g. birds n. 27 (in table 1).

⁹⁹ N. 20, 25. Close to these and thus intermediary types are the earlier birds n. 13, 17—19, 21, 23, 28.

This type substitutes others in the IV style wp:s (fig. 8). The number and distribution into houses and single rooms in Pompeii is shown in table 2. The length of the slim body, wings and the tail, mostly forked and often curved at the top, is more strongly emphasized in the IV style type. These birds, in comparison to their forerunners, are less accurately depicted and give an impression of a more hasty execution. They do not show any touch of naturalism, which the III style types preserved, even when stylized. There is, naturally, minor variation in depiction, slightly different birds being found in the same house and wall (cf. note 81).



8. Detail from a wall painting in the Casa degli Efebi (I 7, 10—12) in Pompeii (room C(9) W-wall; drawing from photograph).

An outstanding difference is the absence of the III style type polychrome representations in the IV style. The colour is usually golden yellow, occasionally greyish white (especially on a red background where it is more visible, essentially it is designed to have the same impact as the yellow). There is only one example of the use of green, and apparently it depends on a floral candelabrum close to it executed in green (in house II 1, 5). Also for practical reasons monochromy dominates in such widely used ornamental details, but besides stylistic reasons, the colour here emphasizes the fantastic and, above all, the solar character of these birds. The golden yellow colour may be influenced by the griffin representations (see below).

Standard features are the crest on the head and the tuft in the throat, which are usually slim feathers varying in strength and length (either or both may, however, be absent). Nothing resembling a *p3 shmty* is found, but in some cases there is, instead of the crest, a crown which resembles that of the peacock or the lunar crescent and sun disc combination of the two phoenix representations referred to above. The usually very summary and stylized execution makes it difficult to judge them. In these kinds of small ornamental details some confusion with the peacock's crown is understandable; yet the crowns, even when roughly executed, support the identification as the phoenix.

The view that the birds were considered to have a strong mythological background — the phoenix, indeed, has — is further supported by their abundant ornamental use. Similar, mainly ornamentally used birds are swans, eagles, and also griffins (which too, all have some solar character). Some insignificant confusion between eagles and the phoenix can be found. The possible interrelation of the phoenix and the griffin is far more significant because of their early relation (and the presumed identification), and the common features: the crest, tuft and the golden yellow colour. The nature of this relation is, however, difficult to be precise about, because it may — as it seems — only be connected with the analogous use of these motifs in wp:s. The griffin and the phoenix both have solar character and their shared features have similar, fairly general allusive value. So far nothing more concrete has been shown and, as far as

I know, no evidence has been presented concerning the identification of any of the treated *bm:s* as griffins.¹⁰⁰

Though the crest, tuft and the golden yellow colour might only be solar emblems common to both creatures the fact that it is the griffin that carries them suggests its directer influence. It should be remembered that e.g. Pliny regards the famous sun beast as a bird, even if he doubts its existence. Griffins have a similar function in the *wp:s*, and thus offer a more likely explanation for the origin of the crest and the tuft than the heron-benu, the latter being suggested by Van den Broek.¹⁰¹ The golden Horus which we could assume to have given the golden colour is also less probable. We must emphasize that the observed interrelation between the phoenix and the griffin representations does not imply a confusion between the two. The griffin rather influenced as a well-known fantastic bird.

Though the birds identified here as the phoenix, have in *wp:s* a function similar to that of the eagle, the swan and the griffin, the phoenix is

¹⁰⁰ Plin. nat. 10, 70; a griffin in the bird form is one of the four major types in which it is known to occur, but this form is found nearly exclusively in Corinthian vase painting. The clearly identifiable griffin representations in *wp:s* show it as a winged beast, eventually with a raptor's head or some times as a bird with a human head. About the various forms of griffins and the manifold symbolism of this subject, see recently Chr. Delplace, *Le Griffon. De l'archaïsme à l'époque impériale. Étude iconographique et Essai d'interprétation symbolique* (Ét. phil. arch. hist. anc. Inst. Belg. Rome, XX), 1980 (for Corinthian vase painting p. 31ff., for *wp:s* p. 350—353). Cf. A. Manganaro, *EAA* 3 (1960) 1056—1063, s.v. 'Grifo'. The griffin belonged prevalently to the Apollonian and Dionysiac spheres. In solar beliefs so popular in the first centuries of the Empire, the well-known 'sun beast' connected with Apollo and Helios came to express the apotheosis of the dead. For the griffin in the Minoan-Mycenaean world in particular, see Chr. Delplace, *Le griffon créto-mycénien*, *Ant. Class.* 36 (1967) 49—86 and J. L. Benson, *The Griffin in the Minoan-Mycenaean World*, *AJA* 63 (1959) 186; cf. Nancy B. Reed, *Griffins in Post-Minoan Cretan Art*, *Hesperia* 45 (1976) 365—379. Concerning the relation to the phoenix the studies mentioned do not say anything relevant. For the griffin in Roman Imperial art, see E. Simon, *Zur Bedeutung des Greiffen in der Kunst der Kaiserzeit*, *Latomus* 21 (1962) 749—780. For the crest as an allusion to the sun, see Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, 1963², 96ff. and G. K. Gresseth, *The Myth of Alcyone*, *TMAPA* 95 (1964) 88—89. O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt II*, Leipzig 1913, 178 suggested the crest to derive from the Egyptian benu-representations erroneously identifying them as a lapwing (*Vanellus vanellus*; cf. note 61).

¹⁰¹ Van den Broek, 244.

not like the latter preserved in official pictorial propaganda. Literary sources, however, show the use of the phoenix myth in early imperial propaganda. Plin. nat. 10, 5 tells about the appearance of the phoenix in 36 AD in Egypt. It was presumably interpreted as inaugurating the new Golden Age which was considered to start with Caligula's rule. Claudius then used the bird to show that the Golden Age should be associated with his reign.¹⁰² The phoenix that appeared was supposed to have been caught and at Claudius' order brought to Rome where, shown in the Forum, it celebrated the city's 800th anniversary. According to Pliny, however, everybody thought it was a false one. Some exotic bird was apparently exhibited in the Comitium. It is worth noting that the appearances of the phoenix were located in Egypt and that Caligula's presumed use of the myth was apparently part of his well-known enthusiasm for Egyptian beliefs.¹⁰³ As the occurrence and attesting of these events coincide with the establishment of the phoenix image in the late III and especially in the IV style wp:s, it seems that the presence of the phoenix myth in early imperial propaganda had an effect on the established and abundant use of the motif. The frequent schematization of the IV style wp:s is thus not the only reason.

Pliny's description of the phoenix, as descriptions related to it, are considered to refer to the golden pheasant (*Chrysolophus pictus*),¹⁰⁴ and it

¹⁰² Tacitus, ann. 6, 28 says that the appearance took place in 34 AD, cf. Van den Broek, 113ff.; E. Köberlein, *Caligula und die ägyptischen Kulte* (Beitr. z. klass. philol., Heft 3), Meisenheim am Glan 1962, 41—43 has shown that Caligula's reign was considered as starting the Golden Age.

¹⁰³ According to Suetonius (Cal. 22, 5—12) Caligula offered as a sacrifice a different exotic bird each morning (he lists *phoenicopteri*, *pavones*, *tetraones numidicae*, *meleagrides*, *phasianaes*). Köberlein, 46 sees this as part of „dem Isis-kult entstammende Morgenfeier, einer sog. *matutina apertio templi*“. Köberlein's view of the mentioned birds as „Vertreter des mythischen Phönix“ is, however, an overinterpretation as shown e.g. by Chr.W. Hünemörder, „Phasianus“. *Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Fasans*, Bonn 1970 (Diss.) 144—145.

¹⁰⁴ The Golden pheasant was suggested already by Cuvier and O. Keller, see Keller, 146—148 (cf. *Id.*, *Thiere des classischen Alterthums*, Innsbruck 1887, 254ff., 441f.), and, more recently also by F. Capponi, *Ornithologia latina* (Pubbl. Ist. Filol. class. med. Univ. Genova 58), 413. The description given by Solinus (33, 11) seems to derive directly from Pliny's one, showing, however, certain independence (*ibid.*).

is possible that the bird presumably shown in the Comitium as the phoenix was one. However, the *passus* by Pliny gives the impression that the description in the beginning (Plin. nat. 10, 3) does not concern the bird which was reported to have been shown in the Comitium. There is a report of this bird at the end (*ibid.*, 10, 5). Moreover, Pliny's description even if it gives the impression of being based on observations of real birds, does not correctly correspond to the plumage of the golden pheasant nor to any other known species.

This is true for the visual phoenix representations, too, which do not show any direct relation to the descriptions in literary sources. The literary descriptions, which do not show a very coherent tradition, compare the phoenix to other sun birds and assign the features of these to the phoenix. Van den Broek assumes that the authors "who described these birds, including the phoenix, drew on an Oriental tradition concerning 'the' bird of the sun." Relevant is that the colour descriptions aim to show the bird's nature as a sun bird.¹⁰⁵ Splendid birds in general were considered emblematic of the sky and also of the soul.¹⁰⁶

This leads us to complex problems concerning the character and influence of various fantasy and/or soul birds, and their representations. This is one of the problems concerning the iconography of the phoenix, which we hope will be clarified in further studies. We shall only refer to one representation with special interest in this respect. This is a bird in the paintings decorating the famous late Minoan sarcophagus from Hagia Triada. On one of the short sides there are two female figures driving a biga which is pulled by two griffins. Above them a bird is flying. Its bill is short and the head is adorned with an erect crest, the wings are long and the legs, too, are relatively long. Its plumage is yellow, having some blue in the wing and tail. To Paribeni, the first publisher of the paintings, who rightly noted that there is no existing species corresponding to the features of this "uccello variopinto", the bird's fantasy nature was intentional and

¹⁰⁵ In the later mosaics and paintings the colours change from case to case and none has it been possible to show more direct interrelation between the representations and descriptions. Van den Broek, 259.

¹⁰⁶ Köberlein, 46 cites a quotation of Porphyrios stating that the gods of the air were to be offered splendid coloured birds because the air is full of light and is transparent.

served to emphasize it as the soul bird. This interpretation is the most likely one if the biga pulled by griffins — as is most probable — in some way refers to the journey to the hereafter. It has also been suggested to be an epiphany of some god.

The question is complex because so little is known about Minoan art and beliefs. This allows various interpretations of these paintings, and none of them is convincing in all respects. The evident Egyptian influence in the paintings, noted already by Paribeni, adds to the complexity. He mentioned here the Egyptian soul bird Ba and the benu, but erroneously stated that also the benu should have been represented as a fantasy bird, which so far has not been attested. Therefore he did not notice that the bird has nothing to do with the benu in the usual heron form nor that it instead resembles bird representations in Egyptian art — especially the hawks — and consequently their imitations in Roman *wp:s*, which we have described above. Not forgetting other possibilities this could indeed be a representation of a soul bird in the form of an Egyptianizing hawk-like fantasy bird. A study of its own is needed to clarify this and the question whether the bird could have been understood as the Egyptian Ba or benu, or perhaps even as the phoenix.¹⁰⁷

Another group of problems to be answered is offered by the later development of the iconography of the phoenix in Roman art. Is the appearance from Hadrianic coins onwards of the phoenix which looks more like the heron-benu due to Hadrian's interests in the Egyptian world? On the other hand, is the often occurring shorter bill of this type

¹⁰⁷ R. Paribeni, *Il sarcofago dipinto di Hagia Triada*, *MonAnt* 19 (1908) 1—86, 59—62, Pl. 3. A colourphoto taken after the restoration in 1956 is published by D. Levi, *The Sarcophagus of Hagia Triada restored*, *Archaeology* 9 (1956) 192—199. Reviews of the various interpretations and descriptions with previous literature are offered by M. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its survival in Greek Religion* (Skrifter utgivna av kungl. humanistiska vetenskapssamfundet i Lund 9), Lund 1927, 368—381 and Id., *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Handb. d. Altertumswiss. V 2, 1), München 1965³, 290—291, 326—329, Pl. 10, 3. For more recent views see J. Porter Nauert, *The Hagia Triada Sarcophagus. An iconographical study*, *Antike Kunst* 8 (1965) 91—98 and J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth*, Plymouth 1977, 150. I hope to be able to treat these problems in another occasion as well as the arbitrary proposals of H. van Effenterre, *Une copie grecque d'une fresque minoenne?*, *CRAI* 1960, 117—127.

influenced by the raptor's bill of the preceding type treated here, or is it perhaps due to a confusion with some existing birds? Apart from the eagle, we must mention the peacock, another bird emblematic of resurrection, which some phoenix representations in Palaeo-Christian art resemble, and the porphyryon, an exotic-looking bird, which other phoenix representations sometimes resemble.¹⁰⁸

Summary

We have shown that the phoenix represented in the sign of the so called tavern of Euxinus in Pompeii is the same bird as the one which is represented as sitting on the mummy of Osiris in a landscape painting from the Temple of Isis in Pompeii (now MN 8570). The latter must, on the other hand, be considered as the divine Egyptian hawk, though its appearance is not one of the hawks represented in Egyptian art, but of a fantasy bird looking like a raptor.

Though only partially preserved, the relief decoration of a II c. AD funerary altar from Roman Spain (Guadix) most probably shows the same (or similar) bird as the benu (but not in the usual Egyptian heron form), representing the soul of Osiris and thus further confirming it being regarded as the phoenix.

This appearance hitherto virtually neglected in studies is most abundantly preserved in wp:s, because it is in wide, and nearly exclusively ornamental use. It derives from the Egyptianizing hawk representations popular in the III style wp:s, substituting these in the IV style wp:s. This appearance seems to have been further influenced by the griffin, the sun beast with similar associations, also considered a fantastic bird, and by the parakeet, "the" exotic bird, which had a strong effect on the conception of fantasy birds. Thus the identification proposals made by modern scholars, which at first seem contradictory — Egyptian hawks, parakeets and griffins — are shown to be understandable.

The fact that the phoenix was represented as a fantastic Egyptianiz-

¹⁰⁸ Van den Broek, 425—464; Bisconti.

ing hawk instead of a heron, the usual form of the benu, with which the phoenix was identified, was shown to be a result of the manifold relations and expressions of Egyptian religion and art. The benu was given similar features as hawks, the most prominent birds in Egyptian religion and art, which thus became in many aspects parallel and complementary appearances on the benu.

The establishing of the bird type we have discussed which occurs in late III style wp:s and substitutes others in the IV style wp:s coincides with the presence of the phoenix myth in early imperial propaganda as attested in literary sources. This further confirms the identification of these bm:s as the phoenix. However, it is more difficult to judge to what extent the varying forerunners of this motif in the III style wp:s were understood as Egyptian hawks and, on the other hand, as the phoenix.

It must be emphasized that not all Egyptian(izing) hawks in Roman art were necessarily understood as phoenixes. They occurred as divine and/or soul birds in parallel and complementary use with other bm:s which had similar content referring in some way to immortality and/or divinity. This kind of parallelism is due not only to the in many cases prevalently decorative use of many motifs, but is also a typical feature of the eclecticism characteristic of Roman art.

TABLE 1

List of Egyptianizing hawks and bird motifs resembling hawks or parrots and their characteristics in II and III style wall paintings in Rome and Campania (the list aims to be complete only as far as the material *in situ* in Pompeii is concerned). Note: birds identifiable as ring-necked parakeets are not listed.

Each type is indicated with a consecutive number, listed according to houses and rooms in chronological order for the II style wp:s following the typology proposed by F. L. Bastet (see reference).

Data and abbreviations in each field (missing or uncertain information is indicated with a question mark):

House (room)

Houses in Pompeii and Herculaneum (abbreviated H) are indicated with the usual number only, for others the modern names are used (in their Italian form). MN = Museo Nazionale di Napoli.

In brackets the type of room and the abbreviation according to the ICCD is given. For various rooms the following abbreviations are used: A = atrium; C = cubiculum; CA = caldarium; FR = fragments; R = (unidentified) room; RB = retrobottega; T = tablinum; TR = triclinium.

Position

The position in the decoration systems is classified as follows: A = bm:s in/on architectural structures; B = bm:s in ornamental bend; C = bm:s in/on candelabra (or their floral parts); CA = bm:s as caryatids; F = bm:s flying freely; LA = bm:s in landscape.

Colour

The dominant colour(s) is indicated with a capital letter, colours of details with small letters, abbreviated as follows: B/b = greenish and/or greyish blue; E/e = grey; G/g = (dark) green; O/o = brown; R/r = red; W/w = (greyish) white; Y/y = golden yellow.

Head decoration

C = crest (stronger than one feather); CR = crown (other than the *p3 shmtj*, usually not exactly identifiable); F = feather (as crest); S = *p3 shmtj*.

Tuft

T = tuft (at the throat), an especially long one is indicated with LT.

Wings

C = closed; E = extended.

Legs

L = unnaturally long; S = socked; — = not represented.

Tail

B = bushy; DF = deeply forked; F = (slightly) forked; L = long; O = growing into ornament (usually floral).

Number of birds & identification

The number in brackets refers to vanished bm:s. In the column the identifications for other birds than those identifiable as *Falconiformes* sp./*Psittacidae* sp. are given; when the latter particularly resemble a certain species, this is quoted, followed by a question mark. Abbreviations: *Acc sp.* *Acc nis* = *Accipiter* species, (probably) *A. nisus*; *Psi kra* = *Psittacula krameri*.

Style (date)

The style of the wp:s is indicated with the usual abbreviation, using, however, arabic numbers for the stage (approximate datations are given in brackets).

Reference

B = F. L. Bastet - M. De Vos, *Il terzo stile pompeiano. Una proposta per la classificazione*, Gravenhage 1979; BJ = M. Bonghi Jovino (ed.), *Ricerche a Pompei. L'insula 5 della Regio VI dalle origini al 79 d.C.*, Roma 1984; M = A. Mau, *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji*, Berlin 1882; MNR = I. Bragantini - M. De Vos, *Le decorazioni della villa della Farnesina*, Roma 1983; R II = G. E. Rizzo, *Le pitture dell'“Aula Isiaca”*, *Monumenti della pittura antica III*, Roma fasc. II, Roma 1936; R III = G. E. Rizzo, *Le pittura della “Casa di Livia”*, *Monumenti della pittura antica III*, Roma, fasc. III, Roma 1936.

No.	House (room)	Position	Colour	Head dec.	Tuft	Wings	Legs	Tail
1.	Cd Livia (R IV)	LA	Gy(?)	CR		C		LB
2.	Cd Livia (R IV)	LA	G	?		C		LB
3.	Villa Farnesina	C	W	S		C		
4.	Aula Isiaca	B	BR			E	—	LO
5.	VII 3, 29 (TR)	A	Gy(?)	S	T	E	S	L
6.	Vd Agrippa (C 15)	A	Gy(?)	F	T	E	S	L
7.	Postumus (C 16)	A	Gy(?)	CR?		C	S	
8.	VII 9, 1(?)	F	?	?	?	E		LDF
9.	VII 9, 1(?)	A	?	C(S?)		E	S	L
10.	VI 11, 10 (CA 22)	CA	W	C/S		C	S	
11.	V 4, a (A b)	F	W			E	S	
12.	V 4, a (T 7)	C	Gy(?)		T(?)	E	S	LO
13.	V 1, 23–26 (T i)	A	W			E	S	LDF
14.	V 1, 23–26 (T i)	C	W	F		E	S	LO
15.	I 12, 3 (R 3)	A	Gry	C(S?)	T	E	S	LF
16.	I 6, 11 (A b)	C	W			E	S	LO
17.	IX 9, c (TR e)	C	W	C(S?)	?	E	S(?)	LDF
18.	III 2, 1 (R d; TR p)	F	W	C/S	LT	E	S	LF
19.	I 7, 18	C	B	F	T	E	LS	LF
20.	I 7, 1 (TR 16)	A	Y			E		LDF
21.	I 7, 19 (C a)	C	B			E	LS	LDF
22.	I 6, 15 (TR e)	A	G	S		C	LS	LB
23.	I 6, 10 (RB)	F	G	CR(S?)	?	E	S	LDF
24.	I 12, 5 (C 3)	A	G			E	L	L
25.	VII 1, 25 (TR 8)	F	Y	F(?)	(?)	E	L	LDF
26.	H III 11 (R 5)	A	W	S		E	LS	LF
27.	VI 5, 9	A	G			C	S	LO
28.	IX 7, 20	A	Wo		T	E	S	LDF
29.	IX 7, 20	A	W			E	LS	
30.	H Ins. Occ. II 1 a (MN 8758, 8763)	CA	E	C		C	LS	
31.	MN 9898	C	G	S	T	E	S	LB
32.	MN 9898	C	Gyr		T	E	S	LO
33.	H? (MN?)	C	Oy?			E	S	LF
34.	H? (MN?)	C	Gyo?	CR(S?)	T	E	S	LO
35.	H? (MN?)	B	O?	C	T	E	S	

No. of birds & ident.	Style (date)	Reference	No.
1	II 2c (35–25 BC)	R III, 58 Fig. 42	1.
1 <i>Falco sp.?</i>	II 2c (35–25 BC)	R III, 51–56 Figs. 37, 38	2.
2 <i>Falco sp.</i>	II 2c (c. 20 BC)	NMR, 133 Pl. 50	3.
11 (6)	II 2c (c. 20 BC)	R II, 15–19 Pl. A, B	4.
(2)	III 1c (1–25 AD)	B, 42–43 n. 18 Pl. i3, 23	5.
8 (3)	III 1c (1–25 AD)	B, 45–47 n. 22	6.
8 (7) <i>Acc sp. Acc nis</i>	III 1c (1–25 AD)	B, 45–47 n. 22	7.
(1)	III 1c (1–25 AD)	B, 50–51 n. 25 Pl. 18, 35	8.
(2) <i>Falconidae sp.</i>	III 1c (1–25 AD)	B, 50–51 n. 25 Pl. 18, 35	9.
2 <i>Falco sp.?</i>	III 2a (25–35 AD)	B, 53–54 n. 27	10.
2	III 2b (35–45 AD)	B, 64–67 n. 35 Pl. 31, 57	11.
4	III 2b (35–45 AD)	B, 64–67 n. 35 Pl. 31, 57	12.
8	III 2b (35–45 AD)	B, 76–79 n. 43	13.
8	III 2b (35–45 AD)	B, 76–79 n. 43	14.
8	III 2b (35–45 AD)	B, 84–85 n. 49	15.
4	III 2b (35–45 AD)	B, 86–87 n. 51	16.
8	III 2b (35–45 AD)	B, 89–90 n. 55	17.
6	III 2b (35–45 AD)	B, 92–93 n. 59	18.
2	III 2b (35–45 AD)	B, 93 n. 60	19.
2 (1)	III 2b (35–45 AD)	B, 95 n. 63	20.
6	III 2b (35–45 AD)	B, 95 n. 64	21.
4 <i>Psi kra?</i>	III 2b (35–45 AD)	B, 96 n. 65	22.
1 <i>Psi kra?</i>	III 2b (35–45 AD)		23.
1	III 2b (35–45 AD)		24.
4 (3)	III 2b (35–45 AD)		25.
2 <i>Falco sp.?</i>	III 2b (35–45 AD)		26.
2 <i>Psi kra?</i>	III 2a?	BJ, Pl. 168, 1	27.
2	III		28.
2	III		29.
2 <i>Falconidae sp.</i>	III		30.
1	III		31.
1 <i>Accipiter sp.?</i>	III		32.
3	III	M, Pl. 20	33.
1	III	M, Pl. 20	34.
9 <i>Accipiter sp.?</i>	III	M, Pl. 20	35.

TABLE 2

Number and distribution into houses and single rooms of the bird motifs identified as the phoenix in IV style wall paintings in Pompeii.

First the number of each house is given followed by relevant room abbreviations (in brackets the abbreviation used in ICCD) and the number of birds (in brackets the vanished ones). The position of the bm:s in the decoration systems is indicated in the last field with the abbreviations used in table 1. Also the room abbreviations follow table 1 except for the unidentified rooms, which are here indicated by U.

I 3, 25	C(i) 4	C
I 5, 2	U(f) 1	F
I 6, 7	U(a) 3 (1)	F
I 7, 10	C(9) 1; C(12) 2; PO(19) 1	F, A
I 8, 17	TR(14) 7	F
I 10, 4	A(b) 4; P(c) 2; F(9) 4; R(19) 1	A, F
I 10, 11	C(4) 2; O(10) 2	F
I 11, 1	C(2) 2	F
I 11, 13	U(5) 1	F
I 11, 17	O(4) 4	F
I 12, 11	VI(8) 1	F
I 13, 1	U(4) 7	F
I 13, 2	T(11) 1	F
I 13, 16	U(1) 1	F
I 16, 3	U(2) 2; TR(6) 4	A, F
I 16, 4	U(10) 4	F
I 17, 4	VI(1) 1	F
II 1, 5	RB 4 (2)	C
II 2, 2	U(f) 10	A, C
II 4, 3	A(24) 1	F
III 4, 4	TR(c) 2	F
V 2, 1	TR(r) 4	F
V 2, 4	TR(r) 1	F
V 3, 9	U(F) 1	F
V 4, a	TR(4) 4 (2)	F
VI 2, 14	TR(11) 4	F
VI 3, 3	C(12) 2	F
VI 5, 3	U(3) 34 (15)	B
VI 7, 23	A(2) 2 (1)	F
VI 8, 3	C(6c) 4; TR(15) 4	B, F

VI 8, 23	C(25) 2	F
VI 9, 2	U(29) 5 (2)	F
VI 9, 6	U(35) 4; P(53) 4 (2); U(58) 2	A, B, F
VI 15, 1	U(k) 4 (1); P(1) 4 (2); O(q) 16; U(x) 3	B, F
VI 15, 7—8	C(f) 2; TR(k) 6 (2)	F
VI 16, 7	P(F) 1	F
VI 16, 15	C(H) 1	F
VI 16, 26	TR(G) 1	F
VII 4, 31	U(1) 2	F
VII 4, 48	C(4) 8 (1); T(10) 8 (1)	F
VII 6, 30	U(136) 2	F
VII 12, 18	U 2	F
VII Ins.Occ. 19	U(11) 6; U(8) 2; C(13) 2; U(38) 2	F, C
VIII 4, 4	U(5) 4 (2); U(27) 4 (2)	F
VIII 5, 37	U(b) 8 (3)	C
VIII 6, 4	C(d) 2 (1)	A
IX 1, 7	U(e) 4 (2)	B
IX 1, 20	AL(13) 6 (1)	F
IX 5, 2	U(e) 16 (5)	F, B
IX 8, 3	U(43) 2 (1); TR(7) 15	C, F
Villa Imperiale	SL(A) 12 (1)	A, B

Total number of houses: 53

Total number of birds: 301 (50)

Sanctius and Permanent Themes in the History of Linguistics

TOIVO VILJAMAA

1. Introduction

In the beginning of the seventies Aldo Scaglione (1970: 23—32) could not do more than establish the fact that in the historiography of linguistics the efforts of the Renaissance grammarians have been generally either misunderstood or neglected. In a similar way even in 1976 G. A. Padley (1976: ix and 1) remarks that there is a “scandalous gap” in the history of linguistics between medieval grammarians and the eighteenth century. Indeed, Padley’s book fills the gap very well. And he is not the only one to do it. After 1970 and especially to begin with 1975 relatively numerous longer or shorter studies concerning Renaissance Latin grammars have been published (see the list of References). The interest in Renaissance humanists was evidently caused by Noam Chomsky’s works from the sixties (particularly *Cartesian Linguistics*, 1966) and by the critical reactions that they evoked in the linguists. The question of the roots of transformational grammar stimulated interest not only in the seventeenth-century Port-Royal grammarians but also in their antecedents. In this connection the Spanish grammarian Franciscus Sanctius (1523-1601) naturally became the central object of interest, since the Port-Royal grammarians expressly mention him as their source. Sanctius’ *Minerva seu de causis linguae Latinae* was published in 1587.¹

¹ There was a preliminary version of *Minerva* from about 1562; cf. Bрева-Claramonte 1975: 51—53 and Percival 1975b: 258. In quotations of *Minerva* I shall use the 1714 edition (Amsterdam: Apud Janssonio-Waesbergios) by the renowned Dutch philologist Jac. Perizonius.

Because to my knowledge the questions raised up by the above mentioned studies are less known to classical philologists I shall discuss some of them here. The tradition of grammar is one of the most vital parts of the classical heritage; consequently the impact and import of the Graeco-Roman tradition is the central issue in studies concerning Renaissance grammars. My discussion of the matter also forms a kind of review of Manuel Bрева-Claramonte's Sanctius' Theory of Language (1983), which is the most extensive of the recent studies on Renaissance Latin grammars.²

2. Methodological remarks

In starting his study Bрева has been strongly influenced by an article of Robin Lakoff (Lakoff 1969), in which Lakoff also takes a stand in regard to Chomsky's views about the history of linguistics. In accordance with the questions raised up by Lakoff Bрева has taken for himself three tasks to perform, to trace Sanctius' antecedents in Graeco-Roman, Medieval and Renaissance tradition, to provide in English a synopsis of Sanctius' *Minerva*, and thirdly to outline Sanctius' grammatical theory.

Firstly I have some remarks upon the synopsis. It is almost imperative for serious studies in the linguistic history that they are based on original sources, in this case, on sources which are written in Greek or Latin. Translations may be useful for quick understanding but in single details they often are misleading and in any case unsatisfactory. Paraphraseis and synopseis may be worse because they are results of subjective choice and often tendential. Thus one can question the usefulness of Bрева's synopsis of *Minerva*. The attentive reader who compares the synopsis with the original Latin text will soon notice that

² Manuel Bрева-Claramonte, *Sanctius' Theory of Language. A Contribution to the History of Renaissance Linguistics*, Amsterdam 1983. — The book is a revised version of the doctoral dissertation from 1975. Bрева has considered the relevant literature appeared after 1975 but in endnotes and in the list of references only; on the actual text, and accordingly, on the revision of the earlier version these new studies, which are numerous indeed, have had little or no effect at all.

Breva's own opinion about Sanctius' doctrine of an underlying or logical level of language has had a considerable influence both on the choice of the parts that are surveyed and on the whole content of the synopsis. Thus the synopsis is a kind of an interpretative translation with the purpose of uncovering a certain theory from the text. This can be seen at the very beginning: Sanctius says (Minerva I, 1, p. 2) *Itaque nisi te totum inquisitioni tradideris, nisi artis tuae, quam tractas, causas rationesque probe fueris perscrutatus, crede te alienis oculis videre, alienisque auribus audire*. Breva surveys the passage in the following way (p. 97): "Unless one investigates thoroughly the original forms (causes) and the logic (rationes) of one's subject, Sanctius holds, one sees with someone else's eyes and hears with someone else's ears." Breva applies Sanctius' words *causae* and *rationes* to language (cf. endnotes 63—64) in order to show that they contain a certain theory according to which language originates in nature and is logical in its original form. However, there is no question about the logic of language in Sanctius' words but he advocates examining of language on the basis of judgement and reason; that is, *causae* and *rationes* refer to the study of language (*ars*), not to language itself.³

Another issue is the problem how the research into the history of linguistics is to be carried out. The historiographer must choose out of several procedures: he can choose a purely descriptive method, or attempt to form a conception of the discipline and then to follow its development in past times; he can also have a notion about the modern discipline and try to find out its sources in past theories (cf. Scaglione 1970: 11—12 and Koerner 1974). In recent methodological discussions it has been emphasized that the historiography of linguistics must be theory-oriented (cf. Robins 1974: 11—12): it plays a significant role in discovering and recognizing those permanent themes that have in the past determined the thinking and undoubtedly also have relevance to modern theories. The latter way of searching for basic facts or tenets in the past linguistic thinking is also typical of Breva's approach. The methodological starting point is then well established and has many advantages. But the notion of the most important themes must be based on proper knowledge and on correct interpretation of the past material. This means that the philolog-

³ More examples of the inexactitude of the synopsis are given in the following chapters.

ical competence is necessary. Furthermore, there are several controversial issues both in philological and in linguistic surveys of the grammatical tradition that may be hindering the correct analysis if they are taken as permanent tenets of the past thinking; one is for example the controversy of analogy and anomaly, another the controversy of nature and convention. Thus the student of the past development of grammatical thinking must be very careful in deciding what themes really were significant. Bрева has made the choice that the question about the origin and development of words, the question whether words exist in nature or are results of convention, might be the most significant theme in ancient, Medieval and Renaissance grammatical writings. Is it true? In the following I shall present some other themes that seem to be more powerful and more relevant in the light of both Sanctius' work and ancient grammatical writings, such as Varro's and Quintilian's. These themes are: (a) the definition of grammatical rules with reference to the goal of grammar (*finis grammaticae*), (b) the conception of grammar as a science by itself, as an independent branch of learning (*ars grammatica*), and (c) the search for the basis of the grammatical regularity.

3. The goal of grammar

In part I of Bрева's book there is firstly a sketch of Sanctius' life and a brief outline of grammatical tradition in Spain and Portugal before Sanctius. In general Bрева is right in making it clear that the models of Sanctius' theory are not traceable to some Iberian grammars. However, the Spanish grammarian Nebrija's influence ought not to be underestimated. Nebrija was the founder of humanistic studies in Spain and as a Humanist he also emphasized the pedagogical aspect of grammar. In fact, Sanctius says in his Preface that he sees himself as a successor of Nebrija in expurgating the teaching of Latin from scholastic barbarity. This meant a reinstatement of classical learning. It is a weakness of Bрева's book that he while dwelling on Sanctius' philosophy does not pay any attention to Minerva's important didactic and pedagogical ideas.

The consideration of didactic purposes would have been fruitful in explaining Sanctius' grammar and its rules and in answering why he so

strongly relies on Varro's and Quintilian's authority. Varro had said (ling. 9, 4) that "it is one thing to say that regularities exist in words and another thing to say that we ought to follow the regularities", and in similar tone Quintilian (1, 6, 27) that "it is one thing to speak Latin, another to speak grammatically" (cf. *Minerva* IV, 2, p. 535). Sanctius maintained that Latin cannot be learned through practice. His favorite thesis was: "Those who chatter in Latin, corrupt Latinity".⁴

The method criticized by Sanctius was a kind of construing Latin: the Latin of ancient authors was divided into phrases and idioms, into authoritative patterns according to which new Latin sentences were to be performed. But this was an abusive method in Sanctius' opinion: *Haec tam multa invitus congesti contra morosos quosdam, qui, quum in Grammatica rationem explodant, testimonia tantum Doctorum efflagitant* (*Minerva* I, 1, p. 6). The Port-Royal grammarian Lancelot, who closely follows Sanctius (cf. Viljamaa 1976: 17—18), describes this corrupted method more explicitly:⁵ "The second mistake some are guilty of, is that to remedy the abovementioned evil, they apply a cure as bad as the disease. For in order to enable boys to write not only according to the rules of grammar, but to the purity of style, it has been the practice to make them read books of phraseologies and idioms" (*New Method*, p. xii). Sanctius follows his ancient masters Cicero and Quintilian in advocating the stand that one cannot learn to speak correct Latin from grammar but by exercising style and imitating good authors (see *Minerva* III, 2 and *Breva*, p. 141). He holds that "grammarians are the custodians, not the creators, of the Latin Language" (*Minerva* I, 2, p. 9; *Breva*, p. 99). He rejects for instance a phrase like *ego amo Deum* as not being Latin.⁶ In his words *Neque sexcentorum Grammaticorum auctoritas mihi persuadebit, ut Vapulo a praeceptore, Exulo a Praetore, & Ego amo Deum, & alia huiusmodi,*

⁴ De Latina lingua comparanda, Objectio prima; in the edition of *Minerva* used here, p. 829. Also in this connection Sanctius refers to Quintilian's statement about the difference between Latinity and grammaticality.

⁵ Claude Lancelot, *Nouvelle Methode . . .* (3rd ed., 1654). I have used the English translation *A New Method of Learning with Facility the Latin Tongue* (London 1758: J.Nourse).

⁶ *Minerva* I,2, pp.9—10, not included in *Breva's* Synopsis.

Latine dicantur, however, the emphasis is not laid on the given examples but on the words *Neque sexcentorum Grammaticorum auctoritas*.⁷

Sanctius' attitude in regard to previous grammatical authorities is critical and uncompromising. He probably owes it to J. C. Scaliger, who appears to approve no other authorities but his own judgement and Aristotle.⁸ The attitude is also typical of many Renaissance grammarians who pursued a pedagogical renovation and censured previous grammars for including too many rules and for dealing with minutiae of language; they also appealed to Quintilian, who had admonished the grammarian to concentrate upon the essential.

The dichotomy of Latinity and grammaticality is crucial for understanding Sanctius' main tenets, especially what he says in first chapters of his *Minerva*. Unfortunately it seems that Brevia does not understand correctly Sanctius' ideas, since he interprets Sanctius for instance in the following way: "Sanctius seems to imply that, since grammar rules are made from the laws of nature, such rules represent nature and have no exceptions, except for a few corruptions" (endnote 67); but the matter at issue is the corrupted way of teaching or learning; in the passage to which Brevia's endnote refers (*Minerva* I, 2) there is no talk about natural laws but Sanctius criticizes the corrupted *consuetudo* of the bad teachers and grammarians who prefer their own rules to the rules that can be drawn out of usage: *auctoritas* (i.e. the grammarian's authority) *vero ab usu sumpsit incrementum; nam si ab usu recedat, auctoritas nulla est* (*Minerva* I, 1, p. 8).⁹

Brevia comments on *Minerva* for instance p. 202: "language although a science", and p. 204: "There are virtually no irregularities in language". His misconception of Sanctius' ideas is evidently a result of his desire to find in Sanctius' exposition a logical basis for language, i.e. a result of moving the logic of grammar to the logic of language. But this is not what

⁷ The matter in question is the grammarian's authority, not the Latin authors themselves. Brevia seems to confuse these in concluding that Sanctius does not base his grammar on usage (cf. e.g. p.206).

⁸ Julius Cesar Scaliger, *De causis linguae Latinae libri XIII* (Lyons 1540: Seb. Gryphius). For Sanctius and Scaliger, see Percival 1975a.

⁹ Sanctius seems to follow Quintilian (1, 5, 63—64): *auctoritatem consuetudo superavit*.

Sanctius means. In fact he warns not to commit the error of giving attributes of rational study of language to language itself: language may be irregular, grammar not. He recognizes, contrary to what Breva implies, that there are irregularities in Latin language: anomaly is *inaequalitas* apparent in Latin (cf. *Minerva* IV,1, p. 528; *Breva*, p. 167.).

What then means rationality and regularity of grammar? It is typical of ancient thought and also typical of Sanctius, who follows his ancient masters, to think teleologically, considering the goal of one's subject. Grammar is a tool for certain use, for learning how to speak and write correctly. Its goal (*finis*) is *congruens oratio* (*Minerva* I, 2, p. 13—14). Grammar is the foundation of language learning (. . . , *quae omnium aliarum fundamentum est*; *Minerva*, Preface; cf. *Quint.* 1, 4, 1—5). Thus it must be reasoned and as simple as possible so that those foundations are learned with ease and with the minimum of trouble. Compare Varro, *ling.* 8, 3: *Declinatio inducta in sermones non solum Latinos, sed omnium hominum utili et necessaria de causa*; and 8, 6: *ad quam* (i.e. the grammatical treatment) *opus est paucis praeceptis quae sunt brevia*.

4. Grammar is an independent branch of learning (*ars*)

Breva surveys the Graeco-Roman tradition of grammar as well as the writings of Sanctius' immediate predecessors, Linacre, Scaliger and Ramus, confronting them to Sanctius' grammar and to the theory that can be abstracted from it. Thus he is forced to state continually how some grammarian either agrees with or differs from Sanctius. In those places where *Breva* seeks for similarities or dissimilarities in theory it is mostly the question about the meaning of Sanctius' "logical" level of language, i.e. what is the meaning of the "deep or underlying structure" that possibly can be detected from Sanctius' text (cf. e.g. *Breva*, p. 238).

It seems that this main question can be divided into two parts. Firstly there is the problem of the origin of language and of its development and the question about the naturalness of language. But these questions are not important, as we shall see. They are less relevant to grammar than the question about the independence of grammatical science. The second part

concerns the regularity of language, especially the questions about the meaning and the basis of the grammatical regularity.

In interpreting Sanctius and tracing back his antecedents Brevia believes to have uncovered a new aspect in the history of linguistics (see, e.g. pp. 3, 25, 93, 203, and 236). This new aspect is that Sanctius analyses language as developmental process, not from a static standpoint. In Brevia's opinion, Sanctius' basic doctrine is formed by a theory about a past primeval stage of language (a historico-logical level) when perfect correlation between language and nature existed; this opinion could be traced back to Plato.

Before going into the treatment of the notion of *ars* I shall discuss the meaning of the development of language in history which Brevia labels a new aspect in the historiography of linguistics and sees a dynamic process in it. As for the interpretations of Plato, the concept that language was natural in its very inception and was later corrupted in its historical development, this can be hardly entitled as a new aspect. Brevia himself refers to several scholars who have interpreted Plato in a similar way. But it is a totally different matter if this can be said to represent the dynamic process of language production as conceived by the ancients. I take the passage of Varro (ling. 8, 1) interpreted by Brevia at page 29: *Cum oratio natura tripartita esset, . . . , cuius prima pars, quemadmodum vocabula rebus essent imposita, secunda, quo pacto de his declinata in discrimina ierint, tertia, ut ea inter se ratione coniuncta sententiam efferant, . . .* Brevia sees in Varro's tripartite division of language an explication of the origin and the history of language. This is, however, a misconception. Varro simply presents a tripartite division of speech (*oratio*) and at the same time a division of linguistic study.

The three parts, *vocabula (impositio)*, *declinatio* and *syntax*, are not sequential or in a historically hierarchical order but simply elements of speech that interact themselves. In other words, without morphology there is no speech, no syntax, and without words there is no declension. If there is something more in Varro's definition, at the most we can assume that the parts establish an order in the dynamic process of language production (cf. Taylor 1974: 12). But to say it again, there is in Varro's presentation no word about the history or origin of language. Imposition does not include inflexion as maintained by Brevia (pp. 29—31), but in

Varro's view, it is a dynamic process which starts from primeval words and creates new ones through *declinatio voluntaria*, so for instance in the case when different names (*Albani, Albenses*; Varro, ling. 8, 35) are derived from identical names there is an effect of will in the choice of the suffix, and on the other hand, when different names are derived from different sources (*Artemas, Ion, Ephesius*; Varro, ling. 8, 21) there is a voluntary choice of the referent. The example given by Sanctius is in principle similar with those in Varro which illustrate the role of human will in the dynamic process of language creation (Minerva I, 1, p. 4—5: Latin *fenestra*, Spanish *ventana* and Portuguese *janella*).

Sanctius seems to follow Plato in asserting that the relation between word and referent is rather natural than conventional: *audi Platonem ipsum, qui nomina & verba natura constare affirmat, qui sermonem esse a natura, non ab arte, contendit* (Minerva I, 1, p. 2). What does this mean? What is the meaning of *natura* and *ars* in this connection? If they are interpreted, as Breva does, that Sanctius maintains Plato's doctrine about language genesis and its development through history and explains language phenomena according to some natural laws that are represented at a historico-logical level, then we shall find difficulties in explaining for instance Sanctius' following statements: *Interjectionem non esse partem orationis sic ostendo: Quod naturale est, idem est apud omnes: sed gemitus et signa laetitiae idem sunt apud omnes: sunt igitur naturales. Si vero naturales, non sunt partes orationis* (Minerva I, 2, p. 16—17); *An nomina significant natura, an fortuito, magna quaestio est, et tota physica, nihil ad grammaticos* (Minerva I, 5, p. 32).¹⁰

In fact, Sanctius as a grammarian is not interested in the origin of words and not much in their historical development. The question of the origin of language is an etymological one, and etymology is not the grammarian's task to perform. In this also Sanctius' model is Varro: "The grammarian . . . , according to Varro, does not investigate the semantic value of words but their usage" (see Breva, p. 117). Naturally, however, Sanctius has the opinion familiar from ancient philosophy that language phenomena as well as their origin can be investigated rationally, because

¹⁰ Breva's survey of the passage is misleading (p. 104): ". . . ; although grammarians are not concerned with the whole physical world".

man is a rational animal. Evidently he borrows from Scaliger the definition of *ratio* as a human power that helps man both to create and analyse language.¹¹ The main point that unites these two grammarians is the effort to establish grammar scientifically, the point which also joins them to scholastic tradition, and ultimately, to the Graeco-Roman tradition. In the same way as Cicero (e.g. off. 1, 11—12) and Varro (ling. 9, 23—36) Sanctius defends the justification of rational study by appealing to nature, thus using physical explications. Rational study is possible and also natural, but one must not mix the study with the object of study. Therefore, if we want to find philosophy in Sanctius' work, it will be the old debate between the rationalists and empiristics. The permanent topic that is apparent is the controversy between study and praxis (*ars* versus *historia*, *techne* versus *empeiria*), to use modern terms, theory versus data.

Sanctius wants to emphasize the scientific nature of grammar: *Cum artem dico, disciplinam intellego; est enim Disciplina scientia acquisita in discente* (Minerva I, 2, p. 14). Here he follows the tradition of the Roman *ars grammatica*. Varro (ling. 8, 5—6) says: *Duo igitur omnino verborum principia, impositio et declinatio . . . Ad illud genus, quod prius, historia opus est: nisi discendo enim aliter id non pervenit ad nos; ad reliquum genus, quod posterius, ars: ad quam opus est paucis praeceptis quae sunt brevia*. For him, as for Sanctius *ars* means grammatical treatment (cf. Taylor 1974: 37—38). The same definition is in Quintilian (1, 4, 2 and 1, 9, 1) and it is also typical of Renaissance grammars (see Padley 1976: 8—11). Although Sanctius censures Quintilian (Minerva I, 1, p. 11) for dividing grammar into *methodice* and *historice*, in principle he agrees with Quintilian; the only difference is that the task of the schoolmaster was understood differently in his time.

Particularly in the light of the passage cited above from Varro we can understand why it is possible for Sanctius to say that words are not *ab arte* — since they suppose a historical treatment, not a grammatical one —, and on the other hand that grammar is an *ars* — a discipline which searches for rules and regularities.

¹¹ Cf. Padley 1976: 75; Robins 1974: 16. Brevia's comparison between Scaliger and Sanctius (p. 72) is erroneous.

5. Regularity in grammar

To prove his point that Latin ought not to be learned according to the authoritative rules made by grammarians Sanctius refers to the principles of Roman legislation (Minerva I, 2, p. 10): *Regula est, quae rem, quae est, breviter enarrat; non ut ex regula jus sumatur, sed ut ex jure, quod est, regula fiat. Quare extirpanda est consuetudo, quae legem habet reclamantem, quae potius corruptela vocanda est.* Correct interpretation of the passage is most fundamental for correct understanding of Sanctius' whole theory of grammar. Breva (p. 99) summarizes in the following way: "a rule is that which briefly explains a phenomenon in detail; not so that the law is taken from the rule but the rule is derived from the law. We, in fact, must discard the custom which has a rule expressing disapproval (what today is labeled 'exception') and which more aptly ought to be designated a minor corruption" (cf. also p. 215 and endnote 66). The summary is a telling example of the fact that proper analysis has to be based on the original. Sanctius does not say "in detail" but something that is opposite, naturally because grammar cannot be a description of all language phenomena but it is an abbreviation of them, so to say. Rules of grammar are useful and necessary for learning purposes.

Contrary to what Breva believes, Sanctius has the opinion that a grammatical rule (*regula*) must be based on usage, i.e. the rules of grammar describe an accepted norm (*jus*) and on the other hand, those customs that are against the norm are labeled a corrupted usage. The point is that the norm is founded on the common usage of the people, not on individual writers' style, as stated by Varro (e.g. ling. 8, 22; 9, 5—6).

In fact Sanctius' definition of grammatical rules and regularity is the old one and, as it seems, he closely follows Varro and Quintilian. Furthermore the definition is connected with the pedagogical purposes of grammar. Varro says (ling. 9, 3): *quod est nata ex quadam consuetudine analogia*; and (ling. 9, 9): *Nam vocabula ac verba quae declinamus similiter, ea in consuetudine esse videmus et ad eam conferimus et, si quid est erratum, non sine ea corrigimus*; and Quintilian more expressively (1, 6, 16): *Analogia non ratione nititur sed exemplo; nec lex est loquendi, sed observatio, ut ipsam analogiam nulla res alia fecerit quam consuetudo.* Sanctius himself refers to Varro in regard to this matter (Minerva I, 7; p.

43): *quoniam, inquit, Grammaticae propositum non est singularum vocum significationes explicare, sed usum.*

Breva finds in Varro “two types of analogy” (p. 32) and concludes that Varro’s theory is “an explanation of how language originates in history and how it has developed to the present status” (p. 28). In his opinion, Varro presents a theory according to which words were made first conventional by the human will, and then regularized by the nature. He bases his analysis on Varro, *ling.* 10, 53 and 61: *Qui initia faciet analogiae impositiones, ab his obliquas figuras declinare debet; qui naturam, contra; qui ab utraque, reliquas declinationes ab eiusmodi transitibus* (53). *Quare si quis principium analogiae potius posuerit in naturalibus casibus quam in impositiis, non multa inconcinna in consuetudine occurent et a natura libido humana corrigetur, non a libidine natura* (61).

There is a total misunderstanding of Varro in Breva’s analysis. He confuses the terms “nature” and “imposition” and accordingly does not understand Varro’s definition of the “natural” and “voluntary” declension. Indeed, there are two “natures” in description of human speech: one is the nature of things, another the nature of language. Of course, the ancients could also say that in a former historical stage language was more natural as men lived more natural life, but that “nature” is not meant by Varro in the passages quoted above. Breva’s error is caused, as I said before, by his desire to explain language as a result of a historical process. However, in those passages of Varro there is no question of the development of language at all. The matter that Varro deals with is whether regularity (i.e. grammatical rules) can be found by starting from nominative forms (imposition) or from oblique forms (nature) or from both.¹² There are three choices which indeed are not choices of an explanation of the history of Latin. In chapter 61 Varro does not opt for

¹² In *Minerva* I,3, pp. 28—29, Sanctius quotes Quintilian 1,5,65: *Simplices voces prima positione, id est, natura sua constant.* Breva (p. 102) explains: “Quintilian indicates that at their very inception (*prima positio*) words are made according to their own nature.” Also here the synopsis follows the wrong lead, because Quintilian’s *prima positio* means the same as “imposition”, i.e., it refers to principal forms of words, e.g. to the nominative in the case of nouns.

the first solution, as Breva believes (p. 300), that “inflectional regularity will derive from the imposed forms”, but he prefers just the opposite, i.e. that the natural inflection is the best starting-point to determine grammatical regularities.

The theme that grammatical rules must be based on usage might be called permanent one. It was just Varro and Quintilian who were models for Renaissance grammarians in this matter. Sanctius’ immediate predecessor seems to be Peter Ramus,¹³ who closely follows Varro in establishing that grammar is based on the common usage of the people.

6. Conclusion

Ratio and *usus* are the principles on which grammar is founded. Sanctius asserts this with emphasis in the first chapters of *Minerva*. They correspond to two of the above discussed themes, which often are misunderstood and conceived as conflicting each other. Thus others, as Breva does, emphasize the rational part of grammar and easily commit the error of thinking that the logic of grammar presupposes a logic of language. Others, particularly 17th and 18th century commentators of *Minerva*, Perizonus for example, emphasize that grammar is based on usage and heedless of Sanctius’ warnings commit the error of loading their grammars and commentaries with numerous examples so that simple rational rules are obscured and the learning of grammar is made tiresome work to perform. These two principles are not different in rank though they represent two different aspects of linguistic inquiry. They are best understood in the light of the first theme, in regard to the goal of grammar.

For pedagogical reasons grammar must be as simple as possible; and for reasons of the independence of the grammatical science only linguistic explanations can be included in grammar. Both conditions give Sanctius’ grammar a certain character of generality and universality.

Finally, the distinction of grammar and speech is important. In Renaissance grammars the main part is devoted to syntax. This phenomenon is consistent with the Sanctian conception of the goal of the

¹³ Peter Ramus, *Scholae grammaticae* (Paris 1559: Wechel). See Padley 1976: 84.

grammar: *Oratio sive syntaxis est finis grammaticae*. In accordance with the concepts of “grammaticality” and “Latinity” Renaissance grammarians divided syntax into simple and figurative. The former comprises the basic rules of grammar and the latter explains how we come from those rules to the real linguistic expressions. As in the simple grammar also in the figurative syntax Sanctius strives for simplicity. He accepts only four figures, *adiectio*, *detractio* (ellipsis), *immutatio* and *transmutatio*, those which were the accepted categories of linguistic change in the Graeco-Roman grammatical tradition.

The arrangement of syntax is a real innovation in Renaissance grammars. Sanctius took his theory of figurative syntax from Thomas Linacre,¹⁴ who defines two types of construction, “regular” and “figurative”. To be sure, the basic notions of the theory are familiar in the grammatical tradition from the ancient times on. It is particularly Priscian to whom Linacre and Sanctius are indebted. The main model, however, seems to be Quintilian, who says that almost everything is figurative in speech (9, 3, 1) and separates two types of speech (*genus grammaticum* and *genus rhetoricum*).¹⁵ Thus in their figurative syntax Renaissance grammarians made a section of ancient rethoric an integral part of the theory of syntax.

The existence of the simple and figurative syntax allows us to use such terms as “deep (underlying) structure” and “surface structure”. It also gives a justification to the “historical aspect” of language so often underlined by Breva: simple grammatical forms are more easily found in early texts thanks to their simplicity and thanks to the fact that language is in constant change. The most important part of the figurative syntax is the theory of ellipsis. It is built on two foundations according to Sanctius (Minerva IV, 2, pp. 534—535; cf. Breva, pp. 210 and 240): *veneranda antiquitas*, which serves for discovering and testing the rules, and *grammaticae ratio*, which fills the requirements of the general rules of grammar, for example, every sentence must be composed of a noun and a

¹⁴ Thomas Linacre, *De emendata structura Latini sermonis libri sex* (London 1524: R. Pynson). Cf. Percival 1976: 243—244.

¹⁵ Cf. Viljamaa 1984.

verb. In the theory of ellipsis the constituents of the sentence are arranged according to the general principle of creating new sentences (Minerva I, 2, p. 15): *excutiamus, ex quibus haec oratio possit constitui, ita ut nihil fit, quod per orationem non possimus enunciare. Sunt autem haec tria, nomen, verbum, particula.*

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AA.VV. Mondo classico: Percorsi possibili. A cura del C.I.D.I. — Roma e del C.R.S. (Centro Romano di Semiotica). Pleiadi 22. Longo editore, Ravenna 1985. 252 p. Lit.22.000.

These 19 contributions by (mainly) Italian scholars centre around Greek culture seen (largely) in the perspective of French structural anthropology and Italian semiotics. There is an introductory essay by M. Detienne, 'Le mythe, en plus ou en moins'; the rest of the articles are ordered alphabetically according to the authors' names. Thus the contents may appear somewhat chaotic. Though the volume is not primarily intended for specialists — the editor's very ambitious aim is 'una presentazione di momenti nodali di una cultura dalla quale in massima parte discendiamo' — some of the papers are rather technical. Proof-reading has not succeeded with non-Italian pieces of text. The reader who is not disturbed by such disadvantages will find in the book many fresh and stimulating approaches, but also many half-truths and disputable details.

H. Thesleff

Rosalba Antonini — Loretta Del Tutto Palma — Stefania Renzetti Marra: Bibliografia dell'Italia antica. Epigrafia, linguistica e scienze ausiliarie (1950/1984). Quaderni dell'Istituto di Linguistica dell'Università degli Studi di Urbino, 3 (2 voll.). Urbino 1985. XI, 240 & 588 p. Lit.97.000.

Ecco qui un utilissimo strumento di lavoro per chi si occupi dello studio dell'Italia preromana e romanizzata, dai Leponti nel Nord agli Elimi nel Mezzogiorno. I due volumi danno 9400 titoli di periodici, cataloghi, manuali, monografie, articoli e vari saggi rilevanti. La preferenza è, naturalmente, stata data al campo di studi linguistici italici (Sezione A. Epigrafia — Linguistica consiste di ben 4200 titoli). Le scienze ausiliarie — Archeologia, Storia e Bibliografia — portano "solamente" circa 3400 in tutto. Tutte e quattro le sezioni del tomo II sono divise per territori (Italia settentrionale, centrale e meridionale nonché Etruria-Aree extraitaliane), preceduti da Generalia (anche Scritti vari, Sillogi — Lessici), il che rende l'opera assai utilizzabile. I titoli sono in ordine cronologico e vi è pure un indice generale alfabetico degli autori — sono 1888, se ho contato bene.

Le tre autrici hanno, secondo me, dato un bel contributo nel raccogliere e selezionare un

ricchissimo materiale per soddisfare diversi e ampi interessi, una fatica tanto più difficile e meritoria in quanto avvenuta fuori del giro delle grandi biblioteche, a Urbino. Ormai vi si lavora con aiuto del Centro Elaborazione Dati, uno strumento efficace, ma in questo caso dai risultati, mi pare, abbastanza ineleganti, anche se la media delle bibliografie non è molto alta. Tuttavia la cosa più importante è che qui abbiamo un ottimo lavoro, assai utile per tanti utenti. Tale bibliografia speciale stava già diventando un *desideratum* dopo quella ristretta del Maniet nell' ANRW e gli *incrementa* reperibili in *Année Philologique*. In breve, non esiterei di raccomandare l'acquisto dell'opera: è essenziale e indispensabile.

Timo Sironen

Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren. Herausgegeben von *William M. Calder III, Helmut Flashar, Theodor Lindken*. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 1985. XVIII, 802 S. DM 98.—.

This volume proves to be a fascinating mine of information for anybody who, like the present reviewer, cannot read ten lines of Wilamowitz without getting impressed and annoyed at the same time. Its XVIII + 802 pages of close print, with heavy scholarly apparatus, do not amount to a lasting monument, fortunately: Wilamowitz would not need one. Nor is the biographical element very much in the foreground, although the book, and the conference from which it emanates, obviously owe very much to the activities of William M. Calder III. Its main value may be summarized as follows: by presenting a wide register of approaches, many of them decidedly sophisticated and critical, to Wilamowitz seen in his relations to classical scholarship, the book turns into a picture of an epoch — an epoch of crucial importance not only to the character and the fate of classical studies today, but also to European intellectual history in general. The volume was certainly worth publishing, chiefly because of Wilamowitz' uniqueness and his central position in Philologie and Altertumswissenschaft of his age, but definitely also because of his personal faults, his prejudices and his shortcomings. It renders credit to the editors and the 23 contributors from various countries, that they have on the whole succeeded in keeping a noble distance from their subject, avoiding the traps of devotion, apology, derogation, or cynicism. Yet the symbolism of the title of Calder's own contribution, 'Ecce homo', should be observed: since 1931, Wilamowitz has perhaps received more castigation than applause, especially outside Germany and even by those who would not deny his greatness.

It would be pointless to try to select the essence of the rich contents. Just two details with some bearing on what Wilamowitz himself considered to be the chief task of a classical scholar: the 'revivification' of antiquity. His life-long involvement with Greek tragedy, which began at school, arose from a complicated relationship with drama and music and the lack of proper teachers (Görgemanns 130ff.) and always meant to him interpretation of his own life (cf. Calder 94ff., on Mommsen as his 'Herakles'). And his 'Platon', whose influence can be seen in many different quarters even today, was an intensely personal document where in a sense he identified himself with the philosopher (cf. e.g. Canfora 64, Calder 101ff., Mansfeld 178ff., Kopff 569ff.). Can we after all separate the fate of the classics from ourselves?

H. Thesleff

Hans von Kamptz: Homerische Personennamen. Sprachwissenschaftliche und historische Klassifikation. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1982. XXVI, 388 S. DM 80.—.

Die vorliegende Arbeit stellt den nahezu unveränderten Nachdruck einer Jenaer Dissertation von 1956 dar. Sie erscheint in Auftrage der Göttinger Akademie der Wissenschaften, die neuerdings mit der Herausgabe des "Lexikons des frühgriechischen Epos" betraut ist. Da das Lexikon künftig nur in sehr gestraffter Form weitergeführt werden kann, schien es der Akademiekommission wünschenswert, diese Arbeit einem größeren Benutzerkreis zugänglich zu machen und das Lexikon so zu entlasten. Solange das Lexikon, wenn auch in gestraffter Form, nicht vollständig vorliegt, erfüllt diese Arbeit eine wirkliche Lücke, indem sie alle homerischen Personennamen, von den Götternamen abgesehen, erfaßt und zu klassifizieren und etymologisch zu klären versucht. Die Gliederung der Arbeit ist mustergültig und erinnert an Ernst Rischs glänzende Wortbildung, die seit 1973 in einer neuen Auflage vorliegt: Einleitung (1—52), Stammbildung der homerischen Personennamen (53—173), systematische Zusammenstellung der homerischen Personennamen (175—379). Den Abschluß bildet ein Register der besprochenen homerischen Namen. Diese Struktur verursacht gewisse Wiederholung, doch die Brauchbarkeit der Arbeit wird dadurch vermehrt. Im zweiten Teil werden einige Götternamen besprochen, die Auswahl ist aber willkürlich: so ist Kalypso aufgenommen, Kirke aber nicht, und während Achilleus' Hunde da sind, fehlt Argos. Diese Lücken, zusammen mit der Tatsache, daß die Arbeit nur Homer, nicht auch Hesiod und andere Epiker berücksichtigt, bringen mit sich, daß die Arbeit doch kein lückenloses Komplement zum Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos geworden ist.

Wie dem auch sei, von Kamptz' Buch ist eine ausgezeichnete Leistung. Es ist nicht des Verfassers Schuld, wenn es sofort nach seinem Erscheinen durch die Entzifferung von Linear B überholt wurde. Viele seiner Überlegungen und Etymologien haben ihren bleibenden Wert. Natürlich hätte man vieles an dem Werk zu bemängeln, doch ist für Einzelkritik hier kein Platz. Trotz der gewaltigen Fortschritte, die die homerische Philologie seit der Ventrischen Revolution gemacht hat und die manches in diesem Werk verbessern ließen (um nur ein Beispiel zu nehmen: der Name Achilleus, von Verfasser noch als vorgriechisch erklärt, wurde inzwischen von Palmer 1963 als griechisch erkannt), kann niemand, der sich mit Problemen der griechischen Namengebung befaßt, an dem Buch von Kamptz' vorbeigehen.

Heikki Solin

Poetarum Elegiacorum Testimonia et Fragmenta. Ediderunt *Bruno Gentili* et *Carolus Prato*. Pars altera. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1985. M. 63.—.

The second volume of the new Teubner edition of the fragments of Greek (!) elegy deserves, in general, the same praise as the first one notably as a technical achievement (cf. this journal, 16 [1982] 231f.). The contents may, however, surprise a reader who expects a simple continuation on the lines of Diehl and Beutler. A substantial portion of the volume is

occupied by testimonies relating to personages not usually associated with elegy though they may (or were in antiquity thought to) have played some part in the development of the genre, such as Olympos, Periander, Pittacus, or Sacadas. And on the other hand, the editors have tried not to include epigrams, a task highly laudable but sometimes quite difficult: hence, for instance, Socrates and Critias are represented, but not Plato. Of the poets contained in this volume, Critias is probably the most interesting one. At the end there are some minor additions and corrections to the first volume; the anonymous quotation ascribed to Xenophanes by A.V. Lebedev (1978) is rightly considered a 'dubium'.

H. Thesleff

Platonis Epistulae. Recognovit Jennifer Moore-Blunt. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1985. XXIII, 66 S. M. 28.50.—.

It is good to have a new and comprehensive Teubner recension of the Platonic Letters especially because their historical and philosophical importance has become more and more evident in recent years. Jennifer Moore-Blunt seems on the whole to have done a very accurate job; and it would have been pointless to postpone the work in expectation of new emendations to result from the ever-continued discussion of, say, the philosophical 'digressions' of the 7th and 2nd Letters. Of course she has not been able to trace all suggestions made (she has not noticed e.g. that I in 1965 accepted Burkert's Ἐλυμοί in Ep. 12). But would it not have been possible to include the fragmentary remains we have of other Platonic Letters (N^{os} XIV and XV in Hercher, and the 'Socratic Letters' 26—28) and the letters of Plato's 'correspondents' (Archytas and others)?

H. Thesleff

Senocrate — Ermodoro: Frammenti. Edizione, traduzione e commento a cura di Margherita Isnardi Parente. Bibliopolis, Napoli 1982. 460 p. Lit. 60.000.

Margherita Isnardi Parente's application of her vast experience to the Bibliopolis project of publishing the texts relating to the Early Academy has resulted in a magnificent monograph ('La scuola di Platone, III') of substantial importance for the study of Platonism.

Her Hermodorus is not without interest (and these fragments have never been collected before). But the main advantage of the volume of course comes from her editing and interpreting the fragments of Xenocrates. Some, though not very much new source material has turned up since Heinze's edition of 1892 (an Arabic fragment published by S. Pines in 1961 is the most notable new piece, frg. 121 I.P.), but there has been an immense accretion of secondary literature of Platonic and Academic matters where Xenocrates is involved in one respect or another. Considering the fact that Xenocrates was, on most points, more conservative than Speusippus, and that he was the first one to attempt a systematization of Plato's doctrines, a close reading of the evidence can be expected to shed some light on Plato

too. By far the most vexed problem in this connection is the question of Plato's 'First Principles'. Isnardi Parente remains sceptical regarding the tenets of the Tübingen School which imply that Xenocrates should be considered as a central source for the reconstruction of the 'unwritten doctrines' (see now also G. Reale, *Per una nuova interpretazione di Platone*, ²Milano 1986). It is in a way a pity that her edition and the presentation of Xenocrates by the Tübingen scholar H.J. Krämer in the new *Ueberweg* (1983, p. 44—72, based mainly on Heinze) were published independently; but since the time is not yet ripe for what I believe will be an inevitable compromise, and interpretation is, in this case, very much a matter of emphasis, it can be maintained that serious students of Platonism should welcome the coexistence of the Xenocrates of both Isnardi Parente and Krämer.

Be this as it may, Isnardi Parente's comprehensive collection of the fragments and testimonies, with Italian translation, commentary and very full references, will be of very great service to scholars.

H. Thesleff

Angelo Casanova: I frammenti di Diogene di Enoanda. Studi e Testi 6. Università degli Studi di Firenze, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità "Giorgio Pasquali", 1984. 465 p. & indici 24 p. Lit. 50.000.

Wir sehen jetzt: C.W. Chiltons Teubneriana (1967) und seine kommentierte Übersetzung (1971) bilden den Schlußpunkt der ersten Etappe der Erforschung der Monumentalinschrift des Diogenes von Oinoanda, deren erste Steine i.J. 1884 in der südwestlichen Türkei gefunden wurden.

Zwischen 1970 und 1982 hat nun Martin Ferguson Smith die 'New Fragments' 1—121 dieser Inschrift entdeckt und mit vorläufigen Kommentaren herausgegeben. Seine Ausgabe von NFF 122—124 (*Anatolian Studies* 34 [1984] 43—57) hat Casanova nicht mehr berücksichtigen können. Da vor Smith 88 Fragmente bekannt waren, steigt die Gesamtzahl nunmehr also auf 212 (vgl. Casanova S. 26). Smith hat bekanntgegeben, daß er eine kommentierte Ausgabe des gesamten Materials vorbereitet.

Casanova, seit 1981 als Diogenesforscher bekannt, legt hier eine 'Zwischen-Ausgabe' vor. Sie soll eine 'Bilanz' (consuntivo S. 7) der bisherigen wissenschaftlichen Arbeit auch zu den neuen Fragmenten bieten. C. äußert sich im Vorwort bescheiden, aber in der Tat haben wir hier zum ersten Mal alte und neue Fragmente beisammen, mit kritischem Apparat und italienischer Übersetzung, ohne Kommentar, aber mit Hinweisen auf antike und moderne Literatur.

Dies ist an sich schon begrüßenswert, aber C. bietet noch mehr: für das ganze Textmaterial eine durchdachte neue Ordnung, die er S. 48f. diskutiert und S. 49—69 ausführlich begründet. Voraussetzung dazu war ein Erfassen des philosophischen Inhalts in jedem einzelnen Fragment (wozu bekanntlich gewisse mechanische Charakteristika kommen). Hierbei gelangt C. (S. 52) zu einer neuen Definition des Begriffs 'Fragment' bei Diogenes: er hat sich entschlossen, jeden erkennbaren Zusammenhang, auch wenn er aus mehreren Steinen besteht, Fragment (Fr.) zu nennen. Das umfangreichste (Fr. 10) besteht

sogar aus elf Kolumnen. Von C.s Gesamtzahl 183 sind viele ganz oder fast unlesbar: es bleiben nach meiner Rechnung 112 Fragmente, die wenigstens einen gewissen Zusammenhang bieten. Diese Zahlen sind also mit den oben genannten Fragmentzahlen nicht kommensurabel.).

In Zukunft verweist man zweckmässig auf Chiltons Teubner-Ausgabe mit 'fr.', auf Smith's Ausgaben je mit 'NF' und auf Casanovas Ausgabe mit 'Fr.', gerne unter Hinzufügung des Namens des jeweiligen Herausgebers. C. hat natürlich Konkordanzen.

Von früheren Forschern gemachte Ergänzungen und Vorschläge zum Text der Inschrift werden im Apparat gewissenhaft verzeichnet. Ferner gibt C. nicht selten beachtenswerte eigene Beiträge (gute Ergänzungen etwa zu Fr. 10 I 13 und Fr. 35 II 2—4, zu einer ganzen lückenhaften Kolumne Fr. 10 IX).

Das sauber ausgearbeitete und gedruckte Werk ist allen, die sich für den Epikureismus oder überhaupt für das Quellenmaterial griechischer Philosophie interessieren, überaus willkommen.

Außerhalb der Bibliographie von Casanova kenne ich außer Smith 1984 (s. o.) folgende einschlägige Arbeiten: M.F. Smith, 'Epicureanism in a stoa: the philosophical inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda', *Concilium Eirene* XVI [1983] I 241—244; R. Westman, 'Neues Licht auf New Fragment 8 des Diogenes von Oinoanda', *Arctos Suppl.* II [1985] 323—328. Die von C. benutzte Arbeit von M. Isnardi Parente (*Opere di Epicuro*, 1974) ist 1983 in zweiter Auflage erschienen.

Rolf Westman

Libanios. Herausgegeben von Georgios Fatouros und Tilman Krischer. Wege der Forschung, Bd. 621. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 1983. XIV, 291 S. DM 79.—

The 'Wege der Forschung' have now included Libanius, whose position (together with Themistius) at the end of the unbroken Hellenic *Bildungstradition* is interesting in many respects. The contributions represent a reasonably broad spectrum, and they are grouped under two headings, 'Der Autor und sein Werk', and 'Zeitgeschichte' (meaning also contemporary culture). In the first section the activities of Libanius as a teacher are discussed in a particularly illuminating way by F. Schemmel (1907) and A.F. Norman (original contribution, 1981). I miss a presentation of Libanius' attitude to philosophy (e.g. A.H. Chroust in *Cl. & M.* 1955, but there would have been several to choose between). At the end there is a useful bibliography for the years 1954—1981, supplementary to P. Petit's important book (1955).

H. Thesleff

Iurisprudentiae antehadrianae quae supersunt. Edidit F.P. Bremer. Pars prior: *Liberae rei publicae iuris consulti* (Reprint der Originalausgabe von 1896). V, 424 S. M 45.— Pars altera, sectio prior: *Primi post principatum constitutum saeculi iuris consulti* (Reprint der Originalausgabe von 1898). IV, 582 S. M. 55.— Pars altera, sectio

altera: Primi post principatum constitutum saeculi iuris consulti (Reprint der Originalausgabe von 1901). XXVI, 639. S. M. 65.—. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1985.

Diese Sammlung der vorhadrianischen Jurisprudenz wurde seinerzeit freudig begrüßt. Ein Neudruck dieser guten fachmännischen Ausgabe ist demnach gerechtfertigt, um so mehr als sie bisher nicht ersetzt wurde. Nur hätte man in dem Neudruck einiges verbessern können. Vor allem enthält die Ausgabe eine über das erlaubte Maß weit hinausgehende Zahl von Druckfehlern; auffallend ist ferner die Unzuverlässigkeit der Zitate, von einzelnen grammatischen Schnitzern zu schweigen. Drucktechnisch wäre es wohl ohne große Mühe möglich gewesen, derartige Mängel zu beseitigen.

Heikki Solin

Fabula togata. I frammenti I. Titinio e Atta. Introduzione, testo, traduzione e commento a cura di *Tommaso Guardì*. Le edizioni universitarie 6. Jaca Book, Milano 1985. 204 p. Lit. 25.000.

La perdita della togata è irreparabile. Tanto più importante è tirare fuori tutto il possibile da quel poco che resta. Ed infatti l'attenzione del mondo filologico verso i frammenti, anche minimi, della commedia propriamente romana è aumentata notevolmente. Nel 1981 uscì nella Collection Budé l'edizione di Daviault che fu stroncata da una impietosa recensione di Gratwick, *Gnomon* 1982, 725 sgg. Ed ecco ora la nuova edizione di Titinio ed Atta da parte di Guardì (seguirà più tardi Afranio). Si dica subito che l'edizione di Guardì è migliore di quella di Daviault, la quale ha tuttavia, nonostante gli attacchi di Gratwick, i suoi meriti. Le brevi note introduttive potrebbero essere più approfondite — ora rimangono un po' alla superficie. Guardì data Titinio alla fine dell'attività di Plauto e prima di Terenzio. Ma non mi sembra che sia stata ancora detta l'ultima parola in questa intricata questione. In ogni caso, gli argomenti di Guardì non mi sembrano convincenti quando rileva nella metrica una vicinanza di Titinio a Plauto e viceversa la sua lontananza da Terenzio. Si ricordi che Terenzio si tiene molto più fedelmente ai metri degli originali greci di quanto non faccia Plauto: se la somiglianza di Titinio con Plauto *in metricis* si spiega con la posizione particolare di Terenzio, non se ne può dedurre conclusione alcuna sulla cronologia di Titinio. Quindi tutto *sub iudice* (Martina, *Quaderni di filol. class. Univ. Trieste* 1 [1978] 5 sgg. colloca Titinio alla fine del II secolo!).

Il testo viene dato con un buon apparato critico ed una traduzione a fronte ed è seguito da un ampio commento. Guardì ha potuto aggiungere un frammento mancante nelle collane anteriori, cioè il verso 180 di Titinio. Si tratta di una buona edizione; i commenti sono anch'essi bene elaborati, anche se talvolta forse un po' prolissi. Nella costituzione del testo Guardì si dimostra assai conservatore ricorrendo solo di rado a congetture, talvolta anche in casi dove un emendamento s'imporrebbe. Leggendo il testo ho fatto parecchie osservazioni, di cui ne riporto qui solo un paio, per mostrare il grande interesse di questa nuova edizione:

Titinio 8: la congettura di Ribbeck *spurcus* s'imporrebbe bene, ma anche *Spurius* andrebbe bene, poiché la togata fa uso dei prenomi più rari. Un'altra cosa è se *Spurius* abbia fatto allusione ad un certo personaggio (da scartare, come sembra, l'ipotesi di Martina, che si trattasse del console del 110 Sp. Postumio Albino).

34: meglio intendere *Tiberi* vocativo del prenome, non di Tevere. Come detto sopra, la togata si servì particolarmente di prenomi non comuni.

Hortensius: questa commedia è stata certamente nominata in base al gentilizio.

70: da escludere decisamente le spiegazioni dell'autore, un nome femminile costituito dal praenomen e cognomen sarebbe un *monstrum*. Si aspetta senz'altro un gentilizio, e la lettura della tradizione manoscritta deve essere corretta. *Piculeius* non è, per quanto mi risulta, attestato, ma con una lieve emendazione s'otterrebbe *Biculeius* su cui Schulze ZGLE 460.

86: viene interpretato bene dall'autore come battuta ironica (così anche per es. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde* II 2, 653 e Cacciaglia, *RCCM* 1972, 220). Certamente non si tratta di un accenno ad un teatro di cui avremo più tardi testimonianze archeologiche nella città ernica.

Chiude il volume, con un indice e conguagli, un *index metricus*. Va detto per inciso che le divergenze nei giudizi sulla scansione sono spesso talmente grandi tra i vari editori ed altri studiosi che si finisce in un'ignoranza totale. In proposito si legga per es. l'elenco di Guardi sulla metrica di Titinio 8—10 che è davvero divertente.

Un buon libro, dunque. Vorrei alla fine richiamare anche l'attenzione dello storico su molti versi con orizzonti politico-sociali, quali indizi, ad es., del perdurante contrasto in Roma tra elementi cittadini e provinciali, indizi che si intravedono in non pochi versi di Titinio. Dalla lettura di questi frammenti, anche lo storico può così trarre profitto quando si occupa dei difficili problemi della storia politica e sociale dell'età repubblicana. Si deve quindi essere grati all'autore di aver messo in forma tanto nitida questi interessanti testi a disposizione del lettore.

Heikki Solin

M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta quae manserunt omnia. Fasc. 28: In M. Antonium orationes Philippicae XIV. Edidit Paulus Fedeli. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1982. XXVII, 193 S. M 59.—.

Man begrüßt freudig die neue Ausgabe der Philippischen Reden von Fedeli, die die alte Teubneriana von Friedrich Schoell ersetzt. Die Einleitung ist eine nützliche Zusammenstellung der wichtigsten kodikologischen Daten und Kollationen von Varianten, die das Verhältnis zwischen V und der Gruppe D beleuchten. Sensationen bringt sie nicht. Fedeli verwirft die Versuche einer Rehabilitation von D und auch das 'eklektische' Vorgehen von Boulanger und Wuilleumier und gibt dem berühmten V absoluten Vorrang, der in der Tat wegen seines hohen Alters freier von Korruptelen ist als die Hss der Familie D (im übrigen hat Fedeli wichtige Bemerkungen für die Erforschung der Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse innerhalb von D gemacht, indem zum ersten Mal die nahe Verwandtschaft zwischen t und cb

festgestellt wird). Auf dieser Grundlage baut Fedeli seinen Text, und darin kann man ihm nur folgen, wenn auch gelegentlich ihm der Vorwurf gemacht werden kann, daß er allzusehr V folgt, denn V enthält manche triviale Fehler ("The writer of V knew no Latin", sagte einmal A.C. Clark), während D hier und da mit guten Lesarten gegen V zweifellos echte Überlieferung bietet. Ich nehme ein Beispiel: in 2,62 hat V *hostis*, D *infelix*, das m.E. (mit Clark) vorzuziehen ist, denn es paßt besser zum ciceronianischen Kontext. Trotz seiner Hochachtung vor V kann Fedelis Text nicht als sehr konservativ bezeichnet werden; glücklicherweise versucht er, korrupte Stellen zu heilen, obwohl er in nicht weniger als 11 Stellen (ohne die Lücken mitzuzählen) seine Zuflucht sehr weise zu *cruces* nimmt, in auffallendem Gegensatz zu seinen Vorgängern Boulanger und Wuilleumier. Eigene Konjekturen bietet er wenige, normalerweise sind sie gut und sollten im Cicerotext beibehalten werden (aber etwa in 3,25 hat V *periculo carere*, D *carere metu et periculo*, Fedeli druckt *metu et periculo carere*; warum aber kann die Wortstellung von D nicht beibehalten werden?). — Eine technische Einzelheit: Es fällt einem auf, wie sparsam Fedeli Gebrauch von diakritischen Zeichen macht. Es wäre dem Leser ungemein leichter, wenn durch Gebrauch von gewohnten Klammern angegeben worden wäre, was in den Hss steht und was hinzugefügt oder weggelassen ist; jetzt muß der Leser in dieser Hinsicht ständig zum kritischen Apparat greifen.

Eine Achillesferse von neueren Ausgaben ciceronianischer Reden sind die Personenindices. Wahrscheinlich besitzen die Philologeneditoren nicht immer genügend fundierte Kenntnisse der prosopographischen Forschung (eine glänzende Ausnahme bildet Shackleton Bailey). Ich habe das bei der Besprechung der neuen Teubneriana von Pro Cn. Plancio und Pro Rabirio Postumo festgestellt (Arctos 1985, 277). Auch hier kann man mehreres beanstanden. In 13,3 kein Deut von Asinius Pollio: Syme, *Historia* 1955, 57 = RP 276 hat längst nachgewiesen, daß von M. Barbatius Pollio die Rede ist. Und ich würde mit Shackleton Bailey in 2, 56 eher *Lenticulam* als Cognomen des M. Licinius ansetzen (Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature, 1976, 47). Der Senator Asinius in 13, 28 ist unmöglich ein Pollio. In 13, 28 wählt Fedeli *Albedius* nach *n s v*, nennt aber den Mann im Personenindex in der von *b t* gebotenen Form *Albesius*; welche die richtige Form wäre, ist kaum zu eruieren. Der in 13, 3, 26 erwähnte Freund des Antonius wird im Index als Q. Caelius angeführt. Sein Praenomen ist aber handschriftlich nicht überliefert und bleibt so unbekannt (trotzdem wird dieser Mann in Nachschlagewerken und in Indices der meisten Ausgaben philippischer Reden als ein Quintus verzeichnet). Außerdem lautet sein Name in V *Coelius*, nicht *Caelius*, was Fedeli mitzuteilen unterlassen hat. Ob er aber wirklich *Coelius* heißt, wie in der neueren prosopographischen Forschung vermutet wird, kann kaum mit Sicherheit entschieden werden. Kein Wort darüber, daß in 13, 28 für das unmögliche und korrupte *Extitius* in der prosopographischen Literatur *Sex. Titius* gelesen wird. Und das Personenverzeichnis würde an Übersichtlichkeit gewinnen, wenn die Namen in der jeweiligen Form, in der sie an der betreffenden Stelle stehen, wiedergegeben würden.

Heikki Solin

Enciclopedia Virgiliana. Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana. Direttore Francesco Della Corte. *Vol. I (A — DA)*, Firenze 1984, 1005 p., LII tav. *Vol. II (DE — IN)*, Firenze 1985, 1006 p., LX tav. Lit. 200.000 & 200.000.

Italien, die Heimat der Humanisten, der Buchdruckerkunst und der Buchkultur, hat manche unersetzbare und ausgezeichnete Nachschlagewerke hervorgebracht. So ist *Enciclopedia Italiana* gewiß eine der besten allgemeinen Enzyklopädien. Die monumentale *Enciclopedia Dantesca* ist ein unersetzliches Hilfsmittel auch dem Vergilianer, der jetzt sein eigenes Nachschlagebuch bekommt, wenn die zwei ersten Volumina ihres fünfteiligen Schwesterwerks *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* erscheinen. Italien hat ja zwei Nationaldichter und Großklassiker: Vergil und Dante.

Die typographische Ausstattung ist glanzvoll: großes Format, der übersichtliche und klar gegliederte Text in zwei Spalten, reiche Illustrierung, die organisch mit dem Inhalt verbunden ist (Textproben und Miniaturen aus den Handschriften, mythologische Szenen aus Pompeiji, Malereien aus der neuen Zeit, Freimarken von den Vergil-Jahren 1935 und 1981 usw.). Von den Farbminiaturen der R- und F-Handschriften werden 30 farbige oder schwarz-weiße Reproduktionen dargeboten; hoffentlich bekommen wir in der Fortsetzung auch die übrigen 39.

Es sei mir gestattet, den unerschöpflichen Inhalt der zahllosen Schlagwörter aus einem begrenzten Gesichtswinkel und nach meiner eigenen Forschererfahrung zu bewerten.

Die umfangreichsten Artikel sind natürlich unter den Schlagwörtern *Bucoliche* (85 Sp), *Georgiche* (68 Sp), *Eneide* (148 Sp) und *Appendix*. Die längeren Appendix-Dichtungen werden außerdem gesondert behandelt, so auch *Catalepton*, dessen Kleindichtungen (bes. 5, 8 u. 10) eine genauere Analyse verdient hätten. Büchners gründliche *Catalepton*-Erörterung in der Realenzyklopädie ist immer noch unersetzbar.

Was ist eigentlich die Funktion eines solchen Schlagwortes? Zweifellos die gute Deskription der betreffenden Werke und die unbefangene Diskussion der relevanten Probleme auf verschiedenen Gebieten (Datierung, Struktur, Metrik, Sprache und Stil, Deutungsgeschichte, Nachleben). In großen Zügen erfüllen die Beiträge diese Forderungen gut.

Im *Bucolica*-Artikel z.B. werden die zahlensymbolischen Theorien mit gebührender Kritik behandelt, die Strukturprobleme anhand von Schemata erläutert, Arkadien (dazu auch s.v. *Arcadia*) und die Theokrit-Modell-Problematik kurz diskutiert. Die Beschreibung der einzelnen Eklogen ist überhaupt gelungen, mit der Ausnahme der vierten, deren außergewöhnliche Deutungsgeschichte nur oberflächlich berührt wird. Sprache und Nachleben dagegen werden auf gebührende Weise geschildert.

Bei den *Georgica* bespricht R. Martin mit Akribie die Datierungstatsachen und die Servius-Problematik des 4. Buches. Die eigentliche Deskription wird von F. Della Corte in zwei Partien geteilt (*La Precettistica* und *Le Digressioni*). Ich halte aber diese Lösung nicht für gut, weil m.E. die didaktische Behandlung und die Exkurse nicht voneinander zu trennen sind: die Ideen wachsen organisch aus der dargestellten Wirklichkeit, Lehrgedicht und Naturepos werden eins - eben darin liegt der Kern des Problems. Die Bibliographie des Verf. ist nicht einwandfrei: er kennt nicht W. Richters *Georgica*-Kommentar (1957), der zu den

besten gehört, und Klingners Georgica-Buch (1963) zitiert er nur bei georg. 3,8—48 (und einmal als Teil von Virgil [1967]), aber nicht bei der Lösung des Aristaeus-Orpheus-Problems, obgleich Klingner m.E. dazu die tiefste Deutung vorbringt, die am besten überzeugt. Der sachlich-didaktische Inhalt der Georgica wird durch einige kenntnisreiche Artikel unterstützt: *agricoltura* (M.S. Spurr u. K.D. White), *animali* (S. Rossa), *ape* (F. Della Corte u. D.E.W. Wormell). Die Behandlung der Modelle und Vorbilder (A. Grilli) ist m.E. etwas umhertastend; der Verf. verweist beim Schluß des 4. Buches auf Catull (“il doppio epillio”), ignoriert aber dabei Klingners grundlegende Arbeit Catulls Peleus-Epos (1956) (Della Corte zitiert sie in der vorigen Seite). Strukturprobleme werden von B. Frischer ziemlich vielseitig diskutiert; er versteht (nach Wellek-Warren), daß Form und Inhalt im Strukturbegriff nicht voneinander zu trennen sind, hält aber in der Fortsetzung nicht an dieser Einsicht fest. Die musikalisch-symphonischen Modelle (Parker, Klingner, Otis) wären in diesem Zusammenhang ergiebig gewesen; natürlich gelten sie nur als Metaphern. Der Verf. kennt nicht meine Studien zum Verständnis der Einheit und der Bedeutung von Vergils Georgica (1978), wo ich z.B. mit Pridik und Buchheit eine eingehende Diskussion führe. Sprache und Nachleben werden wieder einmal ergiebig behandelt.

Im Aeneis-Artikel (74 S.) erläutert zuerst F. Della Corte auf nützliche Weise durch Tabellen den inneren Zeitablauf der Erzählung, dann berührt G. D’Anna die Entstehungsgeschichte, ohne in die Beweggründe hinter der Aeneis-Krise tiefer einzugehen (vgl. T. Oksala, *Arctos* 12 [1978] 89—100). F. Della Corte erörtert die erzählerische Struktur hinsichtlich der *fabula Aeneae* (dazu siehe auch s.v. *Enea*, wo die ganze Tradition breit dargestellt wird) und im Lichte des Homer-Einflusses und beschreibt dann den Inhalt und die Disposition der einzelnen Bücher. Diesen Beitrag finde ich vorbildlich, vermisse aber wieder etwas in der Bibliographie: E.G. Knauers *Die Aeneis und Homer* (1964) und Klingners *Virgil* (1967), wo alle einzelnen Bücher diskutiert werden. In ihrem Verhältnis zu Homer hätte Aeneis m.E. eine tiefere und vollständigere Diskussion verdient. Diese Sachlage wird zwar durch das gute Stichwort *Iliade* von E. Valgiglio einigermaßen ausgeglichen (auch Knauer erfährt dort gebührende Anerkennung). Die kommenden Stichwörter *Odissea* und *Omero* (bw. *Omerismi*) werden sicherlich noch diese Lage verbessern. Die sprachliche Übersicht (W. Görter) ist besonders nützlich in ihrer analytischen Vielseitigkeit. Metrik, Quellen, Textüberlieferung, die außerhandschriftlichen Dokumente, Bild- und Musiktradition bekommen ihre eigenen Titeln. Es werden sogar über 200 italienische Opernlibrettos aus dem Bereich der Aeneas- und Dido-Sage (saec. XVII u. XVIII) genannt.

Auf dem Gebiet der Sprache und des Stils bekommen die grammatischen Kategorien (z.B. *ablativo assoluto*, *accusativo alla greca*, *arcaismi*, *declinazione alla greca*) und die rhetorischen Tropen und Figuren (z.B. *allegoria*, *allitterazione*, *anafora*, *enjambement*) ihre eigenen Stichwörter. Diese Beiträge finde ich im allgemeinen nützlich und gut gefaßt. Unter dem Stichwort *grecoismi* werden mit dem Hinweis auf Weise (1882) den Lehnwörtern nur 15 Zeilen gewidmet (sehr mässig!). Auch einige signifikante Wörter werden sprachlich und sachlich erklärt: z.B. *antrum*, *fremo*, *heros*, *hippomanes*, einige nach der italienischen Form (z.B. *argite*, lat. *argitis*), einige in Gruppen, z.B. *aer*, *aerius*; *aether*, *aetherius*; *aethra*; nicht aber *acta* (von ἀκτῆ) oder *aegis* (große Symbolkraft). *Bumastus* wird nur sachlich, aber nicht als ein interessantes Fremdwort erläutert (vgl. *bumamma* bei Varro).

Die geschichtlichen Personen (*Augusto, Catone* usw.), die mythischen Figuren (*Apollo, Caco, Camilla, Didone, Enea* usw.) und die wichtigen Örtlichkeiten (*Alba Longa, Benaco, Cuma* usw.) erhalten reichliche oder genügende Schilderungen. Mit dem *Cicerone*-Artikel von A. Grilli bin ich kaum zufrieden, weil darin nicht einmal die Frage gestellt wird, ob Ciceros *humanitas* auf die philosophische Reife der *Georgica* eingewirkt hat (vgl. T. Oksala, *Studien zum Verständnis* S. 90—97). Ich glaube auch an den Einfluß von Ciceros *Cato* 51—54 auf *Georgica* (Gesamtkonzeption und *Cato*-Figur); siehe T. Oksala *ibid.* 13—14.

Auf der Ebene des Nachlebens bekommen Vergils große Nachfolger Ariosto, Bojardo, Camoëns und Dante gebührende Artikel. Hector Berlioz wird als Komponist der *Aeneis*-Oper *Les Troyens* vielseitig beleuchtet, Christoph Willibald Gluck aber übergangen, obgleich seine *Orpheus*-Oper nicht ohne die vergilsche *Orpheus*-Sage zu denken ist. Diese "Geisterschau" reicht bis in unser Jahrhundert. So wird Hermann Brochs Roman *Der Tod des Vergil* (1945) richtig von innen her charakterisiert, wobei aber der historische Rahmen nicht ganz zur Geltung kommt. Vergils Einfluß auf T.S. Eliots Dichtungen (bes. *The Waste Land*) und dessen tiefsinnige Vergilkritik ist Inhalt des entsprechenden Stichworts; leider wird darin Eliots Deutung der *Dido*-Szene (*Aen.* 6), die sein feinsten Vergil-Beitrag ist, nicht einmal erwähnt. Gabriele D'Annunzio (4 Sp.), Charles Baudelaire (4,5 Sp.), Giosuè Carducci (6 Sp.), André Gide (4 Sp.) werden auf gebührende Weise bewertet, aber Robert Brasillach mit seiner feinen Studie *Présence de Virgile* wird nur flüchtig erwähnt (unter dem Titel *Francia*).

Auch einige hervorragende Gelehrte bekommen eigene Stichwörter (z.B. Bayet, Bowra, Castiglioni, Heinze), nicht aber z.B. Karl Büchner; dessen ungeachtet bleibt Büchners *Realenzyklopädie*-Beitrag ein Eckpfeiler aller Vergilforschung auch nach der Veröffentlichung dieser *Enzyklopädie*.

Wir Finnen haben die internationale Vergilforschung nicht besonders viel gefördert. Doch wird K.-E. Henriksson zu den Büchertiteln *Aeneis* und *Bucolica* konsultiert. Auch P. Oksalas Beitrag zu Catulls *Ariadne*-Episode und Vergils *Dido*-Geschichte wird unter den betreffenden Stichwörtern (*Catullo* u. *Didone*) herangezogen.

Die Mitarbeiter stammen größtenteils aus Italien, nur einige Experten sind aus anderen Ländern herbeigerufen worden, zwei von ihnen aus Finnland. Roberto Wis, der als gebürtiger Italiener ein ausgezeichneter Kenner der Kulturbeziehungen zwischen Italien und Finnland ist, schreibt unter dem Titel *Finlandia* über die Vergil-Übersetzungen und -Studien in unserem Land (etwa 1,5 Sp.; vgl. *Danimarca e Norvegia* 8 Sp.).

Heikki Solin hat mit tiefster Sachkenntnis den Artikel *epigrafia* verfaßt (16 Sp.). Darin prüft er sorgfältig das diesbezügliche epigraphische Material und erwägt dessen Tragweite für die Vergil-Rezeption der Antike: die *graffiti* sind nicht ohne weiteres Zeugnisse für Vergils Popularität in den unteren Volksschichten, weil sie von Gebildeten gezeichnet worden sind; die Reminiszenzen sind sorgfältig zu sichten (1. bewußte Entlehnungen, 2. unbewußte Entlehnungen, 3. indirekte Entlehnungen, poetisches Gemeingut). Jedenfalls spricht Hoogmas *Aeneis*-Statistik (562 Belege / *Aen.* 1—6; 389 / *Aen.* 7—12) dafür, daß auch in der Antike die erste Hälfte mehr gelesen wurde.

Enciclopedia Virgiliana ist ein Merkpfehl in der Geschichte der Vergilforschung, ein zuverlässiger Ausgangspunkt und ein unersetzliches Hilfsmittel für einen jeden Vergilianer. Jedoch macht sie keineswegs — wie man es auch von einem Handbuch nicht erwarten kann

— die persönliche kritische Einstellung unnötig, denn sie enthält keine endgültigen Ergebnisse. Nur die Werke an sich und die Originalquellen sind von Gewicht, wenn wir zuverlässige Erkenntnisse anstreben. Aber für den Menschen ist es nicht gut, in der Einsamkeit nur mit den Originaltexten zu verkehren, er vermißt Gleichgesinnte, er braucht allerlei Hilfe. Und das hat Enciclopedia Virgiliana als *Cornu Copiae* unerschöpflich zu bieten.

Teivas Oksala

Virgilio: Eneide. Vol. I: Libri I—II, vol. II: Libri III—IV, vol. III: Libri V—VI. A cura di Ettore Paratore. Traduzione di Luca Canali. Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, Milano 1978, 1979. LXXXIX, 371 p. & 244 p. & 368 p. Lit. 12.500 & 12.500 & 12.500.

Italien sieht mit Recht in Vergil neben Dante seinen anderen Nationaldichter. Darum ist es kaum verwunderlich, daß *Saturnia Tellus* in unserem Jahrhundert schon eine ganze Zahl von Aeneis-Ausgaben, -Kommentaren und -Übersetzungen hervorgebracht hat. Ein gemeinsamer Zug in diesen ist das vertraute und lebendige Verhältnis zum Originaltext. Diesmal handelt es sich um eine philologische kommentierte Ausgabe (Ettore Paratore) und eine dichterische Versübersetzung (Luca Canali). Beide Herausgeber sind berühmte Kenner und Interpreten der römischen Literatur.

In der Einführung (LXIII S.) erörtert Ettore Paratore die Entstehungsgeschichte des Epos, seinen Inhalt, sein Verhältnis zu der früheren und späteren Dichtung, die Textüberlieferung usw. Der Verf. übertrifft das Mittelmaß solcher Einführungen weit, denn er schöpft aus eigener Erfahrung und eigenen Beiträgen (ich habe etwa 17 gezählt) in ständiger Auseinandersetzung mit der modernen Vergilliteratur. Seine Anschauungen sind von einem allgemeineuropäischen Kulturgeist geprägt. Er vergleicht z.B. die Stellung der Aeneis als Nationaldichtung mit der der Wagnerischen Ring-Tetralogie und zieht sogar das symphonische Werk von Johannes Brahms zum Vergleich heran, um die Eigenart der Vergilschen Klassik zu charakterisieren. Die eigentliche Kommentar beschäftigt sich in erster Linie mit den sprachlichen Einzelheiten; in dieser Hinsicht läßt er kaum etwas zu wünschen übrig. Ich hätte etwas mehr sachliche Erläuterungen gewünscht. Auch werden die größeren strukturellen Einheiten und die weitgespannteren Referenzen nicht ausreichend berücksichtigt.

Die Versübertragung von Luca Canali ist m.E. auch für einen Nichtitaliener ergiebig, weil in ihr Vergils sprachliche Figuren und Klangeffekte mit sicherer Kunst erreicht worden sind. Ich zitiere einige Proben: *Insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum* - “Segue un clamore di uomini e uno stridore di funi” (1,87); *Quos ego . . .* - “Voi che io . . .” (1,135); *Litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas | imprecor, arma armis* - “Lidi opposti ai lidi, onde ai flutti | auguro, armi alle armi” (4,628—629); *Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram* - “Andavano oscuri nell’ombra della notte solitaria” (6,268).

Teivas Oksala

Livius — Werk und Rezeption. Festschrift für Erich Burck zum 80. Geburtstag. Herausgegeben von Eckard Lefèvre und Eckart Olshausen. Verlag C.H. Beck, München 1983. 447 S. DM 280.—.

Professor Erich Burck, who on the 30th November 1981 celebrated his 80th birthday, has *inter alia* acquired fame as a student of Livy. His *Erzählungskunst des Livius* (1934) and *Livius als augusteischer Historiker* (1935), not to mention other relevant studies, are still considered valuable contributions to Livian studies. Dedicating a volume of articles on Livy to the *Altmeister* was thus a judicious choice.

The articles fall into three sections, *Erzählungskunst*, *Geschichtsdeutung* and *Rezeption*. The first section consists of only five articles whereas the two latter contain ten articles each. Moreover, in the first section there is not a single article concerned with questions of language or even with style in a narrower sense. In concentrating upon contents instead of upon language and style, and especially in giving great attention to Livy's *Rezeption*, the volume represents a modern approach to Livy.

On the other hand, the choice of contributors has mainly been limited to Germany. Only three of 25 articles are from abroad, two from Italy and one from Leuven (Louvain). Because there has been remarkable progress in Livian studies in other than German language countries, too, and the influence of Burck upon foreign scholars has not been negligible, this restriction is perhaps to be regretted.

It is not possible to review here all the contributions in detail. I shall only mention a few articles which I have found interesting. In the first section E. Lefèvre, Freiburg i Br., *Argumentation und Struktur der moralischen Geschichtsschreibung am Beispiel von Livius' Darstellung des Beginns des römischen Freistaats*, discusses a well-known characteristic of Roman historiography, the use of history as a source of lessons for the practical conduct of international and domestic affairs. Consequently the modern postulate of *Faktentreue* was foreign to Roman historians. In the second section we may notice a few articles which have been inspired by modern political debate, E. Doblhofer, Kiel, *Livius und andere "Imperialisten"*, the point of departure of which is the modern misuse of the word imperialism. E. Olshausen, Stuttgart, *Untersuchungen zum Verhalten des Einfachen Mannes zwischen Krieg und Frieden auf der Grundlage von Hom. Il. 2,211—277 (Thersites) und Liv. 31,6—8 (Q. Baebius)*, besides its relevance to modern peace movements, is of interest as a corrective to the hero-worship that has been characteristic of much of classical philology, especially in Germany.

The section on *Rezeption* is especially welcome. This constitutes an approach to Livy, as to other classical authors, which has only recently received sufficient attention. It is, however, largely because of their *Nachwirkung*, to use a somewhat inept German term, that the classics are important today, too. We may notice M. von Albrecht's, Heidelberg, article on *Fides und Völkerrecht: Von Livius zu Hugo Grotius* as representing political theory, and from the literary field R. Klészweski, Düsseldorf, *Wandlungen des Lucretia-Bildes im lateinischen Mittelalter und in der italienischen Literatur der Renaissance*.

It is naturally not possible to discuss all the aspects of *Liviusbild* in a single volume, especially as the choice of contributors has been limited. In the last section, for instance, one

most significant Livian influence has been omitted, Machiavelli's *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio*, which has exercised considerable influence upon the development of political science. But even with these restrictions, the volume contains much useful material for classical and other scholars interested in Livy.

Iiro Kajanto

Titi Livi Ab urbe condita libri XXVI—XXVII. Recognovit *Patricius G. Walsh*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1982. XX, 113 S. 1 Abb. M 31.—

Die Ausgabe von Walsh ist eine hervorragende Leistung, die die alte Oxforder Edition endgültig ersetzt. Sie hat zweifellos als die führende Edition dieser Bücher zu gelten. Die Aufgabe von Walsh war nicht leicht, denn die Texttradition der Pentade 26—30 ist beträchtlich komplizierter als die der ersten Hälfte der zweiten Dekade. Aber als Ergebnis seiner Bemühungen hat Walsh einen Text produziert, der wohl dem näher kommt, was Livius selbst geschrieben hat, als irgendeiner seiner Vorgänger. Auch der kritische Apparat ist, aufgrund von neueren Studien, sehr urteilsfähig aufgebaut; bei der Anordnung der Zeugen konnte Walsh hier vor allem auf den Arbeiten von Billanovich aufbauen (andererseits hat Walsh, wie es scheint, richtig gegen Billanovich nachgewiesen, daß der Landulfianus kontaminiert ist).

Der Text kann nicht gerade als konservativ eingestuft werden. In der Wahl von Konjekturen anderer ist Walsh meistens glücklich vorgegangen, jedenfalls hat er hier mit sichererer Hand operiert als Conway und Johnson in der Oxforder Ausgabe. Mit seinen eigenen Konjekturen ist Walsh nicht gerade sparsam. Einige davon sind zweifellos gut und elegant und sollten ihren Weg in den Liviustext finden, andere sind es weniger, und einige sind besser zu verwerfen. In 26,10,2 schreibt Walsh *ibi de summa rerum consultatum* gegen *de summa re p(ublica)* des Puteaneus. Einem fällt aber sofort ein Cic. Catil. 3,13 *senatum consului de summa re publica quid fieri placeret*; vgl. auch Paneg. 6,8,2 — Livius bedient sich also eines bestehenden Ausdrucks (die Einwände von Walsh p. XIV sind nicht stichhaltig): wenn Livius *de summa rerum* 20mal gebraucht, so sollte dies doch nicht gegen die Evidenz der Hss in den Text gesetzt werden, nur weil Livius *de summa republica* sonst nicht verwendet. Andere ähnliche Fälle lassen sich einige finden. — Zum nützlichen Index personarum ein paar Bemerkungen: Cluvia Faucula heißt im Liviustext *Faucula Cluvia*, und so ist wohl zu verstehen, *Faucula* ist also als ein Frauenpraenomen zu nehmen. *C. Decimius Flavius*, nicht *Flavius*. Der Name des kurulischen Ädils 208 scheint in der Tat von Livius als *L. Cornelius Caudinus* wiedergegeben worden zu sein. Es ist aber interessant zu notieren, daß *L.* im Puteaneus fehlt; es findet sich nur im Landulfianus, der hier aber sonst korrupt ist (*Claudius* für *Caudinus*) und unter Petrarca's Korrekturen zum Aginnensis, wobei es sich um eine gelehrte Konjektur handeln könnte, denn hier wird ein Praenomen verlangt. Die ganze Sachlage gewinnt dadurch an Interesse, daß möglicherweise nur ein Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus in dieser Generation existierte, wenn auf den Senatsbeschluß vom Jahre 240 Rücksicht genommen wurde, daß ein Siegerbeiname nur auf den ältesten Sohn übergehen

solle (zu diesem Senatsbeschluß gab eben Veranlassung, daß L. Cornelius Lentulus, cos 275, seine beiden Söhne *Caudinus* benannt hatte); der aus anderen Quellen bekannte P. Cornelius Lentulus wäre also mit dem kurulischen Ädil identisch, und dieser einzige Sohn des Konsuls 236 hätte das Praenomen *Publius* geführt. — Im Index locorum fehlt unter *Carthago* 27,51,12.

Heikki Solin

M. Minuci Felicis Octavius. Edidit *Bernhard Kytzler*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1982. XIV, 41 S. M 16.—.

Bernhard Kytzler hat den Dialog des Minucius im Jahre 1965 mit deutscher Übersetzung herausgegeben (eigentümlicherweise wird diese Ausgabe im Literaturverzeichnis nicht erwähnt). Jetzt legt er den Text in der Teubneriana vor, wodurch die alte Ausgabe Boenig (1903) für die Teubneriana ersetzt wird. Für die neue Edition konnte Kytzler mehrere wichtige Beiträge berücksichtigen, so die Ausgaben von Beaujeu (1964) und Paratore (1971) und einen Aufsatz von Abel, RhM 1967.

In der Einleitung wird kurz auf die dürftigen Überlieferungsverhältnisse und auf Fragen der Komposition, der Zeit und der literarischen und geistigen Bedeutung des kleinen Werkes eingegangen. In einer kritischen Edition hätte man etwas mehr Information über die Textzeugen gewünscht (etwa über die Frage des Abhängigkeitsverhältnisses zwischen B und P und über die etwas eigentümliche Stellung, die hier Beaujeu einnimmt). Im ganzen scheint mir die Einleitung allzu kurz geraten. Kein Wort über die Stellung der älteren Ausgaben, ein Aspekt, der bei dem korrupten und literarisch strittigen Werk nicht ohne Interesse ist. Im kritischen Apparat werden ältere Konjekturen nur in strenger Auswahl gegeben. Der Text bedeutet, im Hinblick auf die Ausgabe von Beaujeu, eine Rückkehr zur konservativen Textgestaltung. Glücklicherweise ist der Konservatismus, den Martin in seiner Ausgabe von 1930 *ad absurdum* führte, weniger systematisch bei Kytzler. Doch wundert sein Beharren an dem Parisinus an mehreren Stellen, denn dieser Zeuge ist nun einmal in korrupten Zustand geraten. Was ist von einer solch ekzessiven Verteidigung der Überlieferung zu halten, wenn im Text das merkwürdige *procupidinem* 26,12 oder *divinae* 19,9 beibehalten wird, wo *divinum* sich von selbst ergibt? Für das Verständnis dieses literarisch wie historisch bedeutsamen Werkes ist eine solche Einstellung nicht gerade heilsam.

Heikki Solin

Iulii Exuperantii Opusculum. Edidit *Naevius Zorzetti*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1982. XXV, 13 S. M 11.50.

Diese sehr kurze, rund 150 Zeilen enthaltende Epitome von Iulius Exsuperantius aus dem 4.Jh. ist ein Abriß der römischen Geschichte von Marius' Aufstieg bis zu Sertorius'

Niederlage. Diese gute fachmännische Ausgabe ersetzt die frühere Teubneriana von Landgraf und Weyman aus dem Jahre 1902. Der Text von Zorzetti kann als konservativ bezeichnet werden; er verwirft u.a. manche Konjekturen, die unnötigerweise in den Text gesetzt worden waren. In der Einleitung werden die erhaltenen Handschriften ausführlich beschrieben, deren älteste aus dem 11.Jh. stammt. Als Quelle des Exsuperantius nimmt er nicht mit der Mehrheit der Forschung Sallust an, sondern versucht zu zeigen, daß Exsuperantius' Quelle eine livianische Epitome ist oder genauer gesagt, daß er sich zweier livianischer Epitomatoren bedient hat unter starkem Einfluß der Werke Sallusts. Die Identität mit dem von Rutilius Namatianus erwähnten Namensvetter lehnt er ab. — Alles in allem eine gute Ausgabe, derzeit die führende.

Heikki Solin

Anonymi Auctoris De rebus bellicis. Recensuit Robert I. Ireland. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1984. XXXIII, 26 S. XII Taf. M 20.—.

Dies ist eine hervorragende Leistung. Ireland hatte den kurzen anonymen Text bereits 1979 mit englischer Übersetzung und Kommentar in der Festschrift für E.A. Thompson herausgegeben, der seinerzeit die erste modernen Ansprüchen entsprechende Edition der Schrift Oxford 1952 vorgelegt hatte. Jetzt legt Ireland das kurze Traktat als Ergebnis erneuter und eindringlicher Beschäftigung vor. Er hat vor allem für die Überlieferung Entscheidendes geleistet, und diese Ausgabe darf wohl für geraume Zeit als die abschließende Edition betrachtet werden. In der ausführlichen Einleitung geht Ireland zuerst der Datierung und dem Sprachgebrauch des Autors nach. In der Nachfolge von Alan Cameron datiert er die Schrift in die Zeit des Kaiserpaars Valentinian und Valens, genauer in die Jahre 368/369, mit guten Gründen, wie es scheint. So ist die alte Datierung in theodosianische Zeit endgültig beseitigt. Über den Sprachgebrauch des Autors gibt Ireland ein vernichtendes Urteil: "homo omnis scriptionis imperitus". Den zentralen Teil der Einleitung bildet die Auslegung der verwickelten Überlieferungsverhältnisse, wo der Verfasser aus seinen eigenen Nachforschungen die meisten neuen Erkenntnisse bietet. Man wußte seit langem, daß die vier Hauptzeugen auf einen verlorenen Codex Spirensis zurückgehen; als einen fünften Zeugen dieses Codex weist Ireland die 1552 in Basel erschienene editio princeps von Siegmund Ghelen nach. Ferner nimmt er an, daß der Spirensis aus zwei Teilen bestand, deren erster in karolingischen Minuskeln, der zweite in insularen Minuskeln geschrieben war. Diese These widerspricht der bisherigen Auffassung, hat aber m.E. viel für sich. Schwierigkeiten bereitet die von Ireland angenommene östliche Herkunft der Schrift, die ihm zufolge an den Kaiser Valens in Marcianopolis oder Konstantinopel gesandt wurde; entweder muß das nach Ireland in Trier aufbewahrte Exemplar aus dem Osten dorthin geraten sein, oder von der Schrift wurden für beide Reichshälften zwei Kopien verfertigt.

In der Textkonstitution gibt Ireland dem Oxoniensis Canonicianus als besten Zeugen den Vorzug. Den ab und zu korrupten Text versucht er durch Konjekturen zu heilen, von denen manche von ihm selbst stammen und oft mit guten Gründen ihren Weg in den Text

gefunden haben. Über sie legt der Verfasser in der Einleitung XXIII—XXVII Rechenschaft ab. Alles in allem eine mustergültige Ausgabe, die sowohl dem Verfasser wie der Teubnerschen Bibliothek Ehre macht.

Heikki Solin

Arnaldo Marcone: Commento storico al libro VI dell'epistolario di Q. Aurelio Simmaco. Introduzione, commento storico, testo, traduzione, indici. Biblioteca di Studi Antichi, 37. Giardini Editori e Stampatori in Pisa, Pisa 1983. 238 p. Lit. 50.000.

Con questo volume prosegue la pubblicazione di un commento storico di Simmaco, corredato dal testo e dalla traduzione italiana e preparato da una équipe torinese sotto la direzione di L. Cracco Ruggini. A meno di un anno di distanza esce questo terzo volume, dopo i più ponderosi volumi di S. Roda sul libro IX dell'epistolario e quello di D. Vera sulle *Relationes*.

I principi di pubblicazione sono gli stessi dei primi due volumi. Il commento ha un carattere quasi interamente storico, gli aspetti filologici ed anche giuridici vengono meno. Ciò è senza dubbio un peccato poiché c'è da attendersi che aspetti stilistici possano, da parte loro, elucidare la vecchia controversia sul carattere della corrispondenza di Simmaco, se si tratti, cioè, di parole senza contenuto o di aspetti originali (come sostiene vigorosamente Marcone). Il testo riproduce, senza apparato critico, esattamente quello del Seeck (ma perché non è conservata, per le lettere lunghe, la divisione in paragrafi introdotta dal Seeck?). Sulla traduzione non posso permettermi un giudizio. Nell'introduzione (che sembra un po' compilatoria) vengono a volte ripetute cose già dette da Roda e Vera; nei futuri volumi sarebbe auspicabile una riduzione di tali ripetizioni, limitandosi più a questioni speciali offerte da ciascun libro. Nel commento stesso si osserva qua e là una certa prolissità, per es. nelle osservazioni prosopografiche. Per es. non ha molto senso di enumerare tutte le attestazioni, epigrafiche o meno, della menzione del consolato di un senatore, perché queste iscrizioni non ci dicono niente della diffusione di una stima del personaggio in questione (Flavio Mallio Teodoro viene menzionato a p. 130 con tutte le iscrizioni dove compare il suo consolato, ma *cui bono?* Lo si chiede tanto più in quanto la documentazione si trova comodamente nella PLRE).

Anche se questo commento non raggiunge del tutto la qualità di quelli che l'hanno preceduto nel progetto torinese, in ogni caso si tratta di un importante strumento di lavoro, che costituirà per lungo tempo il punto di partenza ed una ricca miniera di materiali per chiunque voglia occuparsi della produzione simmachiana, del suo contesto storico e dell'aristocrazia romana contemporanea.

Heikki Solin

Guglielmo Ballaira: Per il catalogo dei codici di Prisciano. G. Giappichelli editore, Torino 1982. 396 p. Lit. 48.000.

Il presente libro può essere considerato una specie di supplemento all'opera di Marina Passalacqua, *I codici di Prisciano*, Roma 1978. Nel suo catalogo, Passalacqua aveva escluso due poemi: *De laude Anastasii* e *Perihegesis*, non attribuibile con certezza a Prisciano. Il catalogo del Ballaira consiste in tre sezioni: 1) descrizione di 79 codici omessi dalla Passalacqua, 2) i codici dei due poemi testè ricordati, 3) varie correzioni e aggiunte all'opera della Passalacqua.

Non sono uno specialista di studi prisciane e non ho fatto ricerche estese per verificare l'utilità dei nuovi dati offerti così copiosamente dal Ballaira. Ma desumo dalla recensione molto severa — forse troppo severa — di L. Holtz in REL 61 (1983) 332—334, che le novità contenute nella prima sezione non sarebbero tanto numerose quanto viene affermato dall'A. Anche nelle due restanti sezioni si possono rivolgere severe critiche all'impostazione del lavoro.

Sia come sia, il libro del Ballaira ha la sua evidente utilità quale supplemento all'opera della Passalacqua. Sulla base di questi due pregevoli cataloghi, si può ora passare all'edizione critica e ad un esteso studio sulla fortuna di Prisciano nel Medioevo latino.

Heikki Solin

Jeno Platthy: The Mythical Poets of Greece. Federation of International Poetry Associations, Washington D.C., 1985. XIV, 301 p. USD 36.—.

This is an intriguing book. Jeno Platthy is an internationally well-known poet and writer on poetry, with a substantial knowledge of what can and can not be known about the earliest Greek literature. His idea of collecting the evidence about all poets and bards mentioned in Greek myths is a promising one: this accumulated evidence can be expected to shed some light on what the early Greeks themselves thought about poetry, and it might also, perhaps, tell us something about the conditions of poetry before, say, the 7th century B.C. The result is disappointing, however. The mythical persons concerned (over a hundred names) are presented and discussed in alphabetical order which means that e.g. 'Phantasia, Pharidas of Lakonia, Phemius of Ithaka, Phemonoe, Philammon, Phineus, Pierus' occur side by side. The largest section (45 pages) is devoted to Orpheus. It is useful to have the list and the references for a first orientation. But since the book is written for readers who have no knowledge of Greek or Latin, the (very uneven and inconsistent) information given about the background, sources and varieties may seem over-technical or may take a false impression of reliability, whereas a professional philologist will find all this rather diletantish. Both interesting and disappointing are also the introductory and concluding essays (pp. 3—34, 233—262) where Platthy offers his personal view of pre-historic Greek poetry. At least, in spite of its shortcomings, the book gives a vivid picture of the richness of poetic traditions in early Greece.

H. Thesleff

R.L. Hunter: The New Comedy of Greece and Rome. Cambridge University Press, 1985. 183 p. GBP 7.95.

Looking at a repeatedly discussed subject from fresh angles, Dr Hunter comes to a soundly judicious synthesis. The comprehensive introduction is followed by five chapters: The Form of New Comedy, Plots and motifs: the stereotyping of comedy, Themes and conflicts, Comedy and tragedy, and The didactic element. The book abounds in interesting details, such as the Roman *prologus* (26), the repetition of motifs at critical points in the play (56), a male audience's attitudes to women (83ff.), and the homosexual jokes in the *Casina* (112f.)

What impressed me most was the chapter on the form of New Comedy, particularly the section "The five-act structure" (35—42), which is as exciting as a detective story. Apropos of "Rhythmical structures" (42—53), I hope the author might be interested in further investigating "the question of whether particular lyric metres carry particular emotional colour" (161 n. 56), because the results of previous investigations, as he remarks (*ibid.*), are inconclusive. There is another problem which has been troubling me since 1965 when I wrote that "it is hardly possible that Plautus ever read the plays of Aristophanes, for they were out of date in his time and, in any case, they would have been too difficult for him to understand" (*Terms of Abuse in Roman Comedy* 92). Is this view (see also Hunter 14) correct? I am not so sure now when I consider the unexpectedly great number of points of contact between Aristophanes and New Comedy to which Hunter refers (e.g. 24—27, 30—35, 41f., 95—97, 109f.). Or are these all, as he believes, due to "the influence of Euripidean drama" (28)? The book really succeeds, as the author hopes (VII), in stimulating discussion.

Saara Lilja

Albrecht Dihle: Die Vorstellung vom Willen in der Antike. Titel des Originals *The Theory of Will in Classical Antiquity.* Ins Deutsche übersetzt vom Verfasser. Sammlung Vandenhoeck. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen und Zürich 1985. 178 S. DM 29.—.

A. Dihle's book on "The Theory of Will in Classical Antiquity" (*Sather Classical Lectures*, 48, 1982) has now been, somewhat freely, translated into German by the author himself. The German version is adapted for more general categories of readers than the English one was; some technicalities, the two Appendices, and many of the notes and references have been dropped; and on some points the text has been slightly changed.

The scope of Dihle's learning is impressive, and the book may be said to answer to its theme in many respects. It is to be noted, however, that the emphasis lies on the period from the 2nd c. A.D. onwards, because St. Augustine is (perhaps rightly) considered as the 'inventor' of the modern notion of 'will'. As to the conception of will in earlier periods, say, in tragedy or Plato, very much indeed remains to be said.

H. Thesleff

Martha C. Nussbaum: The Fragility of Goodness. Luck and Ethics in Greek Tragedy and Philosophy. Cambridge University Press, 1986. 544 p. GBP 12.95.

This is a challenging and stimulating attempt to grasp some of the issues of Greek ethics through their literary manifestations in tragedy and the works of Plato and Aristotle. Martha Nussbaum is well equipped for dealing intelligently with this complex. And she is intensely aware of the eternally human relevance of the classical responses to the dilemmas of individual ethics.

In fact the book is less concerned with drama than with philosophy (though M.N. would not separate the two). An initial analysis of some aspects of Aeschylean drama and of the *Antigone* (Euripides is not in the foreground except for a paradigmatic epilogue on the *Hecuba* at the end of the book) leads over to the first main section, a discussion of 'early and middle' Plato which focuses on the *Protagoras*, the *Republic*, the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus*. The idea of a confrontation and conflict, both on a personal and an interpersonal level, receives appropriate emphasis in M.N.'s approach (but it is not altogether clear why she has bracketed out the *Gorgias*). This stress on the dramatic — indeed, literary, and also highly personal — character of the dialogues includes important new insights: her interpretation of (part of) Plato's oeuvre as 'antitragic theater' can actually be regarded as a very valuable contribution to Platonic scholarship. The last section, which analyses Aristotle's ethics in relation to tragedy and Plato, is slightly more conventional than could have been expected. Though M.N. intellectually sides with Aristotle's practical wisdom, maybe Plato's dilemmas, his intellectual experiments and his visions are emotionally more congenial to her ?

By presenting and discussing Greek philosophy as living literature, M.N. rebuilds long-since forgotten bridges. But there are several risks involved. Though many of her analyses are simply brilliant, and she is sufficiently well-read and learned to avoid the usual traps of subjectivity, she moves on a ground where too many specialists (ranging from philologists and historians over sociologists and estheticians to philosophers) have been cultivating vineyards of their own. All readers cannot be expected to have all the tolerance necessary for accepting this kind of approach. The book is a *mega biblion* in almost every sense; it is bristling with ideas and arguments, it is eloquent to the point of verbosity, and it makes no easy reading for anybody. Yet, in spite of these difficulties, it seems to represent a new, profoundly promising trend in classical scholarship: the sophisticated, boundary-transcending, dauntlessly fresh and suggestive interpretation of the classics for today's and (let us hope) tomorrow's intellectuals.

H. Thesleff

Vittorio Hösle: Wahrheit und Geschichte. Studien zur Struktur der Philosophiegeschichte unter paradigmatischer Analyse der Entwicklung von Parmenides bis Platon. Elea 1. Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici. Frommann-Holzboog, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1984. 774 S. DM 110.—.

These 774 pages written by a 24-year-old scholar, along with studies on Greek mathematics and Hegel and a monograph on Sophocles published in the same year, deserve attention by anyone interested in the relations of philosophy and the history of philosophy. Hösle is chiefly concerned with the German Idealists' conception of the history of thought, and he superimposes a model of this conception upon the background of Plato's philosophy seen in the specifically coloured light of the recent Tübingen theories and oral doctrines. He has a remarkable command of his sources, and his intellectual digestion is simply enviable. Yet the book is absolutely too large in relation to the ground it covers. And the argumentation is sometimes curiously inadequate (note e.g. the 'idealistic' error in the statement on p. 616 n. 591 that Plato's Laws cannot possibly be considered inauthentic "schon wegen der geistigen Grösse von Lg. III, X und XII und der trotz allem ungeheuren juristischen und staatsphilosophischen Leistung"; what do we mean by inauthenticity in the case of Plato?). An article on the subject would have been sufficient in these days of literary over-production.

H. Thesleff

The Norms of Nature. Studies in Hellenistic Ethics. Edited by *Malcolm Schofield* and *Gisela Striker*. Cambridge University Press — Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris 1986. 287 p. GBP 25.00.

The papers of the Third International Conference on Hellenistic Philosophy (Bad Homburg, 1983) are here collected in revised versions, all in English. The emphasis is on two aspects of ethics: the intellectual and emotional basis of reasoning, and the summum bonum. To a varying degree reference is made to modern systematic philosophy. Epicureanism and Stoicism are in the foreground in most papers, Aristotle is not forgotten (Martha Nussbaum and T.H. Irwin), and differences between ancient and modern scepticism are discussed in a very interesting contribution by Julia Annas. On the whole the conference seems to have been less rewarding for the interpretation of the ancient sources as such, than for applying our knowledge of Hellenistic thought, positively and negatively, to modern thought. And in so far as this means utilizing ancient philosophy to the benefit of to-morrow's man, the conference was even more worth while than the editors' praise of the beautiful *kepos* surroundings seems to suggest.

H. Thesleff

Erik Iversen: Egyptian and Hermetic Doctrine. Opuscula Graecolatina 27. Museum Tusulanum Press, Copenhagen 1984. 71 p. Dcr. 180.—.

The egyptologist Erik Iversen has produced a contribution to the discussion of the Egyptian background of Greek thought, which I would not hesitate to call positively provocative. The main part of his argument focuses on proving that many of the basic cosmological and metaphysical ideas of the Hermetic texts have close parallels in ancient Egyptian teaching and, consequently, that the Hermetic Corpus really reflects Egyptian conceptions much more extensively than is usually believed today. The current belief, in spite of considerable uncertainty in details, is that Hermetic teaching was a product of Hellenistic syncretism where the Orphic, Pythagorean, etc., and notably the Platonistic and 'Gnostic' trends are to be emphasized alongside with the Egyptian ones; and it is also believed that the information given by Greek authors such as Plutarch and Iamblichus about Egyptian religious philosophy is coloured by the well-known tendency to deduce Greek thought from Oriental wisdom.

If Iversen is right, a new strange light falls not only on the Hermetic Corpus. The Egyptian foundations of such pillars of Greek thought as Plato's *Timaeus* would then be worth a serious reconsideration — because there seem to have existed secret Egyptian traditions (cf. *Tim.* 22a) about e.g. cosmic Intelligence as the ultimate ratio of the universe, a Demiurge considered as the son of the intelligible creator, a differentiation between the intelligible and the sensible world, man's unique position in the centre of All, soul as the principle of life, etc. And what is more serious still, we seem to be facing the task of disentangling possibly Egyptian influences from the supposedly well-known Iranian and Mesopotamian traits in Pre-Socratic thinking.

But is Iversen right? Has he perhaps given us an over-interpretation of such generally 'Oriental' ideas as the dualistic two-world model, the priority of god to man, the belief in man's intellectual capacity, etc.? How far can the early Egyptian evidence be pressed? These are questions that urgently demand a renewed debate between egyptologists and classical scholars.

H. Thesleff.

Syntaxe et Latin. Actes du II^{me} Congrès International de Linguistique Latine, Aix-en-Provence, 28—31 Mars 1983. Edités par *Christian Touratier*. Université de Provence, Aix-en-Provence 1985. 586 p. Fr. 235.—.

In 1981 the first colloquium on Latin linguistics was held at Amsterdam. Since then meetings have been arranged regularly every second year (in 1983 at Aix-en-Provence and in 1985 at Bologna). The colloquia have established for themselves an important place among scholars throughout the world who are interested in various aspects of Latin linguistics. They have also shown that Latin still has a central position in linguistic discussions and that Latinists have not been left behind in developing general linguistic theories.

The present volume consists of papers read at the Second Colloquium and subsequently

revised by the authors, to which the editor's introduction and comprehensive indexes have been added. The colloquium was devoted mainly to discussion of Latin syntax and cases. Despite the variety of themes the contributions are successfully grouped under three headings: "Fonctions syntaxiques", "Structures syntaxiques", and "Classes syntaxiques".

The articles tackle almost all central parts of syntax and handle details that are most typical of Latin and as such have always interested both Latinists and general linguists, for instance, the absence of the article, the development of clitics, the relative used as a connective, parts of speech and their definition on morpho-syntactic criteria, changes in the declination system, nominal constructions, specifically the ACI construction, the marking of cases and particularly the property Latin has of having subjectless sentences. Almost all major modern linguistic schools are represented: immediate constituent analysis, generative grammar, functional grammar, dependency grammar, valency theory, case grammar, and so on. Two of them are most prominent: Chomsky's model of Government and Binding (represented particularly by the Bologna Latinists) and functional grammar (by the Amsterdam linguists). The latter seems to have most followers among Latin linguists, probably because it comprises the best parts of both dependency grammar (valency theory) and case theory and it is also close to the immediate constituent analysis.

Part I comprises studies on the subject and on the marking of the nominative case (A. Bertocchi, M. Maraldi, P. de Carvalho) and on typology of case relations (Chr. Lehmann) and on the use of different cases (H. Fugier, J-P. Maurel, Chantal Kircher). Two of them that are important both theoretically and descriptively, though different in their theoretical settings deserve particular attention, Bertocchi's "Subject ellipsis and case agreement" and Lehmann's "Latin case relations in typological perspective". Based on Chomsky's Government and Binding theory Bertocchi treats Latin as an example of so-called pro-drop languages allowing overtly missing subjects. In Chomsky's model the property of not expressing the subject is explained by the null subject parameter that allows the affix-movement of the inflectional element of the verb to be operative at an earlier syntactic level too. Analysing Latin sentences like *frequentissimi venerunt* and *privatus esse non recuso*, in which subjects are missing and nominative cases are assigned to predicatives, Bertocchi finds good reasons to claim that Chomsky's model is not applicable to Latin without modifications. She suggests that government and nominative case-assignment should be separated from each other so that the nominative case can be assigned freely to any NP under the restriction that the NP must agree in person and number with the inflectional element of the verb. The separation of nominative case-assignment from the assignment of oblique cases is also motivated by reason of the fact that in syntactic configurations it operates from right to left while the assignment of other cases under the notion of government is operative from left to right. This means that agreement is prior to government and accordingly independent of it. One may note that Bertocchi's solution, which can be understood as a correction of Chomsky's model, does not greatly differ from Chomsky's suggestions. In fact Chomsky succeeds in saving government as the only condition for case-assignment by formulating a case-checking rule and by assuming certain indexing operations (similar to those assumed by Bertocchi). Lehmann constructs a typological perspective for the Latin case system starting from a universal characterization of case relations, which are conceived of as relations

expressed by grammatical means. Analysing cases in several languages Lehmann shows certain universal tendencies in development of case systems particularly in processes of grammaticalization. These tendencies can be used with success in explaining historical changes not only from Latin to Romance languages but also changes in the prehistoric state of Latin.

In Part II, which is the most extensive, the following themes are discussed: verbal valency and case-marking (H. Pinkster, M. Bolkestein, E. Vester, E. Heilig), subordination and nominal phrases (J. Denooz, M. Lavency, Ch. Elerick, R. Coleman, J. Herman, G. Calboli), syntax and style (J. Dangel, J—P. Chausserie-Laprée). Pinkster's "Latin cases and valency theory" and Bolkestein's "Discourse and case-marking" are excellent presentations of functional grammar with their exact categories and ample documentation. In addition, I want to single out for special mention the articles by Coleman and Calboli. Coleman's study of the origins and Latin development of the ACI is very exhaustive and certainly indispensable to anyone who will encounter this much-debated and problematic issue in the future. Calboli, "Relatif de liaison et absence d'article en latin", extends his well established thesis about the relationship of the absence of the article and the extensive use of the ACI in Latin to concern also the Latin "relatif de liaison". Lacking the usual means of referential connection Latin makes frequent use of the relative as a connective. The thesis is based not only on Latin data but also on the logic of the information structure of sentences.

Part III contains two contributions on the classification of parts of speech (M. Griffe, Chr. Touratier); five others concern both syntax and semantics: suffix functions (M. Fruyt), delocutive verbs (X. Mignot), verbal aspect (B. García-Hernández), concessive and restrictive adverbs (F. Letoublon), and negation (A. Orlandini). Touratier's "Les unités minimales de l'analyse syntaxique" can be said to represent most clearly structural functionalism or the structural approach to language. After defining the notions of the word, the morpheme and the syntagm, he distinguishes with Tesnière (cf. also Intr. p. 8) the linear and the structural order of the utterance. It is precisely the latter, the structural order, that determines the classification of the minimal units of the utterance according to syntactic criteria, i.e. according to the rules governing their combination in sentences.

In the narrow limits of this review I have been able to take up only a few details concerning the merits of the book. Almost all articles are of high quality containing fresh and interesting methodological aspects, giving well founded results and opening new perspectives. In all the book is indispensable to anyone who wishes to do effective research work in the syntax and development of the Latin language.

Toivo Viljamaa

Walter Belardi, Palmira Cipriano, Paolo Di Giovine, Marco Mancini: Studi latini e romanzi in memoria di Antonino Pagliaro. Biblioteca di ricerche linguistiche e filologiche, 14. Dipartimento di studi glottoantropologici, Università "La Sapienza", Roma 1984. XII, 352 p. Lit. 60.000.

This volume, dedicated to the memory of the great Maestro of Indo-European (esp.

Iranian) and classical studies Antonino Pagliaro (whose 70th birthday was celebrated by means of a triptychon volume in 1969), contains 12 studies by the above scholars. Of the contributions seven pertain to Latin linguistics. All the papers are ingenious and thought-provoking.

Walter Belardi offers five Latin contributions. “Una questione di metodo (lat. *fides - dium, capis, capula*)” (pp. 1—10) attacks E. Peruzzi’s thesis of a Mycenaean loan-word substrate in early Latin. Whereas Belardi’s etymologies of *fides*, *capis* and *capula* are certainly more probable than Peruzzi’s, they do not suffice to falsify the Mycenaean thesis (cf. Peruzzi, PP 40 [1985] 41f.). “Gli allofoni di /l/latino dalle origini alla fase romanza” (pp. 63—110) is a substantial investigation into the phonological processes conditioned by or connected with the Latin /l/ phoneme. It is regrettable that W. Cowgill’s equally impressive study on Latin *vīs* (<**wel-si*; Sprache 24 [1978] 25—44) has not been drawn on. Due attention is paid to conceptual clarifications of ancient terminology of phonetic description (*exilis, pinguis, tenuis*). This line is continued and deepened in “I termini tecnici *tenuis/exilis, plenus/pinguis* e i loro antecedenti greci” (157—165). The paper on “Lucilio e la datazione dei nomi dei casi” offers a refinement of an earlier article. Accordingly, except for εὐθεῖα, the names for cases date back to 150—125 B.C. only. “La Siria, la scalogna e il gatto soriano” (pp. 175—186) derives σκαλώνια, (*cepa*) *ascalonia*, etc. from the underlying root *(*a*)*skal-*, which he considers to be of “Mediterranean” extraction.

Palmira Cipriano and Marco Mancini offer an imposing joint paper on “Enclisi e morfologia del verbo “essere” nel latino e nell’osco” (pp. 11—62). In her well-researched section, titled “Effetti fonetici dell’enclisia del verbo “essere” nel quadro storico della fonologia latina”, P. Cipriano is able to show that the present reviewer (in Lg. 53 [1977] 39—60) overstated the role of morphological factors in explaining the allegro variant *st* of the copula *est*. The author argues very strongly for phonetic development (aphaeresis due to enclisis) as the true source, but in doing this she unduly presses the point that I deny cliticization and phonetic factors altogether, when accounting for the historical evolution of the Latin copula. Such implications are valid only for those who do not endorse multiple causation. I was simply preoccupied with the morphological aspect, which I felt to be generally neglected. Despite Cipriano’s scrupulous rehabilitation of the phonetic explanation due recognition must be given to the way in which historical evolution and synchronic structure intertwine. The reduced *st* variant was probably a lexicalized unit. My “protoparadigm” *sum s(s) st sumus estis sunt* serves to bring home the point that *st* was scarcely created from *est* by the sole application of “aphaeresis”. Notice that *enim*, too, was enclitic, and yet no reduced variant that might be ascribed to the workings of “aphaeresis” is attested (**nim*). It seems to me that Cipriano does not pay due attention to lexicalization. Given that the reduced variants were historically due to (phonetic factors consequential upon) enclisis, I still claim that the variants *s(s) st* were semiotically as autonomous as, say, *'m 're 's* in English. The latter make up a paradigm insofar as they involve lexicalized units. It would be rather vacuous to contend that these variants are phonetically processed from *am are is*, respectively, every time they are used; rather, they are ready-made lexical items that are selected according to certain stylistic preferences. That the loss of the word-final *s* was a variable rule has been known at least since F. Leo (Plaut. Forsch. 1912). Now this fact has

been brought into the context of the evolution of Romance languages by R. Wallace (AJPh 105 [1984] 213—225; Papers fr. the XII Ling. Symposium on Romance Languages [ed. by P. Baldi; Amsterdam: Benjamins 1984], 565—575). However, it is not without significance that the *-s* dropping was systematized so as to take place in antecorsonantal position only. Hereby the rule lost, in literary Latin, its natural phonetic character and acquired a semiotic function (genre, style, context). In spite of these self-defensory remarks my general impression of Cipriano's paper is positive. The paper contains many valuable suggestions. So does also M. Mancini's section, entitled "Un caso di sandhi esterno in osco e l'interferenza tra congiuntivo e indicativo del presente nell'italico e nel latino". Let me point out only one point of general linguistic interest: in Ve 127 *culchnasim* 'I am the κολίχνη' (in lieu of *culchnu sim*) shows nicely that *sim* is indeed enclitic (cf. Zwicky, Lg 61 [1985] 286). M. Mancini's paper on "Lat. lorica" (pp. 111—137) constitutes a rebuttal of a direct loan from Greek θώραξ. This paper is also an elegant rehabilitation of the ancient etymology "*lorica a lorum*". A theme of semantic reconstruction is dealt with by P. Cipriano in the paper "Una concordanza latino-iranica sul valore positivo della sinistra" (pp. 139—149). She relegates the positive connotation of *sinister* to the context of the *auspicia*. The contributions of P. Cipriano are rounded off by her paper on "L'etimologia di *dictator* presso gli antichi" (pp. 167—174).

Martti Nyman

Quibus locis inveniantur additamenta titulorum voluminis VI Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum. Collegit Ursula Lehmann. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Auctarium. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin—New York 1986. VIII, 169 S. DM 98.—

Hunc indicem, seorsum expressum ex Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum voluminis VI partis 7 fasciculo 7 (praeparatur), instrumentum utilissimum esse patet. Constat enim inter omnes permultos esse titulos urbanos qui in volumine sexto Corporis Berolinensis additamentis instructi, quin etiam pluries editi sunt. Qui loci in indice ab E.J. Jory et D.G. Moore machina computatoria confecto omissi ut facilius reperirentur, haec tabula nostrum ad usum composita est. Aucatrix etiam rationem duxit, quoad fieri potuit, eorum titulorum quos Corporis editores alterum aut saepius quasi novos proposuerunt. Loci alterius cuiusdam Corporis voluminis tandem saepius commemorati sunt, quibus tituli urbani inserti sunt. Contra tituli falsi voluminis VI parte 5 editi in tabula nusquam enotati sunt, paucis exceptis casibus, de quibus videas praefationem. Additamenta extra Corpus publici iuris non adhibita sunt, sed dolendum est omnino omissas esse novas lectiones emendatas, quae disperse editae illa utilitate carent quam collectae et coniunctae haberent; moles laboris autem nimia fuisset huius finis sequendi.

Constat igitur hanc tabulam instrumentum utilissimum studiis epigraphicis esse. Hoc unum in ea vitupero, quod neglexit de titulis et in VI et in alio quodam Corporis volumine publici iuris factis communicare utrum sint potius urbani necne. Ita exempli gratia titulus 21647 = XI 2939a mihi quidem certe non est urbanus, sed Volcentanus. — Addendum hoc

unum conferam: ignoravit quae tabulam composuit titulum 31073 et Campanum X 4433 eundem esse; videtur olim Capuae stetisse. Porro 17858 = X 8300.

Heikki Solin

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Rei Publicae Democraticae Germanicae editum. Vol. XVII, pars secunda. Miliaria provinciarum Narbonensis Galliarum Germaniarum, edidit *Geroldus Walser*. Gualterus de Gruyter et socii, Berolini — Novi Eboraci 1986. LVI, 320 S. DM 680.—.

Post a. 1943, cum ultimus voluminis I fasciculus publici iuris factus est, nunc demum — si quosdam fasciculos indices tantum vel similia continentes et vol. IV partes quasdam excipis — prodit novus Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum fasciculus, quod iam per se notatu dignum est. At huc accedit, quod non solum de novo Corporis fasciculo, sed de novo omnino Corporis volumine agitur, scil. de volumine XVII, quod lapidibus miliaris in unum colligendis destinatum est. Hic fasciculus miliaria omnia continet, quae in provinciis quattuor Gallicis duobus Germanicis tribus Alpinis reperta sunt.

Hoc in fasciculo, de quo nunc agitur, novum est, titulos — eos scilicet, qui hodie exstant — non typis, sed imaginibus ad titulum delineatis expressos esse. Earum imaginum utilitas omnibus manifesta erit. Erunt certe, qui photographicas etiam imagines se desiderare dicant; at nullo modo fieri potuit, ut omnium quotquot exstant titulorum imagines photographicae volumini adderentur; neque crediderim quasdam imagines exempli gratia electas multum utilitatis habere: certe pauci tantum hoc volumine utentur, qui miliarios lapides ipsi non viderunt.

In hoc fasciculo haud facile invenies quod vituperari possit (non ita multum placet Commodum et Getam imperatores ab editore nominibus gentilicis omissis nude *M. Commodum* [n. 380] et *P. Getam* [n. 512] appellatos esse; ad n. 633 certe potuit addi, formam *Troianus* — pro *Traianus* — non solum in his duobus titulis n. 633. 641, sed etiam in aliis multis titulis inveniri, etiam in indicatione legionis II a Traiano imp. conditae; imp. Maximinum video *C(aium)* appellatum esse, quamquam *Cai* praenomen numquam fuit [nam C. Iulii Gaii, non Caii, Iulii erant]; sed haec minimi momenti sunt); totum opus, etiam si indicum laudabili arte confectorum et omnia notatu digna continentium rationem habueris, mihi certe ita perfectum esse videtur, ut editori huius fasciculi, G. Walser, qui cum adiutore I. König plus XX annorum laborem in hoc opus contulit, maximas gratias agere debeamus, et porro, ut omnibus rei epigraphicae studiosis manifestissimum esse debeat, ex Corpore Inscriptionum Latinarum reficiendo et renovando, non ex minoribus libris edendis, epigraphicam disciplinam maximum fructum capere (neque tamen hoc dicere volo, titulorum editiones minoris amplitudinis utilitate omnino carere). Speremus omnes nostra iam aetate multos novos Corporis fasciculos hunc, de quo nunc agitur, secuturos esse (supplementa ad aliquot certe Corporis volumina iam praeparantur). De proximis vol. XVII fasciculis tamen ex praefatione huius operis nihil comperimus.

Olli Salomies

Margaret M. Roxan: Roman Military Diplomas 1978—1984. With contributions by Helen Ganiaris and J.C. Mann. Occasional Publication No. 9. Institute of Archaeology, University of London, 1985. XIII, 119—231 p. GBP 10.75.

Die Militärdiplome können als eine bevorzugte Gattung innerhalb der Masse der lateinischen Inschriften bezeichnet werden. Denn während ein großer Teil der lateinischen Inschriften in weit verstreuten Publikationen vergraben bleiben muß, sind alle bis heute gefundenen Militärdiplome (auch das von H. Nesselhauf bei der Bearbeitung des CIL XVI übersehene Diplom Nr. 124 dieser Sammlung, das schon im J. 1920/21 publiziert wurde) durch CIL XVI und die Supplemente von M. Roxan der Forschung bequem zugänglich. Dafür muß sich die Fachwelt bei der Verfasserin wirklich bedanken. Die neue Sammlung, die auch mehrere Inedita enthält (Nr. 108f. 115. 125. 128f. 132) ist noch verdienstvoller als die erste (*Roman Mil. Diplomas 1954—1977, 1978*), da hier auch zahlreiche Photos von Diplomen eingehen. Die Photos sind nicht nur bei der Entzifferung von schwierigen Texten behilflich, sondern sie erlauben auch z.B. interessante Vergleiche zwischen den Innen- und den Außenseiten der Diplome. Bekanntlich wurde ja die Außenseite der Diplome seit der frühesten Zeit viel sorgfältiger beschriftet als die Innenseite. (Deswegen ist es sehr auffallend, daß die Schrift auf der Innenseite des Diplomes Nr. 123 aus dem J. 179 — s. Photo auf S. 198 — gar nicht schlecht ist). — Daß die Militärdiplome hauptsächlich für die Kenntnis der römischen Militärgeschichte wichtig sind, ist klar. Aber auch Forscher anderer Richtungen werden hier Interessantes finden. Von Bedeutung für die Prosopographie sind z.B. die Diplome 79 (P.Pasidienus Firmus cos.suff. 65), 95 (Konsulat des Iulius Crassus PIR² I 278), 100 (Q. Flavius Tertullus cos.suff. 133 Prokonsul von Asien 148/9), 104 (C. Iulius Commodus Orfitianus cos.suff. wohl 157), 106 (*Sex. Aemilio Equ?* Jestre, Q. Corneli[o Senecione Anniano (?) cos.), 120 (*Vaeniano [?] et Avito* cos. ca. 160/67), 123 (Pertinax Legat von Dacia Superior im J. 179; *M'. Acilio Faustino, L. Iulio Proculeiano* cos.; Faustinus hieß sicher *Manius* [so auf der Innenseite], nicht *Marcus* [so auf der Außenseite], da *Manius* eine Art von lectio difficilior darstellt und da die Innenseite gerade dieses Diploms besonders sorgfältig bearbeitet worden ist [s.o.]; die Ausführungen von M. Dondin—Payre, ZPE 62[1986] 259—61, sind m.E. abzuweisen). Die Topographen der Stadt Rom werden sich das Diplom 79 notieren, in dem eine *basis Claudiorum Marcellorum* auf dem Kapitol im J.65 erwähnt wird, und die Darstellungen der griechischen Literaturgeschichte können mit einem kleinen Detail bereichert werden, und zwar mit dem Pränomen des Historikers Dio: er hieß *Lucius* (Nr. 133; von der Verfasserin auffallenderweise nicht notiert), und da für ihn in AE 1971, 430 der Gentilname *Claudius* bezeugt ist, lautete sein Name also L. Claudius Cassius Dio Cocceianus, und dieser Name entspricht genau einem üblichen Namentypus im frühen 3. Jh (2 Gentilnamen, dann 2 Cognomina). Oder ist das Κλ(αυδίω) von AE 1971, 430 bloß ein Fehler anstelle von Λ(ουκίω)? Mir scheint dies nicht wahrscheinlich; denn der Vater des Dio hieß wahrscheinlich *Marcus* (Cassius), s. PIR² C 485, und somit würde ich das Pränomen *Lucius* des Dio einfach so erklären, daß er von einem L. Claudius adoptiert worden ist (über senatorische L. Claudii s. H. Solin, Opusc. IRF 3 [1986] 71 Anm. 8).

Die Arbeit der Verfasserin verdient aufrichtiges Lob. Die Kommentare zu den einzelnen Diplomen sind überall fundiert und nützlich, ganz besonders, was Militärisches anbetrifft.

Freilich hat die Verfasserin manches aus den Originalpublikationen schöpfen können, aber man merkt dennoch überall, daß die Arbeit nicht bloß auf dem Niveau einer Kompilation geblieben ist (vgl. etwa Anm. 1 zu Nr. 110). Nur in ganz kleinen Details könnte man etwas zu beanstanden haben; so sollte m.E. in der Wiedergabe von inschriftlichen Texten zwischen Korrekturen und Ergänzungen geschieden werden (in Nr. 113 ist aus dem]RETTONM der Vorlage in der Transskription *B]r<i>tton<u>m* geworden). Der Ausdruck “since the *ordinarii* for 157 are known” (Anm. 3 zu Nr. 104) scheint mir etwas unbeholfen. *Licati* in Nr. 119 ist vielleicht nicht eine Heimatangabe, sondern eine Filiation (es ist ja nicht sicher, daß der [Provin?]cialis schon ein Pränomen und einen Gentilnamen besaß).

Olli Salomies

Albert Deman — Marie-Thérèse Raepsaet-Charlier: Les inscriptions latines de Belgique (ILB). Sources et Instruments VII. Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, Bruxelles 1985. 230 p. XLVII pl. FB 1.150.-.

Zu den in neuerer Zeit so populär gewordenen Inschriftencorpora, die den lateinischen Inschriften nicht einer römischen Provinz, sondern eines modernen Staates gewidmet sind, gesellt sich nun dieses Corpus der Inschriften, die innerhalb der Grenzen des heutigen Belgiens gefunden wurden. Obwohl Corpora dieser Art nicht in jeder Hinsicht befriedigen können, so muß doch zugegeben werden, daß jedes Corpus oder überhaupt jede größere Sammlung von Inschriften, die von kompetenten Arbeitskräften her stammt, in der die Inschriften photographisch abgebildet sind, und die durch Indices usw. abgeschlossen wird, sehr willkommen ist. Die vorliegende Arbeit, die in Zukunft von allen, die über Inschriften aus dem heutigen Belgien unterrichtet sein wollen, mit Nutzen herangezogen werden wird, entspricht allen Forderungen, die heutzutage gestellt werden können, und darf ohne weiteres als ausgezeichnet bezeichnet werden; den Herausgebern steht von Seiten der Forschung ein aufrichtiges Lob zu.

Diese Sammlung enthält insgesamt 150 Inschriften, darunter zwei Militärdiplome, zwei Meilensteine, das Itinerarium von Tongern, und eine “choix d'inscriptions classées traditionnellement sous le vocable d'*instrumentum*” (S. 6). Von den restlichen Inschriften sind fast alle entweder Motiv- oder Grabinschriften, die einzeln betrachtet zumeist nicht besonders interessant sind. Aber aus ihnen zusammen läßt sich dennoch ein ungefähres Bild von den Verhältnissen in diesen Gegenden in den ersten Jahrhunderten n. Chr. gewinnen. Man merkt leicht, daß man hier nicht nur sehr weit von Rom, sondern auch sehr weit von den gründlich romanisierten Zentren des narbonensischen Galliens war.

Die Behandlung der einzelnen Inschriften, die alle photographisch abgebildet sind — für die nicht mehr vorhandenen Inschriften wurden die Handschriften herangezogen, aus denen sie bekannt sind —, ist überall sachgemäß. Die Kommentare sind nicht weitschweifig, aber dennoch stets lehrreich und ergiebig, auch dort, wo es nur wenig zu kommentieren gab. Die Kommentare zu den längeren und interessanteren Inschriften, etwa zu den Militärdiplomen, könnten einem Anfänger als Modelle dienen. — Nur in ganz wenigen Fällen finde ich etwas zu beanstanden. Nr. 45 (S. 81): die Formen *Quetus*, *Quetius* (für *Quie-*)

sind nicht selten (z. B. CIL XIII 3613. 7281. 8573. 12011. XVI 137; oft in Afrika, s. CIL VIII, Index S. 109). — Nr. 56: bei *consummav-* handelt es sich sicher nicht um einen Namen. — Nr. 72: Im Falle eines *Attilius Regulus* sollte man nicht bloß feststellen, daß das Cognomen ein “nom romano-méditerranéen ou aussi celtique” war, sondern man sollte auch darauf hinweisen, daß *Regulus* ein Cognomen der republikanischen senatorischen (und konsularischen) Atilii gewesen war. — Nr. 84: Der Name *Gaius Iulius Maximinus*, dieses ehemaligen Soldaten, läßt ganz sicher nicht den Schluß zu, daß der Mann nach dem Kaiser Maximinus gelebt hat. — Nr. 127: Die Lesung *L(ucio) Veio* scheint mir aus mehreren Gründen nicht ansprechend, besonders deshalb, weil das Fehlen eines Cognomens auffallend wäre, und weil die anderen in der Inschrift genannten Persönlichkeiten nur mit einem einzigen Namen bezeichnet werden. Dazu kommt noch, daß zwischen dem *l* und dem *v* kein Punkt ersichtlich ist, während sonst in dieser Inschrift die Wörter überall durch Punkte voneinander getrennt sind. M.E. sollte vielmehr *Lueio* gelesen werden, wobei man natürlich an einen barbarischen Namen denken sollte.

Der Band wird durch Indices abgeschlossen, in denen, soweit mir ersichtlich, alles Wichtige verzeichnet ist. — In der Vorrede liest man (S. 5), daß ursprünglich ein Corpus geplant wurde, das auch die Inschriften der römischen Provinz Belgica enthalten hätte, die außerhalb des heutigen Belgiens gefunden sind. Dieser Plan wurde dann später aufgegeben, “à cause de la difficulté pour des épigraphistes belges de publier dans un seul et même Corpus belge des inscriptions appartenant aux patrimoines respectifs des Pays-Bas, de l’Allemagne, du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg et de la France”. Die Schwierigkeiten hätte man etwas genauer beschreiben können; denn es wäre ja etwas merkwürdig, daß Projekte dieser Art, die in den Verhältnissen des 19. Jh. ausführbar waren, in den ganz anderen Verhältnissen von heute nicht mehr gelingen sollen. Daß es innerhalb des römischen Reiches Provinzen gab, für die solche Pläne heute sicher kaum möglich sind, glaube ich gern; aber wir befinden uns hier doch in einer Gegend, wo Grenzen zwischen den einzelnen Staaten nicht mehr eine sehr große Rolle spielen sollten. Und prinzipiell sollten dem, der ein Corpus publizieren will und publizieren kann, alle Türen offen stehen.

Olli Salomies

Cultura epigrafica dell’Appennino. Sarsina, Mevaniola e altri studi. Epigrafia e antichità, 8. Fratelli Lega Editori, Faenza 1985. 278 p. Lit. 70.000.

Tutti gli scritti dell’ottavo volume della collana ‘Epigrafia e antichità’ si presentano con lo scopo di illuminare la storia antica dell’Appennino. In particolare si è voluto mettere in evidenza ciò che si può ricavare dalle fonti epigrafiche della zona. La produzione culturale qui presa in esame è assai importante nonchè problematica, tanto più che le regioni appenniniche erano una volta interessate da una grande diversità di culture sia locali che forestiere. Una cosa notevole e anche piacevole è il numero relativamente alto delle epigrafi ancora oggi conservate in alcuni centri appenninici. In Sarsina, per esempio, il tasso di sopravvivenza è addirittura dell’ottantasei per cento (cfr. p. 72). Tale patrimonio, data la possibilità di verificarlo, è naturalmente molto prezioso per ogni tipo di studio della storia

locale, ma specialmente per una valutazione esatta del livello culturale della zona. Il contenuto del volume è il seguente: G. Susini, *Mevania, Mevaniola*: le due Umbrie; G. Sanders, *Une jeune dame de Mevaniola ou la poésie aux coins perdus de l'empire*; G. Susini, *Scrittura e produzione culturale: dal dossier romano di Sarsina*; A. Calbi, *Sarsina: prosopografia e indici sociali*; A. Donati, *Mantissa epigrafica sarsinate e mevaniolense*; F. Cenerini, *I Caesii*: prosopografia delle regioni VI, VIII e V; D. Rigato, *Indici epigrafici di CIL XI: Res Sacrae*.

Nel suo primo contributo G. Susini ha studiato il complesso rapporto tra la città umbra di Mevania e quella romagnola di Mevaniola, che erano situate in due versanti diversi della catena appenninica. Particolarmente interessanti risultano le sue osservazioni sulle abitudini di denominare il capoluogo dell'alto Bidente, cioè della città romagnola. Prima dei Romani e anche durante l'età romana il toponimo usato per Mevaniola era *Befania* o *Mevania*.

Segue G. Sanders con il suo studio sull'iscrizione funeraria di Rubria Tertulla (CIL XI 6606 = CLE 386; Mevaniola). Dalle 55 pagine quasi interamente dedicate all'analisi dei sette versi dell'epitaffio di Tertulla si ha l'impressione di un'eccessiva ed sfrenata *ubertas verborum*. Sembra talvolta che dal *carmen* di Tertulla sia nato un *carmen* scientifico con tante digressioni fantastiche e superflue. L'Autore ha una strana maniera di commentare e spiegare cose assolutamente ovvie con troppe pagine e note onerosissime. La fantasia è un'ottimo strumento per la ricerca scientifica, ma ciò non significa che si debbano esprimere tutte le associazioni d'idee. L'Autore avrebbe anche dovuto tener conto maggiormente del fatto che tutti i motivi dell'epitaffio (nascita, morte, amore, matrimonio, fato etc.) sono molto familiari al repertorio della poesia funeraria romana e perciò non dicono necessariamente niente della personalità di Tertulla nè di suo marito o di chi scrisse i versi in questione. Una certa cautela nel rintracciare le possibili reminiscenze letterarie sarebbe anche stata auspicabile (cfr. pp. 63sgg.).

I due lavori che seguono sono dedicati alle iscrizioni sarsinate. Dapprima G. Susini presenta una svariata descrizione della locale cultura epigrafica. È specialmente da lodare il suo concentrarsi sull'esame dei rapporti tra i diversi tipi di monumenti e la società che li produceva. In questo ha potuto approfittare della sua profonda conoscenza dei materiali, della scrittura, delle tecniche dei lapicidi etc. L'ottima qualità delle riproduzioni fotografiche merita un ringraziamento particolare. La compilazione della prosopografia sarsinate da parte di A. Calbi (pp. 141sgg.) ha consentito di raccogliere 280 persone. Nelle pp. 195—202 A. Donati pubblica qualche nuova iscrizione sarsinate e mevaniolense.

L'analisi della graduale romanizzazione dei centri umbri è stato il lavoro di F. Cenerini (pp. 203sgg.). Per questo ha usato il metodo di ritrarre l'espansione della famiglia dei Caesii. Non si tratta di una descrizione esauriente di tutta la problematica che l'insediamento dei Caesii nei municipi umbri comportava, è piuttosto un solo elenco degli esponenti della famiglia attestati nella zona. A proposito della prosopografia vorrei qui richiamare l'attenzione su due casi analogici, entrambi di grande importanza. Il primo è costituito dalla nomenclatura del senatore mevanate di età flavia Q. Petillius Cerialis Caesius Rufus. L'Autrice ritiene che si trattasse di un Petillius Cerialis adottato da un Caesius. Stupisce un poco che sia omissa il principio dominante nell'onomastica adottiva con il nome del padre adottante regolarmente all'inizio del nome ricomposto, il che valeva tanto nelle adozioni

“normali” che “testamentarie” (cfr. in particolare R. Syme, *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio I*, Tituli 4 [1982] 397sgg.). Caso parallelo e quello di Sex. Tettius Sex. f. Pup(inia) Montanus Caesius Sabinus di Sarsina, che si ritiene qui il figlio adottivo del *decus Umbriae* (Mart. 7, 97) C. Caesius Sabinus (pp. 222—223). Ma perché non si è tenuto conto della possibilità che il padre del Montanus fosse il marito della figlia di un Caesius, forse dello stesso Caesius Sabinus? Di conseguenza, anche la madre del Cerialis può essere stata una (Caesia). L'influenza della nomenclatura materna è troppo spesso caduta in oblio. Ancora un'osservazione. Alla p. 231 l'affermazione dell'A. “il cognomen della donna [scil. *Attica*] porterebbe a supporre una condizione libertina” risulta alquanto fallace.

Gli indici di CIL XI si completano qui con le *res sacrae*, a cura di D. Rigato (pp. 233sgg.). Altri contributi per il momento usciti sono stati pubblicati in vari volumi delle riviste “*Epigraphica*” e “*Studi Romagnoli*”.

Mika Kajava

Danilo Mazzoleni: *I reperti epigrafici*. In appendice: *Le Tavole lusorie* di Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai. Premessa di P. Testini. Ricerche nell'area di S. Ippolito all'Isola Sacra, a cura dell'Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana dell'Università “La Sapienza” Roma, I. Viella, Roma 1983. 183 p. LXXX tavv. Lit. 42.000.

In questo volume si uniscono le iscrizioni ritornate alla luce in occasione delle indagini archeologiche a S. Ippolito. In appendice V. Fiocchi Nicolai pubblica 15 tavole lusorie anepigrafi. Si tratta in sostanza di un buon lavoro, e dobbiamo congratularci con i colleghi romani per l'eccellente inizio della pubblicazione delle ricerche eseguite a S. Ippolito. Scorrendo il volume abbiamo fatto parecchie osservazioni, di alcune delle quali faremo qui partecipe il lettore.

La presentazione delle epigrafi è buona e l'informazione offerta per la loro interpretazione sufficiente. I testi vengono dati in minuscola secondo criteri normali; colpisce solo l'uso dei punti nella trascrizione minuscola: l'autore trasmette tutti i punti divisorii visibili nell'iscrizione tali e quali nel suo testo, cosa che non vorrei in nessun caso caldeggiare. Questo usus può, tra l'altro, causare confusione con l'interpunzione.

Nr. 5. Nella riga 5 l'editore propone come l'integrazione [*Calliopus*. Ma *Calliopus* è certamente un falso nome. Come non esiste accanto a *Musa* alcun *Musus* e accanto a *Euterpe* alcun *Euterpus*, così non esiste accanto a *Calliope* alcun *Calliopus*. Ora, la quart'ultima potrebbe essere benissimo una H, e leggendo così avremmo il noto cognome *Agathopus*, al quale anche il Mazzoleni pensa. Inoltre la quart'ultima potrebbe essere anche una N, nel qual caso avremmo *Canopus*, ben attestato nell'onomastica romana. Ma c'è ancora una possibilità: a giudicare dalla foto, la penultima potrebbe essere, invece della P, una R, e così avremmo per es. uno dei numerosi nomi con *-phorus*.

6. NTO: la N non c'è.

7. La trascrizione e la copia non corrispondono tra di loro.

25. *Gelonia* sarebbe formazione molto strana. Perché non può trattarsi di un *Flavius Gelos*? *Gelos* è comune nell'onomastica romana.

27. Non *L.*, bensì *l.*

28. *coiu[gi]*, non *coniu[gi]*.

30. Invece di *Aegri* [- -] intenderei senz'altro *A. Egrilius. Aulus* è il prenome prediletto degli Egrilii ostiensi. Il *coactor* si chiamava, con tutta verosimiglianza, *A. Egrilius Secundus* (va ricordato per inciso che è attestato ad Ostia un *coactor* *A. Egrilius*: CIL XIV 4644). Inoltre ho il sospetto che la lettura \bar{o} non colga il vero, giacché non ci sono abbreviazioni normali con la sopralineatura della *O*. Mi viene in mente, in modo disinvolto, *q(uin)q(uennalis)*: nell'ultima riga, a destra, segue ancora una linea sopra che ben potrebbe rappresentare \bar{Q} . Si tratterebbe del quinquennale di un collegio.

36. Che ci fosse una *P*, mi sembra inverosimile.

37. In 3 leggerei piuttosto [*libert*]is suis p[osterisque eorum].

44. La prima riga è stata certamente letta male, lo si vede dalla foto.

45. 2 Φηλικίσιμος.

48. Poiché la menzione delle acclamazioni imperiali di solito precede quella del consolato, preferisco intendere [*imp.*] *V, cos. II*. Escluso *Commodo*, l'anno è 195 d.C. Nell'ultima riga si potrebbe pensare a qualcosa come [*cur(ante)*] *M. Opil[i]o* [- -].

59. *Taposiris* è comune nome di persona nei papiri: Preisigke, *Namenbuch* 415sg. Errore di stampa nella riga 1: *Claudio*, non *Claudius*.

63. Mi viene in mente la gens *Nasennia*, ben attestata ad Ostia.

64. 5 non è stata letta bene. Nessuna parola inizia con *MOND*, ma l'ultima sarà piuttosto *I*, cfr. la *I* di 6. Si potrebbe pensare a [*nequi*]s init(o) moni[mentum].

80. Non viene spiegato lo strano *onos*.

84. L'autore pensa che nell'ultima riga si celi l'indicazione di un consolato. Molto inverosimile. Si legga piuttosto [*A*]ug.

97. Secondo l'autore si tratterebbe di un architrave. Dalla foto non ricavo tuttavia questa impressione. Ed un *Augustus* in questo contesto sarebbe assai strano. Perché non *Aug(ustalis)*?

114. Piuttosto *Scriboniano*, trattandosi di un cognome.

127. Per es. *filio carissimo*.

130. La datazione al tardo III secolo, proposta dall'autore, è arbitraria. Penserei al II secolo. — L'autore del contributo sulla lingua nella *SICV* non è *Väänänen*, ma sono *Zilliacus* e *Westman*, e la pagina non è 18, ma 28.

142. 3 [*cu*]rvaturas tres, locuzione relativa al monumento sepolcrale?

164. Invece di *Pero* [- -] leggerei *Perc[ennius]* o simili.

205. Per motivi d'impaginazione, sembra trattarsi di un cognome, che sarà il comune *Tyrannus*, scritto non di rado con *Th-*.

251. Dal commento, come anche dall'indice risulta che l'autore non ha capito bene il secondo nome che è Φοιβάς.

260. “Nonostante il *salbus*, la natura cristiana della lapide è solo ipotetica”, nota l'autore. Ma la presenza di *salvus* non presuppone affatto il carattere cristiano di un'iscrizione.

278. Davvero strano il nome del defunto, ma non è forse del tutto inesplorabile. Se il nominativo fu, come sembrerebbe, *Letta*, allora proporrei un rapporto con *Lepta*, il

cognome del noto amico di Cicerone che compare anche altrove; sarà di origine etrusca (CIL X 4654 sarà uno stretto parente dell'amico di Cicerone; ma cfr. VIII 4924). *-tt-* per *-pt-* non presenta difficoltà, giacché nel latino volgare si trova questa assimilazione già presto (*scritus* CIL IX 2827, ecc.). La principale obiezione è che *Lepta* non è molto comune e inoltre non sembra più attestato nel periodo imperiale avanzato. Tuttavia sarà possibile pensare che *Lepta* si sia conservato nell'onomastica dell'Italia centrale o settentrionale di dove il nostro soldato sarebbe originario. Altrimenti dovremmo ipotizzare per il nome un'origine ignota, magari barbara.

Chiudono il volume l'indice onomastico e quello delle parole nonché numerose tavole fotografiche. — Ho notato parecchie sviste tipografiche, anche nella numerotazione nelle tavole delle epigrafi. Una parte delle iscrizioni sono state riprodotte nell'*Année épigraphique* del 1973, ma mancano molte epigrafi (tra cui alcune di difficile interpretazione).

Heikki Solin

Lucio Bove: Documenti di operazioni finanziarie dall'archivio dei Sulpicii. Tabulae Pompeianae di Murécine. Liguori Editore, Napoli 1984. VIII, 194 p. Lit. 15.500.

Abbastanza recentemente, nel 1959, fu scoperto quello che oggi è chiamato "l'archivio dei Sulpicii". Questo archivio, che consiste in c.d. tavole cerate, fu trovato appena fuori dalle mura di Pompei (nell'Agro di Murécine, dal quale queste tavolette qualche volta prendono nome). La famiglia dei Sulpicii svolgeva, però, i suoi affari a Puteoli e nessuno ha ancora spiegato perchè il cesto con i documenti si trovasse vicino a Pompei durante i tragici giorni del 79.

L'archivio dei Sulpicii è uno dei due archivi privati del mondo romano che ci sono pervenuti, e in molti aspetti viene considerato più importante dell'altro, quello ormai molto noto del pompeiano L. Caecilius Iucundus (rinvenuto nel 1875, pubblicato in CIL IV 3340 e trattato ripetutamente). Però, ad oltre venticinque anni dalla scoperta, il contenuto di queste tavole cerate non è ancora pubblicato in maniera definitiva. Grandi difficoltà nella decifrazione del testo possono aver influito sull'*editio princeps*, che ha avuto luogo per massima parte nei RAAN (Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli), e che viene considerata abbastanza carente.

Soltanto negli ultimi anni, con decisi sforzi soprattutto da parte del prof. G. Camodeca dall'Università di Napoli e di altri studiosi tra i quali il presente autore, la decifrazione delle *tabulae Pompeianae* sembra raggiungere un risultato finale (si vedano i lavori del Camodeca in Puteoli 6 [1982], *Athenaeum* 64 [1986] e ZPE 63 [1986] e quelli di U. Manthe, *Gnomon* 53 [1981]).

Che questo lavoro venga portato a termine al più presto è auspicabile tra l'altro per l'importanza che i testi hanno per vari settori dello studio dell'antichità. Si veda per es. l'interessante lavoro di L. Casson, che dimostra la partecipazione di interessi privati nel commercio di grano durante il principato basandosi proprio su alcune di queste tavolette pompeiane (*The Seaborne Commerce of Ancient Rome* [MAAR 26], Roma 1980).

Il libro di Lucio Bove va visto non tanto nell'obiettivo della redazione finale delle

tabulae Pompeianae, quanto per un'analisi giuridica del contenuto. Una grande parte dei documenti finanziari che l'autore tratta riguardano i prestiti di denaro con le relative garanzie (*pignus*) ed i procedimenti in caso di insolvenza da parte del debitore. In tale evenienza si procede ad una vendita all'asta (*auctio* della *res in fiducia*) per ricavare denaro dalla merce data in garanzia. Spesso i termini contrattuali sono fissati in un tipo di documento legale, *chirographum*, che nel lavoro del Bove viene ampiamente studiato e spiegato.

Nell'insieme si può notare la minuziosa cura con cui i negozianti campani svolgevano i loro affari. Ogni eventualità viene presa in considerazione e ogni passo viene confermato da un documento legale; osservazione, questa, già fatta da J. Crook che ha studiato parte di questi documenti in una fase precedente (ZPE 29 [1978]).

Anche altri studiosi di giurisprudenza romana hanno trattato parte del materiale qui considerato dal Bove, ma sembra senz'altro che l'autore dia approfondimento e concretezza alle varie questioni. Questo vale per es. trattandosi di una *proscriptio* di una *familia servilis* (una vendita all'asta), dove il significato legale di *proscribere* viene chiarito e viene altresì risolta una discussione con J. Crook (v. sopra) e il francese J. Macqueron (p. 121 ss riguardante TP 19).

Dall'analisi dell'autore risulta tra l'altro che una data in TP 19 è sbagliata, perchè al posto di *Nov(embres)* è stato scritto *Oct(obres)*. La questione della datazione dei documenti ci porta a considerare un campo di ricerca dove le tavolette cerate possono dare, come in effetti hanno dato, un notevole contributo, cioè la redazione dei fasti consolari. Negli ultimissimi anni due lavori di G. Camodeca (v. sopra) sembrano, finalmente, aver rilevato in modo esauriente al mondo della ricerca quello che apportano le tavolette cerate in tema di datazioni consolari (però anche se le letture, grazie al prof. Camodeca, si possono ormai considerare certe, restano parecchi problemi di cronologia relativa, una questione che chi scrive ha toccato in parte in Arctos 19 [1985]).

Si potrebbe togliere qualche incertezza dell'autore nel datare i documenti. Cn. Hosidius Geta-Volasenna Severus in TP 30 vanno, secondo l'opinione ormai comune, collocati nel 47, D. Valerius Asiaticus — A. Gabinius Secundus devono appartenere all'anno 35 (avrà sbagliato Cassio Dione, l'unica fonte per il prenome *Publius* di Gabinius? Si può notare un console omonimo nei primi anni claudiani, un figlio?).

Dato il punto ancora preliminare in cui si trova l'edizione finale delle tavole pompeiane, si deve essere grati all'autore per gli ampi riferimenti bibliografici e l'apparato critico alla fine del libro, dove viene descritto come, quando e da chi le TP sono finora state trattate. Si tratta di un'aggiornamento dell'elenco già comparso nel libro precedente dell'autore (Documenti processuali dalle *Tabulae Pompeianae* di Murecine, Napoli 1979). A proposito, il lettore farà bene a notare la sigla TP = *Tabula Pompeiana* (il Bove invece usa *Tab. Pomp.*), che ormai è il modo più facile di designare questi documenti epigrafici, dato che l'*editio princeps* nei RAAN e ripresa dall'AE, con versioni qualche volta differenti per lo stesso documento, spesso non è affidabile (al momento di andare in stampa risulta che ora il Camodeca, *Athenaeum* 64 [1986] 505—08, invece propone una sigla più complicata, *TPSulp.*, e una nuova numerazione delle tavolette). In tutto si contano un centinaio di documenti.

Le tavolette cerate (dittici o tritici) costituiscono probabilmente un tipo di materiale

epigrafico poco conosciuto fuori dallo cerchio degli specialisti. Per facilitare la comprensione dei lettori si sarebbe potuta aggiungere una breve spiegazione sul modo in cui venivano iscritte le tavolette, dato che sapere per es. cosa si intende con *scriptura interior* e *scriptura exterior* spesso ha una certa importanza (una chiara esposizione in U. Manthe, *Gnomon* 52 [1981] 151 e recentemente anche dall'autore stesso in *Labeo* 31 [1985] 155—67).

Per concludere, la critica più severa che si offre in questa sede riguarda la composizione del testo. Il contenuto delle tavole cerate merita senz'altro di essere meglio conosciuto, e quanto ad analisi giuridica il lavoro dell'autore è lodevole e preciso. Ma lo stile letterario fa poco, anzi niente, per facilitare l'approfondimento di un lettore non specialista. Usare due o tre punti per dividere il testo di un'intera pagina (p. 21: soltanto un punto) è decisamente non consigliabile, anche se il pensiero dell'autore è limpido.

Christer Bruun

Jacques Gascou — Michel Janon: Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise (I.L.N.). Fréjus. XLIV^e supplément à "GALLIA". Éditions du CNRS, Paris 1985. 228 p. Fr. 290.-.

Der erste Band der "Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise", der die Inschriften von Forum Iulii enthält, ist nun erschienen. Supplemente zu CIL XII und zu der bekannten Sammlung von Éesperandieu (1929) waren schon längst fällig, und so ist das Erscheinen dieses Bandes schon an sich sehr zu begrüßen. Dazu kommt aber noch, daß die Bearbeiter dieses Bandes, J. Gascou und M. Janon, ihre Arbeit in einer durchaus lobenswerten Weise ausgeführt haben, so daß dieser Band allen Anforderungen, die heute an Inschrifteneditionen gestellt werden können, in jeder Hinsicht genügt.

In einer Vorrede (S. 13—30) werden u.a. Probleme der Geschichte und des Territoriums von Forum Iulii behandelt. Die Beweisführung der Verfasser mit dem Ergebnis, daß die Kolonie von Forum Iulii erst unter Augustus, nicht schon unter Caesar gegründet wurde (S. 18), ist m.E. überzeugend. Die Untersuchung über die Grenzen des Territoriums von Forum Iulii wird mit interessanten Überlegungen methodischer Art über die Bestimmung der Grenzen des Gebiets einer antiken Stadt — in erster Linie natürlich einer narbonensischen Stadt — eingeleitet (S. 25ff.). — Auf die Einleitung folgt die Zusammenstellung der Inschriften, von denen es insgesamt 207 gibt (darunter mehrere Meilensteine, Nr. 177ff.). Es ist etwas auffallend, daß nur ganz wenige Inschriften größeres Interesse für sich beanspruchen können (und unter diesen gibt es wohl keine solche, die nicht schon früher bekannt gewesen wäre). Kaiserinschriften — außer den Meilensteinen — gibt es nur ganz wenige (was die Nr. 7 betrifft, so würde ich vielleicht eher an Elagabal als an Commodus oder Caracalla denken; in Z. 2/3 ist vielleicht *M.[Aur]ellio An/[tonin]o* usw. zu lesen, was schon an sich Commodus ausschließen würde; die Inschrift ist vielleicht z.T. fehlerhaft konzipiert worden), und von Senatoren — auch nicht von Cn. Iulius Agricola und seiner *familia* — und von Rittern findet man in diesen Inschriften schon gar keine Spur mehr. Unter der Rubrik "administration municipale" im Index (S. 219) werden bloß drei Inschriften verzeichnet, von denen jedoch Nr. 117 mit *II VIR QVAE PACENS* schwierige Probleme der Interpretation mit sich bringt, die m.E. noch nicht gelöst sind und vielleicht gar nicht gelöst werden können.

Die restlichen Inschriften sind zumeist einfache Grab- und Votivinschriften. Die Anzahl von fast bedeutungslosen Fragmenten ist sehr groß. Im einzelnen habe ich nur ganz selten etwas zu bemerken. Nr. 50: ich würde nicht gern an *d.m.* / *conlig(ium?) piet(at)is* / *Festina* usw. denken; man sollte vielleicht vielmehr annehmen, daß nach *d.m.* ein Name im Dativ folgte, den Peirese aus irgendeinem Grund nicht kopierte oder kopieren konnte; also etwa *d.m.* / [Name] / *coniug(i) pie(n)t(issimo)* / *Festina Iu/liaes* (so, nicht *Iuliae*) *Res/titutae* (nicht *-tituae*) *a/ncilla*. — Nr. 138: *-]tern(-)*, also wohl *Pa]tern(us)* oder *Ma]tern(us)*. — Nr. 155: sicher nicht *S. Satiae Sext./f.* Anhand des Photos scheint es mir gar nicht so sicher, daß vor dem *s* von *SATIAE* ein weiteres *s* zu lesen ist. — Mit den Pünktchen unter einzelnen Buchstaben scheinen mir die Herausgeber etwas zu großzügig zu sein. Man sollte sie m.E. nur dann gebrauchen, wenn die Lesung eines Buchstabens unsicher ist oder zumindest unsicher sein würde, wenn sich die richtige Lesung nicht aus dem Kontext ergeben würde. In Nr. 63 z. B. würde ich keinen einzigen Buchstaben mit einem Pünktchen versehen.

Dies sind aber Kleinigkeiten. Im ganzen — und fast überall auch im einzelnen — gesehen ist dies ein ausgezeichnetes und willkommenes Buch. Man darf nur hoffen, daß weitere Bände bald folgen werden. Besonders für die wichtigsten Städte der Narbonensis mit den meisten Inschriften, Arelate, Narbo und Nemausus wären Inschrifteneditionen dieser Art dringend nötig.

Olli Salomies

A. K. Bowman — J. D. Thomas: Vindolanda. The Latin Writing Tablets. Britannia Monograph Series, 4. Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, London 1983. 157 p. XV plates. GBP 16.50.

Here we have the long-awaited definitive publication of the Vindolanda tablets, whose discovery dates back a decade. Two excavation campaigns of 1973—1975 from the fort of Vindolanda (Chesterholm) produced an impressive series of Latin wooden tablets, whose importance for the history of Roman Britain and Roman army practices would be hard to overemphasise, not to forget their relevance to Latin palaeography (incl. the ‘codicological’ aspects), epistolography and Vulgar Latin, too.

The series is constituted of military records, documents and letters, regarding the presence at Vindolanda of the *cohors VIII Batavorum* and the *cohors II Tungrorum*. They date to the early second century and are therefore a most precious testimony of military establishments in the far North-West of the Empire. And their value is enhanced by the very fact that they represent the type of ‘leaf tablets’ made for writing with pen and ink, while for example the famous tablets from Pompeii and Herculaneum are written with a stylus.

In the extensive introductory chapters the authors deal with various matters: archaeological background, contents, palaeography, language. Then follow the texts with translations and commentaries. There are several pages of indices, which are very useful. Fifteen pages of plates close the volume, but the photographs do not allow a reconsideration of the readings in every case.

My criticisms are few. On p. 33 various tablets from Italy are recorded. But it has

escaped the attention of the authors that those published in the *Rendiconti* of the Academy of Naples do not come from Herculaneum, but are Puteolane, rediscovered near Pompeii at the Agro Murecine (now completely reread by Camodeca). To the very important remarks on what the tablets add to our knowledge of writing-materials in the Roman world see now also Roberts-Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex*, London-Oxford 1983; on the same theme a Colloquium in Paris in 1985 (*Les débuts du Codex*) was helpful. As to the forms of the letter B (p. 59), it is worth noting that Marichal believed that he had found in Pompeii examples of the *b* of NRC, but in reality at least CIL IV 1880 represents the older form 'à panse à gauche' (see Gnomon 1973, 159). A little below, read 'tratteggiamento', not 'traggiamento'. To the documents: in 3 I cannot believe in the existence of the name *Fruventius*, as it is a late formation coined with the suffix *-ius* and could hardly occur as early as at the beginning of the second century. In 4 *ad sacrum divae* is not good. 30: *Oppius* seems more probable than *Occius*, to judge from the photograph. 31: I would absolutely prefer *Firminus*, since *Terminus* is very rare as a cognomen, while *Firminus* fits very well in the geographical and social context. 37: for *occasio* cp. a Pompeian graffito and a Dacian tablet: Lebek, ZPE 60 (1985) 60. 38: one cannot say that (*H*)*elpidius* is a Latinized form of (*H*)*elpis* (!). And I must confess that to me *Elpis* as a masculine is highly surprising.

Heikki Solin

Jos Janssens S.I.: Vita e morte del cristiano negli epitaffi di Roma anteriori al sec. VII.
 Analecta Gregoriana, vol. 223, Series Facultatis Theologiae, sectio B, n. 73.
 Università Gregoriana Editrice, Roma 1981. XXIV, 339 p. Lit. 39.100.

Accanto agli studi fondamentali di Brelich (*Aspetti della morte nelle iscrizioni sepolcrali*, 1937), Lattimore (*Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, 1942¹, 1962²) e Sanders (*Licht en duisternis in de christelijke grafinschriften*, 1965) e molti articoli sui temi più specifici come, p. es., quello di Kajanto sulle credenze dell'oltretomba nella poesia e epigrafia cristiana (*Arctos* 12, 1978) o quello di chi scrive, sulle descrizioni del paesaggio dell'aldilà (*OpuscIRF* 1, 1981), abbiamo ora un nuovo studio di Janssens. I predetti studi si sono concentrati principalmente sulle idee escatologiche e soteriologiche, mentre il presente volume da debitamente peso anche alle diverse espressioni della vita cristiana contenute negli epitaffi (il concetto di essere cristiano nelle sue molteplici implicazioni, la relazione del fedele con la famiglia, con la società, con la chiesa, ecc.).

I punti di partenza di questo studio sono purtroppo un po' diversi da quelli di molti studiosi precedenti e condizionano anche la scelta del materiale. Uno degli scopi del libro è infatti "scoprire acque fresche e rinnovatrici per la propria vita spirituale d'oggi e di domani" (p. V), una premessa dalla quale consegue, fra l'altro, che i testi ritenuti eterodossi non sono stati inseriti nello studio (ma cosa è eterodossia a livello popolare della religione che questi testi rispecchiano?). Questa decisione 'teologistica' risulta fatale in quanto su questa base non ci si può aspettare più un quadro esauriente delle mentalità nelle antiche comunità cristiane di Roma. Ciò nonostante il numero effettivo delle iscrizioni escluse non sembra essere alto, ma questa impostazione metodologica comporta naturalmente delle con-

seguenze. Un'altra restrizione deplorabile è l'omissione della parte iconografica e ornamentale dei monumenti e dell'informazione circa la loro provenienza. In questo caso, però, l'autore non può essere criticato lui solo in quanto si muove sulla scia dei suoi predecessori.

Lo scopo principale del libro è quello di individuare il significato spirituale delle iscrizioni funerarie. Per un tale fine, però, non può bastare sempre la sola presentazione del materiale. Le idee e i concetti espressi nei testi non vengono infatti ambientati in nessun contesto storico o ideologico più ampio. Neppure il contesto letterario è preso in considerazione. L'autore osserva giustamente "altro è un trattato patristico su un tema di vita spirituale, altro la fede e la devozione vissute dal popolo cristiano" (p. 8). Tuttavia sembra essergli totalmente sfuggito il fatto che una grande parte degli epitaffi sono in forma poetica e, come ha sottolineato Kajanto nel suo articolo sopra citato, è spesso la poesia cristiana contemporanea o anteriore la chiave che ci dà accesso alla forma e al contenuto dei *carmina epigraphica*. Inoltre, nel corso dello studio non vengono menzionati i numerosi virgilianismi dei carmi — importanti a livello formale, ma anche contenutistico (per i virgilianismi cfr., da ultimo, Solin in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana II*, Roma 1985).

Riguardo agli influssi pagani sembra un po' riduttiva l'affermazione dell'autore: "il sentimento cristiano viene spesso nascosto dalle immagini letterarie" (p. 9). Queste immagini comunque avevano già in molti casi lo specifico valore cristiano sviluppatosi nell'ambito della poesia cristiana che attingeva dalle tradizioni poetiche precedenti. In altre parole, queste immagini nel loro contesto storico possono essere già cristianizzate e quindi ci comunicano aspetti della fede cristiana.

Considerando le premesse metodologiche e le limitazioni dello studio, il lettore potrà senz'altro utilizzare con profitto questo libro, diligentemente compilato e lucidamente scritto. Il valore precipuo dell'opera rimane, però, nella raccolta e nella organizzazione tematica del materiale.

Jaakko Aronen

Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores. Colligere coepit Ioannes Baptista De Rossi, complevit et edidit Antonius Ferrua S.I. Nova Series, Vol. VIII: Coemeteria Viarum Nomentanae et Salariae. In civitate Vaticana, Pont. Institutum Archaeologiae Christianae, Roma 1983. VIII, 494 p. Lit. 150.000.

Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores. Colligere coepit Ioannes Baptista De Rossi, compleverunt et ediderunt Antonius Ferrua et Danilus Mazzoleni. Nova Series, Vol. IX: Viae Salariae coemeteria reliqua. In civitate Vaticana, Pont. Institutum Archaeologiae Christianae, Roma 1985. VIII, 413 p. Lit. 250.000.

The gigantic work of editing the Christian inscriptions of ancient Rome is nearing completion. After the publishing of Volumes VIII and IX, only two further volumes are planned. When Antonio Ferrua, after the death of Angelo Silvagni in 1955, became the sole editor, 6496 inscriptions had been published. Today their number runs to 26311. Although

part of Volume III was edited by Silvagni, and 24828—26311 in Volume IX by Danilo Mazzoleni, Ferrua's successor, the work done by one single man is impressive. Pressure of age has now forced Ferrua to retire, but there can be little doubt that in the future ICVR will be known as mainly his achievement.

Volumes VIII and IX comprise the material from the cemeteries along the via Nomentana and via Salaria, the most important of which are the cemeteries of St Agnes and Priscilla. A great number of the inscriptions have, it is true, been published earlier, but all the extant stones have been reexamined, and the number of new finds is considerable.

The inscriptions are edited in accordance with the methods established in the first volumes of the series in the 1920s and 1930s, which of course do not agree with the practice observed in recent epigraphical publications. One of the most regrettable things is the lack of photographs. In Volumes I—V photographs of extant stones were given in appendices, but afterwards the practice was discontinued, apparently to cut down expenses. This makes it difficult to check doubtful or disputable readings. The inscriptions are usually given in majuscules. Transcriptions are rare, but brief comments on important points are supplied.

Still more regrettable is the fact that indices have been reduced to the barest minimum. There are a list of dated inscriptions, an index of names, *initia carminum*, and a concordance for ICVR I¹ (De Rossi and Gatti). Thus scholars have to wade through all the mass of inscriptions to gather material for a special study. For instance, the all-important symbols should have been registered. Again, Christian inscriptions furnish valuable material for the study of Vulgar or Late Latin. Hence an index *Grammatica quaedam* would have been welcome. Anyone investigating, e.g., epitaphic formulae would have greatly profited from an *Index verborum* or at any rate from *Notabilia varia*, etc. It is a pity that the first editor, Silvagni, did not follow the example of CIL in regard to the indices.

When the whole ICVR is completed, probably not in the too distant future, a new volume containing exhaustive indices should be composed. With the modern technique of data processing this cannot be a too formidable task. But the *index nominum* should also be revised, not least because of the recent advances in Latin and Greek onomastics. This concerns Volumes I—II more than the ones edited by Ferrua.

The new editor, Danilo Mazzoleni, has edited the material from the cemetery of Priscilla. One can notice some differences from Ferrua's practice. Thus he gives more facsimile reproductions of the extant stones, though not consistently. But facsimiles are no substitute for good modern photographs. In facsimile drawings, one can never reach the same degree of exactness.

In the new volumes there are of course points of disagreement and mistakes, which it is the duty of the reviewer to record. Because space does not allow an exhaustive treatment, I shall only give a choice of cases. 24044: *Eumero* cannot be an acclamation because it is set in the dative; cp. *Eumoerus*, Solin, *Namenbuch* 796: two cases from Rome. 24125: *qui pro quae* cannot be a stonecutter's mistake but a wellknown feature of Late Latin. 24474: because *Melitia* at the end of the epitaph is a signum, it is more likely a vocative than a mistake for a dative. 24694: *Gregori* is clearly the signum of the deceased woman in the vocative and not the fragment of a man's name. 24984: the transcription differs from the facsimile drawing of the stone in line four. 25045: mistakes in the transcription. Though the editor (Mazzoleni) has

taken the transcription from Rodrigues Almeida, he should have checked the text himself. The stone is extant. 25102: the last word, according to the facsimile T is visible, hence not *feci(t)*. 25116: the nominative of ELPII is possibly not *Elpis*. 25130: the last line is missing in the transcription. 25318: in *depositio Leoni*, the nominative of the name is certainly *Leonius*, not *Leo*. 25323: same remark as in 25045 above. 25339: line 5, LXXV, not LXX. 25423: *Purpurius* is of course not “*altera forma Porfyrii*” but a good Latin name. It is recorded in my Latin Cognomina 230, several cases. 25449: line two, the stone does not show a gap between ILLA and XVIII. Hence the supplement [*a*](*nnis*) is unwarranted.

The language of the edition is Latin. Unfortunately, the standard of Latin as living language has recently been falling everywhere. In my opinion, it is not unclassical constructions or words that are to be regretted. Even in humanist Latin, strict Ciceronianism has always been an exception. But passages which are hard to understand are a serious defect. Especially in the comments of Mazzoleni, there are some obscure passages or infelicitous expressions, e.g. 25347: “*Exsuperius est solum signum coemeterii inscriptionibus notum*”.

But enough of marginal notes. ICVR is and will remain an indispensable source for all epigraphists and philologists and historians, in practice for everybody interested in classical and especially Christian antiquity.

Iiro Kajanto

Françoise Prévot: Les inscriptions chrétiennes. Recherches archéologiques franco-tunisiennes à Mactar V. Collection de l'École française de Rome 34. Roma 1984. XII, 261 p. Fr. 390.

Ce volume, publié sous le patronage de l'Institut national d'archéologie africaine et d'art de Tunis, s'inscrit dans une série de publications franco-tunisiennes concernant l'archéologie et l'épigraphie chrétienne de Mactar. L'ouvrage de Fr. Prévot constitue une nouvelle et importante contribution à l'étude de l'épigraphie locale et apporte aussi, bien entendu, une aide précieuse à l'élaboration d'une synthèse dans le domaine de l'épigraphie chrétienne d'Afrique qui, comme on le sait, a été déjà l'objet de nombreuses missions et recherches françaises au XX^e siècle, et surtout au cours des 30 dernières années.

Après une introduction qui retrace l'évolution historique du site de Mactar et qui nous présente une rétrospective des fouilles anciennes et modernes tout en exposant la méthode suivie, les 221 inscriptions (dont 116 inédites) sont classées dans un catalogue par groupes, selon l'ordre topographique (Basiliques I—IV et Thermes). Un grand problème, caractéristique pour le matériel de Mactar, est posé par les textes dont la provenance est indéterminée. C'est la difficulté majeure, car elle touche la plupart des épitaphes et rend ainsi la datation relative plus incertaine. On peut cependant penser que la majorité proviennent de nécropoles (le nombre d'épitaphes découvertes dans les basiliques est seulement de 56). Chaque inscription est accompagnée d'un lemme très complet et d'une lecture soignée. Le format du volume autorise une impression sur deux colonnes, et permet la publication de planches photographiques dont la qualité est remarquable.

La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage est consacrée à l'étude externe et interne des

inscriptions. On appréciera en particulier l'expérience archéologique et historique de Fr. Prévot, qui est nécessaire quand il s'agit de matériel de ce genre, très difficilement datable. L'analyse des supports, de la paléographie, de l'onomastique et de la langue permet de situer les inscriptions dans une période allant du IV^e au début du VII^e siècle. Très remarquable et problématique est la fréquence relativement élevée des "tables" (*mensae*) encadrées d'un rebord en relief (cf. pp. 162—164). Une autre particularité majeure est constituée par l'onomastique et la formulaire qui sont visiblement influencées par les traditions pré-chrétiennes. Notons la persistance de l'usage du gentilice dans la nomenclature jusqu'à l'époque byzantine.

L'impression générale qui se dégage de la lecture de ce volume est qu'il s'agit là d'une documentation de premier ordre, suscitant notre reconnaissance et notre admiration. Nul doute que l'étude de Mme Prévot n'apporte une aide précieuse à tous ceux qui s'intéressent à l'épigraphie chrétienne.

Mika Kajava

Giovanni Brizzi: Studi di storia annibalica. Epigrafia e antichità, 6. Fratelli Lega Editori, Faenza 1984. 132 p. Lit. 22.000.

Il Brizzi, specialista di studi militari antichi, pubblica nella collana "Epigrafia e antichità" di G. Susini otto saggi, tutti pertinenti alla storia annibalica: un fatto un po' strano, visto che qui non si tratta nettamente di epigrafia — tranne l'ultimo saggio — come è il caso degli altri volumi già pubblicati in questa collana. Naturalmente questo fatto non può diminuire il valore dell'opera.

Ecco i titoli dei saggi stessi: 'Pol. IX, 24, 4—8: Annibale e il suo "doppio" '; 'Riflessioni sulla morte di un console'; 'App., *Hann.*, 28: giochi gladiatorii tra i prigionieri cannensi?'; 'Il sacco annibalico di Lucus Feroniae: i moventi di un gesto sacrilego'; 'Fonti poetiche nella *Libica* di Appiano?'; 'Ancora sul "papiro di Annibale" (*PHamb.* 129)'; 'Annibale: postille ad uno studio recente'; 'La guerra annibalica: note di epigrafia letteraria tardoantica'. Cioè, si passa da pura filologia a papirologia e a epigrafia letterarie, rimanendo sempre però nella storia (militare). In sé e per sé ogni saggio è stato scritto con notevole accuratezza, ma purtroppo lo stile dell'A. assomiglia all'*ubertas* liviana come spesso avviene tra gli studiosi italiani: ciò conferisce all'opera un forte carattere retorico, accresciuto anche dall'uso di parole insolite e di metonimie come "il Barcide". Ciò rende questi saggi, a mio parere, piuttosto popolareggianti o, se vogliamo, divertenti. Un altro fatto che potrebbe disturbare alcuni lettori, è lo spazio sproporzionato dedicato alle note, scritte anch'esse nello stile di *ubertas*: così i saggi sono diventati più faticosi da leggere, cfr. ad es. le pp. 19—27 (di note pesanti è colpevole anche il recensore!).

Tuttavia, il Brizzi dimostra una perfetta conoscenza del protagonista, applica diversi metodi e si rileva un acuto storico con competenze filologiche. Benché il libro lasci un po' a desiderare soprattutto per quanto riguarda lo stile, siamo dunque in presenza di studi assai interessanti ed approfonditi sulla storia di Annibale. E sempre meglio che siano raccolti in un volume anziché sparsi in diverse riviste specializzate e difficilmente reperibili.

Timo Sironen

Giovanni Forni: Le tribù romane. III,1: Le pseudo-tribù. Historica 1. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1985. 172 p. Lit. 90.000.

Die Arbeiten von G. Forni, dem anerkannten *princeps* der Tribusforschung, über die römischen Tribus lagen der Forschung bisher in der Form von Aufsätzen vor, die nicht immer leicht zugänglich waren, und die eben deshalb, weil verstreute Aufsätze eine Monographie mit Indices usw. nicht ganz ersetzen können, vielleicht nicht ganz die Wirkung auf die Forschung gehabt haben, die sie verdienen. So ist es sehr zu begrüßen, daß Professor Forni sich jetzt dazu entschlossen hat, die römischen Tribus, und die Probleme, die sie bieten, auch monographisch zu behandeln. Das Gesamtwerk wird offenbar aus mehreren Bänden bestehen; der erste Band, der den Pseudotribus (gelungener Ausdruck, der von Forni selbst stammt) gewidmet ist, ist nun erschienen. Vielleicht ist unter den Bänden, die das Gesamtwerk ausmachen werden, gerade dieser Band nicht der, auf den man in der Forschung am meisten gewartet hat. Aber jede kompetente zusammenfassende Darstellung eines bestimmten Themas, die dazu noch leicht erreichbar ist, ist immer zu begrüßen, und es wird wohl niemand geben, der behaupten möchte, daß für die Pseudotribus eine monographische Darstellung nicht nötig gewesen wäre.

Diese Arbeit kann, was zu erwarten war, ohne weiteres als eine abschliessende Behandlung des Themas bezeichnet werden. Wer über die Pseudotribus informiert werden will, wird hier alles Nötige finden, und in absehbarer Zeit wird es sicher kein seriöser Forscher für nötig halten, sich mit den Pseudotribus näher zu beschäftigen. — Am Anfang des Werkes werden in zehn Kapiteln alle Fragen, die mit den Pseudotribus, die übrigens erst seit etwa der Mitte des 2. Jh. bezeugt sind (S.27), verknüpft sind, eingehend besprochen. Auch auf die Geschichte der Pseudotribus in der Forschung seit den Humanisten wird eingegangen (Kap.III), ebenso auf die schwierige Frage, wann Claudia als eine echte Tribus, wann als eine Pseudotribus gelten soll (Kap. VII). Die Erklärung der “genesi delle pseudo-tribù” (S. 38ff.) ist offensichtlich richtig, und die vermisste hier praktisch nichts; man könnte höchstens wünschen, daß der Verfasser sich auch zu der Frage geäußert hätte, wie es zu erklären ist, daß Pseudotribus vereinzelt auch bei Zivilpersonen belegt sind; denn die Entstehung des Gebrauchs von Pseudotribus scheint doch deutlich genug ein militärisches Milieu vorauszusetzen.

Auf die Hauptdarstellung folgen die Appendices, in denen die Dokumentation, auf der die Darstellung im Hauptteil beruht, angeführt wird. Jemand wird sich vielleicht die Frage stellen wollen, ob man nicht hier hätte Platz sparen können; die ganz fragmentarischen Namen können ja selten ein größeres Interesse für sich beanspruchen, und etwa die zahlreichen M. Aur(elii) M.f. Fl(avia) aus Philippopolis (S. 80 Nr. 169ff.) interessieren ja eigentlich nur den, der die Namen der *vici* von Philippopolis studieren will. Ich werde mir eine solche Frage nicht stellen, sondern werde mich darüber freuen, daß die Dokumentation möglichst vollständig ist, und daß der Verfasser auch *Inedita* heranziehen konnte (S. 51 Nr. 5; 53 Nr. 16—8; 59 Nr. 58f. usw.).

Nur in einigen kleinen Details kann ich dem Verfasser nicht folgen. S. 72 Nr. 105: Sex. Livius Sex. f. Ael. Urbicianus Mevan(ia). Da Aemilia die Tribus von Mevania ist, sollte man sich vielleicht doch fragen, ob nicht *Ael.* hier eine Verschreibung sein könnte. — S.75 Nr. 128:

A. Scantius A. f. Ael. Larcianus *proc. prov. Maur. Ting.* usw. Da die Inschrift dieses Mannes aus Formiae stammt, einer Stadt, deren Einwohner in die Tribus Aemilia eingeschrieben waren, und da bei dem Mann eine Heimatangabe fehlt, und noch aus anderen Gründen scheint mir die Emendation *Aem.* sehr wahrscheinlich. — S. 84 Nr. 217: L. Rennius Q. f. Fl. Faustus. Die Interpretation des Verfassers scheint mir ganz unmöglich. Eine Inschrift, in der alle Männer ein anderes Pränomen haben als ihre eigenen Väter, und in der eine Frau bloß als *Paquia uxor* (so, mit *xs*) bezeichnet wird, kann nicht aus der Zeit stammen, in der Pseudotribus bezeugt sind. Die Mommsensche Restitution des handschriftlich überlieferten inschriftlichen Textes, die von der von Forni in mehreren Details abweicht, scheint mir nach wie vor überzeugend. Seltsamerweise haben die Editoren der *Année épigraphique* die Interpretation des Verfassers übernommen (AE 1983, 209). — S. 85 Nr. 220 (vgl. S. 26): G. Iulius Fl. Ingen [uus], *mi [l.] leg. VI [p.] f.* Da der angeblichen Pseudotribus *Fl.* nicht durch eine Heimatangabe entsprochen wird, möchte ich *Fl.* doch eher für einen Gentilnamen halten. Von gemeinen Leuten, die zwei Gentilnamen haben, wimmelt es in den Inschriften des 2. und 3. Jh. (aus den letzten Bänden des AE notiere ich mir rasch AE 1973, 187. 576; 1975, 23. 46; 1976, 540; 1979, 339; 1980, 767; 1982, 292. 681; 1983, 960). Auch in dem Namen des Val. Cl. Quintus (S. 129 Nr. 146) scheint mir *Cl.* eher ein Gentilname zu sein.

Olli Salomies

Hélène Jouffroy: La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique romaine. Groupe de recherche d'Histoire romaine de l'Université des sciences humaines de Strasbourg. Études et Travaux II. Association pour l'étude de la civilisation romaine, Strasbourg 1986, 537 p. Fr. 280.—.

The Author has done a vast amount of work in trying to study the Roman public construction in Italy and in the African provinces and arrange it according to typology, chronology and geography. The private buildings are not included in this book for obvious reasons: an exhaustive study would not be possible. She does not handle Rome, either, and that is acceptable, because her aim is to study the building activity of the towns in general. But the conditions in Rome, in the Capital, were different, and therefore one understands that Rome deserves a totally specific study.

The chronology covers the time from the beginning of the Republic to the end of the Empire, and is divided as follows: Republic, Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods, 2nd century, 3rd century, from the Severi to the Tetrarchy, and 4th century. Except for the 1st period the subdivisions in the African provinces are the same. Under these subdivisions all constructions that can be dated are grouped.

The construction is divided into the following classes: walls, buildings of cult worship, administrative buildings, commercial and utility buildings, spectacular monuments, memorial arches and large constructions of public interest like aqueducts etc. The chosen classes are sufficiently distinctive, and the reader can follow well the evolution of the different types.

The material has been collected mainly from the epigraphical and literary sources. Archaeological evidence is used when the building types can be identified. In this material

dated constructions comprise 73% of the total in Italy and 68% in Africa. Generally the material is well collected, although there are little gaps, too. The building of the so-called agora of Velia (= gymnasium?) in the 2nd century B.C. is not mentioned (cf. Johannowsky, PP 204—207 [1982] 235). Should we, also, consider IG XIV 742 (dat. I/II cent A.D.) from Naples a public construction, although the word ἀγορευτήριον is problematic? It is not even cited here. Some unknown consul did, moreover, restore the baths of Naples (IG XIV 749). This inscription should be included at least among the non-dated. Besides, there was an imperial *macellum* and a *moles* which was built in the year 202 A.D. (for these see e.g. Napoli antica, Sopr. arch. per le prov. di Napoli e Caserta, 1985).

One wonders, also, that so few Greek inscriptions from Italy are cited (SEG is totally lacking). Should we believe that among them there are no inscriptions concerning the building activity of the Romans? (see, however, at least IG XIV 637, although it is very fragmentary).

Some minor points: p. 341, still under Naples: CIL X 1481 = IG XIV 729 is most probably connected with the restaurations of the baths by the emperor Titus, see SEG IV 95. P. 86 fn. 112 and p. 88 under Puteoli: the editions of the Tablets of Murecine by C. Giordano and F. Sbordone are now proved to be totally useless, cf. the new editions by G. Camodeca in Puteoli 6 (1982) 3—53. P. 341: the *chalcidicum* mentioned under Naples (AE 1956, 20) belongs better to Puteoli, see Camodeca, Puteoli 3 (1979) 22, fn. 24.

My remarks only concern these few cities, but I think that a study of this kind definitely includes a certain amount of superficiality. However, if the accuracy is as high everywhere as in those cases I have studied, this book is a very useful aid to anyone who needs this kind of information. This book has good indexes and a bibliography that is arranged according to the cities, and so gives a general picture easily. A book that should have been included is Les "Bourgeoisies" municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.-C., 1983, which has some very important information concerning esp. Latium and Campania. Concerning Fregellae, two works could have been cited: Fregellae. La storia e gli scavi by F. Coarelli, 1981 and G. Colasanti: Fregellae. Storia e topografia, pres. di F. Coarelli (1904) 1983. But I believe that the bibliography is not intended to be exhaustive.

Martti Leiwo

Frank Brommer: Odysseus. Die Taten und Leiden des Helden in antiker Kunst und Literatur. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 1983. X, 132 S. 48 Tafeln. DM 60.—.

F. Brommer has utilized his 'Vasenlisten' (3 1973) and 'Denkmälerlisten' III (1976) in this well-illustrated handbook concerning Odysseus in ancient art. References to the hero in early Greek literature and in some later sources are also given, but there is no actual discussion of the treatment of the Odysseus theme in ancient literature, nor of the problems of the relations between literature and art. The book seems to be addressed to non-specialists in the first place; the documentation attempted in the footnotes is not consistent, and all readers will miss a bibliography.

H. Thesleff

Lambert Schneider: Die Domäne als Weltbild. Wirkungstrukturen der spätantiken Bildersprache. Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1983. 289 S. 50 Abb. DM 80.—.

The present work deserves particular attention, not only for its merits but also because it is a (slightly modified version of the) *Habilitationsschrift* by L. Schneider, who together with other colleagues, called the “Hamburger Schule”, aim to introduce new methods and terms into classical archaeology (W. Raeck in *Gnomon* 8[1985] 357—363 with reference). There is a danger that an attempt to use a more accurate terminology will diminish the readability and the understanding of the text, as Raeck has pointed out, but this is for the most part avoided in this work. It is relevant, however, that the analysis of the treated motifs and their use in the art of late antiquity brings their interpretation to a new level by making them an understandable part of a *Bildersprache* which, as is shown, has to be seen as part of the so called *Domänensystem*, defined as “der Lebenszusammenhang des großen Gutsbetriebes mit seiner reich ausgestatteten Villenarchitektur im Zentrum ausgedehnter Ländereien, wie er sich auf spezifische Weise in der Übergangsgesellschaft von der Antike zum frühen Mittelalter auch als gesellschaftliches Leitbild ausgeformt hat.” (p.1). Concrete evidence is supplied for the often postulated interrelation between art and society. This interrelation is, of course, not a novelty (we need only refer e.g. to R. Bianchi Bandinelli’s studies) However, the influence of the landowners and their world picture has, as far as I am aware, not yet received the attention which it merits, as Schneider’s work shows in a very illuminating way.

In first part of his book the “Analyse der einzelnen Bildkomplexe” (p. 5—84) the emphasis is on certain objects from the 3rd century AD, the decoration of which serves particularly well as evidence for Schneider’s views. Under the heading “Die Präsenz der Domänenwelt in Kleinod: der Silberkasten der Proiecta” (p. 5—37) the chest from the famous Esquiline treasure receives a detailed analysis. The chapters “Herren und Diener in Aufwartungszeremonielle: Grabkammer in Silistra” (p. 39—55), “Venus und der Reichtum der Gewässer: Venusmosaik aus Djemila” (p. 56—67), and “Die Villa und ihre Ländereien: Das Dominus-Iulius-Mosaik aus Karthago” (p. 64—84) follow. In fact many other monuments are also mentioned and there is a welcome index to these (p. 266—279). Together with the partly very detailed and extensive notes (p. 175—252) we have a well documented and useful reference section.

Schneider gives only a pragmatic value to the traditional division of visual sources according to various genres and/or branches of art. Single motifs and objects are, according to Schneider, not to be studied in isolation but as parts of their context, not only of the single complex of decoration and further, as in this case, the whole decoration of a villa, but also as parts of the *Bildersprache* referred to. The important question is how they are used in it. Indeed, the motifs and their use are not only reflections of various relations to and in the society — they in fact represent a pseudo-reality (p. 166) — but also elements of conscious manipulation, a kind of pictorial propaganda: “Unser Interesse gilt somit nicht der Aufdeckung irgendeines inneren Sinns von Werken, sondern ritualisierten gesellschaftlichen Akten, in denen bestimmte Bilder einen Part gespielt haben” (p. 1). These issues are summed up in the second part in which are treated the “Bildübergreifende Zusammenstände” (p. 85—174) under the headings “Visualisierung eines Bedeutungsgeflechts” (p. 85—99), “Natur als

Naturalie" (p. 100—123), "Klassifizierung und Mythisierung von Natur" (p. 124—157) and "Die Domäne als Weltbild und Handlungsrahmen" (p. 158—174). Though neither the interpretation of single motifs as part of their context is a novelty, the way Schneider understands and uses the context offers a new, and evidently fruitful approach.

On the other hand, the explanation offered by Schneider is so attractive that it, though and because so all-embracing raises the doubt of "too good to be true", or perhaps better — to quote another musical phrase — "it ain't necessarily so". The motifs can be "read" in the way Schneider does, but is this sufficient to show that they all indeed were? Schneider is convincing especially when he presents also literary sources which support his observations. But still a more general reservation remains: the many possibilities of interpreting the manifold content of the motifs used in ancient art, and in the art of late antiquity especially, may lead us to overinterpretation and a forgetfulness of the "autonomous" life of well established motifs for whose use the most significant reason was tradition and/or their decorative value (cf. K. Schefold's "readings" of Pompeian wall paintings and the respective critics). I am for example not quite convinced that the "syntax" of the use of various motifs is so intentional in all details as in Schneider's interpretation. To show whether these doubts are justified or not, further studies are needed where also the question of the development of the features studied by Schneider, in other words their introduction into ancient art should be taken into account. Schneider's work is at any rate an excellent basis and stimulus for further studies. It has significantly furthered the discussion, which too seldom is the case.

Antero Tammisto

Hierapolis. Scavi e ricerche. Vol. I. Tullia Ritti: Fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche. Vol. II. Francesco D'Andria — Tullia Ritti: Le sculture del teatro. I rilievi con i cicli di Apollo e Artemide. Archaeologica 53 & 54. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1985. XII, 152 p. 24 tav. & XXVIII, 200 p. 53 tav. Lit. 230.000 & 250.000.

Der erste Band, auf den ich mich konzentrieren werde, hat den Titel 'Fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche'. Die vorliegende Beurteilung dieses Bandes ist unter dem Eindruck entstanden, den ich durch den Titel von dem Inhalt des Bandes bekam. — Die literarischen Quellen werden — ohne Platz zu sparen — ziemlich vollständig (s. aber S. 43) angeführt, was natürlich erfreulich ist; besonders viel Interessantes gibt es aber nicht dabei, und die literarischen Erwähnungen von Hierapolis wird wohl nur der heranziehen, der eine Geschichte o.ä. der Stadt schreiben will. So kann ich sogleich zu dem epigraphischen Teil der Arbeit übergehen. Was nun die epigraphischen Quellen betrifft, so finde ich den Titel des Bandes etwas irreführend. Man würde ja zunächst eigentlich erwarten, daß der vorliegende stattliche Band ein Corpus der Inschriften von Hierapolis enthalten würde, aber dies ist keineswegs der Fall. Ganz im Gegenteil scheinen die Inschriften, die nicht einmal durchwegs numeriert sind, gelegentlich fast eine untergeordnete Rolle zu spielen. Dies ist eigentlich schade; denn obwohl der Forschung das alte Corpus der hierapolitanischen Inschriften von W. Judeich im Rahmen des bekannten Werkes 'Altertümer von Hierapolis' (1898) zur Verfügung steht, wäre ein neues Corpus dennoch sehr willkommen gewesen, zumal seit der

Jahrhundertwende viele neue Inschriften gefunden worden sind, z.B. die vielen Inschriften, die von F. Pennacchietti in den Atti von 1966/67 der Turiner Akademie publiziert wurden, und die nicht durch das SEG bequem zugänglich sind.

Dieser band ist also nicht ein Corpus der hierapolitanischen Inschriften; es sind wohl kaum mehr als 50 Inschriften, die hier publiziert werden (dazu werden noch einige Inschriften in den Anmerkungen zitiert). Diese Inschriften fallen in drei Gruppen: Documenti agonistici (Kap. III); Iscrizioni del teatro (Kap. IV); Apollo Kareios: la statua del dio e un nuovo frammento di oracolo alfabetico (Kap. V). Ich werde mich auf die zwei ersten Gruppen konzentrieren. Zunächst fällt auf, daß beide Gruppen nur eine Auswahl der in Frage kommenden Inschriften enthalten; das Kapitel 'Documenti agonistici' enthält also nicht alle Inschriften dieser Art, und das Kapitel 'Iscrizioni del teatro' nicht alle Inschriften des Theaters. Ein "documento agonistico" ist noch "in corso di studio" (S. 91), und unter den Inschriften des Theaters gibt es eine Gruppe von "importanti iscrizioni di età adrianea"; diese Inschriften "saranno studiati (*sic*) in un prossimo futuro" (S. 107). Eine Inschrift wird nur zum Teil angeführt (S. 98f. Nr. 3). Wenn man aber berücksichtigt, was hier tatsächlich geboten wird, so muß man freilich zugeben, daß es sich um eine Inschriftenpublikation großen Stils handelt; an die nüchternen Bände etwa der Serie "Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien" hat man bei der Abfassung dieses Bandes sicher nicht gedacht; es sind offensichtlich vielmehr die Arbeiten etwa der französischen Schule, die die Verfasserin im Auge gehabt hat. Wenn man die Frage außer Acht läßt, ob Publikationen so grandioser Art tatsächlich die richtige Lösung zu den Problemen der kleinasiatischen Epigraphik sein können, so muß jeder zugeben, daß diese Publikation ohne weiteres als mustergültig bezeichnet werden kann: der archäologische Kontext, zu dem die Inschriften gehören, wird jeweils genau beschrieben, und somit bleiben die Inschriften nicht ohne Anknüpfung an das Monument, zu dem sie gehören. Eine Inschrift ist ja nicht etwas Abstraktes, sondern ein archäologisches Monument, das einen Text enthält. Hier erscheinen die Inschriften als fest verankerte Teile eines archäologischen Ganzen, und die Verfasserin verdient für ihre fleißige und sorgfältige Arbeit ein aufrichtiges Lob. Auch die Kommentare zu den Inschriften sind fundiert und nützlich. Es ist lehrreich, die Seiten dieses Buches durchzulesen; denn man bekommt ein lebendiges Bild davon, wie es in einer antiken Stadt aussah und was einem antiken Betrachter dieser Stadt auffallen konnte. — Freilich wird hier gelegentlich fast zu viel geboten; das Relief der *frons scaenae* z.B. wird auffallend ausführlich beschrieben (S. 59ff.), wenn man bedenkt, daß die Verfasserin in einem späteren Band auf das Relief zurückkommen wird (S. 57 Anm. 7). — Unter den Inschriften in diesem Band gibt es sowohl solche, die schon früher bekannt waren, als auch solche, die erst kürzlich gefunden worden sind. Von den älteren Inschriften kann die Verfasserin gelegentlich eine verbesserte Lesung bieten (etwa Nr. 5 auf S. 116). Von den Neufunden sollen hier das neue Zeugnis für den Prokonsulat von Asien des Q. Tineius Sacerdos cos. suff. 192 n. Chr. (S. 108) und das neue Fragment eines alphabetischen Orakelspruches (S. 130ff.) erwähnt werden.

Im ganzen handelt es sich um eine durchaus lobenswerte Leistung. Im einzelnen habe ich nur wenig zu beanstanden. In den griechischen Texten stößt man gelegentlich auf Druckfehler, aber diese sind nicht besonders störend (ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορία S. 41; βιβλιοθήκη S. 42; τοῦ δαῖνου S. 87 [zweimal !]; πρεβ(ευτοῦ) καὶ ἀντιστατήγου S. 108;

[φυλῆς Τ]ιβερι[ανή] S. 119). Sonstige kleine Bemerkungen: S. 96: Q. Flavius (o Fabius) Secundus, poeta. Sicher Φάβιος; denn einerseits ist es viel leichter zu erklären, daß in einem Alpha der Mittelstrich fehlt als daß ein ganzer Buchstabe ausgefallen ist, und andererseits heißen Flavii gewöhnlich Titus, während Fabii sehr oft den Vornamen Quintus haben. — S. 99: man fragt sich, ob die Übersetzung “(appartengono ad) Apollonios secondo, di Menandros di Apollonios” von Ἀπολλωνίου β' τοῦ Μενάνδρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου dem Italiener leichter verständlich ist als dem Ausländer. Warum nicht einfach und deutlich Apollonios figlio di A., nipote di M. usw.? — S. 108: sotto il proconsolato (nicht consolato).

Im zweiten Band werden die Reliefs des Theaters mit Darstellungen der cicli di Apollo e Artemide beschrieben. Die Arbeit macht einen soliden Eindruck, und wird von archäologischer Seite sicher sehr begrüßt werden.

Olli Salomies

Quaderni del Centro di Studio per l'archeologia etrusco-italica. Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Roma. — Vol. 8: *Archeologia laziale, VI.* Sesto incontro di studio del Comitato per l'archeologia laziale, 1984, 422 p. Lit. 46.000. — Vol. 9: *Il commercio etrusco arcaico.* Atti dell'Incontro di studio, 5—7 dicembre 1983, 1985, VIII, 305 p. Lit. 40.000. — Vol. 10: *Contributi alla ceramica etrusca tardo-classica.* Atti del Seminario, 11 maggio 1984, 1985, 83 p. Lit. 28.000. — Vol. 11: *Archeologia laziale, VII, 1.* Settimo incontro di studio del Comitato per l'archeologia laziale, 1985, 246 p. Lit. 44.000. — Vol. 12: *Archeologia laziale, VII, 2. Il Tevere e le altre vie d'acqua del Lazio antico.* Settimo incontro di studio del Comitato per l'archeologia laziale, 1986, 229 p. Lit. 44.000.

Salutiamo con piacere la pubblicazione degli incontri sull'archeologia laziale e di altri volumi collettivi dei Quaderni del Centro di Studio per l'Archeologia etrusco-italica. Può dirsi una felice iniziativa quella di organizzare annualmente degli incontri sul progresso degli scavi e studi sui materiali archeologici di Roma e della regione Lazio. Questa iniziativa merita la gratitudine di tutti coloro che lavorano nel campo delle antichità romane, siano loro archeologici, storici o epigrafisti. Pensiamo solo, a mo' d'esempio, agli importantissimi e — si può dire — sensazionali scavi di Satricum e di Fregellae di cui sono stati dati con encomiabile rapidità resoconti negli incontri successivi. Ma non è possibile dare, nel breve spazio concessomi dalla Redazione di Arctos, un bilancio di tutta la ricchezza contenuta in questi volumi.

Anche i restanti volumi riproducono vari contributi di incontri su argomenti attuali: sul commercio etrusco arcaico, negli Atti di un incontro organizzato nel 1983, con numerosi importanti contributi su anfore e su oggetti di lusso; sulla ceramica etrusca tardo-classica, negli Atti di un seminario nel 1984; e infine va ricordato l'argomento speciale “Il Tevere e le altre vie d'acqua del Lazio antico” nel quadro del settimo incontro generale.

• Attendiamo con ansia altri volumi ugualmente interessanti sull'archeologia laziale.

Heikki Solin

Hans-Ulrich Cain: Römische Marmorkandelaber. Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur, Bd. 7. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein, 1985. VIII, 224 S. 93 Tafeln mit 374 Abbildungen, 14 Beilagen mit 201 Abbildungen. DM 170.—.

After the 19th century boom of systematic collecting and research into ancient sources, both literary and visual, much inspired and dominated by German scholars, it now seems to be the time for a revival. Once again the contribution of the Germans is remarkable. In addition to the ASR, another outstanding example is the series “Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer Skulptur und Architektur” published by K. Fittschen and P. Zanker, whose merits speak for themselves. Compared to the somewhat romantic and megalomaniac, though very useful attempts developed in the previous century, the groups of sources included within single studies are now reasonably limited, which in many respects increases their usefulness. In this respect it is further relevant that the typologies and iconographical analyses are used to locate each group of material or branch of art within a larger context, with the aim of clarifying the Roman use of Hellenistic art. The better understanding of classicism and eclecticism so characteristic of Roman art is crucial to the understanding of the question of what actually is Roman in Roman art. The recent 7th volume of the series by H.-U. Cain, who claims to treat all the preserved marble candelabra, is — as could be expected — a welcome contribution.

The introduction (p. 1—3) gives the usual overview of the relevant previous studies, also describing shortly the interest shown in this kind of objects as well as their use and copying from the Renaissance ateliers onwards.

The second chapter (p. 4—22) characterizes the marble candelabra as part of Roman decorative luxury. The topics discussed are as follows: buyers and subscribers, time and intensity of the production, the historical presuppositions for the birth of the *Gattung*, the valuation of marble decorative objects, the production technique and, the use and function of marble candelabra. The marble candelabra can be considered as a Roman *Kunstgattung*: they are indeed found nearly exclusively in Italy, above all in the capital (this is also the case with *oscilla* and mask reliefs). They occur in late Hellenism — most of the pieces dating from the last third of the 1st century BC — and belong among the decorative luxuries with which the Romans aimed to rival the cultural achievements of the Hellenistic East. Marble objects were less valuable than metal ones, but marble candelabra were regarded as highly precious works of art (they are e.g. not found in the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum).

The typological and iconographical studies presented in Chapter III (p. 23—142) aim to elucidate the taste and values of which the marble candelabra and the motifs used for their decoration were a result. First the relation to Greek thymiateria is discussed (p. 23—25), and it is shown that the bases of Roman marble candelabra follow a tradition that can be traced to the 2nd century BC, i.e. late Hellenistic instead of classical models. Then follows the apparently very thorough typology (p. 26—97), which must have been a laborious job even with a relatively small corpus (the catalogue on p. 149—206 contains 165 entries). Cain distinguishes six types, of which only two can be dated to the Republican era, the majority being from the Augustan time. So far it has not been possible to attest a type which would

have been developed after the Augustan period. This may, of course (as Cain notes on p. 26) be due to the fragmentarily preserved material, but it seems that the occurrence of the so called *Einzelstücke* (one or more pieces but not attested elsewhere) in the 3rd quarter of the 1st century BC, which during the 1st and 2nd century AD become a majority, is due to a kind of serial production. As only few upper parts have been preserved, the typology depends on the bases, the decoration of which is thoroughly analyzed (p. 98—139). The motifs are divided as follows: gods and personifications, thiasos-figures, mythological figures, priests and priestesses, Kalathiskos dancers, and animal, floral and material motifs.

It is not in the competence of the present author to judge the correctness of the details of Cain's typology, which, however, seems reliable and solid work. The classifications may, in fact, appear too neat, and another inevitable danger of such detailed typologies is that they get a misleadingly dominant position in our judgements. This is here avoided by means of the "Rückblick" of the 3rd chapter (p. 140—142) and, above all by the concluding 4th chapter "Überlegungen zur Bedeutungs- und Ideengeschichte" which is excellent and most illuminating.

The catalogue (p. 149—206 including a useful list of modern pasticci also) is concise, but thorough. Together with the appendices and the high quality photographs the documentation and reference part is exemplary work indeed.

Antero Tammisto

Wolfgang Schürmann: Typologie und Bedeutung der stadtrömischen Minerva-Kultbilder. RdA Supplementi 2. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1985. 163 p. 16 tav. Lit. 180.000.

Nella premessa al presente volume l'Autore dice che originariamente questo studio doveva trattare delle differenze tra Atena e Minerva nelle raffigurazioni e nel significato. Nel corso del lavoro, comunque, il peso maggiore viene dato alla dea romana ed il punto di vista puramente romano dell'Autore appare piacevolmente fresco nella letteratura scientifica di questo campo. Lo scopo del libro è duplice, come già si evince dal titolo: Esso si articola da una parte nello studio iconografico delle varie rappresentazioni di Minerva e dall'altra nell'indagine sul loro contenuto. Il lavoro è stato presentato per la prima volta nel 1980 come *Dissertation* nel Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität a Bonn.

I santuari e i luoghi di culto di Minerva entro la città di Roma formano un punto di partenza naturale per lo studio. Attraverso una ricerca approfondita, che si basa su un materiale piuttosto vasto sia illustrativo sia letterario, l'Autore cerca di definire le caratteristiche dei vari tipi romani della dea. Dal materiale illustrativo preso in esame possono essere qui menzionati anzitutto le monete e, inoltre, le statue, i rilievi e le gemme. I tipi identificati sono cinque: Minerva come Palladia, Minerva 'Ergane', Minerva tipo Aventino, Minerva Chalcidica e Minerva Promachos.

Accanto all'analisi formale delle raffigurazioni l'Autore studia vari aspetti dei tipi di Minerva testé indicati nella vita pubblica romana; soprattutto viene esaminato l'uso politico delle immagini della dea nell'arte. Più o meno un terzo del contenuto del libro (pp. 17—47) è stato dedicato al tipo Palladium che, secondo l'Autore, è l'*Erscheinungsform* più importante

di Minerva nell'arte ufficiale dal periodo tardorepubblicano in poi. La vera immagine, se esiste, della Palladia rimane comunque oscura a causa della mancanza di monumenti. Minerva può essere identificata come Palladia solo attraverso dettagli tipici oppure sulla base della situazione di cui fa parte. Come portatore di messaggi politici, il ruolo di Minerva Palladia appare molto accentuato nella propaganda ideologica di Giulio Cesare. L'Autore presenta un esempio di ciò: un *denarius* (48—47/46 a. C.) dove, sul retro, è stato rappresentato Enea che sulla mano sinistra protesa tiene Minerva nell'aspetto di Palladium. Con questa moneta, secondo l'Autore, Giulio Cesare voleva far riferimento al suo ruolo preferito di liberatore e salvatore dello stato.

Non c'è dubbio che questo studio piuttosto concentrato e interessante chiarisce molto l'immagine di Minerva e i suoi diversi aspetti nella società romana. Le illustrazioni del libro sono per la maggior parte di qualità eccellente, solo che essendo relativamente poche forse non offrono tutte le informazioni volute dal lettore.

Liisa Harri

Fred S. Kleiner: The Arch of Nero in Rome. A Study of the Roman Honorary Arch before and under Nero. Archaeologica 52. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1985. 159 p. XXXIV pl. Lit. 220.000.

The purpose of Kleiner's work is not only an attempt to reconstruct the lost Arch of Nero in Rome, but also a most important contribution to the development of sounder methods for studying lost monuments of classical antiquity. Nero's arch is an exemplary case because of the total absence of any remains. Nor is there any post-Neronian depictions of it, and the Arch was never recorded in later descriptions of Rome. If this is not due to the *damnatio memoriae* which Nero received after being proclaimed an enemy of the state, the Arch must in some way have been destroyed by the fires of either 69 or 80 AD (cf. pp. 94—95). The only written source testifying to the existence of Nero's arch is preserved in Tacitus' *Annals*, which state that it was built *medio Capitolini montis* (15,18,1). Since the only figurative descriptions of the monument are known from Neronian coins, the author has collected a remarkable corpus of Neronian arch *sestertii* (over 400 specimens), thus underscoring the primary importance of the study of *architectura numismatica*.

The Arch of Nero was represented on the reverses of *sestertii* struck in Rome (AD 64) and Lugdunum (AD 65—67). One of Kleiner's merits is that he has been able to make a clear distinction between the two mints, of which the Roman one is earlier and thus more accurate and reliable in representing the details of the Arch. He has even identified the earliest Roman issues and shown that the omission of more and more details of the Arch correlates with the increasing number of dies produced in the mint. Kleiner's reconstruction is far more detailed than those of his predecessors, Donaldson (1859), Mansuelli (1954) and Fuchs (1969). Even though a perfect reconstruction of this kind of lost monument can naturally never be established, Kleiner's proposal seems to be sound, all the more because he is the first to have made an exhaustive study of *all* available evidence. Particularly interesting is his account of the gradually changing conceptualization of the honorary arch on the part of Roman die

engravers: the Neronian *sestertii* are the first to represent a three-quarter view of any monument and they are also more accurate in showing the details of the decoration. Kleiner is quite right in supposing (p. 72ff.) that the new way of treatment was not the result of a *Kunstwollen* of the artist, but it was dictated by the unprecedented appearance of the Arch itself. Accordingly, the three-quarter view of the Neronian arch is explained by the fact that it was the first Roman honorary arch which had colossal statues set up in the niches at both ends of the monument.

The study does not concentrate only on the Neronian period, but tries also to delineate the earlier development of the Roman honorary arch from the Republican *fornices* to the Imperial *arcus*. Kleiner's reconstruction (pp. 78—93; Pl. XXII—XXIII, XXV) is especially important, as it makes us re-evaluate the post-Neronian history of the Roman honorary arch: a great number of architectural and sculptural elements attributed to the Flavian, Trajanic or even later design, were already present in the Neronian arch of AD 62.

Mika Kajava

Eugenia Equini Schneider: La "Tomba di Nerone" sulla via Cassia. Studio sul sarcofago di Publio Vibio Mariano. Archaeologica 55. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1984. 85 p. XV tav. Lit. 90.000.

Un solo monumento forse non meriterebbe uno studio tanto esteso, se non si trattasse di un'oggetto famoso e importante, come è il sarcofago di Publio Vibio Mariano. La sua fama si fonda soprattutto sull'antica tradizione che ne faceva la "Tomba di Nerone". Questo monumentale sarcofago, che si trova sulla Via Cassia (per la località si vedano le pp. 9—20), è uno dei molti luoghi e monumenti che furono connessi con l'imperatore dopo la sua morte. Il moltiplicarsi di luoghi sacri e visitati dal suo spirito fu alimentato dalle leggende sia pagane che cristiane, che riportavano varie descrizioni sul ritorno di Nerone. Per i cristiani Nerone rappresentava la Bestia dell'Apocalisse (cfr. p. 21sgg.). Una prova della fama del monumento è anche la lunga serie di descrizioni grafiche, documentate fin dal Rinascimento, che aiutano a chiarirne le vicende (33 numeri nell'elenco del terzo capitolo).

Il quarto capitolo è dedicato interamente al sarcofago, che porta sulla faccia frontonale l'iscrizione sepolcrale di Vibio Mariano con il suo *cursus* equestre (CIL VI 1636 = ILS 1361; alla 3. riga della trascrizione, p. 45, dovrebbe leggersi *cohh.*, non *coh.*). Il monumento si data ai decenni successivi alla metà del III secolo d.C., con cui coincide anche lo stile decorativo (cfr. le conclusioni, pp. 64sgg.). È inclusa anche un'appendice che contiene notizie sull'indagine archeologica eseguita attorno al sarcofago nel 1982—83 e, infine, una nota su un cippo funerario frammentato, ritrovato nel 1982 nei pressi del monumento. L'indagine sul campo è opera di E. Loreti.

Lo schema generale del lavoro è chiaro e ben motivato, e tutta l'espressione è corrente e logica. Particolarmente appariscente risulta invece la trascuratezza nel scrivere i titoli dei libri citati e soprattutto le parole delle lingue straniere. Stranamente la stragrande maggioranza di queste numerose sviste figura nelle note del quarto capitolo (p. 41sgg.), dove comincia l'indagine storico-artistica del sarcofago nonché l'analisi dell'iscrizione.

Mika Kajava

Hans G. Frenz: *Römische Grabreliefs in Mittel- und Süditalien*. Archaeologica 37. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1985. VIII, 193 S. 64 Taf. Lit. 200.000.

Es kann überraschend scheinen, daß die vorliegende Studie in der Tat die erste ist, die sich in systematischer Weise mit den außerrömischen Kastensteinen beschäftigt. Grabreliefs dieser Art sind ja sehr weit verbreitet in Italien, speziell in Mittel- und Süditalien. Diese Reliefs, die in der Form von Büsten und Halbfiguren in einer Nische gearbeitet sind, können manchmal große Variationen des Typus je nach dem Fundplatz zeigen, und deswegen hat sich der A. u.a. die Aufgabe gestellt die lokalen Monumenttypen der verschiedenen Gegenden Italiens zu erhellen. Dies ist besonders darum wichtig, weil die Reliefs fast ausnahmslos von ihrem ursprünglichen Verwendungsmilieu getrennt worden sind und die Zugehörigkeit zu einem bestimmten Gebiet praktisch nur mit Hilfe einer stilistisch-typologischen Analyse festgestellt werden kann. Dagegen können die äußeren Unterschiede der einzelnen Büsten und Halbfiguren gar nicht bei der Datierung helfen, vielmehr sind sie nur Qualitätsfragen. Das größte Verdienst dieser Arbeit scheint darin zu liegen, daß es nun sowohl eine geographische Klassifizierung von Kastensteinen als auch eine typologische Beschreibung der Begriffe 'Büste' und 'Halbfigur' gibt. Ausdrücke wie *caput*, *imago* oder *protome*, wie sie z.B. im CIL gebraucht geworden sind, können leicht zu einer Konfusion führen, falls die Unterscheidung zwischen ihnen nicht konsequent durchgehalten wird.

In dem Katalog sind insgesamt 159 Reliefs registriert worden. Die ganze Materialdarstellung ist sachkundig und verläßlich, die Fotos mit Ausnahme von einigen Stücken von guter Qualität. Auch die 54 Inschriften, die meistens auf Freigelassene und deren Nachkommen weisen, sind durchweg genau beschrieben worden. Ich möchte hier nur einige Bemerkungen zu einzelnen Inschriften machen. Nr. 19 (Taf. 9,2): Die Lesung *Anicia* [- - -] ist sehr unsicher. Zwischen den Buchstaben N und Ç scheint nicht genug Raum für ein I zu sein. Nr. 20 (Taf. 10,1): Die zwei F der unteren Zeile könnten vielleicht als distinktive Zeichen für *filius* und *filia* stehen. Auch bei der Gattin ist *uxsor* geschrieben. Nr. 35 (Taf. 16,2): *Fufidiae*, nicht *Fufudiae* (3. Bildnis). Nr. 36 (Taf. 17,2): An der linken oberen Ecke ist vielmehr [*He*]rennius o. dgl. zu lesen. Der Verfasser stimmt der Umschrift und den Auflösungen von Giannetti (nicht Gianetti!) zu. Die Auflösung [- - -]*Te*]r(etina tribu) q(*uaestor*) ist sehr zweifelhaft. Es könnte sich eventuell um die Endung eines Cognomens handeln ([- - -]RO). Nr. 42: Bivona, nicht Biviona. Nr. 45 (Taf. 20,2): Unter dem ersten Bildnis ist [*Co*]mmodus statt *Commodus* zu schreiben. Nr. 50 (Taf. 20,3): Der Herausgeber liest: [- - -] ENIV [- - -]/[- - -]†AN [- - -]. Ich habe das Fragment auch selbst im Museo Nazionale von Neapel gesehen und glaube in der ersten Zeile GENIV [- - -] erkennen zu können. In Z. 2 vielmehr [- - -]OṬIANV[- - -]. Dem Autor ist entgangen, daß die Inschrift schon von Mommsen CIL X 3208 veröffentlicht worden ist. Nr. 59 (Taf. 26,1): Von dem Cognomen der Tullia in Z. 3 ist heute nur *Po*[- - -] zu lesen. Die Ergänzungen *Poli*[*a*] und *Poli*[*onilia*] sind ganz willkürlich. Nr. 72 (Taf. 32,3): Auf dem Foto möchte ich [- - -]ARI statt [- - -]ER lesen. Nr. 108 (Taf. 47,1—2): Das Cognomen unter dem 7. Bildnis ist entweder *Tychen*(*i*) oder *Tychen*[*i*] aufzulösen. Nr. 123 (Taf. 53): Warum nicht *Fausta v*(*ixit*) *a*(*nnis*) [- - -]? Nr. 132 (Taf. 57,2): daß *ex* statt *et* auf dem oberen Rand steht, könnte vielleicht aus einer Kontamination des Ausdrucks *et sibi et suis fieri i*(*ussit*) mit *ex*

testamento entstanden sein. Nr. 139 (Taf. 60,3): Nica könnte auch *conliberta* des Scipio sein. Nr. 157: Diese Inschrift aus Fundi ist schon von G. Pesiri, *Epigraphica* 40 (1978) 168, Nr. 9 publiziert worden. Vgl. auch VII Misc.Gr.Rom., 1980, 414—415.

Mika Kajava

M. Aylwin Cotton — Guy P.R. Métraux: *The San Rocco Villa at Francoise*. With an Introduction by Alastair Small. The British School at Rome and the Institute of fine Arts, New York University, 1985. XXXIV, 277 p. XXXVII pl. GBP 29.—.

Here we have at last the final and complete publication of the important San Rocco Villa between the *ager Calenus* and the *ager Falernus* in northern Campania. The excavation itself dates back to more than twenty years ago, led by von Blanckenhagen, Ward-Perkins and Aylwin Cotton. The Villa with its numerous phases up to at least the 3rd century A.D. offers some fine archaeological material, in particular mosaics.

The publication is divided into eleven chapters, the first seven written by Métraux (pp. 1—128: the site, the different periods of the villa, mosaic and pavement catalog). Chapters VIII—XI are by Aylwin Cotton and various authors. They deal with the specific finds, pottery, assemblies of material and their dating (pp. 129—263). A detailed bibliography, an index and numerous plates, not to mention the illustrative figures in the text, complete this bulky work, though it is unfortunate that aerial photography from a balloon was not used in those days. All the same, the publication undoubtedly gives one a positive impression.

I do, however, feel that something very essential would demand a partial re-examination, and that is the dating problem of the Period I villa. Unfortunately, Métraux does not hesitate to base his datings of some structures/mosaics on various studies of Morricone Matini, well enough done for their part, but nowadays hopelessly out-of-date. I would dare to suggest that the earliest pavements and mosaics belong to the second half of the 2nd century B.C., as recently proved by important parallel finds at *Fregellae* (so far unpublished). Furthermore, a socio-historical analysis unfortunately seems to be lacking.

Overall this work is interesting, precise and solid, though it should be studied quite critically, particularly some datings.

Timo Sironen

Dela von Boeselager: *Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien*. *Archaeologica* 40. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1983. 220 S. 67 Taf. Lit. 270.000.

In dieser aus einer Basler Dissertation von 1977 hervorgegangenen Arbeit hat sich die Autorin die Aufgabe gestellt, die Entwicklung der sizilianischen Mosaikkunst vom Hellenismus bis zum 3. Jh. n. Chr. zu erhellen. Es handelt sich nicht um ein Corpus oder eine reine Materialsammlung, vielmehr ist dieses Werk als eine Art einleitende Gesamtdarstel-

lung zu verstehen, in der die Eigenart jeder Periode, die kontinuierlich variierenden Motiven und die vielen mit der Produktion verknüpften technischen Fragen berücksichtigt werden.

Das Material stammt größtenteils aus Grabungen und Museen, aber eine beträchtliche Anzahl der Mosaiken ist auch als Zufallsfund ans Licht gekommen. Fundstücke dieser Art sind öfters problematisch, weil die Kenntnis der äußeren Daten und der genauen Fundplätze verloren gegangen sein kann. Und es gibt ja natürlich auch unbearbeitete Grabungsfunde, die bei der Datierung der Mosaiken sehr wenig helfen. Ganz für sich steht dann das allen Archäologen bekannte Problem mit den Stücken, die aus verschiedenen Gründen unzugänglich sind. Trotz allen Schwierigkeiten kann die A. in lobenswerter Weise eine sehr repräsentative Sammlung von Mosaiken aufweisen und hat auch einige in der Zwischenzeit verlorengegangene Pavimente wiederfinden können. Sie hat ganz richtig auch zahlreiche "weniger bedeutende" Bruchstücke schwarz-weißer geometrischer Böden in die Studie miteinbezogen. Bei der Datierung hat ein großes Vergleichsmaterial, speziell aus Italien und Nordafrika, mitgeholfen. Es ist zu hoffen, daß diese Studie einen neuen Anstoß gibt, eine genauere Datierung der polychromen geometrischen Mosaiken Afrikas zu erarbeiten.

In dem am Schluß des Werkes aufgeführten Listen werden die nicht mehr identifizierten und lokalisierten Mosaikfunde registriert. Die Indices sind im ganzen ausreichend, und das Verzeichnis der figürlichen Motive (S. 218—219) ist sehr nützlich für den Leser. Ungeachtet einiger qualitativen Differenzen zwischen den Fotos, ist das Abbildungsmaterial von genügendem Niveau. Die Entstehung dieser Studie war notwendig, um die sizilianische Mosaikproduktion der Folgezeit, z.B. bei Piazza Armerina, besser zu verstehen.

Mika Kajava

David Parrish: Season mosaics of Roman North Africa. Archaeologica 46, Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1984. 272 p. 105 pl. Lit. 350.000.

The work consists, as this kind of material collections usually do, of a catalogue occupying the largest space (p. 89—262 with its 79 entries & addenda) and of the analytical section treating the relevant features of the material (p. 11—88). The introduction (p. 11—18) is in fact a summarizing sketch of the subsequent discussion in this first part of the book. To the symbolic value of the Seasons the North African mosaics do not add anything special, referring in private house — where the clear majority is found — to *felicitas temporum* as being associated with "prosperity and good fortune" (p. 13). The emphasis of the agricultural aspect of Winter (the olives and their harvesting associated with Winter probably originated in North Africa) is considered a decidedly African character. Also the hoe may be linked with Winter in African mosaics as well as birds as attributes of Seasons (whether this last feature was particularly African is, however, in my opinion not to be regarded as proven; p. 15). The theme of the Seasons was favored in such "social spaces" as the *oeci*, *triclinia* and (to lesser extent) *cubicula* and in some cases they constituted part of a mosaic program of an entire building. Season pavements were not only "produced during the most active period of mosaic art in Roman art" (p.77) but the "theme enjoyed its greatest popularity in Roman Africa during the later second and early third centuries A.D., when that

region of the Empire was at the height of its prosperity.” (p. 17). The shifting of the geographic focus of the season pavements from El Jem to Carthage is shown to have been in connection with the wealth of the cities though “The popularity of seasonal imagery at both sites was also due to the influence of local mosaic schools and the artistic traditions they developed.” (p. 17).

The following Chapter II deals with the “Imagery of the seasons” (p. 11—42). The “Season types” (p. 11—28) are divided into “Personifications”(female & male figures), “Images of Seasonal Activities” and “Animals and Plants”, and the “Attributes of the Seasons” receive separate treatment (p. 29—42). In Chapter III (p. 43—58) are treated the “Themes associated with the seasons” which are “Individual deities” (Dionysos, Annus-Aion and Saturnus, Tellus & others), “The Months”, “The Circus”, “Individual Portraits” and others, the heading *Varia* dealing with “Panoramic Vista of a Country Estate”, “The Hunt”, “Xenia and Wildlife” and also mythological subjects, though the latter are not mentioned in the table of contents (p. 271—272) nor separated with their own heading from the foregoing xenia and wildlife (p. 57). Chapter IV (p. 39—68) deals with the “Composition of Season pavements” separating those representing Seasons alone and those where they are associated with other themes. Chapter V (p. 69—76) discusses the “Architectural location of Season Mosaics” (found mainly in private houses, and of public buildings in baths) and the first part is concluded by Chapter VI (p. 77—84) on the “Chronology and Geographic Distribution of Season Mosaics”.

The widespread theme of Seasons has so far been studied primarily on the basis of sculptural examples. Thus this work dealing with examples in floor mosaics from Roman North Africa — which with their 82 known examples are a large group of Seasonal monuments in Roman art — is particularly welcome. It complements the pioneering work of Hanfman (*The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, 1951) and the recent *Jahreszeiten-Sarkophage* (ASR V 4, 1984) by P. Kranz which unfortunately has been published so contemporaneously with the present volume that comparisons have not been possible. However, both works are significant steps towards a well documented overview of various Seasonal monuments. From this point of view one would have been pleased to see already this volume as a corpus of Seasonal mosaics, i.e. including those from elsewhere, too. The limitation is understandable for practical reasons, particularly in the case — as here — of a dissertation. However, even as such the book is very useful, though the absence of any kind of index is a most unfortunate omission indeed; especially as in the catalogue part the pages where the respective piece is mentioned in the first part are not indicated.

The catalogue entries are divided into pavements of clear Seasonal content and mosaics of uncertain Seasonal identity. The entries appear in alphabetical order according to the site of origin and contain a concise (here a positive feature!) description, discussion about date & style as well as a brief note on the iconography. A bibliography is, of course, given for each entry, but these are unfortunately not complete (I missed e.g. M. Th. Picard-Schmitter, *Bétyles hellénistiques*, MMAI 57 [1971] 43—88 in n. 28 on p. 156). Of remarks on less significant details I only mention that the birds in the *Dominus-Iulius Mosaic* (p. 112, Pl. 15—16) are clearly herons (or perhaps storks due to the long neck and beak), the crane, as they are called by Parrish, having a short beak. As a general remark we can conclude that a

more thorough discussion of the function of Season mosaics and their single subjects in the *Bildersprache* in the art of late antiquity in the way we find it in L. Schneider's recent *Die Domäne als Weltbild* (1983, not mentioned by Parrish though the Dominus-Julius Mosaic to which he refers is discussed here too; cf. my review elsewhere in this volume) would have profited the work of Parrish, which, however — I repeat — is also a welcome aid as it stands.

Antero Tammisto

Marie-Louise Vollenweider: Catalogue raisonné des sceaux, cylindres, intailles et camées. Volume III: La Collection du Révérend Dr. V.E.G. Kenna et d'autres acquisitions et dons récents. Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 1983. XX, 242 p., 245 illustrations. DM 248.—.

Avec la publication de ce magnifique volume, l'a. poursuit sa tâche de faire connaître la grande collection des sceaux, cylindres, intailles et camées du Musée d'Art et Histoire de Genève. La partie principale de ce III volume est constituée par la publication de la collection de V.E.G. Kenna, un important ensemble d'études glyptiques. Cette collection ne contient pas seulement des sceaux minoens et chypriotes, dans le domaine desquels Kenna fait autorité, mais aussi des sceaux et des cylindres mésopotamiens et syriens, des scarabées égyptiens et des camées grecs, étrusques et romains.

Sans vouloir présenter ici tous les documents traités avec un si grand succès par Madame Vollenweider soulignons le haut intérêt de quelques exemplaires particuliers. Ce sont les pièces gréco-romaines qui devraient surtout retenir l'attention des lecteurs d'Arctos. Parmi les camées archaïques grecs, on notera le scarabéoïde 207 avec une Sirène. Le scarabéoïde 213, avec un griffon assaillant et mordant au dos un cheval, est de la période classique; l'a. le fait remonter au deuxième quart du V^e siècle. Le 219, intaille avec portrait d'homme jeune est signé par un certain *Nikias*; l'auteur fait un commentaire détaillé, et date l'intaille de 190—180. L'intaille 221 avec buste d'Hérakles s'insérerait, selon l'a., dans le cadre de représentations de jeunes princes ptolémaïques, mais je suis porté à hésiter: on pourrait se demander si chaque représentation d'un héros devrait être interprétée comme un roi contemporain. Pourtant l'intaille 220 semble bien représenter Mithridate VI, roi du Pont. Le camée 241 est intéressant pour l'inscription qu'il porte: Δόμνεινα/ εἰτύχι (mais *Domnina* ne peut pas être qualifié de diminutif [sic] de *Domna*). La datation proposée par l'auteur, de la deuxième moitié du IV^e ou du V^e siècle, semble discutable (*Domna* et *Domina* etc. sont certes caractéristiques du III^e et du IV^e siècles, mais disparaissent plus tard); en tout cas, il est erroné de classifier le camée parmi ceux de l'époque sasanide.

Mais laissons là ces vétilles. Il s'agit d'une publication remarquable, que tout chercheur classique, sans être un spécialiste de la glyptique, peut consulter avec un très grand profit.

Heikki Solin

Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia. Series altera in 8°. Vol I. Ediderunt *Hjalmar Torp, Leif Holm Monssen, J. Rasmus Brandt*. Vol. II. Ediderunt *Hjalmar Torp, J. Rasmus Brandt*. Vol. V. Ediderunt *Hjalmar Torp, J. Rasmus Brandt, Siri Sande, Erik Østby*. Institutum Romanum Norvegiae. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1981, 1982, 1985, 380 p. & 317 p. & XV, 257 p. Lit. 110.000 & 120.000 & 150.00.

I nostri colleghi norvegesi hanno cominciato una nuova serie dei loro insigni “*Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*”. I tre volumi, mandatici dall’Editore Giorgio Bretschneider, coprono bene i principali campi d’interesse dei lavori svolti nell’Istituto Norvegese di Roma. Eccone il contenuto:

Vol. I: S. Sande, Some new fragments from the column of Theodosius; S. Horn Fuglesang, Stylistic groups in late Viking and early Romanesque art; P. Anker, An early 12th century walrus ivory reliquary in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam; E. Dahl, Dilexi decorem domus Dei. Building to the glory of God in the Middle Ages; B. Bøggild Johannsen / M. Marcussen, A critical survey of the theoretical and practical origins of Renaissance linear perspective; A. Gunnarsjaa, Filarete e la gerarchia architettonica; J. Rasmus Brandt, Pity and Fear. A note on Raphael’s ‘Incendio di Borgo’; M. Lange, Between Mola and Cortona. Origins and development of Antonio Gherardi’s pictorial style and religious imagery.

Vol. II: E. Østby, An early Sicilian relief-metope in Copenhagen; S. Sande, Bemerkungen zum sogenannten Pausanias-Porträt; P. Jonas Nordhagen, The mosaics of the Cappella di S. Aquilino in Milan: evidence of restoration; C. Guido Mor, La grande iscrizione dipinta del Tempietto Longobardo di Cividale; S. Horn Fuglesang, Early Viking art; L. Holm Monssen; The martyrdom cycle in Santo Stefano Rotondo. Part one.

Vol. V: H. Torp, Hans Peter L’Orange; F. Ditlefsen, Gedanken zum Ursprung des dorischen Frieses; J. Rasmus Brandt, Ostia, Minturno, Pyrgi. The Planning of three Roman Colonies; L. Berczelly, Ilia and the Divine Twins. A Reconsideration of two Relief Panels from the Ara Pacis Augustae; S. Sande, Römische Frauenporträts mit Mauerkrone; P. Jonas Nordhagen, Working with Wilpert. The Illustrations in Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien and their Source Value.

Auguriamo ai confratelli gianicolensi la continua pubblicazione di altri volumi della stessa importanza e dello stesso interesse.

Heikki Solin

Studi e materiali. Vol. V (Nuova Serie) Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Soprintendenza ai Beni Archeologici per la Toscana. Edizioni Vision & Viella, Roma 1982. 382 p. Lit. 95.000.

Con questo ponderoso e prestigioso volume riprende la sua pubblicazione l’importante organo della Soprintendenza ai Beni Archeologici per la Toscana, di cui il quarto volume fu pubblicato più di settant’anni fa col titolo “*Studi e Materiali di Archeologia e Numismatica*” a cura di Luigi Adriano Milani.

È stata una felice intuizione di Francesco Nicosia e dei suoi collaboratori di iniziare la

nuova serie, dopo i dolorosi avvenimenti dell'alluvione che tanto colpì i musei fiorentini.

Il contenuto del volume ora pubblicato è molto ricco. Si inizia con numerosi contributi sulla formazione del Museo Archeologico di Firenze, poi si passa a trattare tutto il complesso monumentale di questo museo, la sua formazione e trasformazione, fino alla sua ricostruzione dopo l'alluvione. Segue una lunga trattazione del frontone di Talamone e il mito dei "Sette a Tebe" a cura di O.W. von Vacano e B. v. Freytag gen. Löringhoff, seguita da considerazioni sulle testimonianze preistoriche nel Mugello e nella Val di Siena (F. Nicosia, G. De Marinis, M. Ceccanti, F. Martini, L. Sarti, G. Sanesi, M. Mazzini, G. Rodolfi). Il volume si chiude con un utile notiziario della Soprintendenza ai Beni Archeologici della Toscana. Auguriamo alla nuova serie una felice e fruttuosa continuazione.

Heikki Solin

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