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***IN SULPHUREAM PAPISTARUM
CONSPIRATIONEM EXERCITIA:***

**Retelling the Gunpowder Plot at the King's School,
Canterbury (1665–84)**

TOMMI ALHO*

1. Introduction

At around midnight of 4 November 1605, or so the official story goes, Guy Fawkes was discovered with thirty-six barrels of gunpowder in a cellar beneath the House of Lords. Belonging to a group of Catholic conspirators angered by increased governmental oppression of English Catholics, Fawkes's intent was to blow up King James I and his chief ministers at the State Opening of Parliament on 5 November. However, the authorities got wind of the plot: Fawkes and several other conspirators were either tried and executed or killed while resisting capture. The failure of the plot was attributed to divine intervention, and Parliament was prompt to legislate 5 November as a day of public thanksgiving, accompanied henceforth by religious observances, ringing of church bells, and bonfires.

The Gunpowder Plot or Treason, as the conspiracy has been known ever since, became the subject of a vast literary output, ranging from government accounts, histories and sermons to Latin epic. In this paper, I would like to discuss a hitherto unaddressed example of the Gunpowder genre recorded in the *Orationes et carmina aliaque exercitia* manuscript.¹ A rare collection of gram-

* I wish to thank Anthony W. Johnson and Rajja Sarasti-Wilenius for their helpful comments on a draft of this paper. Moreover, I thank the two anonymous reviewers for their valuable suggestions.

¹ Lit. Ms E41, Canterbury Cathedral Archives. Henceforth referred to as *Orationes*.

mar school composition from Early Modern England, the manuscript comprises nearly one thousand folio pages, containing speeches, plays and verses performed – and for the most part composed – by the students of the King’s School, Canterbury, during the headmastership of George Lovejoy (1665–1684). The texts within the *Orationes* – written in Latin, English and Greek – are divided into four subgenres according to the occasion of performance. On Oak Apple Day (29 May), the students celebrated the birthday and restoration of Charles II to power; on Guy Fawkes Day (5 November), they recounted the events of the failed Gunpowder Plot; in December they pleaded with the Dean of Canterbury Cathedral for a Christmas break; and in the week before Lent a select number of boys engaged in rhetorical contests. The texts have been arranged in annual cycles, with seventeen cycles and sixty-eight performances in total.² The recorded performances took place before the Dean and canons of the Canterbury Cathedral, with some other guests present as well.

Under the rubric *In sulphuream Papistarum conspirationem (or coniurationem) exercitia*, the *Orationes* records seventeen Guy Fawkes Day performances in total, comprising almost one third of the whole manuscript. With some exceptions, all the performances have the same structure, each beginning with a Latin prologue and orations, accompanied by hexameter (or sometimes elegiac) verses in Latin and Greek. These are often followed by one or two dramatic dialogues in both Latin and/or English, bringing onto the stage key figures involved in the conspiracy, from Henry Garnet – a Jesuit superior executed for his complicity in the Plot – to Guy Fawkes himself. All the performances conclude with a brief Latin epilogue.

Given the bulk of material at hand and the fact that the *Orationes* Gunpowder texts – particularly the orations and verses – are rather repetitive in both their wording and content, I shall largely confine my discussion to one representative example of the genre. Recorded for the year 1677, the performance consists of a prologue, an oration, a Latin hexameter poem, a Greek hexameter poem, a declamation, and an epilogue. The focus of this article is on the Latin orations and Latin and Greek verses performed on Guy Fawkes Day. The dialogues – many of them in English – deserve a study in their own right and are beyond the scope of this paper.

² For a fuller discussion on the manuscript and different subgenres, cf. Alho 2020; Mäkilähde et al. 2016; also Johnson 2017.

2. Literary background

The King's School Guy Fawkes Day performances draw on an already well-established tradition of both Neo-Latin and vernacular Gunpowder Plot literature. As for the Latin writings, the most noteworthy genres were the brief epic and epigram, complemented by occasional poems. On the vernacular side, we find, *inter alia*, government accounts, sermons, liturgical texts, poems and histories.³ For the purpose of the present article, we will concern ourselves chiefly with the Latin writings on the Plot.

The tradition of Anglo-Latin brief epic (or *epyllion*) goes at least as far back as the anonymous *Pareus* from 1586.⁴ This epic poem of 460 lines offers an account of a failed catholic assassination attempt against Queen Elizabeth in 1585 (the so-called Parry Plot). Another example falling within the same genre is Thomas Campion's *ad Thamesin* (1595), a congratulatory poem to the river Thames on the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Apart from their Virgilianism and anti-papal emphasis, common to both of these works is their utilisation of a mythologizing narrative pattern, which locates both attempts in Hell and introduces a kind of Pluto-Satan hybrid into Anglo-Latin literature. This pattern is modelled after the infernal council in Canto IV of Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, or more precisely, on the Latin translation of the first part of Canto IV, *Plutonis Concilium ex Initio Quarti Libri Solymeidos* by Scipione Gentili, published in London in 1584.⁵

After the Gunpowder Plot, this mythologizing formula was readily adapted to fit yet another catholic threat. Only a year after the event, two brief epics were published: *Pietas Pontificia* by Francis Herring and *In Serenissimi Regis Iacobi Liberationem* by Michael Wallace. More works were soon to follow: Phineas Fletcher published his *Locustae vel Pietas Iesuitica* in 1611; and, sometime between 1613 and 1620, the same Thomas Campion as above penned his epic treatment of the Plot, *De Pulverea Coniuratione*, which was never printed. The most famous specimen of this genre, however, must be John Milton's *In Quintum*

³ For a recent account of the Gunpowder Plot genre, cf. James 2017; for the Neo-Latin writings on the Plot in particular, cf. Haan 1996, xvi–lxxvii.

⁴ The poem was likely written by George Peele (Brooke 1939; Haan 1996, lxi; Sutton 1997, 357).

⁵ Sutton 1997, 358–59. For brief mythological epic as a Neo-Latin genre, cf. Korenjak 2012.

Novembris, composed when he was only seventeen years old in 1626 and published in 1645.

As Robert Appelbaum has observed: “the [Gunpowder] genre in Britain had even adopted a characteristic story: a story of violence plotted, expressed, and thwarted, with victory redounding to the side of true religion, which begins with a conspiracy against the cause of true religion instigated by Satan.”⁶ Accordingly, all these works share more or less the same structure: Pluto-Satan, embittered by the fact that the Catholic cause has failed in England, summons an infernal council, which puts in motion a conspiracy to destroy Protestant England. Carried out with the aid of Satan’s human collaborators – the Pope, the Jesuits and the English conspirators – the plot is usually thwarted by divine intervention. In addition to Tasso’s *Gerusalemme liberata*, the genre draws on Marco Girolamo Vida’s *Christiados* (1535), an epic poem in six books on the Passion of Christ. Naturally, both of these works and the Gunpowder epics themselves go back to *Aeneid*, employing such episodes as Juno’s summoning of Alecto from the underworld to wreak havoc on the Trojans in book 7, and to the infernal councils in Claudian’s *In Rufinum* and *De Raptu Proserpinae*.⁷

Apart from brief epic, several occasional poems on the Plot were produced of which I will mention only a few representative examples. The earliest of these was Thomas Goad’s *Cithara Octochorda Pectine Pulsata*, a collection of eight Horatian odes from 1605, followed the next year by a much expanded (if not re-written) version under the title *Proditoris Proditor*. The year 1606 also saw the publication of a lengthy hexameter poem, *In Homines Nefarios*, by an anonymous author. Again, the writer descends to Hell, where the plotters are addressed in invective language, but otherwise the work does not closely follow the conventions of Gunpowder epic. In this regard, a somewhat similar example is William Forbes’s hexameter poem, *Apophoreta Papae*, published in his *Poemata Miscellanea* (1642), celebrating the Dutch victory over the Spanish fleet at the Battle of the Downs (1639) during the Eighty Years’ War. Although the poem employs the formula of an infernal council, it does not strictly speaking fall within the Gunpowder genre but presents us with a heavily mythologized description of the naval battle. However, the work links the Battle of the Downs to the Gunpowder

⁶ Appelbaum 2007, 471.

⁷ *Aen.* 7,323 ff.; *Claud. Ruf.*, 1,50 ff.; *Rapt.* 1,32 ff. For the genre’s literary indebtedness in general, cf. Haan 1996, xxix–xxxiv.

Plot and the victory over the Spanish Armada, offering us a prime example of how a contemporary event was readily incorporated into a series of providential deliverances from the perennial Catholic threat.⁸

Occasional poems on the Plot are also recorded in several collections of commemorative verses from Cambridge and Oxford. These include, among others, two collections produced on the death of Prince Henry on 6 November 1612: *Iusta Oxoniensium* (1612) and *Epicedium Cantabrigiense in Obitum immaturum semperque deflendum Henrici Illustrissimi Principis Walliae* (1612). As for the Gunpowder epigrams, the most famous examples of the genre must be the five brief epigrams composed again by Milton probably at the same time as his *In Quintum Novembris*. In addition, examples of Gunpowder epigrams can be found in such works as Thomas Cooper's Latin treatise on the event, *Nonae Novembris Aeternitati Consecratae* (1607), where the prose text is preceded by a series of epigrams.⁹

However, it is not only from their poetical precedents that the King's School Gunpowder compositions take their inspiration but also from the religious services, that is the Morning Prayer and Liturgy, the students would have attended before they mounted the pulpit in the evening of 5 November. Following the Restoration of the monarchy, a revised version of the *Book of Common Prayer* was issued in 1662.¹⁰ Three new services were annexed at the end of the book, commemorating the Gunpowder Plot, the execution of Charles I, and the restoration of Charles II. The services follow more or less the same pattern, with proper psalms, collects, litanies, epistles and gospels prescribed for each commemoration. However, the Gunpowder compositions do not only echo the ideas and sentiments expressed in these services but the King's School boys – as will

⁸ Cf. Forbes 1642, sigs. C2r–C3v. For example, cf. Vulcan at sig. C3v, ll. 3–16: *Hanc quoque sulphureo tentavi pulvere gentem / Perdere, et invisum diro cum Rege Senatum ...* (“I too attempted to destroy with gunpowder this nation and its hateful Parliament together with its detestable King ...”). See also the online edition of Forbes's *Poemata* by D. F. Sutton (2014). For the incorporation of Catholic threats into an account of a series of providential deliverances, cf. James 2017, 188; Cressy 1989, 171–89.

⁹ Although it is often claimed that composing Gunpowder epigrams was a common exercise in early-modern grammar schools (cf. e.g. Haan 1996, xx, quoting Bradner 1940, 69), I have yet to come across any such specimen.

¹⁰ Cf. Hefling 2006. The 1665 “Rules and Orders for governing the Freeschoole at Canterbury” specify that the boys should furnish themselves with Books of Common Prayer (Edwards 1957, 213).

be discussed in detail below – even took it upon themselves to model their Greek verses after psalm texts prescribed for the day.

3. Orations

Conventionally, the 1677 performance begins with a brief prologue, this time of only ten lines, which I quote in full:

Salvete millies, Auditores reverendi, quos hodie tam laetos huc confluisse cernimus, fremat quanquam, fredeatque Jesuitarum malignitas. Tam horrendum, tamque atrox erat hodierni facinoris periculum quod evasimus; ut etiam ipse, quanquam infans, non solum eloquendi, sed loquendi admodum imperitus, silere nequeam. Quantum hodie nefas moliti sint perfidiosi istiusmodi carnifices, quamque miraculosa salus nobis contigerit, vobis elegantius enarrabunt mei Condiscipuli, qui mox pace vestra suggestum ascendant oratorium. Quorum gratia supplex oro in horam ut benevoli sedeatis; ut cognoscendo pernoscatis prodigiosum hodierni facinoris et principium, et exitium. (fol. 311v)¹¹

A thousand greetings, reverend auditors, whom we see happily gathered here today, although the malignity of the Jesuits roars and gnashes its teeth. Although I am only a child, inexperienced in both eloquence and speaking, the peril of today's offence, which we have escaped, was so dreadful and savage that even I cannot remain silent. My fellow students, who, with your permission, shall soon mount the oratorical pulpit, will tell you more elegantly about how such treacherous murderers set in motion so great a wickedness and how a miraculous salvation was granted to us. For their sake, I humbly beg you to sit benevolently for an hour so that

¹¹ The manuscript is written in a perhaps surprisingly readable italic hand. I have silently expanded the scarce abbreviations (mainly for the diphthongs and “que”) and omitted the usual Neo-Latin accent marks. Only in two places have I been forced to add a minor emendation (cf. below, pp. 20, 25).

you may thoroughly learn the prodigious beginning and end of today's crime.

The prologue begins with a greeting to the audience, which usually included the Dean and canons of the Canterbury Cathedral, with some other guests probably present as well.¹² The concessive notion of their presence despite the Jesuits' undertakings (*fremat quanquam, frendeatque Jesuitarum malignitas*) seems to be somewhat a commonplace in the Guy Fawkes prologues.¹³ This is followed by a paromology (*quanquam infans ... silere nequeam*) – hardly a surprising figure in school orations – which states the wicked nature of the crime to be addressed. Before handing over to his fellow students, the speaker briefly pleads for the goodwill of the audience.¹⁴ With some variation, nearly all the Guy Fawkes prologues follow the same structure.

The oration that follows covers around two pages (fols. 311v–12v), corresponding, in the main, to the typical structure of a Gunpowder oration. First, the terrible consequences of the Plot, had it succeeded, are put forward:

Ecce nimirum hoc ipso die, Auditores venerandi, execranda barbarorum turba sub specie scilicet religionis non solum in Regis, sed etiam totius regni, simul et Ecclesiae perniciem nequissime conjurabat. Cujus coeptis si fortuna faeliciter aspirasset, irrevocabile fatum nobis incubuerat inopinato, funditusque pereundi. Summa nimirum regni autoritas duram serviisset sub Papa servitatem: Judices, et magistratus ficto Christi vicario fasces

¹² The Dean, or in his absence the vice-dean, and the canons are often addressed in the prologues. Consequently, the Dean seems to have been absent this year.

¹³ Similarly, e.g., in 1673 and 1674: *Fremat igitur per nos licet, frendeatque Iesuitica malignitas* (fol. 191r); ... *tametsi fremat, frendeatque perfidiosa Jesuitarum malignitas* (fol. 219r). For classical precedents, cf. e.g. *Aen.* 9,341; 12,8; *Liv.* 30,20,1.

¹⁴ In regard to the age of the students, they usually entered the grammar school at the age of seven or eight and stayed there for six or seven years (Vincent 1969, 58). The Guy Fawkes performances seem to specify the age of the students on only one occasion. In the 1665 prologue (fol. 1r), the student about to deliver the oration is addressed as "Shrawleie", which in all probability refers to John Shrawley, admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge, on 5 May 1666, aged seventeen (Venn – Venn 1927, 71, s.v. "Shrawley, John"). This would make him sixteen or seventeen years old when he was speaking in 1665.

suos ignominiose submisissent: et cives Anglicani, nisi veram, et catholicam abjurassent veritatem, ad metalla, vel molam, vel ignem damnati essent ad Papae arbitrium. (fol. 311v)

Truly, on this very day, Venerable auditors, a detestable mob of barbarians on the pretext of religion most worthlessly plotted not only the destruction of the King but also of the whole realm together with the Church. If fortune had favored their undertakings, the irrevocable fate of perdition would have fallen unexpectedly and totally upon us. Truly, the highest authority of the Kingdom would have served a hard servitude under the Pope: judges and the magistracy would have shamefully lowered their fasces to the false Vicar of Christ. And the English people, had they not renounced the true and catholic truth, would have been condemned to the mines, millstone or fire at Pope's bidding.

Next, the speaker moves on to emphasise the infernal origins of the Plot:

Hujus rei gratia cum Plutone Furiisque consilium cepit. A quo responsum erat nullam aliam Angliae subjugandae rationem iniri posse, quàm more talparum cuniculos agendo, et aedibus Parliamentariis fasces, et ferramenta supponendo; quibus igne sulphureo sursum elevatis, tota concilii domus membratim discerperetur. Unde Rex, Principes, Episcopi, Proceres, quasi tot sanguinei cometae, huc et illuc in aere volverentur. (fols. 311v–12r)

For this cause [that is to bring down the Church and the Commonwealth], he [Fawkes] took counsel with Pluto and the Furies. The advice was that no other method could be devised in order to subjugate England than to make underground passages in the way of moles and to set faggots and iron tools under the Houses of Parliament, which, having been lifted up from below by sulphurous fire, would have torn to pieces the entire House of Council member by member. Whence the king, princes, bishops and no-

bles would have rolled here and there in the air as though a great number of bloody comets.

Following the conventions of the Gunpowder genre, there is not a single Gunpowder oration in the *Orationes* without some reference to the demonic origins of the conspiracy.¹⁵ As above, this is usually accompanied by a rather vivid description of the casualties that would have been suffered in case of a successful explosion beneath the Parliament (... *quasi tot sanguinei cometae, huc et illuc in aere volverentur*).¹⁶

The *Orationes* Gunpowder texts highlight the tendency to link the Plot to a later deliverance, the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. As David Cressy has observed: “Royalist apologists linked 5 November to 29 May, celebrating both occasions as deliverances of the Stuart dynasty. Patriotic preachers invoked the litany of divine interventions as endorsements of the established regime. Anglican conservatives recalled the deliverance of a king and his progeny from this danger, and emphasized the safeguarding of Protestant episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer.”¹⁷ Accordingly, the Gunpowder speeches commonly equate Catholics with Protestant Dissenters (or Fanatics). In 1677 we are told that

Non itaque mirum vobis videatur, Auditores, quod inter duos latrones Ecclesia Christi crucifigatur, Fanaticum scilicet, et Romano-catholicum quorum alter animum illius petit, alter corpus, et animum. Quod abunde testantur hujusce Novembris nonae. (fol. 312r)

Thus, it comes as no surprise to you, Auditors, that the Church of Christ is crucified between two thieves, that is the Fanatic and the Roman Catholic, of which the one pursues her soul and the other

¹⁵ Cf. e.g. ... *Plutonis archipresbyter iste Garnettus* ... (fol. 2v); ... *qui cum Plutone commercium habent* ... (fol. 191r); *Sed qualia parat hic Plutonis architectus instrumenta ad facinus peragendum?* (fol. 424r).

¹⁶ Cf. *Aen.* 10, 272–73: *non secus ac liquida si quando nocte cometae / sanguinei lugubre rubent, aut Sirius ardor*. The (school)boys seem to have a certain liking for the trope of people flying around in the air after an explosion. Likewise, for example, in 1682: *Tu, tu sperasti Jacobum Angliae monarcham, regiamque sobolem, sacrae religionis mystas, et imperii proceres, quasi tot volucres in aere volitantes videre* (fol. 424v).

¹⁷ Cressy 1989, 173.

both the body and soul. The fifth of this November bears ample witness to it.

Moreover, in keeping with the providential account of England's Protestant history, it is always stressed that the Plot was thwarted only by God's direct intervention.¹⁸

Nam bene notum est sine Dei clementia, et misericordia nullum imperium, nullamque Ecclesiam diu permansuram. Hodierna itaque lucis salute soli Illius misericordiae debendum fateamur. Absit enim ut homines ingenio, vel Marte suo salute, qualem hodie sentimus, se adeptos esse gloriantur. Deus, Deus, ille solus rex optimus maximus qui nutu suo regit omnia, impia perditorum consilia perspexit, expugnavitque.

For it is well known that without God's clemency and mercy no empire or church is likely to survive for long. Thus we acknowledge that today's splendor of salvation is only due to His mercy. For far be it that men should pride themselves in attaining the salvation we hear about today by their intellect or own effort. God, God, the only *rex optimus maximus* who reigns all at his will: he looked through the wicked plans of destroyers and overcame them.

Finally, the speech is brought to an end with a few select lines in praise of the House of Stuart:

Floreat illustrissima Carolina domus, et gloriose sic triumphat, ut sicut hodie, sic semper Io triumphet! canant tam Oratores, quam Poetae: utque omnes cum tubae, tum campanae gaudium sic expriment, ut ipsi etiam Antipodes triumphum hunc nostrum nunc, et in posterum mirentur, & stupeant. (fol 312v)

¹⁸ For the Gunpowder genre as providential account of English history, cf. James 2017, 28–70; for providence in early modern England, cf. Walsham 2001.

May the illustrious house of Charles flourish and gloriously triumph so that in the same way as today both the orators and poets may forever sing *Io triumphe!* So that all the trumpets and bells may announce the joy, and that even those dwelling on the other side of the globe may admire and be amazed at our triumph.

4. *Epyllion*

The hexameter poems recorded in the *Orationes* for the 5 November are rather brief compared to the Gunpowder epics discussed above, the longest running to scarcely over one hundred lines. The compositions are clearly modelled after the earlier works in the tradition: they are heavily mythologized and make use of the figures of the infernal council and the furies, in places even quoting their predecessors line for line (or, at least, with very little modification).¹⁹ In addition, the poems are dense with classical references, namely to Virgil, Claudian and Ovid, all of them standard reading material in early-modern grammar schools.²⁰ The 1677 poem of eighty-four lines opens with a fitting transition from prose to poetry, followed by a few conventional lines, before moving down to the underworld:

Sat nimis est dictum Prosis. Quid carmina possunt
Iam nunc tentemus. Linguis, animisque favete.²¹
Vestra etenim venia, quanquam sum viribus impar,
Incipiam. Daemon furiis accensus, et ira,
Consilium ipsius quod tot labentibus annis
Frustratum bello, fatis fuit atque repulsum,
Nos elemento alio statuit tentare, petensque
Ut posset melius tacita nos perdere fraude

¹⁹ In this way, for example, the 1678 poem first borrows three lines (fol. 339r, ll. 9–11) from *In homines nefarios* (p. 7, ll. 19–21) and almost right below (ll. 16–18) three lines from Forbes (1642, sig. Er, ll. 14–16). Another example, from 1682, quotes seven lines (fol. 427r, ll. 15–21) with only minor modifications from *Oxoniensis Academiae Funebre* (1603, p. 19, ll. 17–23).

²⁰ For the classical curriculum in seventeenth-century grammar schools, cf. Clarke 1959, 41–42.

²¹ Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 1,71–72: *prospera lux oritur: linguīs animisque favete / nunc dicenda bona sunt bona verba die*; also *Am.* 3,2,43. The Ovidian lines are quoted in full in 1669 (fol. 104r) when the epic form was made to give way to a page of elegiac distich.

Igniferos fratres subito sibi iussit adesse
 Spirantes ignem Jesuitas. Ocijus omnes
 Imperio laeti parent, ac iussa facessunt.
 Praesentes sua quos recte commenta docebat.
 Quorum unus scelere ante alios immanior omnes
 Textor atque dolis, Garnettus, nomine, torvo
 Plutoni incurvans sese, genua atque volutans,
 Sic fatur. Placeat si sic, dignissime Princeps,
 Omnia perficiam ipse tibi haec promptissimus actor.
 Et Pluto ridens tum talia voce profatur.
 I fortunato nunquam non alite<r>, Fili,
 Nil metuens adero tecum auxiliator in igne. (fols. 312v, ll. 1–20)

Enough has been said in prose. We shall now try what verses can do. Hold your tongues and attend! Although I am unequal in strength, by your leave, I shall begin. The Demon ablaze with fury and rage that his plan was rendered vain by war and foiled by the faiths, as so many years were passing by, decided to try us with another element; and attacking through the concealment of fraud in order to better destroy us, he immediately ordered the fire-bearing brothers, fire-breathing Jesuits to be present. At once they all happily obeyed his commands and carried out his orders. He duly taught his devices to those present. One of them, monstrous in crime above all others, a weaver of deceits, called Garnett, bowed down to fierce Pluto, and with bended knee spoke thus: “If it pleases you, most worthy ruler, I myself shall readily be at your disposal in carrying out all this.” And Pluto, smiling, spoke such words: “Go with good fortune, my son, certainly not otherwise, fearing nothing, I shall be your helper in fire.”

Plunging *in medias res*, the description of the infernal council takes up lines 4–19. The brief episode begins with a fitting Virgilian reference merging Aeneas’s wrath before slaughtering Turnus with the deception of the Greeks at the gates of Troy (ll. 4–6).²² In order to carry out his hidden deceit, the frustrated Pluto

²² Verg. *Aen.* 12,946: ... *furiis accensus et ira*; 2,13–14: *incipiam. Fracti bello fatisque repulsi / ductores*

summons the Jesuits (*igniferos fratres ... spirantes ignem Jesuitas*, ll. 9–10), who readily obey his commands.²³ The most monstrous villain among their ranks (... *scelere ante alios immanior omnes*) is the Jesuit superior Henry Garnett, who enthusiastically offers himself for Pluto's service (ll. 12–20).²⁴ Next, Garnett calls Fawkes and Catesby to his aid,²⁵ and the scene quickly shifts from Hell beneath the Parliament:

Garnettus tunc surrexit cito coepit opusque
 Susceptum, sibi in auxilium Fauxumque vocavit:
 Et simul astabat Catesbeius utrique paratus
 Seu versare dolos, seu certae occumbere morti.
 Incipit hinc facinus saevum, plenumque cruoris.
 Pulveris inde parat pyrii insuperabile monstrum
 Abstrusisque locat tenebrosa nocte cavernis
 Curia quas supra regni suprema sedebat.
 Hoc opus in tenebris peracuta mente revisit
 Quotidie Fauxus, caperata fronte minister,
 Crastina venturae praesumens gaudia praedae.
 Saeviit inde: pio regi, sobolique minatus
 Regali exitium, nobis unam omnibus urnam. (fol. 313r, ll. 21–33)

Then Garnett rose up and quickly began the work received, calling Fawkes to his help; and Catesby stood up at once, ready for either event, either to engage in deceit or to meet certain death. Hence began the cruel deed filled with bloodshed. Then he prepared the invincible monster of fiery powder and under a gloomy night placed it in hidden vaults upon which the Supreme Court of the Kingdom sat. Keen-minded Fawkes, accomplice with a scowling brow, came back to see this work every night, anticipating tomor-

Danaum, tot iam labentibus annis

²³ Cf. Verg. *G.* 2,140: *tauri spirantes ... ignem*; *Aen.* 4,294–95: *ocius omnes / imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt.*

²⁴ Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,347: *scelere ante alios immanior omnis.*

²⁵ Robert Catesby was the leader of the Plot.

row's joy of the upcoming booty. Then he raged: he threatened the pious King and the royal offspring with death and all of us with one urn.

Like his Virgilian counterpart in treason, Sinon, Catesby is ready for both to succeed in his deceit or to face death (... *utrique paratus. Seu versare dolos, seu certae occumbere morti*, ll. 23–24).²⁶ The gunpowder is transported beneath the Parliament and guarded by Fawkes, Catesby's "accomplice with a scowling brow" (*caperata fronte minister*, l. 30), who looks forward to the joy of the future booty (*crastina venturae praesumens gaudia praedae*, l. 31).²⁷ Next, Fawkes is addressed in rhetorical questions, followed by an account of the terrible consequences for the nation had the Plot succeeded:

Siccine, Guido ferox, audes tu spernere sacrae
 Vincula naturae, et divinae vincula legis?
 Nil hominesve, Deumve times? Quis tristia fando
 Funera, quis caedes possit numerare nefandas,
 Nobis si exitium necis instrumenta tulissent!
 Rex heu! Jacobus nulli pietate secundus,
 Regina, atque omnes Britonum veneranda propago
 Infaelix rapida flammarum strage perisset
 Funditus, igniferoque volasset ad aethera curru:
 Sic tamen ut rueret lapsu graviore sub Orcum. (fol. 313r, ll. 34–43)

Do you truly dare, savage Guido, to sever the bonds of sacred nature and divine law? Are you not afraid of men or God? Who could count the mournful deaths in words, who the impious murders, if the instruments of murder had brought us death. Alas, King James, second to none in piety, the Queen, and all, the venerable race of Britons would have miserably perished entirely in a rapid slaughter of flames, flown to heaven in a fiery chariot: only to tumble down to Hell with a heavier fall.

²⁶ Cf. *Aen.* 2,61–62.

²⁷ Cf. Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 1,288: *crastina venturae spectantes gaudia praedae*.

Appropriately, the passage takes its inspiration from Claudian's mythologizing invective against Rufinus (*Quis tristia fando Funera, quis caedes possit numerare nefandas*, ll. 36–37),²⁸ before again making use of the trope of people being blown up to the air (*Sic tamen ut rueret lapsu graviore sub Orcum*, ll. 42–43).²⁹ The next thirty-five tautological lines consist of little more than a series of rhetorical questions of rather abusive nature to Garnett and Fawkes:

Quis, Garnette, parens tibi? quis generis fuit author
 Fauxe, tui? Non orti humana stirpe fuistis
 Certe? sed duris genuit vos cautibus horrens
 Caucasus; hircanaeque admorunt ubera tygres.³⁰
 Anne parum hoc Proceres cum tali Principe, vobis
 Tollere de medio visum est? sustollere in auras
 Pulvere nitrato sublimes? Dicite Daemon
 Quis malus hoc suasit? Stygiis Radamanthus ab undis?
 An Pluto ipse magis? Stupeo. Non tale feruntur
 Vel Phalaris tauro tentasse, aut carcere Sulla³¹
 Nec tantum peperisse nefas Medea Creonti,
 In cineres flammis cum vertere vellet Athenas.
 Sancte pater triplici fulgens diademate Papa,³²
 Hoccine Romanos docuisti? (fols. 313r–13v, ll. 50–63)

Who was your progenitor, Garnett? Who was the maker of your race, Fawkes? Certainly, you were not of the human stock; but harsh Caucasus begot you on the rough rocks, and Hyrcanian tigers suckled you. Did it seem too little to you to kill the nobles and the prince, to lift them up to the highest heavens with gunpowder? Do you name the demon who urged this evil? Rhadamanthus

²⁸ Cf. Claud. *Ruf.* 1,249–50: *quis prodere tanta relatu funera, quis caedes possit deflere nefandas?*; also *Aen.* 2,361–62: *quis funera fando explicet aut possit lacrimis aequare labores.*

²⁹ Cf. Claud. *Ruf.* 1,22–23: *tolluntur in altum, ut lapsu graviore ruant.*

³⁰ Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4,366–67.

³¹ Cf. Claud. *Ruf.* 1,253: *... vel Phalaris tauro vel carcere Sulla?*

³² The reference is to the triple tiara of the Pope, a recurring attribute in Gunpowder epic. For attestations, cf. Haan 1992, 283 n. 46.

from the waves of Styx? Or rather Pluto himself? I am aghast. It is said that not Phalaris with his bull nor Sulla with his prison attempted such a thing, nor did Medea procure such monstrosities to Creon when she wanted to turn Athens into ashes with flames. Holy father, the Pope, gleaming with the triple diadem, did you teach this to the Romans?

The poem ends with a few hortatory lines, assuring the audience of the unfortunate fate that will face those who wish harm to King Charles:

O sic sic pereat Regi quicumque malignus
 Pronus et ad Stygias, et praeceps transeat undas
 Qui tibi non bene vult, tibi nostro, Carole, regi
 Talem habeat finem, vel finibus exulet hisce,
 Finibus hisce tuis nullo rediturus in aevo. (fol. 313v, ll. 79–83)

Thus, let anyone inclined to harm the King perish and pass headlong to the Stygian waters. Whoever does not wish you well, our King Charles, let him have such an end or let him be banished from these borders, from these borders of yours, never to return.

5. Psalms

On four occasions, there are Greek hexameter poems accompanying the Latin Gunpowder compositions.³³ These poems are, in essence, psalms cast in hexameter lines, giving thanks to the God for the liberation of the Kingdom from the Popish threat. All of these poems are modelled after, or rather quoted from, James Duport's Δαβίδης ἔμμετρος, a rendering of the psalms into Homeric hexameter with an accompanying Latin prose translation.³⁴ The work was printed

³³ That is, in 1675 (fols. 348v–49v), 1676 (274v–75v), 1677 (313v–14v) and 1683 (457v–58r). There are also three Greek poems, two in hexameter and one in elegiac distich, recorded for the Oak Apple Day performances. In terms of content and sources, they differ little from the Gunpowder poems. The Greek passages within the *Orationes* are dense with ligatures, which I have here silently expanded. However, the original accentuation, which in places deviates from the norm, has been retained.

³⁴ James Duport (1606–1679) was Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge from 1639 to 1654.

with a Royal recommendation that it should be used in grammar schools in order to “better imbue the boys’ minds in piety as well as in Greek letters.”³⁵ At least in King’s School, the recommendation seems to have been duly observed. The 1677 poem of fifty lines (fols. 313v–14v) begins with an exhortation to the Britons to give thanks to the God for their miraculous salvation:

Κλείετε νῦν ἱερὸν Βρετανοὶ κράτος Ἀθανάτοιο.
 Αὐτὸν ἀρίζηλη Βρετανοὶ νῦν κλείετε φωνῆ,
 Καὶ ἀνὰ λαὸν ἅπαντ’ ἀγγέλλετε οἶά τ’ ἔρεξεν.³⁶ (fol. 313v, ll. 1–3)

Praise now, Britons, the divine might of the Immortal. Glorify him now, Britons, with a clear voice, and declare among the people all the Lord has done.

What follows is a collection of loosely interconnected verses of thanksgiving and imprecatory psalms, taken for the most part from Duport’s translation, often with only slightest modification. I quote the first eleven lines:

Οὗτος τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐφθειρε νοήματα φαυλῶν:
 Ἡμέας οὐδ’ αὐτοῖσιν ἄθυρμα τε, <χ>άρμα³⁷ τ’ ἔθηκεν.
 Ἡμῖν μασιδίως φάυλοι λίνον ἐξεπέτασαν.³⁸
 Ὡς λύκος εἰς ἀρνοῦς, ἴρηξτε περιστερὰν ἄρπαξ,
 Ἡμᾶς ἐνήδρεοσαν, φάντες, Τίς δὲρκεται ἡμᾶς.³⁹
 Πάντα δ’ ἰδὼν Θεοῦ ὀφθαλμὸς, καὶ πάντα νοήσας
 Τοῦς κακὰ ρέσοντας φθινυθεὶ, δολερῶς τε νοουντας.
 Λωβητοὶ δ’ εἰσὶν, καὶ ἐλεγχέες, οἱ μὴν ὄλεθρον

³⁵ *ad puerorum animos Pietate pariter & Graecis literis melius imbuendos* (Duport 1666, n.p., preceding the dedicatory epistle). Cf., however, Clarke (1959, 42–43) who for some reason assumes that the work was never used in grammar schools.

³⁶ Cf. Hes. *Theog.*105: κλείετε δ’ ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος; Hom. *Il.* 18,219 ἀρίζηλη ... φωνῆ; Duport 1666, Ps. 138, p. 403, v. 5: Ὑμνήουσι δ’ ὁμοῦ ἱερὸν μενός Ἀθανατοιο, Κλείοντες τὰ ἄ ἔργ’, ὅθι τ’ ἦϊεν, οἶά τ’ ἔρεξεν.

³⁷ κάρμα *ante corr.*

³⁸ Cf. Duport 1666, Ps. 37, p. 91, v. 7: Μασιδίως γὰρ ἐμοὶ σφέτερον λίνον ἐξεπέτασαν.

³⁹ Cf. Duport 1666, Ps. 64, p. 169, v. 5: καὶ εἶπον, Τίς κεν ἴδοιτο;

Ῥαψαν ἀεικελίως, μέμασάν δ' ἀπὸ θυμον ἐλέσθαι·
 Ἐσχίσθησαν ὁμοῦ μετὰ τε στρεφθεσαν ὀπίσω
 Αὐτως, ἀκλειῶς, οἳ μὴν κακὰ μηχανάωσαν. (fols. 313v–14r, ll. 4–14)

He destroyed the designs of paltry enemies: he made us no play-thing nor a delight for them. The wicked have recklessly spread a net for us. As the wolf for a sheep and the rapacious hawk for a dove, they lay in wait for us, saying: “Who sees us?” The all-seeing and all-knowing eye of God lays waste the evildoers, deceivers of treacheries. They are disgraceful and despicable, they shamefully contrive his destruction, eager to tear out his soul: let those who ignominiously plotted his hurt be divided altogether and turned back in vain.

The all-seeing and all-knowing eye of God (ll. 5–7) who destroys the evildoers was an image the King’s School boys would have immediately associated with their Books of Common Prayer. Inserted within octavo editions of the Prayer book was an image of the all-seeing eye of God looking down on Guy Fawkes entering the cellar with a lantern in his hand.⁴⁰ This providential image is followed by a quote from Duport’s adaptation of Psalm 35, one of the proper psalms prescribed in the Prayer Book for the thanksgiving service on 5 November (ll. 11–14).⁴¹

The next thirty-two lines only repeat in several psalm extracts what has already been said. I only quote the four concluding lines:

Ἦϋτε καπνὸς ὄλωλε διασκιδνάντος αἰήτου,
 Ὡς ἄρα τούσδε διασκεδάσης, ἵνα τ’ εἶεν ἄφαντοι·
 Κηρὸς δ’ ὡς κατατήκετ’ ἐπειγόμενος πυρὸς ὄρμη,
 Ὡς Καρολου προπάρουθεν ὀλοίατο πάμπαν ἀλιτροί. (ll. 47–50)

⁴⁰ Cf. e.g. *The Book of Common-Prayer* 1678, between sigs. K3v–K4r. The image is entitled as “The Powder Plot November the V” and furnished with the following psalm quotations: “Psal: 9.16. The wicked is snared in the worke of his own hands. Psal: 10: 14. Thou hast seene it, for thou beholdest mischief and spight to require it etc.”

⁴¹ These lines are an almost exact quote of Duport, 1666, Ps. 35, p. 89, v. 4.

Like smoke that perished in scattering wind, you scatter them so that they would be unseen: as pressed wax melts in the onrush of the fire, so the wicked shall perish altogether before Charles.

This is an almost exact quote of Duport, with the exception that the last line has been appropriately changed from Ὡς τε Θεοῦ to Ὡς Καρολου.⁴²

6. Declamation

Engaging in declamations was standard practice in seventeenth-century English grammar schools. In this context, the word declamation refers to an oratorical exercise on a predefined controversial topic where one student took the affirmative part and the other the negative while a third was usually appointed to moderate.⁴³ In line with the usual practice, the moderator opens the 1677 declamation, taking over the next seven pages, by posing the controversy:

Quaeritur a nobis hodie utrum excogitatum parricidium Papistae factionis Quinto Novembris magis sit abominandum; quam barbara Regis detruncatio deflenda sit, ac detestanda die Trigesimo Januarii. Quo die Fanatici barbaramente regnabant ad excidium Regis, et totius Ecclesiae Christianae. (fol. 314v)

We are asked today whether the contrived parricide by the Popish faction on the fifth of November is to be more abhorred than the barbarous decapitation of the King on the thirtieth of January, from which day forward the Fanatics barbarously ruled for the destruction of the King and the Christian church, is to be deplored and cursed.

The controversy once again rehearses the tendency (discussed above) to link the Gunpowder Plot to yet another deliverance, the Restoration of the monarchy on 29 May in 1660, while the regicide of Charles I on 30 January 1649 is figured as

⁴² Cf. Duport 1666, Ps. 68, p. 177, v. 2.

⁴³ For declamations in seventeenth-century English grammar schools, cf. Grafton 1972; Mack 2007.

a successful version of the Gunpowder Plot perpetuated by the Protestant Dissenters.⁴⁴ This line of thinking is once more underlined in the 1677 declamation. First, the floor is handed over to the speaker who defends the view that the crime of the Gunpowder plotters was the worst of the two. His argument goes as follows:

Minorem tamen quam Fauxius culpam commeruit ob has causas. Quod palam, consentiente etiam Parlamento, et publico justitiae auctoramento jussit Regem vita simul, et regno penitus exterminari. At Fauxius sane cum laterna sua in tam tetra scelerum nocte conatus est aspectum hominum prorsus evadere. Noctis enim, et tenebrarum velamen induit; quasi Solis lumen non ausus esset intueri. Quare, ut fanaticis videtur nostris Angliganis, Fauxius pejor, quam Cromwellus, conjurator est existimandus. Quod aiunt, Occulti inimici sunt pessimi. Quippe ab apertis hostibus facile nosmetipsos possumus defendere. At hostes quorum penitus ignari sumus, quosque amicos putamus, nullo modo possumus devitare; multo minus nosmetipsos ab eorum insidiis tueri. Obganniant igitur licet Fanatici, vel Romanistae: Deus tamen optimus maximus nos ab illis omnibus et Jesuiticis, et Fanaticis miraculose liberavit. Ad locum nempe suum demisit tam execrandi nominis Oliverum; et patrem patriae Carolum (quo nihil augustius terrarium orbis unquam aspexerat) necnon augustissimum Britanniae genium faelicissime restituit. Et Papistarum etiam diabolicam conjurationem e tenebris in lucem produxit. Quod facinus si mira Dei providentia e tenebris non erupisset, actum esset de nobis omnibus. (fol. 315r)

Nevertheless, for these reasons he [Cromwell] was less guilty than Fawkes. In that openly, with the approval of the Parliament and public warranty for justice, he ordered both the king and kingdom to be entirely extirpated. But Fawkes, truly, with his lantern in the horrid night of crime, tried to escape from people's gaze altogether. For at nights he put on the robe of shadows as if he would not have

⁴⁴ Cf. above, pp. 13 and 18.

dared to look at the sunlight. Therefore, as our English Fanatics think, Fawkes should be considered a worse criminal than Cromwell. As they say, hidden enemies are the worst ones. Of course, it is easier to defend ourselves against an open enemy. But we cannot anyway avoid enemies of whom we are completely unaware, and whom we regard as our friends. Even less can we protect ourselves from their snares. Therefore, let the Fanatics and Romanists snarl: the best and greatest God has nonetheless miraculously liberated us from all the Jesuits and Fanatics. As everybody knows, he lowered the cursed name of Oliver to its own place, and restored Charles, the father of the fatherland – never has the world looked upon anyone more august! – and likewise the most august genius of Britain. And he also brought to light from the shadows the diabolical conspiracy of the Papists. If God's marvelous providence had not broken out from the shadows, that misdeed would have put an end to all of us.

Strangely enough the speaker decides to side with the Fanatics (*Quare, ut fanaticis videtur nostris Angliganis, Fauxius pejor, quam Cromwellus, conjurator est existimandus*) – not perhaps the best choice given the circumstances – arguing that the Gunpowder plotters are the worst ones because they carried out their crime in secret (*Quod aiunt, Occulti inimici sunt pessimi*). Nevertheless, the salvation from both of these threats – as it is underlined once more – was only due to the divine providence. The second declaimer, taking the opposite view, opens his argument with the following words:

Audivistis, Auditores reverendi, ab Oratoribus hisce nostris, praesertim vero ab Antagonista hoc meo, qui Cromwelli scelus minuit, magnum illud facinus quod hodie a Fauxio, et sociis suis intendebatur. At vero hujus sceleris sulphureus odor naribus sane meis parvum, aut nullum mali odoris foetum reddere videtur; si illius sceleris (quod trigesimo Januarii die a Cromwello non modo cogitatum, sed peractum erat) commemoro. Illius inquam sceleris oblivisci nequeo; neque nunc temporis, tametsi inopportune, linguam a loquendo cohibere possum. Diversa est nostrorum

omnium opinio. Hic nempe Fanaticus papisticum Fauxium; ego fanaticum Cromwellum pejorem judico. (fols. 315v–16r)

You have heard, reverend auditors, from these orators of ours, especially from my antagonist who downplays Cromwell's wickedness, that a great crime was intended today by Fawkes and his accomplices. But truly the sulphureous stink of this crime seems to deliver little or no foul-smelling offspring to my nostrils if I call to mind the crime that Cromwell not only planned but also executed on the thirtieth of January. I say, I cannot forget: not even this time, although inappropriately, can I refrain from speaking. We all have different opinions. Hence, this Fanatic thinks the papist Fawkes is worse, while I think that Cromwell is.

Having rather vividly described the matter at hand and duly labeled his adversary as a Fanatic, the second speaker moves on to present his argument:

Primum itaque hoc fateor; nempe quod horridum fuit hujus diei scelus; et crudelissimi erant Fauxii, caeterorumque Papisticorum conspiratorum conatus. Qui si vel minime valuissent totus certo certius Senatus una cum rege Jacobo beatae memoriae sulphure, et pulvere bombardico ad caelos usque sublatis fuissent. Horridum, inquam, fuit hoc scelus. Neque nego quin Fauxius ipse una cum sociis suis poenis jure merito dignus extiterit. Si verò Cromwelli scelus inspiciamus, neque Tarpeae rupis dejectionem, neque scyllas Gemonias, neque Perilli taurum, neque molestam tunicam, nec damnationem ad metalla illi digne satis congruisse judicemus. Fauxius enim senatus, totiusque regni Anglicani exitium tantum machinatus est. Cromwellus vero Rei-publicae, Regi, totique Ecclesiae malum crudeliter actutum intulit. Nempe Caroli regis caput sine causa crudeliter detruncavit; et pacem in bellum, concordiam in commotiones et factiones, tempus faustum in infaustum convertibat. Fauxius vero, ut Deo optimo maximo visum est, nemini nocuit, et quasi Rei-publicae bonum intulit.

So first I say this: today's crime was certainly a horrid one, and the undertakings of Fawkes and other Popish conspirators were most cruel. Had they had any success, most certainly the whole Senate together with King James of blessed memory would have been lifted up to the heavens by sulphur and gunpowder. Horrid, I say, this crime was. And I do not deny that Fawkes himself together with his associates were justly and deservedly worthy of their punishment. If we were to truly consider Cromwell's crime, we should conclude that neither casting down from the Tarpeian Rock, nor the Gemonian Stairs, nor the brazen bull, nor the flaming shirt, nor condemnation to the mines had suited him appropriately enough. To be sure, Fawkes merely plotted the destruction of the Senate and the whole Kingdom of England. Cromwell truly caused cruel damage to the Commonwealth, the King and the Church at once. Certainly, he did cruelly cut off King Charles' head without a reason; and turned peace into war, concord into commotions and factions, times of happiness into unhappiness. Fawkes truly, as it pleased the Almighty God, did not injure anyone as almost bringing good to the Commonwealth.

Having assured his audience that the wickedness of the Gunpowder Plot is not to be undermined, and having employed, unsurprisingly enough, the trope of people being blown up to the air, the speaker swiftly proceeds to his argument, which, of course, leans on the fact that the crime of 30 January, unlike the Gunpowder Plot, actually succeeded in bringing down the King and the established Church. Even more, the Gunpowder Plot with its known anti-Catholic consequences turned out to be beneficial for the Commonwealth. In order to hammer in his argument, the speaker further compares the actions of the Parliamentarians to parricide, placing Cromwell among the infernal stock:

Nonne nimirum ille minime naturalis videtur filius, qui contra patrem, et matrem contendit? Tu contra regem patrem tuum observandissimum rebellis extitisti, adeo ut eum occideres. Tu etiam Ecclesiam matrem tuam jure merito colendissimam sprevisi. Adeo ut religionem catholicam aboleveris; et novam, hypocriti-

cam, fanaticamque edideris. His itaque rebus ita se habentibus, te non humana, sed infernali aliqua stirpe natum fuisse arbitrator. (fols. 316r–16v)

Is not a son who contends against his father and mother the least natural? You raised revolts against your most attentive father the King with the purpose of killing him. You scorned your justly and deservedly venerable mother the Church. This in order to abolish the true and catholic faith, and to set up a new, hypocritical and fanatical one. In this state of affairs, I think you were not born of the human but infernal race.

The whole declamation ends with a brief moderatorial part, summarizing the controversy but refraining from judgement:

Expectatis igitur, ut puto, quaenam crudelior esset factio Jesuitarum, an Cromwellianorum. Liceat igitur bona vestra cum venia animi mei sententiam libere proferre, quid et de Jesuitis, et de Cromwellianis sentiendum sit. Jesuitae, uti nostis, insolens sunt hominum genus, vafrum, fraudulentum, pestilens, et natum malo publico. Nec minus perniciosum Regibus, Regno, et Ecclesiae se praestitit Cromwellus. Pacem semper perturbant Anglicanam Jesuitae. Nec minus eam perturbavit Cromwellus. (fol. 317r)

You wait to hear, I suppose, which faction, the Jesuits or the Cromwellians, was crueler. Therefore, with your kind permission let me freely express my own opinion with regard to what to think about the Jesuits and Cromwellians. The Jesuits, as you know, are an insolent human race, sly, fraudulent, pestilent and born for public misfortune. Cromwell did not prove himself less ruinous for the Kings, Kingdom and Church. The Jesuits are always disturbing the peace of England. Cromwell did not disturb it less.

7. Concluding remarks

As usual, the 1677 performance is put to rest with a brief epilogue, summing up the ideals expressed and bidding good-bye to the audience. I quote the last seven lines, which very much encapsulate the ideas and sentiments conveyed during the annual King's School Guy Fawkes Day performances:

Regis igitur, et Populi semper intererit vigilare, ac ardentius Deum implorare, ut hanc in noctem, et semper, a laribus nostris ignem avertat sulphuream: Et ab igne Fanatico, molliore forsitan, sed tamen magis noxio, et regnum, et Ecclesiam nostram in perpetuum tueri dignaretur. Cujus fiducia freti faelicem vobis omnibus noctem precamur, tutam ab insidiis, tutam ab incendiis. (fol. 318r)

It is important for the King and the People to be always vigilant and to beseech God ardently that he would avert the sulphureous fire from our hearths tonight and always. And that he would hold worthy to protect our Kingdom and the Church forever from the Fanatical fire, which is perhaps more gentle but yet more harmful. Confidently trusting in him, we pray that you all may have a good night, safe from snares and flames.

In praying God to deliver the King and his people not only from the sulphureous fire (*a laribus nostris ignem avertat sulphuream*) but also from the Fanatical fire (*ab igne Fanatico*), the epilogue once more bears witness to the central development of the providential account of English Protestant history: the failure of the Gunpowder Plot was incorporated into a series of providential deliverances, from the victory over the Spanish Armada to the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Moreover, these were readily linked to the more topical “threats” of Protestant Nonconformity and finally to the completely fabricated Popish Plot, which, between 1678 and 1681 drove England to anti-Catholic hysteria.⁴⁵ As such, the Guy Fawkes Day performances are an interesting example of annual celebrations of England's Protestant history, marked perhaps by their expressions of extreme fidelity to the King and Church.

⁴⁵ One of the Guy Fawkes Day prologues (fol. 423v), likely spoken in 1679, refers to the Popish Plot.

On the other hand, the Gunpowder compositions – as well as all the *Orationes* texts – present us with a rare example of extant school composition from Early-Modern England. In essence, the Guy Fawkes Day speeches and poems are elaborated school exercises, corresponding with grammar school boys' daily routine of writing themes and verses in Latin and Greek.⁴⁶ The King's School Gunpowder performances, especially the Latin Gunpowder poems, offer us a prime example of how a near-contemporary literary tradition could be imported into another context – a late seventeenth-century grammar school – and applied to current needs and circumstances. This goes somewhat against the traditional, but understandable, view that the grammar school boys occupied themselves with nothing else than a stagnated curriculum of Latin and Greek classics.⁴⁷ With regard to the Greek Gunpowder verses, I have yet to come across any other example. The same holds for any Gunpowder speeches and declamations from early-modern grammar schools. The purpose of this paper has been to give an overview of a literary tradition that has thus far escaped scholarly attention. More research is certainly needed in the archives in the hope that it could bring to light more grammar school examples of these literary witnesses to the nuances of thought available to Restoration schoolboys negotiating their place in the developing Protestant nation.

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⁴⁶ For the *Orationes* texts as a specimen of school exercises, cf. Alho 2020.

⁴⁷ Exemplified, e.g., in Clarke 1959, 34–45.

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AFTER A TRIP

The Effects of Augustus' Propaganda in Sicily through Historical, Numismatic and Archaeological Sources

ANTONINO CRISÀ

1. Introduction

The *princeps* Octavian Augustus, who drove Rome from the Republican to the Imperial age, ruled for almost 40 years between 27 BC to 14 AD. He shaped a new empire, initiating a long phase of peace and prosperity, the so-called *Pax Romana*. During his reign, Augustus carried out cogent and clever propaganda, which embraced many aspects of Roman politics, religion, society, culture and art. The Republican tradition conveyed innovation and formed a new set of powers, civic and religious values, which defined the so-called 'Augustan era'. These aspects have been constantly and thoroughly studied by scholars, following wide-ranging perspectives and investigations of historical, literary and visual sources.¹

We know that the effects of propaganda were diverse among the Roman provinces – including the new territories conquered by Augustus – in which local contexts and populations differed.² We also know that the *princeps* granted select cities the right to continue issuing their local coin issues.³ However, historians have rarely investigated a more narrowed and 'localised' aspect of this theme, namely, the impact of Augustan propaganda in Sicily through numismatic evidence, as well as historical and epigraphic sources.

¹ Allen 1922, 250–66; Zanker 1988; Holliday 1990, 542–57; Barchiesi 2007, 281–305; Eder 2007, 13–33; Gruen 2007, 33–51.

² Woolf 2007, 106–29.

³ West 1949, 19–20.

The term ‘propaganda’ might be misleading in some contexts; therefore, it is essential to provide a brief definition of the word, which we often use in our historical analysis. Since the Second World War, “this word has acquired a bad meaning, [that is] the systematic spreading of false report with the pretence of truth.”⁴ In Roman history, including the reign of Augustus, coins can be considered a perfect means of propaganda.⁵ In our contribution, we primarily consider ‘propaganda’ (from Latin *propago*, ‘to extend’) as the way of spreading a series of images and legends through inscriptions and coins, which may convey a more or less political meaning or deliberate messages. This, of course, implies an effective interconnection with a substratum of long-standing local traditions, which were certainly strong in Sicily in the late Republican and early Imperial age.

The main scope of this article is to analyse these themes. It aims to understand how coins can reveal the effects of Augustan propaganda in Sicily, the scene of civil wars and finally pacified by the *princeps*. The article, therefore, focuses on some targeted case studies and numismatic issues, dating from the end of the 1st century BC to the early 1st century AD. They undoubtedly form valuable (and often rare) historical evidence showing Augustus’ interest in numismatics as a main source for promoting his policy and especially founding a link with the local tradition of Sicilian centres. The subject is worthy of study for two essential reasons. First, Sicilian coins issued by Augustus represent a vital set of evidence that successfully merges historical data, political propaganda, iconography, tradition and innovation. Second, numismatic issues, together with other epigraphic sources, markedly join a dual side and scope represented by a ‘local’ dimension of the traditional heritage of the old Graeco-Roman *civitates* and *municipia* and a series of ‘state’ inclusions by Augustus, the *princeps* and peacemaker of the Sicilian province.

The article first provides a general overview on the historical context in Sicily, focusing on the effects of the civil wars between Sextus Pompeius and Octavian at the end of the Roman Republic. The period was crucial for the *provincia Sicilia*, affected by a long-standing state of war and impoverishment. It culminated in administrative reform and the foundation of some colonies by Augustus. This phenomenon can be proven by historical evidence, which we discuss in the following sections through a series of case studies (Fig. 1). First, *Tyndaris*

⁴ Sutherland 1983, 73–74.

⁵ West 1949, 19–20; Grant 1952, 84–85.

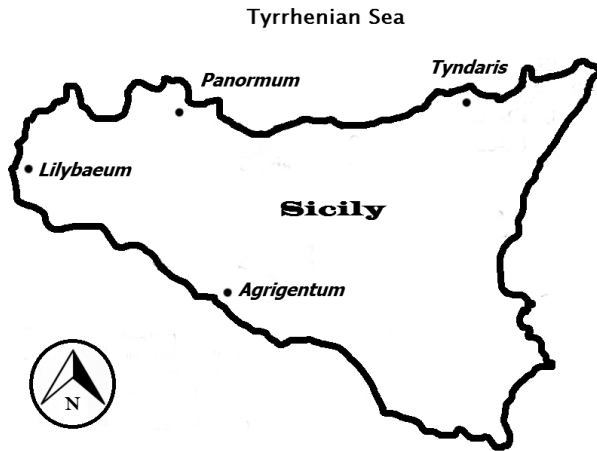


Fig. 1: Map of Sicily showing sites and mints here discussed.
(Photo by the author.)

and *Panormum* offer a comparative set of historical and numismatic data on the effect of Augustus' propaganda; the *princeps* founded two *coloniae* there. Second, coinages of *Lilybaeum* and *Agrigentum* (both *municipia*) represent two additional, vital case studies, which, however, show analogies with the previous colonies, as we discuss in the following section. Lastly, we provide final considerations on the subject and assess data on numismatics and historical evidence.

2. After Sextus Pompeius: Augustus and Sicily

The *provincia Sicilia* was markedly involved in the civil war until 42 and 36 BC, when Octavian defeated Sextus Pompeius following the battle of Naulocos.⁶ Some areas of Sicily, like the northern coastal area between Tindari and Messina and the east coast between the strait and Taormina, had probably been more affected than others. Although scholars have often disputed the aftermath in Sicilian centres and the real effects of war on the province itself, it is possible to

⁶ Finley 1979, 148–51; Stone III 1983, 11–14; Manganaro 1988, 11–15; Manganaro 1992, 448–51; Welch 2012, 261–89.

outline a reconstruction of the crucial historical period between 36 BC and the early 1st century AD. Sicily was then pacified as a new senatorial *provincia* by Augustus, and towns were rebuilt or abandoned. Generally speaking, Sicily lost most of its importance as a corn supplier for the Roman empire, especially after the battle of *Actium* (30 BC), when exportation of Egyptian grain overtook the Sicilian supplies. This evidently had an impact on the Sicilian economy (especially regarding agriculture), which was also affected by a presumed land distribution to Augustus' veterans within the foundation of new *coloniae*.⁷

In addition, those centres had to give a substantial indemnity of around 1,600 talents to Rome in order to pay for their alliance with the enemy. The people of *Tauromenium* (Taormina, Messina) were even deported, once Octavian decided to establish a new colony there. Other settlements, like *Morgantina* (Serra Orlando, Enna) and *Heraclea Minoa* (Cattolica Eraclea, Agrigento), show archaeological evidence of decline and destruction by fire. Stone III has interpreted the devastations as a punishment "by the delegates of Octavian" for *Morgantina*'s support of Sextus Pompeius.⁸ However, although archaeological records are sometimes lacking for the late 1st century BC, excavations have proven that some towns underwent to a process of re-organisation in terms of constructions and urban expansion during the age of Augustus. This occurred, for instance, at some colonies (*Catana*, *Tauromenium*, *Thermae* and *Tyndaris*) and *municipia* (*Halaesa*), in which new public and private buildings were built or massively renovated.⁹

Historical sources can help us to understand how Sicilian settlements were organised in 21 BC, even if they report some informative incongruities. Thus, as Marino states,¹⁰ it can be arduous speculating on the 'system' of prizes and punishments adopted by Augustus after the war because of these discrepancies among historical sources. When describing Sicily, Pliny the Elder provides us with information on the status of many Sicilian towns, a status which often changed from the end of the Roman Republican period until Octavian's action.

⁷ Manganaro 1972, 457–58; Finley 1979, 149–50; Stone III 1983, 21–22; Manganaro 1988, 16; Wilson 1990, 33–34.

⁸ Stone III 1983, 19; Wilson 1990, 33–34; Stone III 2002, 139–44.

⁹ Diod. Sic. 13,35,3; 16,70,6; Bejor 1983, 373–74; Stone III 1983, 15; Prag 2010, 305–6; Pfuntner 2013, 919–20.

¹⁰ Marino 2007, 10.

Of course, the *Oratio in Verrem* by Cicero can provide useful information on this matter. For instance, *Tyndaris* changed its status from *civitas decumana* to *colonia*. There were also many *municipia* in Sicily before the civil wars, like *Agrirentum* (Agrigento), *Haluntium* (San Marco d'Alunzio, Messina), *Lipara* (Lipari, Messina) and *Tauromenium*. They can be considered as “fully privileged communities”, as reported by Wilson. Other towns are listed as *oppida civium Romanorum* (Messina), *cum civium Romanorum oppido* (Lipari); their inhabitants were sometimes considered as *cives stipendarii*.¹¹

More importantly, especially for our discussion, we know that Augustus established some new colonies in 21 BC: Catania, Syracuse, Termini Imerese, Tindari and Taormina (the latter's foundation can probably be backdated to 36–35 BC). In addition, as reported by Strabo (6,2,1), Palermo was set up a bit later, probably between 21 and 14 BC. The foundation of such *coloniae* played a vital role in Augustan propaganda and in the effective peace-making of the *provincia Sicilia*. It is evident that Augustus' plan was to realise a successful 're-establishment' of previous main centres.

First, this could imply re-naming the centre (e.g. *Colonia Augusta Panhormitanorum*, *Colonia Augusta Tyndaritanorum*), linking the *princeps* to the local ethnic name, which appeared mainly on local official records – which did not survive –, coins and inscriptions. Second, *coloniae* would have caused the confiscation and re-distribution of lands, which became imperial assets in the *provincia*. This process probably occurred following the Augustus' trip to Sicily, as also happened in other provincial areas.¹² It likely determined the birth of vast *latifundia*, which would have formed the productive foundation for the huge Roman *villae*, like the one in Patti Marina (Messina). Moreover, this process probably entailed a sort of punishment for some towns that sided with Sextus Pompeius, as probably occurred at *Tyndaris*, occupied by the rebel during the civil war. Third, Augustus could spread propagandistic messages through legends, iconographies and symbols on coins. They were issued both by *coloniae* and *municipia*.¹³

¹¹ Strab. 6,2,5–6; Plin. *NH* 3,88–93; Finley 1979, 152–54; Stone III 1983, 14–18, 21–22; Reid Rubincam 1985, 521–22; Manganaro 1988, 16–22; Wilson 1990, 35–38, 40–43; Manganaro 1992, 451–53; Stone III 2002, 146–47; Marino 2007, 11–12.

¹² *Res Gestae* 16; Manganaro 1972, 458; Stone III 2002, 146.

¹³ Bejor 1983, 370–71; Wilson 1990, 35–40; Bejor 2007, 18–20; Marino 2007, 11–12; Gulletta 2011a,

3. A crucial case study: *Tyndaris*, the new *colonia* and Augustus

Tyndaris was founded in 396 BC by Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse, who wanted to prevent any potential advance of the Carthaginians from the west part of Sicily. Soon, the centre expanded and its inhabitants built massive city walls and then a theatre, setting up a regular road system, which was still maintained with *cardines* and *decumani* in the Imperial period. The Romans conquered *Tyndaris* in 254 BC, becoming a *civitas decumana*. According to Cicero, who offers us a vivid depiction of Sicily in the 1st century BC, *Tyndaris*, a '*nobilissima civitas*', was prosperous. That is demonstrated by the dynamic and rich local society, a wealthy *nobilitas* which Verres could avidly oppress and impoverish. In addition, we also know that a man, originally called Philo, changed his name to Cn. Pompeius, revealing a political connection with Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (106–48 BC), father of Sextus.¹⁴

Subsequently, once the civil war started in 42 BC, Sextus Pompeius occupied *Tyndaris* and most of the northern Sicily coastline area, including *Lipara*, which became a powerful base for his fleet. According to the assessment of historical sources, it can be argued that he took advantage of a favourable and non-hostile background at *Tyndaris*. The local *nobilitas*, which evidently favoured his father, would have accepted him and supported his actions. Accordingly, sources report the town was occupied by Sextus Pompeius and subsequently liberated by Octavian, who camped with 21 legions and knights (probably close to the promontory of Tindari) in 36 BC. It is evident that his deployment was substantial, probably to conquer a vast area of Sicily. At the same time, Agrippa defeated Pompeius' fleet and won at *Lipara* and *Mylae*.¹⁵

Thus, *Tyndaris* was subjected to a defeat. However, was the town worthy of being destroyed, abandoned and forgotten completely? Could Augustus undertake a re-establishment process for the centre without neglecting its actions during the civil wars? It was possible. Augustus chose to promote the colonial

46.

¹⁴ Cic. *Verr.* 2,3,103; 2,4,17; 2,4,29; 2,4,48; 2,4,84–92; 2,5,108; 2,5,124; 2,5,133; 2,5,185; Coarelli – Torelli 2000, 385–86; Paoletti 2003, 1010; Lazzaretti 2004, 275–87; Crisà 2008, 239; Gulletta 2011b, 606–10.

¹⁵ App. *B Civ.* 5,11,105; 5,12,109; 5,12,112; 5,12,116; Dio Cass. 48,17,4; 49,7,4; Finley 1979, 148–50; Coarelli – Torelli 2000, 386; Gulletta 2011b, 609; Welch 2012, 276–77.



Fig. 2: View of the insula IV Roman private houses (Tindari, Messina). (Photo by the author.)

establishment. Therefore, once he travelled in Sicily around 21–20 BC, Augustus had a good chance to found new colonies. This colonial foundation process, as far as it has been considered a sort of punishment for the recent alliance and backing of Sextus Pompeius,¹⁶ can be judged by its convenient effects at the site and proven by the archaeological record.

Nevertheless, in a short-term period, following the end of the civil war, *Tyndaris* probably faced a brief (and expected) period of impoverishment, which occurred all across the northern coast of Sicily, although archaeological evidence of 36–22 BC is evidently unclear.¹⁷ In that context, the inhabitants also suffered land confiscation. Subsequently, in a long-term period, Augustus' action, which can be considered as a re-establishment, allowed the reborn *Colonia Augusta Tyndaritanorum* to pass over its recent urban and economic decline. In fact, all archaeological evidence, confirmed also by recent excavations, proves that *Tyndaris* underwent a substantial urban expansion. This process, which also affected other Sicilian towns during the Augustan age, has been considered

¹⁶ Stone III 2002, 138–40.

¹⁷ Wilson 1990, 39.



Fig. 3: Colossal head of Augustus, preserved at the on-site Antiquarium (Tyndari, Messina).

“crucial” by Belvedere,¹⁸ and it surely marked a starting point for further urban development during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD.

Between the end of the 1st century BC and the early 1st century AD, *insula* IV (Fig. 2) was subjected to massive refurbishment and transformation, as new floors and decorative elements clearly testify. Old debris, probably related to the destruction that occurred during the civil war, was discharged for

filling some private cisterns. Similarly, Roman houses and a vast public building in the northern area of the site, the so-called “Contrada Cercadenari” quarter, were built and decorated with mosaics.¹⁹ A huge marble head of Augustus (Fig. 3), part of a colossal statue of the *princeps*, has been discovered in the so-called Roman Basilica of Tyndaris and is currently kept at the local *Antiquarium*. It would represent one of a series of statues dedicated by the local community to the *gens Iulia* in the early 1st century AD.²⁰

Thus, if Augustus’ colonial foundation signalled a turning point for Tyndaris in terms of ‘re-birth’ of urban expansion, even without considering the possible land distribution to the veterans and new social élite, the event was evidently essential for the local community. Its name is crucial for understanding the *princeps*’ propaganda, condensed in three effective words: noun, adject-

¹⁸ Belvedere 1998, 118.

¹⁹ Plin. *NH* 3,90; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965, 205–9; Bernabò Brea and Fallico 1966, 865–68; Wilson 1988, 136–44; Belvedere and Termine 2005, 87; Spigo 2005, 42–50, 65–71; Leone and Spigo 2008, 57–62, 106–7.

²⁰ Spigo 2005, 81–82.

tive and ethnic name (as genitive). The centre not only obtained a new status (*colonia*) according to Augustus (*Augusta*), but also remained a 'possession' of its inhabitants (*Tyndaritanorum*), who were still strongly aware of their Spartan origins and their first foundation as a Syracusan colony.

Undoubtedly, coins represent essential historical evidence for understanding this aspect. Generally speaking, late 1st century BC coinage in Sicily presents some problems. First, the number of known numismatic specimens is not very large and sometimes they are not fully legible. This can make understanding the legends quite hard, and even the final attribution to the mint and the definitive dating can be problematic. In addition, the status of some Sicilian towns is still debatable among scholars, making the interpretation and attribution of numismatic issues complex.²¹ It is evident that more research on this subject is needed to clarify these problematic aspects and to establish a more certain chronology. However, in this context, coins can be considered as a propagandistic means effected by Augustus through legends and iconography.

Tyndaris numismatics conveyed a series of iconographies from the 4th to 1st century BC, which are strictly related to the origin of the early settlers and the cult of the Dioscuri, sons of Zeus and Leda, wife of Tyndareus, to whom the Sicilian centre was evidently dedicated. One of the most recurring types is the caps of the Dioscuri, which still appeared on some numismatic issues of the late 1st century BC – although the attribution has been consistently controversial – including a clay token found in 1896 and a Roman mosaic in the *insula* IV quarter (still *in situ*). These coins report Latin legends with names of local magistrates, mostly *duoviri*, who oversaw the minting process.²²

Following these coinages, *Tyndaris* issued coins in connection with Augustus.²³ In particular, one (Fig. 4) shows the portrait of the *princeps* on the ob-

²¹ Bahrfeldt 1904, 1–119; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 165–67; Cutroni Tusa 1995, 363–74; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès – Carradice 2006, 28–29; Guzzetta 2007, 192–96; Amandry – Burnett – Ripollès – Spoerri Butcher 2014, 19–20; Ripollès – Burnett – Amandry – Carradice – Spoerri Butcher 2015, 53–55.

²² Poole 1876, 235–36; Head 1911, 189–90; Gabrici 1927, 88–90, 104, 192–94; Mini 1979, 438–46; Calciati 1983, 79–83; Martini 1998, 666–70; Musti 2005, 141–43; Spigo 2005, 48–49, 53; Crisà 2006, 36–46; Crisà 2008, 244–53; Villemur 2016, 435–53; Crisà 2019, 63–77.

²³ It is worth stressing that one of these coins shows the head of Augustus (obverse) and the legend SISENNA PROCOS within a wreath (reverse). However, its attribution to the *Tyndaris* mint is still debatable (Gabrici 1927, 162, nos. 337–38; Cutroni Tusa 1988, 274; Campana 2001–2002, 81, n. 30;



Fig. 4: Tyndaris, Æ as, Augustus, post 22 BC: obv.:/AVGVSTVS TVNDAR, head of Augustus; rev.:/L·MVSSID(IVS) PR·COS, wreath. (Ex Naville Numismatics Ltd, Live Auction 20, 7 February 2016, lot n. 126.)

verse with the legend AVGVSTVS TVNDAR and the name of the proconsul L. Mussid(ius) on the reverse, who can probably be identified as the moneyer L. Mussidius Longus.²⁴ The obverse legend astutely links Augustus with *Tyndaris*' name, while the wreath is clearly a symbol of Apollo, a deity who played a significant role in the *princeps*' propaganda. On the whole, observing the iconographies, the coin is fully shaped according to common standards of contemporary Augustan portraits and numismatic series,²⁵ even if L. Mussidius took care of shaping the coin issue.²⁶

What is the significance of this coin? Why is it remarkable? It can be argued that the issue followed the foundation of the *colonia* at *Tyndaris* in approximately 21 BC: the year can be considered a valid *terminus post quem* by which to date the coin. Undoubtedly, it carries a strong historical value, connecting Augustus (and his official portrait) to *Tyndaris* and the *provincia Sicilia* through L. Mussidius as *proconsul*.

Crisà 2008, 257–59; Ripollès – Burnett – Amandry – Carradice – Spoerri Butcher 2015, 55).

²⁴ Crawford 1974, 502, n. 494.

²⁵ Zanker 1988, 98–100.

²⁶ *Tyndaris*, Æ as, Augustus, 22 BC–14 AD: obv.:/AVGVSTVS TVNDAR, head of Augustus right; rev.:/L(ucius)-MVSSID(IVS) PR(o)-CO(n)S(ul) inside wreath (Gabrici 1927, 162, nos. 337–38; Cutroni Tusa 1988, 269; Martini 1991, 66–70, nos. 111–33; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, n. 627; Campana 2001–2002, 81, n. 30; Martini 2001, 347, n. 1364; Crisà 2008, 253–56).

Date	Epigraphic text	Reference
1 st century AD?	[<i>colonia</i>] AVG(<i>usta</i>) [<i>Tyndaritanorum</i>]	CIL X 7480
138–61 AD	COL(<i>onia</i>) AVG(<i>usta</i>) TYNDA(<i>ritanorum</i>)	CIL X 7474
161–69 AD	[<i>colonia a</i>]VG(<i>usta</i>) TYNDAR(<i>itanorum</i>)	CIL X 7475
209–12 AD	R(<i>es</i>) P(<i>ublica</i>) COL(<i>onia</i>) AVG(<i>usta</i>) TY(<i>ndaritanorum</i>)	Manganaro 1989, 163, n. 9
222–35 AD	RES (<i>ublica</i>) COL(<i>onia</i>) AVG(<i>usta</i>) TYNDAR(<i>itanorum</i>)	CIL X 7478
Unknown	COL(<i>onia</i>) AVG(<i>usta</i>) TYN(<i>daritanorum</i>)	CIL X 7476

Table 1: List of texts showing the name of Colonia Augusta Tyndaritanorum.

In addition to this, a pivotal series of inscriptions (Table 1) forms an additional, vital source on the colonial foundation at *Tyndaris*. They essentially report standard formulas and abbreviations. The main ones are COL·AVG·TYND and COL·AVG, although sometimes the ethnic name is coherently associated with the local *res publica*. However, it can be inferred that the origin of these legends has to be found on coin legends (especially COL·TYND or COL·TVN), which could be dated before the inscriptions listed in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Luckily, our epigraphic finds testify to a long-standing status for the *colonia* until the late Imperial period, when *Tyndaris* was still a *colonia Augusta*.

4. A comparative case study: The Roman *colonia* of *Panormum*

Tyndaris, including all its essential historical sources, forms an important case study, which helps us to understand the effects of Augustus' actions and propaganda in Sicily. But what happened among the other Sicilian centres, irrespective of whether they were *colonia* or *municipia*? May we underline differences or similarities in terms of coin iconographies, legends and propagandistic aims? The following two sections aim to outline some Sicilian towns and their coinages between the end of the 1st century and the early 1st century AD, focusing on a series of issues fully connected with Augustus' policy in Sicily.

First of all, we can consider *Panormum* as a similar case study, which presents many analogies with *Tyndaris*. The ancient town of Palermo was born as a Punic foundation in the 8th century BC and soon became a rich emporium on the northern coast of Sicily. The Romans conquered the city in 254 BC. *Pan-*



Fig. 5: View of Roman houses at Piazza della Vittoria (Palermo). (Photo by the author.)

ormum was *civitas sine foedere immunis et libera* during the Republican period; Cicero stated that Verres oppressed its rich citizens, like Diocles Phimes. As said, the status changed at the end of the 1st century BC, once the city became a colony and was re-founded by Augustus (*Colonia Augusta Panhormitanorum*). Archaeology gives evidence that the settlement undertook a substantial urban expansion in the early Imperial period, as the Roman houses at Piazza della Vittoria clearly testify (Fig. 5). Strabo defined the city as *κατοικία* ('colony') in the 1st century AD, although Pliny called it *oppidum*. However, the status of colony is further confirmed by epigraphic sources. In particular, an inscription, dated to the early 3rd century AD, reports the formula *Col(onia) Aug(usta) Panhorm(itanorum)*, which fits perfectly into the standard epigraphic code documented at *Tyndaris*. Again, the colony's name is linked to the settlement's status and ethnic definition, and the formula still survived during the Roman Imperial age.²⁷

²⁷ Cic. *Verr.* 2,3,29; Plin. *NH* 3,88; *CIL* X, 7279; Gabrici 1921, 182–204; Giardina 1987, 226–37;

Similar to the aforementioned coins of *Tyndaris*, *Panormum's* coinage had a long-standing tradition and the city constantly issued coins until the Imperial age. The mint of Palermo was very productive for centuries and ended its activity in the age of Tiberius. We can mention Demeter, Hermes, the Dioscuri, Jupiter, Janus, eagles and prows among the most represented iconographies, including the Greek ethnic name's legend and some Latin personal names, like NASO and Q-FAB.²⁸

However, late 1st century BC and early 1st century AD coinage offers a very substantial record and evidence of Augustan propaganda. It is explicitly put into effect through symbolic elements and traditional images, already used and successfully combined by the mint of *Panormum*. In particular, we can mention a coin (Fig. 6) showing the ethnic name and the head of Augustus on the obverse, and a large *triskeles-Gorgoneion* on the reverse, including three corn ears between the legs.²⁹ The Greek ethnic, which does not appear in Latin language,



Fig. 6: Panormum, Æ as, Augustus, 22 BC–14 AD: obv.: ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤΑΝ; head of Augustus; rev.: Triskeles with Gorgoneion face and three corn ears. (Ex Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auktion 237, 7 March 2016, lot n. 1625.)

Wilson 1988, 153–58; Tamburello 1994, 205–41; Paoletti 2003, 1010; Spatafora – Montali 2006, 133–51.

²⁸ Poole 1876, 121–29; Bahrfeldt 1904, 3–117; Head 1911, 161–64; Gabrici 1927, 153–62; Mini 1979, 332–76; Calciati 1983, 329–68; Cutroni Tusa 1987, 275–88; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 170–73.

²⁹ *Panormum*, Æ as, Augustus, post 22 BC (?): obv.: ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤΑΝ(ων); head of Augustus right;

is a strong traditional element, like all the other iconographies. The *triskeles* powerfully symbolises the *provincia Sicilia*, which still provided grain and food supplies for the Empire. This iconography had already appeared on late Republican coinage a few years previously. For instance, a silver *denarius* of Caesar (Fig. 7), probably minted in Sicily, associated the head of Venus on the obverse with Trinacrius holding a *triskeles* and standing on a prow on the reverse.³⁰

The mint of *Panormum* was still operating during the reign of Tiberius. As an important and strategic Sicilian centre, *Panormum* maintained the right to issue coins, which again carried on elements of Augustan traditional propaganda. A remarkable coin (Fig. 8) conveys the most traditional aspects of Augustan portraiture, presenting the *princeps* on the obverse and Livia veiled on the reverse.³¹ Legends (PANORMITANORVM/AVGV) efficaciously establish a cross-



Fig. 7: Sicilian mint, AR denarius, Julius Caesar, 47 BC: obv.:/IMP·COS·ITER C·CAESAR, head of Venus; rev.:/PRO·COS A·ALLIENVS, Trinacrius holding a triskeles. (Ex Nomos AG, *Obolos* 4, 21 February 2016, lot n. 506.)

rev.:/Triskeles with Gorgoneion face and three corn ears among legs (Poole 1876, 125, n. 42; Gabrici 1927, 162, nos. 333–35; SNG Sweden 1974, 36, nos. 488–89; Mini 1979, 344, n. 31a; Calciati 1983, 334, nos. 20–21; Cutroni Tusa 1988, 269; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 172, n. 641).

³⁰ Sicilian mint, AR *denarius*, Julius Caesar (49–44 BC), 47 BC: obv.:/IMP(erator)-CO(n)S(ul)-ITER C(aius)-CAESAR, diademed head of Venus right, dotted borderline; rev.:/PRO-CO(n)S(ul) A(ulus)-ALLIENVS, Trinacrius standing left on a prow, holding a *triskeles* in his right hand (Sydenham 1952, 170, n. 1022; Crawford 1974, 471, n. 457/1).

³¹ *Panormum*, Æ *as*, Tiberius, 14–37 AD: obv.:/PANORMITANORVM, head of Augustus right; rev.:/AVGV(sta), veiled head of Livia right (Poole 1876, 125, nos. 43–44; Gabrici 1927, 161–62, nos. 325–31; SNG Euphrosinopolis 1970, XV, nos. 570–71; Mini 1979, 343–44, n. 27; Calciati 1983, 336–37, nos.

Fig. 8: Panormum, Æ as, Tiberius, 14–37 AD: obv.:PANORMITANORVM, head of Augustus; rev.:AVGV, head of Livia. (Ex Pecunem – Numismatik Naumann, Auktion 41, 6 March 2016, lot n. 384.)



ing connection between Augustus (the founder of the *colonia*), the local community of *Panormum* and Livia, who is depicted as Demeter, a traditional Sicilian goddess related to agriculture and (again) grain.

More importantly, one of the last issues of *Panormum* (Fig. 9) fully combines all iconography, legends and characteristics of Augustan coinage, although, like the previous one, it can be dated to the Tiberian age.³² The obverse shows a radiate head of Augustus associated with the ethnic Latin name and a thunderbolt, while the reverse has the name of a local *duovir* (probably the moneyer), a Capricorn and a *triskeles*. Again, official portraits, symbols and legends were probably established by the central authority in Rome and then approved by local magistrates. The coin celebrated the *Divus Augustus*: the radiate crown is, of course, a *terminus post quem* to date the coin to the Tiberian period. This issue evidently closed the activity of the *Panormum* mint. Traditional and propagandistic elements are multiple: the ethnic name now in Latin; the *triskeles*, a symbol of Sicily; and the Capricorn, which is a common symbol in the iconographic Augustan repertory.³³

37–38; Cutroni Tusa 1987, 279–80; Cutroni Tusa 1988, 270; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 172, n. 642).

³² *Panormum*, Æ *dupondius* (?), Tiberius, 14–37 AD: obv.:PAN(H)ORMITANORVM, radiate head of Augustus left, thunderbolt and above a star; rev.:CN(aei) DO(mi) PROC(uli) A-LAETO(R) II-VIR, Capricorn on the right and below a *triskeles* (Poole 1876, 125, nos. 45–46; Gabrici 1927, 162, nos. 339–40; Mini 1979, 345, n. 36; Calciati 1983, 337, n. 39; Cutroni Tusa 1987, 280; Cutroni Tusa 1988, 270, 274; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 172, n. 644).

³³ Zanker 1988, 48–49.

5. Non-colonial centres: *Lilybaeum* and *Agrigentum*

What happened among the non-colonial centres in terms of Augustan propaganda? Can we find similarities between coinages of *coloniae* founded by the *princeps* and other settlements? In this section, I will present two case studies of some numismatic issues of two Sicilian cities whose status was not that of a colony.

First of all, *Lilybaeum* (Marsala, Trapani) (Fig. 10) provides numismatic evidence of Augustus in the western part of Sicily. The city, founded by the Punic exiles of Motya, who had been expelled by Dionysus I of Syracuse in 397 BC, based its economy on maritime commerce, considering its strategic position in Sicily. Once it became a Roman city in 241 BC, *Lilybaeum* gained political relevance, because one of the two *quaestores* of Sicily was based there, while the second one was in Syracuse. Cicero was based in Marsala in the 1st century BC. The status of *Lilybaeum* after the civil war is not so clear. As Wilson pointed out, it can be argued that Augustus established a *municipium* as a punishment for having supported Sextus Pompeius. Accordingly, a Latin inscription mentions a *genius municipii Lilybaitanorum*. However, we also know that the settlement became a colony (*Colonia Helvia Augusta Lilybaitanorum*) probably between the



Fig. 9: Panormum, Æ dupondius (?), Tiberius, 14–37 AD: *obv.*:PAN(H)ORMI-TANORVM, *head of Augustus*; *rev.*:CN DO PROC A-LAETO(R), *Capricorn and triskeles*. (Ex *Ira & Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles, Auction 90, 2 February 2016, lot n. 3219.*)



Fig. 10: View of Marsala (Trapani). (Photo by the author.)

late 2nd and early 3rd century AD. Therefore, it was not an Augustan colonial foundation, like *Tyndaris* and *Panormum*.³⁴

Like *Tyndaris* and *Panormum*, *Lilybaeum*'s coinage also included a series of bronze issues, showing traditional and symbolic iconographies from the so-called 'periodo romano' (according to Gabrici's general chronology) until the end of the 1st century BC. The most common iconography was certainly Apollo and the lyra, associated with the ethnic name both in Greek and in Latin.³⁵

Regarding the age of Augustus, a remarkable coin (*Fig. 11*) is decisive for our discussion. The coin depicts Augustus on the obverse and the head of Apollo together with Q. Terentius Culleo's legend on the reverse. Considering the other issues already discussed, we notice that the obverse not only shows a standard portrait of Augustus in terms of stylistic criteria, but also reports a new legend (CAESAR AVGVSTVS), while the ethnic name LILVB is differently

³⁴ *CIL* X, 7223, 7225, 7228; Bovio Marconi 1961, 627–30; Wilson 1988, 97–8, 158–67; De Vido 1991, 42–76.

³⁵ Poole 1876, 95; Head 1911, 150–51; Gabrici 1927, 144; Mini 1979, 270–73; Calciati 1983, 261–64; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 175–76; De Vido 1998, 47–48; Campana 1999, 339–50.



Fig. 11: Lilybaeum, Æ as, Augustus, post 21 BC (?): obv.:/CAESAR AVGVSTVS, head of Augustus; rev.:/Q TERENTIO CVLLEONE, head of Apollo. (Ex Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 64, 17 May 2012, lot n. 2372.)

impressed on the reverse and associated with the *proconsul* name. Nevertheless, Augustus cleverly accepted the reverse type of Apollo as a favourable god and a well-known image of *Lilybaeum*'s coinage, including also other symbolic iconography, like the lyra. It is evident that the *princeps* gained profitable iconographic material from the local tradition, but opted for a standardised, official portrait.³⁶

The last case study is *Agrigentum*, the ancient Greek colony (called *Akragas*) founded in 581 BC. Conquered by the Romans in 210 BC, the city grew markedly in terms of population and urban extension. Archaeologists are still investigating the public areas and extensive private sectors. Organised by regular *cardines* and *decumani*, the city became a *municipium* after the civil war between Octavian and Sextus Pompeius and remained a prosperous centre even until the Byzantine period.³⁷

As is well known, coinage of *Akragas* (and then *Agrigentum*) reveal a varied record of iconography from local fauna, like the crab and eagle, which are

³⁶ *Lilybaeum*, Æ as, Augustus (27 BC–14 AD), post 21 BC (?): obv.:/CAESAR AVGVSTVS, head of Augustus right; rev.:/Q(uinto) TERENTIO CVLLEONE PRO-CO(n)S(ule) LILVB(itanorum), laureate head of Apollo right (Gabrici 1927, 144, nos. 19–23; Mini 1979, 272–73; Calciati 1983, 264, n. 16; Cutroni Tusa 1988, 273–74; Manganaro 1988, 86, n. 4; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 176, n. 657; Campana 1999, 346–47, n. 5). Regarding local iconographies, see, for instance, the cithara/lyra on well-known late 1st-century BC coin of *Lilybaeum* (Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 176, n. 656). Apollo, who is often associated with the lyra, is a constant iconography in the coinage of *Lilybaeum* as well (Calciati 1983, 262–63, nos. 1–12). Less frequent is the tripod, which however is still associated with Apollo (Calciati 1983, 263–64, nos. 13–15).

³⁷ Wilson 1988, 177–85; De Miro 2009; De Miro – Fiorentini 2011.

probably the most represented fauna on silver and bronze coins. The city issued coins until the early Imperial age.³⁸

A coin of Augustus (Fig. 12),³⁹ however, is essential to our investigation and offers historical data on the city at the very end of the 1st century BC. As seen elsewhere, the obverse has the head of Augustus, although it appears less stylistically accurate in comparison with the portraits discussed above. Again, the legends clearly link the *princeps* (AVGVSTO), including his representation, with the ethnic name (AGRIGENTI*orum*). The abbreviated form *P(atri) P(atriciae)* is a persuasive dating element for this issue and can be used as *terminus post quem*. In fact, since Augustus became *Pater Patriae* in 2 BC,⁴⁰ the coin can very plausibly be dated after this date. Compared with previous Augustan coins, the reverse is completely unusual: there is no iconography, but a series of legends only, furthermore not very coherently organised in the field. They report names of two *duoviri* (Salassus Comitialis and Sextus Rufus) and the proconsul (L. Clodius Rufus). How can we assess this reverse? It may perhaps be inferred that this



Fig. 12: Agrigentum, Æ as, Augustus, post 2 BC: obv.:/AVGVSTO P-P AGRIGE(N) TI(N), head of Augustus; rev.:/SALASSO COMITIALE. (Ex *Classical Numismatic Group, Mail Bid Sale 78, 14 May 2008, lot n. 1154.*)

³⁸ Poole 1876, 5–23; Head 1911, 119–24; Gabrici 1927, 112–19; Westermarck 1979, 3–17; Cutroni Tusa 2001–2003, 305–18.

³⁹ *Agrigentum, Æ as, Augustus (27 BC–14 AD), post 2 BC*: obv.:/AVGVSTO P(atri)-P(atriciae) AGRIGE(N)TI(N)(orum), head of Augustus right; rev.:/SALASSO COMITIALE SEX(tus)-RVFO II VIR, L(ucio)-CLODIO/RVFO PRO-CO(n)S(ule) in the field, sometimes with plow countermark (Poole 1876, 22, n. 160; Gabrici 1927, 119, n. 158; Calciati 1983, n. 153; Cutroni Tusa 1988, 268–69; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 177, n. 660; SNG Agrigento 1999, 42, nos. 468–69).

⁴⁰ Eder 2007, 27–28.

coin issue was created and shaped locally under the supervision of the two *duo-viri*, who were fully authorised by the central authority in Rome to opt for that particular, unusual reverse model.

6. Conclusion

We have considered a set of exemplar sources on Sicilian history, which help us understand the impact of Augustan propaganda between the end of the 1st century BC and the early 1st century AD. As said, the historical context in which Augustus acted was strongly marked by the results of a long-standing and sometimes ‘draining’ civil war. It affected some Sicilian towns and encouraged Augustus to reform the political and administrative assets of the *provincia*. This certainly impacted both the island’s local economy – for instance, facilitating the *latifundia*’s system – and local settlements. *Morgantina*, for example, suffered destructions and fires between the 40s and 30s BC and was progressively abandoned.⁴¹ However, the foundation of new *coloniae* evidently allowed Augustus to distribute lands to the veterans and re-found some centres like *Tyndaris*, which became a *Colonia Augusta*. On the other hand, some settlements gained the status of *municipium*.

But what can we actually learn about his propaganda from numismatics? Is it possible to trace specific patterns in the numismatic record, which link coins issued both by *coloniae* and *municipia*? And lastly, how could we evaluate these coins and why have they been issued by those centres?

As seen, the coins of Augustus are useful historical tools to demonstrate how the *princeps* effected his propagandistic output in Sicily and established relations with local contexts and communities after the civil wars. In addition, as numismatic sources, they offer us much information on iconography, legends as well as political aspects. First, the spread of the Augustan portrait plays a leading role in his propaganda. We have learned that the *princeps* chose a quite standard representation, which mostly shows a bare head right with the same hair and profile. This novel portrait was very popular and was therefore also spread in Sicily. The image can easily find strict comparisons in contemporary numismatic portraits, especially on *asses* and *dupondii*. The ‘political style’ of the portrait, as

⁴¹ Wilson 1990, 34; Bell III 2010, 725; Stone III 2014, 119–21.

defined by Zanker, is clearly observable on Sicilian issues (both from *coloniae* and *municipia*) and evidently it follows a tangible attempt by the central authority to standardise coinages in the island for propagandistic reasons, displaying a peacemaker *princeps* who restored order in Sicily, which became a grain producer again after the civil war.⁴² However, this does not occur on the coin of *Agrigentum*, which discloses a portrait stylistically inferior to the canonical one and probably represents a peripheral/provincial artistic output.⁴³

Accordingly, the standardisation of models and visual outputs can be also seen in the effective selection of symbolic associations of images and legends. As seen, for instance, the community ethnic name is often written in Latin and connected with the portrait on the obverse, together with the AVGVSTVS legend. This ethnic/portrait union is markedly strong and testifies to a successful attempt to link the *princeps* to the local tradition. On the other hand, the use of Greek for the ethnic name (mostly in genitive case), like ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤΑΝ or ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ,⁴⁴ should not be underestimated and still reveals the 'retention' of a linguistic background by Augustus. Above all, the Greek language was an expression of local identity in Sicily.⁴⁵ Again, no distinction in terms of standardisation can be observed between colonial or municipal numismatic issues.

We have revealed a manifest regularisation of portraiture models and ethnic legends on the obverses. Furthermore, various iconographies and symbolic elements played a significant role especially on the reverses. They show a systematic and coherent selection of components, obtained by a centuries-old local coinages tradition. On the same level, Augustus did not leave out more regional – or, even better, 'provincial' – iconographies, like the *triskeles* and the spikes (*Panormum*), which have always represented Sicily as a three-sided/legged island producing grain. Again, it is important to stress how crucial the victory of Octavian was over Sextus Pompeius, who had impeded Rome to easily obtain grain supplies from Sicily. The 'noble' role of *provincia Sicilia* was finally restored – even though with less relevance after the conquest of Egypt. Strikingly, those symbolic representations of Sicily also appear on later archaeological evidence,

⁴² Zanker 1988, 100; Zanker 1989, 106–7.

⁴³ Cutroni Tusa 1988, 276.

⁴⁴ For the coin of *Agrigentum*, which we did not extensively debate here, see: Cutroni Tusa 1988, 268; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 176, n. 658.

⁴⁵ Korhonen 2011, 20–21.

testifying to widespread images also on a local base. The mosaic of the Roman baths in the *insula* IV at Tindari, dated to the 3rd century AD, is very exemplary and shows a *triskeles*.⁴⁶

In addition, Augustus made use of other elements and iconographies which were very common and widespread on his coinages and often refer to his propagandistic aims. For instance, we have found the wreath enclosing legends in the fields (*Tyndaris*), a very ordinary component, or the Capricorn (*Panormum*), clearly linked to the *princeps*' mythological frameworks and heritage, as Zanker favourably defined them.⁴⁷ More importantly, as seen on a remarkable coin of *Lilybaeum*, Apollo is not only associated with the ethnic name (a local element) and the proconsul (a provincial authority) on the reverse, but also cleverly connected to the *princeps* Augustus on the obverse, who traditionally identified himself with this god (a component of his religious background). As previously observed, colonial and municipal numismatic issues do not present substantial differences but follow standard criteria of iconographic composition. Therefore, it can be argued that these patterns were established by the central authority in Rome and then combined with traditional elements of the local centres; furthermore, the process was supervised and 'approved' by the local magistrates (e.g. *duoviri*).

One aspect of Sicilian provincial coinages of Augustus is still controversial. What was the purpose of these issues? It is possible to formulate some hypotheses, which, however, can only be confirmed by archaeological research. In fact, substantial sets of numismatic finds from Sicilian excavations are still unpublished, and our knowledge of the island's coin circulation remains overall quite fragmentary and unclear regarding the period between the end of the 1st century BC and early 1st century AD. Nevertheless, we do benefit from rare published data from some archaeological excavations which include numismatic finds. It seems that no Sicilian provincial coins of Augustus have been found in *Kamarina* (Santa Croce Camerina, Ragusa), *Lilybaeum* (necropolis) and *Entella* (Contessa Entellina, Palermo).⁴⁸ On the other hand, coins of *Panormum* (Au-

⁴⁶ Spigo 2005, 52.

⁴⁷ Zanker 1988, 48.

⁴⁸ *Kamarina*: Lucchelli – Di Stefano 2004; *Lilybaeum* (necropolis): Frey-Kupper 1997; Frey-Kupper 1999, 395–457; *Entella*: Frey-Kupper 2000 (excavations 1984–97); Frey-Kupper – Weiss 2010, 91–100; Frey-Kupper – Weiss 2011, 97–104 (excavations 2007–08). Furthermore, some archaeologi-

gustus/Livia, Augustus/Capricorn, etc.) and *Tyndaris* (AVGVSTVS/L·MVSSIDI) have been discovered at *Morgantina*, while a specimen of *Agrigentum* (Augustus/Sextus Rufus) was also found at the same site. More significantly, archaeologists have also found around 40 coins of Augustus and Tiberius at *Iatai* (S. Giuseppe Iato, Palermo), especially issued by *Panormum*, which was the predominant Sicilian mint at the time before its closure after 37 AD.⁴⁹

Of course, this picture is not complete and definitive, but we can speculate that these coins were not massively widespread, circulating mainly in Sicily together with the more common Roman coins (especially *asses*).⁵⁰ Coin production at *Panormum* and *Lilybaeum*, allowed by Rome (and Augustus) in the early Imperial period, would have been limited to provide small currency and avoid further supply from the main Roman mint, as Frey-Kupper coherently argues.⁵¹ The frequent use of countermarks would testify to a legal attempt to legalise this currency and make it equivalent with the new Roman *as* metrological system.⁵²

However, Grant proposed that the coin of *Tyndaris* (AVGVSTVS/L·MVSSIDI PR·COS) was a foundation issue to celebrate the new *Colonia Augusta Tyndaritanorum*, established by Augustus in 21 BC.⁵³ The *Roman Provincial Coinage* opts for a 21 BC *terminus post quem*, but does not necessarily consider it a celebrative issue for that event.⁵⁴ As far as we can speculate, Grant's hypothesis could be accepted, but it can also be argued that the issue would have probably addressed a potential lack of money circulation at *Tyndaris* and neighbouring areas after the civil war. Surely, an undeniable gap

cal excavations at Agrigento did not discover coins of Augustus. In particular, see: Macaluso 1995, 303–23 (necropolis *sub-divo*).

⁴⁹ For *Morgantina* see: Buttrey – Erim – Groves – Ross Holloway 1990, 112, nos. 276, 278, 280 (mint of *Panormum*), 429 (mint of *Tyndaris*). For *Iatai* see: Frey-Kupper 1991, 290–91 (coins of *Panormum* from archaeological contexts of Tiberian age); Frey-Kupper 2013, 719–20 (in particular, we mention nos. 499–528; PANORMITANORVM/Livia; nos. 487–91: CN DOM PROCV/Capricorn). For *Agrigentum* see: De Miro 2000, 211, n. 1062 (coin of Augustus/*Sextus Rufus*) (sacred area between the temple of Zeus and 'Porta V').

⁵⁰ Cutroni Tusa 1988, 275–76.

⁵¹ Frey-Kupper 1991, 286.

⁵² Manganaro 1972, 460–61; Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 166–67.

⁵³ Grant 1946, 237.

⁵⁴ Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 168.

in the published numismatic materials makes it difficult to prove or contradict this hypothesis.⁵⁵

Lastly, our historical, numismatic, epigraphic and archaeological sources have demonstrated how the intervention of Augustus in Sicily after the civil war left some essential evidence of his propaganda, showing a good range of positive effects in terms of urban development, especially for *Tyndaris*, our first case study. Coins reveal much information on the propagandistic patterns chosen by Augustus, who returned Sicily to local communities after the war and restored a 'new order' while respecting old traditional backgrounds at the same time. Undoubtedly, much information is still fragmentary. Further research is much welcomed to obtain a full picture on Sicilian settlements between 36 and 22 BC and more in-depth knowledge on the island's coin circulation in the Augustan age. This could help clarify the immediate aftermath following the civil war and better understand the production, function and circulation of Augustan numismatic issues.

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⁵⁵ Leone – Spigo 2008: for instance, this recent, pivotal work on *Tyndaris* excavations does not provide any report on numismatic finds.

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BEMERKUNGEN ZU GRIECHISCHEN INSCHRIFTEN MIT RÖMISCHEN NAMEN

URPO KANTOLA*

1. Athen. *IG II/III*³ 4 1, 385 mit Ph. tab. LVII.

2 [- - -]κου, ΑΔ[- - -]: Κουαδ[ρᾶτος] Kirchner¹, Curbera. Mit Rücksicht auf die Datierung ins 1. Jh. v. Chr. scheint mir *Quadratus* etwas unwahrscheinlich zu sein, zumal unten beim letzten Buchstaben Δ jede Spur eines Horizontalstriches fehlt. Also stellen die erhaltenen Buchstaben eher die Endung eines Patronyms und den Anfang eines anderen Namens bzw. Wortes dar.

2. Athen. *IG II/III*³ 4 2, 1146 mit Ph. tab. CXXX.

2–3 Πόπλιον ᾤ[- - -] | ὕὸν Βάσσον Curbera, “e. g. Σε[κούνδου] vel Δέ[κμου]”. Da die Nomenklatur mit ὕὸν und Cognomen Βάσσος endet, folgt auf Πόπλιον in der Z. 2 eher irgendein kurzer Gentilname und das Pränomen des Vaters im Genitiv.

3. Athen. Künstlersignatur in *IG II/III*² 3300 + *SEG XXI* 704a

Z. 10–11 ἀνδριαντοποιὸς Αὔλος Παντουλήιος Γάιος | Ἐφέσιος ὁ καὶ Μειλήσιος ἐποίησεν: ΓΑΙΟΣ Cyriacus; Γαί(ου)νιὸς Dittenberger (*IG III*¹ 480), Kirchner; Γα(του) <υ>νιὸς Bodnar.²

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¹ *IG II/III*² 3151.

² E. W. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens*, Bruxelles-Berchem 1960, 165–166. Vgl. *LGPV* V.A

Bodnar erläutert: “The emendation in line 10 is proposed (...) because it seems more economical, involving the change of only one letter in Cyriacus’ reading.” Noch ökonomischer ist es aber, Cyriacus’ Lesung unverändert aufzunehmen und Γάιος als Cognomen zu interpretieren.³ Da der Mann die Ortbezeichnung Ἐφέσιος ὁ καὶ Μειλήσιος trägt, hätte er sonst kein Cognomen, was wiederum in einer Inschrift aus hadrianischer Zeit höchst unwahrscheinlich wäre. Auch der andere Mann mit römischer Nomenklatur, Z. 8 Τι. Ἰούλιος Μάκερ, trägt keine Filiation.

4. Thessalonike. *IG X 2 1, 354* = F. Cumont, *Catalogue des sculptures et inscriptions antiques (monuments lapidaires) des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*, Bruxelles 1913, 144 mit Ph.

1 Λύσκιος, 2 Λυσκία anhand der Photographie von Cumont: Αὔσκιος, Αὔσκία Cumont, Edson. Die *gens Auscia* ist im Osten nicht belegt; dagegen finden sich einige *Lusci*: 1) mit Λυσκ- in *IKaunos* 129 und dreimal in Kreta: *IC IV 249* (*LGPN I*), Marangou-Lerat⁴ P53⁵ und P54; 2) mit Λουσκ- bei L. Luscius Ocr(e)a (*PIR² L 431*)⁶; 3) vgl. auch Luscius in *AE* 2006, 1862 (Thrakien).

5. Byzantion. *IByzantion* 233: Ἀττυληνὴ Ἄρεσκουσα?

I.1–2 Ἀττυληνὴ | Ἄρεσκου[σα]: Ἀττυληνὴ | Ἄρεσκου Łajtar. Laut Łajtar ist sie “anscheinend eine freigeborene Griechin”: also verfüge sie über kein römisches Bürgerrecht, ihr Individualname sei Ἀττυληνὴ und ihr Vater hieße Ἄρεσκος.⁷ Erstens zeigt die Photographie⁸ zwar keine erkennbaren Reste von σα, aber es gibt Raum für die Buchstaben. Zweitens ist Ἄρεσκος ein seltener Name mit vier

Παντουλήιος 1 (“Αὔλος Παντουλήιος: s. Γάιος”).

³ Also fungiert ein Pränomen als Cognomen, welches ja ein gut bekannter Gebrauch ist (s. O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen. Studien zur römischen Namengebung*, Helsinki 1987, 164–166). Doch theoretisch ist auch ein zweiter Gentilname, *Gavius*, nicht unbedingt ausgeschlossen.

⁴ A. Marangou-Lerat, *Le vin et les amphores de Crète de l'époque classique à l'époque impériale*, Athènes / Paris 1995.

⁵ Κ(λαυδίου) Λυσκίου Marangou-Lerat, aber vielleicht eher Κ(οίντου) Λυσκίου.

⁶ Für die Person: S. Bönisch-Meyer, *Chiron* 48, 2018, 381 Anm. 2; vgl. unten Nr. 22.

⁷ *LGPN IV* Ἀττυληνὴ 1; Ἄρεσκος 1.

⁸ N. Firath, *IstAMY* 13–14, 1966, lev. 18.

weiteren Belege, während Ἀρέσκουσα zumindest 134mal attestiert ist.⁹ Drittens würden sie und der Mann (ihr Gatte?) in Col. II Αὔλος Ἀτυλῆνος Βάσιλος¹⁰ den Gentilnamen miteinander teilen und hätten ein griechisches Cognomen.¹¹ Wohl spätes 2. Jh. / 1. Jh. v. Chr.¹²

6. Mytilene. *IG XII 2*, 88. Mytilene, Altes Mus., inv. MM 1224. (Autopsie und Ph. 6.10.2016; Abklatsch IG-Archiv, Berlin.)

5 Α(ὔλος) Πόντιος Α(ὔλω) υἱος¹³: Λ(εύκιος) Paton.

22 Λ(εύκιος) Σωφήμιος Λ(ευκίω) υἱός: Σώφιλος Paton.¹⁴

23 Γ(άιος) Ἰούλιος Γ(αῖω) υἱός Φίρμος: Φ ΠΙΟΣ Paton in der Majuskelabschrift, Φ . . ος im edierten Text. Aufgrund der Lesung Patons setzt Guy Mayer diese Person mit Γάιος Ἰούλιος Γαῖου υἱός Φλάωος in der von ihm veröffentlichten Grabinschrift gleich;¹⁵ mit meiner Lesung trifft das nicht zu.

Wahrscheinlich 2. Hälfte des 1. Jh. v. Chr. bzw. augusteische Zeit.

7. Mytilene. *IG XII suppl.* 690. Mytilene, Altes Arch. Mus., inv. MM 31085 = 3219. (Autopsie und Ph. 6.10.2016; Abklatsch IG-Archiv, Berlin.)

I 26 Π(όπλιος) Γαβείνιος ∩ Γαύρεινος: Ταυρείνος Hiller, aber es gibt keinen Raum für τ.¹⁶

⁹ Ἀρεσκος: *LGPN III.A* (1), V.B (2); H. Solin, *Die Griechischen Personennamen in Rom* (Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum. Auctarium. Series nova 2), Berlin 2003², 934 (2). Ἀρέσκουσα: *LGPN I–V.C* (62); *Trismegistos* (1); Solin, *ibid.* 933–934 (71). Vgl. auch Ἀρέσκων mit insgesamt 42 Belege in *LGPN I–V.C* und Solin, *ibid.* 932–933.

¹⁰ *LGPN IV* Βάσιλος 1.

¹¹ Für die wenigen anderen At(t)uleni im Osten vgl. *IScM V* 270; *AE* 2015, 1454.

¹² 2. Jh. v. Chr. Łajtar (von Firath); spätes 2. / frühes 1. Jh. v. Chr. *LGPN*.

¹³ Hier sowie in Nr. 7–8, in denen äolische Formen systematisch verwendet worden sind, richte ich die Akzente nach der äolischen Barytonesis und Psilosis. (Vgl. Nr. 9–10 aus Mytilene mit κοινή-Formen.)

¹⁴ *LGPN I* Σώφιλος 13.

¹⁵ G. Mayer, *EA* 35, 2002, 57–58 (= *SEG* LIII 831).

¹⁶ Für Gaurinus s. H. Solin & O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildesheim / New York 1994², 338, und vgl. Mons Gaurus in Campanien (ich danke Herrn Prof. Salomies für den Hinweis).

Π 30 Αὔ(λος) Καίδιος Λ(ευκίω) υῖος Πανθήρας; [1] Καίδιος + υῖος Πανθήρας Hiller.¹⁷

Frühes / mittleres 1. Jh. n. Chr.

8. Mytilene. Charitonidis¹⁸ 19–21 Nr. 18. Mytilene, Altes Mus., inv. MM 3220. (Autopsie und Ph. 6.10.2016.)

1 Γ(άιος) Ο+[- - -]: Ο[Ch(aritonidis).

2 Μ(ἄρκος) Ὀρτήσ[ιος - -c. 8- -v]δρος: Ὀρτέ[ι[λιος -c. 6- v]δρος Ch. Die Buchstaben ησ sind nur von unten erhalten, aber ziemlich sicher zu erkennen.

3 Διογένης [-c. 8-] (vacat): lacuna non indicata Ch.

14 Αὔ(λος) Κοίλιος Ὀ Ἄνναιος: Αὐ(ρηλιος) Ch.

16 Π(όπλιος?) [Κ]λώδιος Ὀ Ῥοῦφος: Γ(άιος) Ch.

20 Λ(εύκιος?) [Κ]ανείλιος Ὀ Δίων: Λ(εύκιος) [Κ]ανείνιος Ch. Der Zeilenanfang stellt ein Problem dar, weil die angebliche Vornamenabkürzung an der Stelle liegt, wo die anderen römischen Gentilnamen anfangen. Entweder ist diese Zeile einfach etwas nach rechts eingezogen oder der Vorname ist links verschollen und von einem unbekanntem Gentilnamen gefolgt.

21 Γ(άιος?) Ἰο[ύ]λιος Γ(αῖω) Ὀ Νάσων: [.] Ch. Π(όπλιος) ist ebenso möglich.

23 Μ(ἄρκος) Ἀπώνιος Γαῖω υῖο[ς] Κέλσος: Ἀ[ντώ]νιος, Κέλσος Ch. Vom Gentilnamen sind α und ω wahrscheinlich erkennbar, und dazwischen passt nur ein Buchstabe, wovon vielleicht ein Horizontalstreich wie in π übrig geblieben ist.

24 Σέκουνδος Εὐδόξω: Σ[ε]κο[ύ]νδος Ch.

29 ΠΕ+άνης Λευκίω: ΠΕΙάνης Ch.; der dritte Buchstabe muss einen breiteren Raum als ein ι einnehmen.

30 Μ(ἄρκος) Λαίλιος Ὀ Λόνγος: Μ(ἄρκος) Λαίλιος ΟΛΟΝΟ Ch.

32 Μ(ἄρκος) Ουαλέριος Ὀ ὄρφανος: Ὀ = (Οὐαλερίου) Ch.; natürlich als (Μάρκω) zu verstehen.¹⁹

Wohl frühes bzw. mittleres 1. Jh. n. Chr.

¹⁷ Vgl. *LGPNI* Πανθήρας 1: «-καίδιος Πανθήρας».

¹⁸ S. Charitonidis, *Αἱ ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Λέσβου. Συμπλήρωμα*, Athen 1968.

¹⁹ Zum Spirituszeichen bei Ου- am Wortanfang s. G. Boter, *ZPE* 177, 2011, 258.

9. Mytilene. Charitonidis²⁰ 17–19 zu *IG XII suppl.* 20 mit Ph. des Abklatsches πίν. 5. Mytilene, Altes Mus., inv. MM 1148. (Autopsie und Ph. 6.10.2016.)

Col. A - - - - -
 [-5-]ΙΔ[-2-]ΔΑ[-2-]ος
 Κ. Ὀππιος Φορτουνάτος,
 Κ. Ὀππιος Σύφορος,
 Γ. Σήιος Ῥούφος,
 5 Γ. Σήιος Ῥουφεῖνος,
 τοπιάριοι·
 Μ. Ουιψάνιος Καπίτων,
 Ἀλέξανδρος ΠΡΟΤΤΟ+[- - -],
 Ἀπολλώνιος Διονυσίο[υ],
 10 Μηνοφ[ά]νης Διονυσίο[υ],
 Γγ. Πομπήιος [1]+[1]ΑΠΔ+[- - -]
 [1]+[1]ΙΟΡΚ[2-3]+ΔΔΩΝΟΞ
 Μενεκλῆς Κλέωνος Καπίτω[υ],
 Κλέων Ὁ Τέρτιος,
 15 Κλέων Ὁ Φιλοσ[- - -],
 (vestigia litterarum)

Col. B - - - - -
 Προσχίδιος Ὁ ἀπόδημος,
 Μητρόβιος Ἄρτεμιδώρου,
 Λυσίμαχος Γναίου Λέσβιος,
 Π. Ἄνγιολήιος Ιρ++ος,
 5 Σώσανδρος Φιλεταίρου,
 Τιμάνθης Ὁ μνηστήρ,
 Π. Γενύκιος Μάρκος,
 Μ. Κάσσιος Ἐλπιδᾶς,
 Κάλλιπρος Μενάνδρου,
 10 Μητρᾶς Ὁ Τελεσφόρος,
 Ἄρτεμίδωρος Ἐπαγάθου,

²⁰ Oben Anm. 18.

Σύνφορος Δ,
 Μ. Κασσκέλλιος Μ. Δ'Ρούφος,
 Εὔξενος Ἀπολλωνίδου,
 15 +Ν[-2-]Κ+ΟΣ Ἀπολλωνίου Φιλόνικτος
 Διονύσιος Μάρκου ἀλιεύς,
 Μηνοφάνης Δ Ἀπολλώνιος,
 +ΟΙΒ[1]+[1]+[1]Κ+[-2-3-]ιβίου,

A 5 Πουφίνος Ch(aritonidis). || 7 Οὐψάνιος Ch. || 8 ΠΙΟ[- - -] Ch. || 10 Μ[η] νό[- -] Διονυσίο[υ] Ch. || 11 ΓΟΛΙΙΙ. [. . .] ΑΙ[.] Λ Ch. || 12 ΙΟΙ Ch. || 13 Καπί[των] Ch. || 14 Κλέων Δ ΤΕΙΤ Ch. Ein lateinischer Zweitname findet sich auch in Nr. 2 Col. II 22. || 16 Ch. hat die Zeile übersprungen. || B 4 Γ. Ἄννολήιος Ἴρμος Ch. Die schlecht erhaltene Mitte des Cognomens macht dessen Interpretation schwierig: vielleicht Ἴρριος, das ein Gentilname ist (vgl. IG XII suppl. 690, II 15 Νεμετώριος und Charitonidis 19–21 Nr. 18, 14 Ἀνναίος); auch etwa ΙΡΠΙΟΣ (sonst unbekannt) wäre möglich. || 7 Γ(άιος) [. . . .] υριος Ch. Zur *gens Genucia* auf Lesbos vgl. Γενύκιος Τρυφωνιανός in Methymna, IG XII suppl. 119 (LGPN I Τρυφωνιανός 1: 2.–3. Jh. n. Chr.?). || 9 Κάλλιπ[ος] Ch. || 10 Μητρὰς Τελεσφόρου Ch. || 12 Σύνφορος Ch. || 13 ΜΔ Buraselis²¹; ∅ Ch. || 15 Ch. hat die Zeile übersprungen. || 18 [-----]Κ[.] ιρίου Ch. Die Nomenklatur scheint aus einem Individualnamen und einem griechischen Patronym mit -βιος zu bestehen.

Vielleicht 50–150 n. Chr.²²

²¹ K. Buraselis, “Stray Notes on Roman Names in Greek Documents”, in A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East: Social and Political aspects. Proceedings of the International colloquium organized by the Finnish Institute and the Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, Athens 7–9 September 1993*, Athens / Paris 1996, 60 Anm. 31.

²² G. Labarre, *Les cités de Lesbos aux époques hellénistique et impériale*, Paris 1996, 135 will die Personen dieser Inschrift nicht zu seiner “liste des Romaiοi” zählen, weil er sie für «descendants tardifs de citoyens romains, d’Italie, établis auparvant dans l’île ou de leurs affranchis» hält. Bei der Datierung bezieht er sich auf L. Robert, der “sans dater précisément le texte, le situe à une époque tardive”, aber das wiedergegebene BE 1970, 422 enthält keine solche Behauptung.

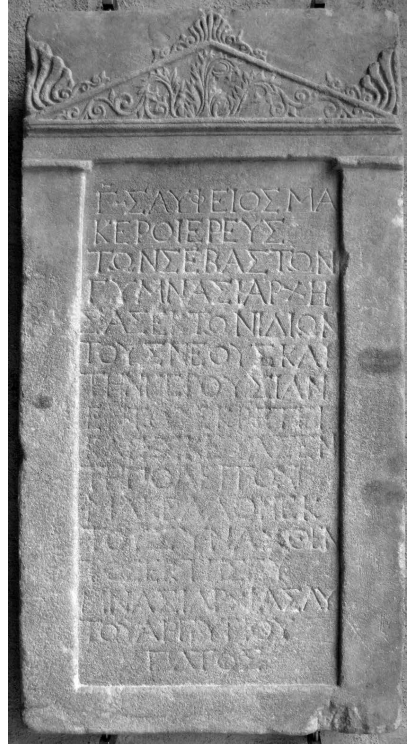
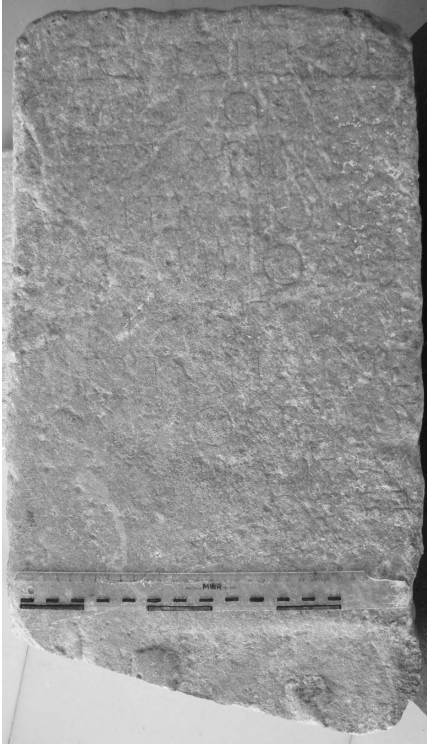


Abb. 1. Inschrift Nr. 11, Ph. des Autors. Abb. 2. Inschrift Nr. 19, Ph. des Autors.

10. Mytilene. IG XII 2, 189 = Charitonidis²³ 39 Nr. 51 mit Ph. πίν. 16α (Mytilene, Altes Mus. inv. MM 1080). (Autopsie und Ph. 6.10.2016.)

Abgesehen von den unterschiedlichen Beschreibungen der Gesteinsart scheinen diese zwei Weihungen für Kaiser Hadrian derselbe Stein zu sein.²⁴ Die Lesung Patons Ὀλυμπῶι ist richtig; Ὀλυμπῶι Charitonidis.

²³ Oben Anm. 18.

²⁴ "[B]asi[s] rotunda marmoris caerulei (...) [i]n aula domus Bekir-Bey", Diameter 44 cm, Buchstaben 2,1 cm Paton; "κυλινδρικός βωμός" aus "κρυσταλλικός λευκότεφρος ἀββεστόλιθος (...) ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ παρὰ τὸν Παιδικὸν σταθμὸν (κατὰ τὴν δυτικὴν κλειτὸν τῆς πόλεως)", Diameter 44 cm, Buchstaben 2 cm Charitonidis.

11. Mytilene. Grabinschrift für P. Curvius P. f. Capito: Charitonidis²⁵ 70 Nr. 105 mit Zeichnung εικ. 39 (Mytilene, Depot des Neuen Mus., inv. MM 3204). (Autopsie und Ph. 6.10.2016; Abklatsch IG-Archiv, Berlin). Abb. 1.

- 1 Πόπλιε Κόρ-
ουιε Ποπλίου
[υ]ιέ Καπίτων
[ἀρχ]ιτεκτονή-
5 [σας(?) τ]ῆ πόλει
[2]++ΤΙ[1]⁻[1]Ε+ΚΑΙ
[1]+ΡΤΟΝΑΙΝΕ
[1]ΕΣ[-2-3-]ΟΑΡΣΕΩΣ
[1-2]+[2]+[1]ΕΙΣΙΔ
10 [- -c. 6- - χ]αῖρε.
(vacat c. 6 cm.)
((Relief))

2 [νήλιε] Ποπλίου Ch. || 3 [. .]ιο Καπίτων Ch. || 4 [αρ]ΙΤΕΚΤΟΝ Ch. || 5 rechts [---] Ι Ι Ο Δ Ι Ch. Vielleicht [κα]θήαρσεως, welches allerdings in Grabinschriften nicht sehr gängig zu sein scheint. || 6–7 *omisit* Ch. || 8 [---]ΟΑ[---] Ch. || 9 [---] Ι Δ Ch. || 10 *omisit* Ch.

Der Gentilname kann auch als Corvius interpretiert werden. Das Verbum ἀρχιτεκτονέω, wenn richtig ergänzt, erscheint hier in untypischem Gebrauch mit einer Dativbestimmung τῆ πόλει. Ob danach irgendein Baugesegenstand im Akkusativ erwähnt wurde, wäre einem Parallelfalle zufolge zu erwarten,²⁶ aber vielleicht kann Curvius auch intransitiverweise als Architekt der Polis zur Verfügung gestanden haben.

²⁵ Oben Anm. 18.

²⁶ Biton, Κατασκευαὶ πολεμικῶν ὀργάνων καὶ καταπαλτικῶν 4,2–3 (A. Rehm & E. Schramm, *Bitons Bau von Belagerungsmaschinen und Geschützen*, München 1929): “(...) ἦν ἰρχιτεκτόνευσε Ποσειδώνιος ὁ Μακεδῶν Ἀλεξάνδρω τῷ Φιλίππου.”

12. Kos. *IG XII 4 3*, 1394 aus Ms. von H. P. Borrell (1795–1851)²⁷ = P. A. Dethier & A. D. Mordtmann, *Epigraphik von Byzantion und Constantinopolis von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre Christi 1453*, Wien 1864, 70 Nr. 51 = *SEG XXXVI* 1473²⁸

Der von Borrell erwähnte Altar²⁹ aus Kos mit Γναίου Πολλίου ΦΟΡΙΟΥ ist wahrscheinlich der runde Marmoraltar, welcher später in Istanbul gefunden worden ist: hier lautet die Zeile Γναίου Πολλίου Φορτίου. Das Cognomen ist wohl als Fortis zu verstehen.³⁰ Ob die letzte von Dethier und Mordtmann beschriebene Zeile ΓΑΠΗΖΩΣΑΡΙ³¹ auf dem Gegenstand noch zu finden oder verloren gegangen ist, bleibt mir unbekannt, weil das Werk von D. Berges mir nicht zur Verfügung steht. Jedenfalls könnte die Zeile zur Nomenklatur der vorläufigen Zeile B.4 anpassen: Πολλία Γναίου θυ|γάττ|η<ρ> Ζωσάρι|ον].³²

13. Thasos. J. Fournier, *BCH* 138, 2014, 74–102 + *AE* 2015 1266³³ 39–40 (...) - - - -]νιος Μάρκοϛ¹ υ|[ιὸς - - - -]ου υἱὸς Ἐβίλος (...): Μάρκος Υ|[- - Fournier. Der Vorname Μάρκος als Cognomen ist zwar möglich, und die Lesung ist offenkundig in der Photographie. Aber angesichts dessen, dass die folgende (erhaltene) Nomenklatur mit [--]ου υἱὸς Ἐβίλος das Genitivattribut mit der Bestimmung υἱὸς zeigt,³⁴ ist die Korrektur Μάρκοϛ¹ υ|[ιὸς wahrscheinlich.³⁵

²⁷ = D. Whitehead, *PRIA* 99, 1999, 108 Nr. 109 = id., *ZPE* 131, 2000, 81 Nr. 2 = *SEG XLIX* 1121.

²⁸ = D. Berges, *Hellenistische Rundaltäre Kleinasiens*, Freiburg 1986, 134–135 Nr. 5 (non vidi).

²⁹ Auch Borrell hat den Gegenstand nicht gesehen, sondern die Informationen aus einem anderen Tagebuch übernommen (s. Whitehead). Die Inschrift findet sich in *IG* unter Rundaltären, obwohl Borrell nur auf einen Altar ohne weitere Formbeschreibung verweist.

³⁰ Vgl. z. B. den weit verbreiteten *Apollinaris* > Ἀπολλινάριος (2. Dekl.) und Τι. Κλαύδιος Φόρτιος in *IG X 2 2*, 236. Ein Gentilname *Fortius* ist auch nicht völlig ausgeschlossen: vgl. Solin & Salomies (oben Anm. 16) 81.

³¹ Dethier & Mordtmann: ἀ|γαπή ζῶσα ρ ι.

³² Eine andere, mir weniger gefallende Möglichkeit ist, dass die letzte Zeile eine weitere Person erwähnt, etwa [Α]γαπή Ζωσαρι[ον] (also mit einem Metronym?). Auf jeden Fall ist der Beleg des weiblichen Vornamens Gemella bei M. Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina. Studies in the Nomenclature of Roman Women*, Rome 1994, 41 (Γέμελλ(α) Πολλία Γναί[ου θυγάτηρ ?]) anhand der Lesung der Z. B.3 in *SEG* zu tilgen.

³³ = *AE* 2014, 1164 = *IG XII Suppl.* 364.

³⁴ Vgl. auch Z. 42 [--]ου υἱὸς.

³⁵ Eine weitere, doch unwahrscheinliche Möglichkeit wäre, dass dem Μάρκοϛ¹ ein (griechisches?)

14. Ägäische Inseln? T. Ritti, *Iscrizioni e rilievi greci nel Museo Maffeiiano di Verona*, Roma 1981, 135 Nr. 72 mit Ph.³⁶ (Autopsie und Ph. 22.3.2018.)

1 [M]άρκος; Μάρκος Curtius/Kirchhoff (*CIG*), Ritti.

2 Ουαρηίου; Οὐαρηῖου Curtius/Kirchhoff; Οὐαρείου Ritti (per err.?).

Wegen Μαρκ- und Nomenklaturen ohne Cognomen wohl späthellenistisch.

15. Ägäische Inseln? Ritti, *ibid.* 162 Nr. 98* mit Ph. (Autopsie und Ph. 22.3.2018.)

Λ(ούκιος) Κορνοφίκιος Ἄκτιος; Ritti will Ἄκτιος nicht als Cognomen anerkennen, aber sowohl *LGPN* als auch Solin zählen mehrere Belege dieses griechischen Namen auf.³⁷ Weil mir auch die Schrift nicht besonders verfälscht erscheint, würde ich das Epitaph für kaiserzeitlich halten.

16. Ephesos. *IEphesos* 904a: Ein weiterer P. Farius?

O. Salomies hat früher einen P. Farius anstatt Fabius in *IBeroia* 142 identifiziert.³⁸

Ein ähnlicher Fall befindet sich im Ephebenkatalog *IEphesos* 904a, Z. V.10, wo der Gentilname eines Πόπλιος Φάριος Ποπλίου υἱός zu Φάβριος korrigiert worden ist.³⁹ Falls die Lesung ρ richtig ist, sind beide Farii mit diesem seltenen Gentilnamen wahrscheinlich verwandt, zumal auch die Vornamen übereinstimmen. Allerdings ist in Ephesos auch ein P. Fabius belegt,⁴⁰ sodass die Korrektur nicht unbedingt abgelehnt werden.

17. Ephesos. *IEphesos* 905a

4 [Κοῖ]ντος⁴¹ Κοίντου Σηίου Σπ[ορι---]: Dieser Teil der Inschrift zählt Amtsträger im Genitiv auf: vgl. Z. 1 [ἀρχο]ῦντος, Z. 5 [γραμ]ματεύοντος. Dem-

Cognomen folgte.

³⁶ = *CIG* 6976.

³⁷ *LGPN* I–V.C: 14 Personen, darunter 13 kaiserzeitliche (3mal als Cognomen: *LGPN* III.A Nr. 2, IV Nr. 1 und V.C Nr. 2; wahrscheinlich auch V.C Nr. 1). H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch*, Berlin 2003², 617–618: 21 Personen (viele von den julio-claudischen Fällen sind kaiserliche Freigelassene, aber nicht alle); vgl. auch eine *Actia* (S. 618).

³⁸ *Arctos* 35, 2001, 162 mit Anm. 68.

³⁹ S. auch *LGPN* V.A Φάβιος 3.

⁴⁰ *IEphesos* 1687, I.2.4 Πόπλιος Φάβιος Λευκίου υἱός Λαῖτος.

⁴¹ Zur Akzentuierung vgl. Boter (oben Anm. 19) 256–258; vgl. W. Blümel, *Inschriften aus Nordkarrien* (IK 71), Bonn 2018, 59 zu Nr. 216: Κοίντος (aber das lange ι benötigt den Zirkumflex).

entsprechend ist auch]ντος kein Vorname, sondern hier endet die Funktionsbeschreibung eines Q. Seius. Das letzte erhaltene Element dürfte entweder zur Filiation Σπ[ορίου υίου] oder zu einem Cognomen, z. B. Σπ[όρου], gehören.⁴²

18. Mysien: E. Schwertheim & N. Güllü Schwertheim, *Epigraphica: Lydien, Mysien, Türkei der Sammlung Yavuz Tatış*, İzmir 2018, 113 Nr. 72 mit Ph.⁴³

Δ[ο]υκᾶς θεῶ | [Πει]σματηνῆ | εὐχρήν Tanriver, Schwertheim & Güllü Schwertheim.

1 Anhand der guten Photographie bei Schwertheim und Güllü Schwertheim ist die Zeile als +[+]ουκας θεῶ zu erkennen: Der dritte Buchstabe wirkt eher rundförmig als V-förmig wie das ν in der Z. 3, und am Zeilenende steht ein Λ-förmiger Buchstabe; auch am Anfang erkenne ich einen Vertikalstreich und eine Spur, die vielleicht auf μ oder ν hindeuten könnte. Darüber hinaus ist der Name Λουκᾶς, d. h. ein lateinischer Namenstamm mit dem griechischen hypokoristischen Suffix -ᾶς, mit Rücksicht auf die Datierung ins 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. etwas unwahrscheinlich.⁴⁴ Besonders selten sind die kurzen Namen mit -ουκας; es gibt nur etwa Μοκας und die vereinzelt belegten Κροκᾶς und Νεόκας.⁴⁵ Ob es sich hier um z. B. Μοκας handelt, bleibt unklar, denn das vermutliche μ wäre gewissermaßen weit vom ο getrennt.

2 Der Anfang ist auch leserlich: Πεισματηνῆ.

Noch bemerkenswert ist, dass die vorliegende Göttin in den anderen Belegen als θεός vorkommt⁴⁶ und, falls θεῶ die korrekte Lesung ist, diese Inschrift eine abweichende Form hervorbringt. Die Schrift ist hier etwas schwankender als in den anderen Exemplaren, weshalb man spekulieren kann, ob die Abweichung geringerer schriftlicher (bzw. sprachlicher?) Gewohntheit zuzuschreiben ist.

⁴² Vgl. *LGNP* V.A Σήϊος 1 “A, 4 (K. Σ.: f. Κ. Σπόριος); (2) A, I, 10 (K. Σ.: s. Σπόριος)” & Σποριος 1 “A, 4; A, I, 10 (f. Κ. Σήϊος)”.

⁴³ = C. Tanriver, *EA* 45, 2012, 96 Nr. 6 (mit Ph.) = *SEG* LXII 940 = *AE* 2012, 1473.

⁴⁴ Vgl. Kommentar von C. Brélaz bei *AE* 2012, 1473.

⁴⁵ Μοκας insgesamt 5mal in *LGNP* IV (3mal), V.A und V.C; Νεόκας *LGNP* IV; Κροκᾶς *LGNP* V.C.

⁴⁶ Schwertheim & Güllü Schwertheim, *ibid.* Nr. 69, 70, 73, 74, 77–80 und 84.

19. Apollonia am Rhyndakos. Th. Wiegand, *AM* 36, 1911, 294 Nr. 4. München, Glyptothek, Inv. N.I.10.067.⁴⁷ (Autopsie und Ph. 29.11.2015.) Abb. 2.

1 Γ(άιος) Σαυφεῖος⁴⁸; Γ Σαῦφιος Wiegand.

4–7 γυμνασιαρχή|σας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων | τοὺς νέους καὶ | τὴν γερουσίαν: fehlende Zeilentrennungen bei Wiegand.⁴⁹

Von philologischem Interesse ist hier der eigenartige Gebrauch von γυμνασιαρχέω mit der Akkusativbestimmung in Z. 4–7 γυμνασιαρχήσας (...) τοὺς νέους καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν, für welchen meines Wissens jede Parallele fehlt.⁵⁰

20. Nikaia. *INikaia* II 2, 1467 mit Ph. des Abklatsches Taf. 29.

Der Teil mit dem Namen Τίτθα⁵¹ scheint nicht gleichzeitig mit dem vorangehenden Teil geschrieben worden zu sein. Die Photographie des Abklatsches zeigt im ersten Teil ein C-förmiges Sigma, aber im Τίτθα-Teil etwas größere Buchstaben und Σ-Sigma. Weiter findet sich eine zweite Jahrangabe ἔτους ++ am Ende, welche wohl den Τίτθα-Teil mit einer unterschiedlichen Datierung ausstattet. Anhand des Inhalts ist auch fraglich, in welcher Beziehung Παπίας und Τίτθα stehen: Der Vater von beiden heißt Μίκαλος, also könnten sie gut Geschwister sein. Wenn aber die Personen chronologisch dem Todesdatum gemäß hinzugefügt worden sind (oder Παπίας und Ἀντιοχίς zuerst, Τίτθα später),⁵² kann

⁴⁷ = *AE* 1912, 83 = *IMT* 2358 (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/289593>). Die Karteikarte des Gegenstandes bei der Staatlichen Antikensammlung und Glyptothek erwähnt (außer Wiegand) drei weitere Verweise: 1) J. Sieveking, *Münchener Jahrbuch* 7, 1912, 13 Nr. 73 und *AA* 1913, 19 Nr. 1, die sich um die Erwerbung und die Annahme des Gegenstandes in München handeln; 2) E. Buschor, *AM* 37, 1912, 192, welches aber fehlerhaft ist, denn weder dieser noch die anliegenden Jahrgänge beinhalten so einen Artikel Buschors; 3) irgendeinen Brief A. Rehms vom Mai 1935, worin von einer anderen Hand “unter welchem Ruprik?” geschrieben worden ist.

⁴⁸ Nicht als *Saufius*, sondern als *Saufeiūs* (Σαυφήιος) zu verstehen, denn diese *gens* ist im griechischen Osten gut bekannt.

⁴⁹ Die Lesung in der Karteikarte (oben Anm. 48) ist identisch mit jener Wiegands (außer Σαῦφιος ohne Trema); vgl. jedoch “G. Saufeiūs Macer” unten Anm. 51.

⁵⁰ Vgl. die Karteikarte (oben Anm. 48): “G. Saufeiūs Macer (...) hat (...) aus eigenen Mitteln Sportkurse für jüngere und ältere Teilnehmer veranstalten lassen.”

⁵¹ Für den Namen, der vorrangig in Bithynien bzw. Thrakien vorkommt, vgl. *LGPN* IV (4 Personen) und *LGPN* V.A (19); außerdem findet sich die Form Τίτθη in Athen, vgl. *LGPN* II mit Supplement (9).

⁵² Die Gestaltung des Textes deutet darauf hin.

der als 81-jährig gestorbene Παπίας kein Bruder der später als 30-jährig gestorbenen Τίτθα sein. Doch irgendeine Verwandtschaft bleibt immer noch wahrscheinlich.

Bezüglich der Datierung ist noch bemerkenswert, dass der Gatte der Τίτθα, P. Clodius, kein Cognomen trägt, was der Angabe ῥτους κ' sei das "20. Jahr der Regierungszeit eines römischen Kaisers wohl des 2. Jhdts. n. Chr.," widerspricht. Das fehlende Cognomen im unteren Teil deutet eher darauf hin, dass das 20. Regierungsjahr im oberen Teil entweder Augustus oder Tiberius betrifft.

21. Neoklaudiopolis. C. Marek & M. Adak, *Epigraphische Forschungen in Bithynien, Paphlagonien, Galatien und Pontos*, Istanbul 2016, 77–78, Nr. 84 mit Ph.⁵³ In dieser seltsamen lateinischen Inschrift ist der Gentilname in Z. 1–2 *Lo(ucio) Alfeno A|nteiatio* zu ändern, denn erstens fehlt ihm, wie aus der Photographie ersichtlich, ein Buchstabe, entweder E oder F, und zweitens scheint das angebliche A eher dem kursiven R der Z. 3 zu ähneln. Demzufolge sollte das O der Vornamenabkürzung eher zum Gentilnamen gehören, welches *L. Orleño* ergäbe, also einen bisher unbekanntes, doch formmäßig möglichen Gentilnamen *Orlenus*.⁵⁴ Daneben wäre auch nicht ausgeschlossen, dass das A richtig gelesen worden ist und die Namen als *Lo(ucio) Aleno* zu verstehen sind.⁵⁵ Was vom Cognomen *Anteiatius*(?) zu denken ist, bleibt allerdings unsicher.

22. Patara. S. Bönisch-Meyer, *Chiron* 48, 2018, 375–400 mit. Ph.

B.16 Ὡλος Λουκρήτιο[ς Κάπρα, -ca. 5?-] Τοῦκκιος Ἐ[φηβος]:⁵⁶ *Capra* ist in der griechischen Version als Κάπρα zu ergänzen,⁵⁷ und die eingeschätzte Lückenslänge von fünf Buchstaben ist nahezu das Minimum.⁵⁸ Dementsprechend muss

⁵³ = *AE* 2016, 1662.

⁵⁴ Vgl. Solin & Salomies (oben Anm. 16) 11, 21 23, 77: *Alenus*(?), *Arilenus*, *Arlenus*, *Arulenus*, *Olenus*.

⁵⁵ Vgl. oben Anm. 55.

⁵⁶ In der lat. Version Z. A.7 *A. Lucretius Capra*, [. *Tucci*]us *Ephebus*.

⁵⁷ -α ist die typische Endung des Gen. Sing. der römischen Männernamen der 1. Deklination (nur selten -ου).

⁵⁸ Bönisch-Meyer, *ibid.* 380: "Geht man von einem Praenomen mit einer durchschnittlichen Länge von ca. 5 Buchstaben aus, (...)". Aber die griechischen Schreibweisen der Pränomina sind normaler-

entweder das alleinstehende Fragment ein wenig weiter rechts liegen oder das Pränomen ein sehr kurzes sein: eben Ὡλος oder Γάιος bzw. Τίτος, die mit dem schmalen ι hineinpassen könnten. Die Schreibweise Ὡλος für Aulus anstatt des gewöhnlichen Αὔλος ist eine Rarität, sowie die in Z. B.16–17 befindliche Νάϊος anstatt Γναῖος. Wie O. Salomies bemerkt hat, kommt Νάϊος “auffallend oft in Inschriften nichtprivaten Charakters der spätrepublikanischen und der frühen Kaiserzeit”⁵⁹ vor, wie auch hier.⁶⁰ Wiederum findet sich Ὡλος vorrangig von der Mitte des 1. Jh. n. Chr. ab (mit zwei früheren Ausnahmen), aber auch hier handelt es sich um relativ viele nichtprivate Inschriften: vierzehn im Vergleich zu acht Grabinschriften und zu fünf Papyri bzw. Ostraka.⁶¹

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weise 5–8 Buchstaben lang, dennoch ist auch 4 möglich (s. unten).

⁵⁹ Salomies (oben Anm. 3) 29–30.

⁶⁰ Andere nichtprivate Inschriften (8): *IG II/III*² 4137, 4159; *IG XII* 1, 57; *ISardeis* 32; *IK* 59 111 (= *IKyzikos* II 26); *Res gestae divi Augusti* (*IAnkyra* 1 und *MAMA* IV 143); *I GLS* III 2, 1185 (121/2 n. Chr.). Grabinschriften (6): *IG II/III*² 12223; *SEG XVI* 879; *XXXIII* 1510, 1511; *ILipara* 725 (*Ναῖ{t}ος*); *AEMÖ* 7, 1883, 180 Nr. 35

⁶¹ Andere nichtprivate Inschriften: *IG II/III*² 1996 (*Ὡλ{t}ος*), 2037, 2474; *IG V* 1, 659, 1247; *IG XII* 3, 529, 531–532; *SEG I* 552; *XXXVI* 556; *IEphesos* 216; Ch. Marek, *Stadt, Ära und Territorium* (1993), *Amastris* Nr. 1c (A(ulus) im lat. Text); *BCH* 7, 1883, 452 (vgl. *IGR IV* 690), *Z. II.30*. Grabinschriften (8): *IG IX* 1² 4, 1451 (späthellenistisch); *IG XIV* 331; *I GLS* II 623; *I GLS IV* 1373 (A(ulus) im lat. Text); *SEG XXXII* 1025 (A(ulus) im lat. Text); *Agora XVII* 1015; *IAnazarbos* 186; *IKibyra* 292. Papyri/Ostraka: *BGU IV* 1158 (9 v. Chr.), und bei Kaiser Vitellius in der Datierungsformel: *OBodl.* II 672, 1125; *OPetr. Mus.* 188; *PThomas* 7. S. auch Salomies (oben Anm. 3) 24.



LECTORS IN THE LATIN WEST: THE EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE (C. 300–800)

CHRISTIAN LAES*

- I: Introduction to the Epigraphical Dossier
- II: The Epigraphical Dossier
- III: Notes on the Inscriptions

I: INTRODUCTION TO THE EPIGRAPHICAL DOSSIER

1. Introduction

This article for the first time brings together the available inscriptional evidence of lectors in Early Christianity, as found in Latin inscriptions from the West in Late Antiquity (c. 300–800). By presenting a full epigraphical dossier, I do not stick to a naive interpretation that “the sources speak for themselves”. On the contrary, the assembled evidence will be used to address fundamental questions. As such, it will be asked how the non-literary evidence fits with what we read in the Church Fathers. Differences in the role of *lectores* from one region in the West to another will be highlighted. Also, the factor of age will be important to explain the office in the ecclesiastical *cursus honorum*. Finally, the inscriptions will enable us to study in greater detail social background and agency of lectors, by showing which sort of inscriptions were dedicated to whom in what particular circumstances.¹

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2. Reading aloud as a specialised skill

Literacy in the ancient world has become an intensively studied subject in the last decades. Though scholars disagree on many points such as (the possibility of) assessing degrees of literacy, the importance of the written word, or the social function of reading and writing, they largely agree that the Graeco-Roman world differed on significant points from other contemporary societies. This was not a society in which reading and writing were confined to a professional class of writers, who needed several years of specific training to acquire skills in complex letter systems. At the same time, being able to read a literary text at first sight was considered quite a skill.² The use of the *scriptura continua* meant that a considerable amount of practice was required to read and recite a text in a proper way.³

In such a context, the well-to-do had slaves at their disposal who were especially entrusted with the recitation of texts. Such servants were called ἀναγνώσται in Greek and *lectores* in Latin.⁴ As trained and educated slaves, they

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¹ The epigraphical study of office holders in the Early Church is still in its infancy. Buonopane (2017) has usefully assembled the evidence of neophytes. For deacons, see Felle (2010). Other studies have a local approach: Janssens (1981) (City of Rome) and Cuscito (1974) (East Adriatic region). Rüpke (2005) has systematically assembled evidence on priests from Rome up to the year 500. The indices of the most valuable *Prosopographie Chrétienne du Bas-Empire* (PCBE – see bibliography) do not include ecclesiastical functions, which means that the readers have to browse through thousands of pages when searching for a person holding a particular office.

² Petr. *Sat.* 75,2: *librum ab oculo legit* (about a young slave who also had basic skills in counting).

³ Harris (1989); Bowman and Woolf (1994); Johnson and Parker (2009); Thomas (2009); Werner (2009); Harris (2014); Ripat (2020) are all seminal works, which can serve as an introduction to the subject.

⁴ There are no separate studies on such slaves. The best accounts are Fondermann 2017a and Fondermann 2017b.

were part of the staff in wealthy households.⁵ Their recitations could be part of the entertainment during dinner.⁶ Modulation of the voice and mastery of body language were required skills for such readers⁷ – the main difference between *lectores* and *oratores* being that the latter were required to recite their text by heart, while the former read aloud from a parchment or papyrus.⁸ Masters listened to slave readers while their bodies were cared for during a massage,⁹ while they were awake at night,¹⁰ or simply when they had nothing better to do.¹¹ When a letter arrived, these slaves read it aloud.¹² Though most of them were males, a few inscriptions mention female slaves as *lectrices* or *anagnostriai*.¹³ The sources do not inform us about the ages of slave readers. In the context of training of slaves within households, in which literacy could obviously play a role, we may well imagine children or young people learning the art of reading and reciting. They could then soon become *lectores*. In the context of *nomenclatores*, heralds or announcers – a somewhat similar function which might have involved reading aloud – Pliny the Younger mentions an age of about fifteen, though no minors are attested as *nomenclatores* in the inscriptions.¹⁴

⁵ Nep. *Att.* 13,3 (*pueri litteratissimi, anagnostae optimi et plurimi librarii*); Cic. *Att.* 1,12,4 (*puer festivus anagnostes noster Sositheus decesserat*); Cic. *fam.* 5,9,2; Plut. *Alex.* 54; Plut. *Crass.* 2; Plin. *epist.* 3,5,12 and 8,1,2.

⁶ Nep. *Att.* 14,1; Plin. *epist.* 1,15,2 and 9,36,4.

⁷ See e.g. Habinek (1996) and Corbeill (2004) on training and mastery of the voice in ancient recitation and oratory.

⁸ Quacquarelli (1959, 389).

⁹ Plin. *epist.* 3,5,14

¹⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 78,2.

¹¹ Plin. *epist.* 3,1,8.

¹² Fondermann 2017b does not cite any ancient passage which explicitly attests this, but it is in general very likely that this was among the functions of *lectores*.

¹³ *CIL* VI 8786 and 33473 (*lectrices*); *CIL* VI 33830 and 34270 (?) (*anagnostria*). Here, Fondermann 2017a is rather inaccurate: he cites *CIL* VI 3978 (at col. 105) as an example of a *lectrix*, while it obviously mentions a *lector* in the household of Livia, and he cites the non-existent term *anagnostrices*. *AE* 1928,73 (Rome, first century CE) is apparently unknown to Fondermann. It mentions a *lectrix* freedwoman Petale Sulpicia, whose slave name had been Petale.

¹⁴ Wieber (2017) on training of slaves within households. Laes (2008, 255–256) on *nomenclatores*, with the quote from Plin. *epist.* 2,14,6: *nomenclatores mei – habent sane aetatem eorum qui nuper togas sumpserint*.

3. Reading aloud in early Christian liturgy

As Christianity is very much a religion of the book, the act of reading aloud to an audience became more important. While in a pagan context village offices were held by illiterate men, who took pride in the mere fact of being able to sign their name,¹⁵ we may imagine more Christians concentrating on the ability of reading out loud sacred texts. Reading surely was crucial in liturgy and liturgical performances. Initially, the Church followed the practice of the Jewish synagogue, in which those in charge of the services could invite whomever they wished to read the lessons.¹⁶ However, the choice must have been severely limited by the fact that only a minority of the members of the community would be capable of deciphering the *scriptura continua* in which scrolls were written.¹⁷ Therefore it has been proposed that the Book of Acts was delivered orally by a specialised lector, who followed Graeco-Roman rhetorical conventions for recitation and delivery, rather than directly read by an audience. Shiell's study outlines the function of the lector in Graeco-Roman times as a filter through which a Christian audience too would receive a sacred text.¹⁸

The reading aloud of letters, instructions or words from the Prophets was part and parcel of Christian practice already from the times of the Apostles.¹⁹ Justin Martyr states that on Sundays all who live in cities or in the country gather together in one place, and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read, as long as time permits. Then, when the reader has ceased, the minister verbally instructs.²⁰ Christian prayers were typically said aloud by

¹⁵ See Youtie (1966) on the case of the village clerk Petaus who could hardly write his name, and certainly not with consistent correctness.

¹⁶ As suggested in Luke 4:16–17, where the child Jesus reads from Hebrew scripture.

¹⁷ Davies (1963, 10). This evolved when the Church moved further away from Judaism. Jewish education stressed more the importance of literacy, and presumably Jewish communities had relatively higher percentages of people with capabilities to read. See Laes (2010, 92–93).

¹⁸ Shiell (2004) describes the conventions for performers' gestures, facial expressions, and vocal inflections found in material from Greco-Roman literature and art that are mirrored in the book of Acts. He has surprisingly little to say, however, on the training and education of lectors.

¹⁹ Acts 15:30; Col. 4:16; 1 Tim. 4:13–16.

²⁰ Iust. Mart. 1 *Apol.* 67.

priests, whose prayers were given assent by the people with the word Amen.²¹ Tertullian suggests reading of the Law and the Prophets with the Gospels and the Apostolic Letters.²² The fourth-century Apostolic Constitutions mention reading of the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel in liturgy.²³ In the Gallic church of Gregory of Tours, there was a reading from the Prophets, one from the Epistles, and one from the Gospels.²⁴ Earlier, Saint Augustine reveals very much the same sequence.²⁵

While Cyprian suggests that lectors read from the Gospels,²⁶ the Apostolic Constitutions mention only books from the Old Testament, the Acts and the Epistles of Paul. By then, reading the Gospels had become the task of the deacon or the presbyter.²⁷ The attribution to deacons or presbyters of reading aloud from the Gospels is mentioned in the Apostolic Constitutions, and is for the West also attested by Saint Jerome and Saint Augustine.²⁸

In reading, the lectors stood on a *pulpitum* or *tribunal*, also called *exedra* (a *lectorium* existed only in Medieval churches).²⁹

²¹ Quacquarelli (1959, 386–388) has aptly collected the references, and opposed this Christian usage to the pagan custom of praying by *murmure longo* (Ov. *Met.* 7.251). For Amen, see Iust. Mart. I *Apol.* 65.

²² Tert. *De praesr. haeret.* 36,5: *legem et prophetas cum evangelicis et apostolicis litteris miscet, et inde potat fidem* (about the Church).

²³ *Const. Apostol.* 2,39,6: μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ Νόμου καὶ τῶν Προφητῶν καὶ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου. See also 8,5,11: μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ Νόμου καὶ τῶν Προφητῶν, τῶν τε Ἐπιστολῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν Πράξεων καὶ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων.

²⁴ Greg. Tur. *Franc.* 4,16: *Positis clerici tribus libris super altarium, id est prophetiae, apostoli atque euangeliorum, oraverunt ad Dominum.*

²⁵ Aug. *Serm.* 165,1: *Apostolum audivimus, Psalmum audivimus, Evangelium audivimus; consonant omnes divinae lectiones; Serm.* 302,1: *Beati martyris Laurentii dies sollemnis hodiernus est. Huic sollemnitati sanctae Lectiones congruae sonuerunt. Audivimus et cantavimus, et evangelicam lectionem intentissime accepimus.*

²⁶ Cyp. *Epist.* 38,2 on the tasks of a lector: *post verba sublimia quae Christi martyrium prolocuta sunt, evangelium Christi legere; Epist.* 39,4: *legat praecepta et evangelium Domini.*

²⁷ *Const. Apostol.* 2,57.

²⁸ *Const. Apost.* 2,57,5–7: the *anagnostès* performs readings from the Old Testament and, after the singing of the Psalms, of the Acts and the Epistles by Paul; a presbyter or a deacon reads from the Gospels; Jer. *Epist.* 147,6,4 (deacon); Aug. *Serm.* 356,1 (deacon).

²⁹ Cyp. *Epist.* 38,2 (*ad pulpitum*); *Epist.* 39,4 (*super pulpitum id est super tribunal ecclesiae*); Aug. *Civ.*

Ambrosiaster refers to the pastoral functions of lectors, who nourish their audience with reading of the divine text.³⁰

4. Children and reading the liturgy aloud

Christian religion favoured very much the idea of ‘children of God’. As such, the young were involved in Christian education and liturgy from an early age.³¹ The Apostolic Constitutions mention children standing at the reading-desk, and a deacon standing by them to prevent them from being disorderly.³² Besides reading, also the chanting of hymns and psalms was entrusted to relatively young children.³³ Also here, modulation of the voice and good inflection were part and parcel of the education of lectors.³⁴ Irenaeus states that attending to the proper reading of a passage is absolutely crucial. Not exhibiting the intervals of breathing as they occur will not only cause incongruities. Also, when undertaking his task the reader may incur the danger of uttering blasphemy.³⁵ It has been suggested that the *schola cantorum* belonging to the Lateran palace,

Dei 22,8 (in *gradibus exedrae*). See Quacquarelli (1959, 398).

³⁰ Ambrosiaster *In Eph.* 4,11,12: *pastores possunt esse lectores, qui lectione saginent populum audientem.*

³¹ Lutterbach 2003 explores the idea of ‘children of God’ in the *longue durée*. See p. 113–117 on the tradition of the *mens pura* and the *vox clara* in the context of children as lectors. Wiedemann (1989, 176–208) links the practice with what he calls the demarginalization of children, who became integral part of liturgy in Christian practice.

³² *Const. Apostol.* 8,11.

³³ Quasten (1930, 119–132). Significant texts include *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi* 2,22 (*Ei, qui in ecclesia psallit, virgines et pueri respondeant psallentes*) and *Peregrinatio Egeriae* 24,1 (*Nam singulis diebus ante pullorum cantum aperiuntur omnia ostia Anastasis et descendunt omnes monachos et parthene, ut hic dicunt, et non solum hii, sed et laici praeter, viri aut mulieres, qui tamen volunt maturius vigilare. Et ex ea hora usque in luce dicuntur ymni et psalmi respondentur, similiter et antiphonae: et cata singulos ymnos fit oratio*).

³⁴ Aug. *Conf.* 10,33,50: *modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi*; Aug. *Ioh.* 22,5 line 14: *<versus> qui praebeatur a lectore et respondeatur a populo*; Aug. in *Psalm.* 84,3 line 11: *legente lectore psalmum*.

³⁵ Irenaeus *Adv. haeres.* 3,7,2. See Davies (1963, 11–13). I agree with Davies that this passage should not be taken as a proof that lectors did anything else than reading, in the form of preaching or explaining Scripture.

a school founded by Pope Gregory the Great, was mainly a school for young cantors.³⁶ Undoubtedly, in such schools, the Holy Readings were learnt by heart. Pertinent to this is the case of the young Carthaginian confessor Aurelius (*Aureli ... adolescentis*). A former ally of Cyprian's enemy Lucianus, Aurelius was said "not to know letters", to be incapable of writing and distributing certificates of forgiveness. Only a few months later, Cyprian proudly announced that Aurelius had acted on Sunday as a reader in church. Rather than taking a 'crash course' in reading, it is more likely that Aurelius had recited the passages of the Sunday by heart.³⁷ A passage from the anonymous *Adversus Iudaeos* (fourth century) also alludes to any young child – or, for that matter, old woman, widow, or rustic – "without letters" being more versed in Scripture than a learned old man.³⁸ The possibility of "a lector who does not know letters" is thus not as improbable as it may seem at first sight.³⁹ Eusebius mentions a lector John who knew all Divine Scripture by heart. When he saw him standing up and repeating portions of the Scripture to the congregation, he supposed that he had been reading, till he drew near, and discovered that he was blind, and only using "the eyes of the mind".⁴⁰

³⁶ Josi 1930. Alikin (2010, 211–254) on singing and prayer in the gathering of the Early Church.

³⁷ Cyprian *Epist.* 27,1 (*Aureli quoque adolescentis tormenta perpessi nomine libelli multi dati sunt eiusdem Luciani manu scripti, quod litteras ille non nosset*) and 38,2 (*Dominico legit ... nobis, id est auspiciatus est pacem dum dedicat lectionem*). See Clarke 1984.

³⁸ *Adv. Iud.* 10,2 (CCSL 4,278): *qui autem ab initio docti et periti et legis disciplinam scientes, nesciunt legere nec intellegunt spiritalia, et qui ex illis prudentibus cupiens videre venit, intellegit, rogat puerum parvulum aut anum aut uiduam aut rusticum dicens: '(...) enarra mihi Novum Testamentum, reconcilia me Domino: ecce trado me tibi discipulum, interpretare mihi legem, (...) dissere praecepta quae in Sion et in lege'. Sine litteris disserit scripturas eis et puer edocet senem et anus persuadet diserto*. See Clarke 1984, 104.

³⁹ Such is the case of Aurelius Ammonius, the Christian lector from the Egyptian village of Chysis in 304. Wipszycka 1983; Choat and Yuen-Collingridge 2009 dismiss this possibility: they either think of a Christian pretending to be unable to read in order not to take the oath with the pagan emperors, or about a church with no books. Clarke 1984 raises the possibility of illiteracy in the case of a lector.

⁴⁰ Euseb. *Martyr. Palaest.* 13. The text is only preserved in a Syriac version. Leclercq (1922, col. 2242–2243) cites a Latin translation.

5. *Lectores* as a definite order⁴¹

5.1. *The establishment of an order*

A first possible indication of the *lectores* being a defined order appears with Tertullian in a text that may be dated to the year 203.⁴² By the middle of the third century, at Carthage, readers were considered as “next to the clergy” (in the case of a certain Saturus), or as “added to our clergy” (Celerinus).⁴³ It is also stated by Cyprian that making somebody a reader implies that he might later on strive for higher degrees of clerical ordination.⁴⁴

For the City of Rome, a letter from 252–253 by Pope Cornelius to Fabius of Antioch mentions “46 presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, 42 acolyths, 52 exorcists, readers, and janitors, and over 1,500 widows and persons in distress”.⁴⁵ In an obviously later tradition, the *Liber Pontificalis* already ascribes the establishment of an ecclesiastical *cursus honorum* to Pope Gaius (283–296).⁴⁶ Also, in a letter ascribed to Saint Jerome, the sequence *fossarii, ostiarii, lectores, subdiaconi, diaconi, presbyteri, episcopus* is mentioned, in which the office of lector is compared to twelve-year-old Jesus reading in the synagogue.⁴⁷

⁴¹ In the tradition of study of canonical law, rich studies present and debate all relevant texts. See Leclercq 1929 (with strong attention to the epigraphical evidence); Peterson 1934; Quacquarelli 1959; Lafontaine 1963 and Davies 1963. It is still worth tracing down Leclercq 1900–1902 for a full collection of the literary evidence. See also Ravolainen (2014, 63–79).

⁴² Tert. *De praescr. haeret.* 41: *Itaque alius hodie episcopus, cras alius; hodie diaconus qui cras lector; hodie presbyter qui cras laicus. Nam et laicis sacerdotalia munera iniungunt.*

⁴³ Cypr. *Epist.* 29.1: *lectorem Saturum et hypodiamonem Optatum confessorem, quos iam pridem communi consilio clero proximos feceram;* *Epist.* 39.1: *clero nostro non humana suffragatione sed divina dignatione coniunctum.* See Davies (1963: 11).

⁴⁴ Cypr. *Epist.* 38.2: *merebatur talis clericae ordinationis ulteriores gradus.*

⁴⁵ The text of Cornelius’ *Epistula ad Fabium* is only preserved by Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 6,43.

⁴⁶ *Lib. Pont.* 29,2: *Hic constituit ut ordines omnes in ecclesia sic ascenderetur: si quis episcopus mereretur, ut esset ostiarius, lector, exorcista, sequens subdiaconus, diaconus, presbiter, et exinde episcopus ordinareretur.*

⁴⁷ [Jer.] *Epist.* 12,1–7. See *Epist.* 12,3 on lectors: *Denique Dominus noster legens in templo, formam lectoris assumpsit. Hi sunt ergo lectores qui cantant canticum Moysi et Agni (Apoc. 14:15). Horum numerus est angelorum: et nomen Angeli convenienter sacerdoti adaptatur, qui usque aequales tibi sunt per haec officia sanctitatis, sicut scriptum Legis (Malach. 2:1).*

Both for Rome and Africa, another function assigned to lectors is attested. Together with the priests, they were responsible for the distributions of the food in the form of small baskets (*sportulae*).⁴⁸ For Africa, Acts of Martyrs mention the lectors as those responsible for keeping the inventories of the divine texts of the community in their houses.⁴⁹

The Apostolic Constitutions include lectors in the series of clergy, stating that “we also command that the attendants, and the singers, and the readers, and the porters, be only once married. But if they entered into the clergy before they were married, we permit them to marry, if they have an inclination thereto, lest they sin, and incur punishment”.⁵⁰

By the fifth century, the lectorate became the normal way of entering the ministry. Proclus started as a reader at a very early age, and was promoted to the diaconate and the presbyterate later on, prior to consecration as bishop of Constantinople in 433.⁵¹ Other ecclesiastics also began their career as lectors: Saint Felix of Nola⁵², Eusebius of Vercelli⁵³, Emperor Julian⁵⁴ and his half-brother Galulus.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ Cypr. *Epist.* 39,5: *Caeterum presbyterii honorem designasse nos illis iam sciatis, ut et sportulis idem cum presbyteris honorentur, et divisiones mensurnas aequatis quantitibus partiantur, sessuri nobiscum provectis et corroboratis annis suis.* From *Const. Apost.* 2,28 it appears that lectors, together with psalmist and porters, could profit themselves from a part of these sportulae (Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀναγνώστης ἔστιν, λαμβανέτω καὶ αὐτὸς μοῖραν μίαν εἰς τιμὴν τῶν προφητῶν· ὡσαύτως καὶ ψαλτωδὸς καὶ πυλωρός).

⁴⁹ See Leclercq (1926, col. 1397–1405) for the example of the *Acta Munatii Felicis* from the city of Cirta, referring to events that happened on the 19th of May 304. See also Leclercq (1929, col. 2245) on the church community at Cirta, which had six *lectores* at its disposal, among whom there was one grammarian and one expert of Mosaic law. See Schiavo (2018, 214–218) for a full translation of these Acts, recorded by the curator Munatius Felix, who was a pagan himself.

⁵⁰ *Const. Apostol.* 6,17,6–10: Ὑπηρέτας δὲ καὶ ψαλτωδοὺς καὶ ἀναγνώστας καὶ πυλωροὺς καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν μονογάμους εἶναι κελεύομεν· εἰ δὲ πρὸ γάμου εἰς κληρὸν παρέλθωσιν, ἐπιτρέπομεν αὐτοῖς γαμεῖν, εἴγε πρὸς τοῦτο πρόθεσιν ἔχουσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἀμαρτήσαντες κολάσεως τύχουσιν (transl. Irah Chase, Otto Krabbe). See also Ravolainen (2014, 112–115).

⁵¹ *Socr. Hist. Eccl.* 7,40–41.

⁵² Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 15,108–109 (*Primis lector servivit in annis./ Inde gradum cepit*).

⁵³ Jer. *De vir. illustr.* 96 (*Eusebius, natione Sardinus, et ex lectore urbis Romanae*).

⁵⁴ *Socr. Hist. Eccl.* 3,1 (reader in the church of Nicomedia at youthful age)

⁵⁵ *Soz. Hist. Eccl.* 5,2.

For fourth to sixth century Africa (345–525), we know of an ordination ceremony, in which the bishop presents the lector to the audience, recommends his way of life and his good faith, and then invites him to read aloud in the Mass.⁵⁶

5.2. *The role of children in this cursus honorum*

Gradually, the lectorate evolved into the minor order *par excellence* for children who were preparing for the priesthood – though it could also be a function for adults who were married and did not aspire to any higher order.⁵⁷ By the mid of the third century, the Christian Latin poet Commodianus warned *lectores* against the sin of pride. His admonition presumably refers to the strive for vain glory, which was often ascribed to young people.⁵⁸ I have already mentioned Aurelius, who was allowed to access the *pulpitum* (cf. supra notes 37–39) from the autumn of the year 250. Cyprian insists on his being young, most probably he was in his teenage years.⁵⁹ Both Ambrose and Augustine mention child lectors who, inspired by the Holy Spirit, recite from a Psalm which was given to them by divine inspiration.⁶⁰ Sometimes, such children were congregated in schools, where they were taught the art of reading and reciting.⁶¹ The mention by Vic-

⁵⁶ *Conc. Afric. sec. trad. coll. Hispanae* (between 345 and 525) (CC SL 149,344): *Lector cum ordian-tur, faciat de illo verbum episcopus ad plebem indicans eius fidem ac vitam atque ingenium; post haec spectante plebe tradat ei codicem de quo lecturus est, dicens ad eum: "Accipe et esto verbi Dei relator, habiturus, si fideliter et utiliter impleveris officium, partem cum eis qui verbum Dei administraverunt."*

⁵⁷ Lafontaine (1963, 129) calls the lectorate "par excellence l'ordre de début de la probation". See Innocent. I *Epist.* 3 on children preparing for the priesthood or adults attending the lectorate immediately after their being baptised.

⁵⁸ Commodian. *Instruct.* 2,26: *Certamen fugire lites totidemque uitare, / Tumorem premere, nec unquam esse superbos*. On this advice to lectors, see Leclercq 1929, c. 2243, who relates it to the sins of youthfulness.

⁵⁹ *Cypr. Epist.* 38,2: *Aurelius frater noster inlustris adolescens (...) in annis adhuc novellus (...) minor in aetatis suae indole (...) merebatur talia clericae ordinationis ulteriores gradus et incrementa maiora, non de annis suis sed de meritis aestimandus. Sed interim placuit ut ab officio lectoris incipiat.*

⁶⁰ *Ambr. De excessu fratris* 1,61 (*per vocem lectoris parvuli Spiritus Sanctus expressit. Innocens manibus et mundo corde ...*); *Aug. serm.* 352,1 (*cordi... puerili*) – the wordings clearly point to childish innocence.

⁶¹ *Aug. De cons. evang.* 1,10,15 (about certain Christians who ascribed writings on sorcery to Saint Peter, Saint Paul or even to Jesus Christ): *In qua fallacissima audacia sic excaecati sunt, ut etiam a pueris, qui adhuc pueriliter in gradu lectorum Christianas litteras norunt, merito rideantur.*

tor Vitensis of a carnage of *lectores infantuli* at Carthage during the times of the Vandal occupation should be understood as a reference to such schools.⁶² Also in the fifth century, we read about Epiphanius of Pavia being a lector at age eight, and a reader *ab infantia* in Gaul.⁶³ Education of young lectors could also take the form of an older parish priest taking in a younger lector (who should not yet be married) in order to teach him the art of reciting properly and to prepare him for the priesthood as his successor. The custom seems to have been well established in sixth century Italy.⁶⁴

A minimum age of eighteen for lectors was imposed in Emperor Justinian's *Novellae*, but seems to have been connected with a certain limited sacramental role of child lectors in the Mass, as they were permitted to provide water for washing the priest's or bishop's hands. Justinian's measure does not seem to have been very successful.⁶⁵ A minimum age of 25 seems to have been imposed in the tradition of the African councils, but this concerns the active role of lectors in saluting the audience, presumably at the beginning or end of the Mass.⁶⁶ Coming of age seems to have been a crucial point for those who aspired to the priesthood after the lectorate. At this point, they were required to remain either celibate or to opt for chaste marriage, though remaining at the stage of lector, marrying, and raising a family was another option.⁶⁷ At least for the Latin West, an established

⁶² Vict. Vit. 3,34: *Univrsus clerus ecclesiae Carthaginiensis caede inediaque maceratus, fere quingenti vel amplius, inter quos quam plurimi erant lectores infantuli.*

⁶³ Ennod. *Vita Epiph.* 8 (*annorum ferme octo lectoris ecclesiastici suscipit officium*); Sidon. *Epist.* 4,25,4 (*lector hic primus, sic minister altaris idque ab infantia*).

⁶⁴ *Conc. Vas.* (anno 529) (ed. Mansi 8,726): *Hoc enim placuit, ut omnes presbyteri, qui sunt in parochiis constituti, secundum consuetudinem quam per totam Italiam salubriter teneri cognovimus, iuniores lectores, quantoscumque sine uxore habuerint, secum in domo, ubi ipsi habitare videntur, recipiant, et eos quomodo boni patres spiritualiter nutriendos, psalmos parare, divinis lectionibus insistere et in lege Domini erudire contendant, ut sibi dignos successores provideant et a Domino praemia aeterna recipiant.*

⁶⁵ *Nov. Iust.* 123,13: *Presbyterum autem minorem XXXV annorum fieri non permittimus, sed neque diaconum aut subdiaconum minorem XXV, neque lectorem minorem X et VIII annorum, diaconissam vero in sanctam ecclesiam non ordinari quae minor est annorum XL aut ad secundas venit nuptias.* See Wiedemann 1989, 186–187.

⁶⁶ *Conc. Afric. sec. trad. coll. Hispanae* (between 345 and 525) (CC SL 149,329): *Item placuit ut ante viginti quinque annos aetatis nec [diacones] ordinentur nec virgines consecrentur; et ut lectores populum non salutent.*

⁶⁷ Lafontaine (1963, 129–133). Crucial texts include: *Conc. Hippo can.* 18: *Ut lectores usque ad an-*

order of child lectors as an institution lost its role after the Carolingian reforms, with increasing attention to the new order of *psalmistae* to chant the words of the liturgy. By then, the role of children in the liturgy became purely ancillary.⁶⁸

Apart from an occasional remark on young girls singing in nuns' monasteries, and one mention of a woman as lector in a sixth-century Arabic version of the Apostolic Canons⁶⁹, neither girls nor women seem to have accessed the role of lector.⁷⁰

6. The epigraphical dossier

In the list and commentary that follow, the inscriptions will be used as vignettes of daily life *par excellence*, to illustrate ages, social relationships and agency of *lectores* in the Latin West. Before embarking on various details and scenarios, a prospectus of the available material is needed.

6.1. Geographical and Chronological distribution

Geographical distribution is in accordance with what we know about the distribution of early Christian inscriptions.⁷¹ As the total number of inscriptions is 102, the numbers nearly equal percentages. Some places have preponderance, like Venice and Histria (Regio X) for Italy, with thirteen inscriptions – with Aquileia and surrounding places as important places for Christian archaeology. The

nos pubertatis legant; deinceps autem nisi uxores custodita pudicitia duxerint, continentiam professi fuerint, legere non sinantur (anno 393); Leo I Magnus *Const.* (PL 56,868): *Lectores, cum ad annos pubertatis pervenirent, cogantur aut uxores ducere, aut continentiam profiteri*. Also the *Const. Apost.* 6,17,6–10 points to the same options (cf. supra note 50).

⁶⁸ Wiedemann (1989, 187).

⁶⁹ Cf. supra note 33. The female lector appears in *Can. Apostol.* can. 52–53 (PO 8,635). See Quasten (1930, 120) on the latter fragment, which besides the lectorate also testifies to women in the order of the diaconate and the subdiaconate. Quasten (1930, 118–122) deals with the singing of women in early church.

⁷⁰ The prohibition was based on texts as *mulieres in ecclesia taceant* (1 Cor. 14:34) or *Const. Apost.* 3,6,1–2 (no teaching or preaching by women). See also Jer. *Virg. vel.* 9,1: *non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed nec docere, nec tingere, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis muneris, nedum sacerdotali officii sortem sibi vindicare* (against Montanism).

⁷¹ Handley (2003, 13).

same goes for the African provinces, where excavations at the *basilicae* of Ammaedara (six inscriptions) and Carthage (ten inscriptions) have yielded a substantial part of the epitaphs for lectors.

<u>Number</u>	
African provinces (74–96)	23
Balkan provinces (3–5)	3
Gaul and Germany (97–102)	6
Italy, without Rome (6–33)	28
Rome (34–73)	40
Spain (1–2)	2
TOT	102

Chronologically, the preponderance is on the fourth and fifth century. Roughly 35 % of the inscriptions (about 36) possibly stem from the later period between 500 and 700.

When breaking down the evidence, we notice an interesting difference. For Rome, about 70 % (roughly 28 inscriptions) date from before the year 500. The earliest case, possibly from the catacombs of Sant' Agnese in Rome, even is third century (64). For the African provinces, the percentage of cases before 500 is at best 35 % (about eight inscriptions). For the rest of Italy, one counts 39 % (at best eleven cases) of such inscriptions. This is also in accordance with the general chronological distribution of early Christian epigraphy: Rome has a somewhat earlier epigraphical peak than other provinces in Late Antiquity.⁷²

6.2. *The role of age*

Indication of age occurs on 48 stones.⁷³ As the inscriptions mention 103 lectors, age seems to have been a matter of considerable importance. The percentage of the indications of age (47 %) is in line with what we know from epigraphy of the Christian inscriptions in the City of Rome, in which the age of the deceased at

⁷² Harper (2015, 23–24); Goessens (2019, 229) – both focusing on the City of Rome. Handley (2003, 13) mentions a peak for Rome in the period 350–400 (with still high numbers in the fifth century), while Gallia and Hispania have their peak in the period 451–550.

⁷³ I have included **60** (*maior aetas*) and **101** (*puer*), since these terms have a clear connotation of an age category.

the time of death is even more frequently present than in the epitaphs of pagan Rome.⁷⁴

When resorting to ancient subdivisions of life span, the following scheme applies:

	<u>Number</u>
minores (under 25 y.):	24
media aetas (25–59):	16
senectus (60 years or older):	2
incerti ⁷⁵ :	6
TOT	48

Within the category of the *minores*, there is a fairly even distribution between children (under fifteen years of age) with a total of eleven instances, and the age span 15–24, with a total of thirteen cases.⁷⁶

Traditionally, the cases of child lectors have attracted most attention. Here, the African provinces are significantly well represented. While the percentage of inscriptions originating from this region amounts to 22 %, no less than 54 % of the inscriptions (six instances) for minors belong to the African provinces. In order to explain this preponderance, the excavations in Ammaedara (four cases) are to be taken into account.⁷⁷ On the other hand, the phenomenon of underage lectors is attested in almost all of the regions: in Spain, Italy, Rome and Gaul/Germany. None of these minors below age fifteen is mentioned with relatives, but at least the context of the inscriptions from Ammaedaera (**79**, **86**, **87**, and **88**) suggests that they were part of a school of lectors. Nor do the other cases of minors indicate that these children would have lived without their parents (cf. infra 6.3).

⁷⁴ Goessens (2019, 229). Laes (2007, 27) mentions 33 % of epitaphs with age indication for the non-Christian city of Rome.

⁷⁵ **22**, **26**, **32**, **67** and **93** (age was surely mentioned, but unknown due to the fragmentary state of the stone; **43** (between 20 and 49 years of age).

⁷⁶ Minors: 5 years (**24** and **79**); 6 years (**86** and **87**); 12 years (**94**); 13 years (**18**, **88** and **99**); 14 years (**2** and **96**); *puer* (**101**). Age span 15–24: 16 years (**72**); 17 years (**23**); 18 years (**15**); 19 years (**46** and **102**); 20 years (**20** and **52**); 21 years (**45**); 22 years (**84**); 24 years (**40**, **73** and **92**); 16–19 years (**48**).

⁷⁷ **79**, **86**, **87**, **88**, **94** and **96**, with **79**, **86**, **87** and **88** from Ammaedara.

As for those lectors between age 15 and 24, an age category to which in ancient thought and practice now and then offices and responsibilities were assigned⁷⁸, their being linked to a specific church or region is an outstanding feature (eight out of thirteen cases).⁷⁹ In all likelihood, ecclesiastical office holding is mentioned as the most important achievement in their relatively short life.

Remarkably, none of the lectors belonging to the *media aetas* is mentioned in connection with a wife or children⁸⁰ – the observation is somewhat nuanced by the fact that in the majority of the cases, no social relations whatsoever are mentioned on the inscriptions (cf. *infra* 6.3). Also, among the 54 inscriptions without any age indication, there must have been a considerable part of adult lectors, whose social relations are commemorated

Also the *senes* in the collection (**44** and **100**) are mentioned without any family relation, though 66-year-old Stephanus was the head of a school of *lectores* in Lyon (**100**). For both cases, we may imagine a long-life engagement in church, with the lectorate as the highest ecclesiastical office obtained.

6.3. Dedicators and dedicatees

In the large majority of cases, lectors are commemorated without any others mentioned – over 70 % of such single commemorations is an impressive number. The absence of commemorative relationship permits no inference that the deceased was single or lived on his own at the moment of death. It rather implies that the commemorators considered additional information irrelevant and not worth mentioning.⁸¹ The following table lists the commemorators.

	<u>Number</u>	
no others mentioned	74	
lector as dedicator (<i>ipse</i>)	14	
community	2	55 and 67
daughter	1	14
father	2	92 and 102

⁷⁸ Laes, Strubbe (2014, 164–183) on office holding; (2014, 184–196) on occupations.

⁷⁹ **20, 40, 45, 46, 48, 52, 72, and 92.**

⁸⁰ **1, 7, 13, 17, 19, 37, 41, 42, 43, 55** (this lector is explicitly mentioned as *virgo*), **58, 60, 63, 69, 78, and 81.**

⁸¹ Goessens (2019, 233–234).

friend (?)	1	4
burial in area reserved for a lector	1	51
lector mentioned as father and grandfather	1	62
mother	1	15
sister	1	47
together with wife	1	65
together with <i>fideles</i>	1	89
two women	1	72
wife	1	49

For the fourteen cases in which the lector appears as dedicator, the division is as follows:

alone (donating or fulfilling a vow)	3	28, 29 and 33
for son	2	21 and 46
for wife	1	54
with family (?)	1	39
with mother	1	9
with father (?) and family	1	14
with servants	1	11
with wife	2	30 and 65
with wife and children	1	10
with wife and daughters	1	8

6.4. Agency

A detailed inquiry into the text and context of the inscriptions in our collection reveals more about the life of lectors and the way they functioned in their communities.

First, churches of both Aquileia and of Thebesta reveal a number of names of lectors that appear on the mosaic floor in the west entrance of the basilica. When entering the church, people would almost have made physical contact with the commemorated readers, whose importance to and attachment with the church is thereby emphasised.⁸² The same counts for the inscriptions belonging to various *basilicae* in Ammaedara. Here, mainly young, lectors were

⁸² 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 29, 30, and 33 (Aquileia); n. 74, 77 and 84 (African provinces).

buried and commemorated inside the church: in the south wall or in the south west part (close to the entrance), in the portal, or in the cemetery belonging to the church.⁸³ Also in Florence, we find seventeen-year-old lector Fundanius Iovianus commemorated in the portal of the church (23)⁸⁴, and the possibly very young Pompeius Lupicinus in the necropolis of the same church (24). Close to this comes the inscription in a wall of a baptisterium in Carthage (93). In all, this is very tangible evidence of how lectors were viewed as essentially belonging to their church community. For Aquileia, Ammaedara and Thebesta, scholars have explained the higher numbers of attestations of lectors as indications of the presence of a school, while others have pointed to the same possibility for Florence and Lyon (see 22, 23 for the former; 100 for the latter).

Also some formulations in the inscriptions point to attachment to a community or a particular church. This is especially the case for those lectors who on their grave inscription are especially linked with a particular church: in Aeclanum (17), Lilybaeum (20), Sevilla (1), Sila (92) and in many *tituli* of Rome: an unnamed one (35), S. Caecilia (72), S. Eusebius (56), Fasciola (41, 45), S. Iohannes et Paulus (52), Palacine (67), S. Pudentiana (40, 63), S. Sabina (48) and Velabrum (51).⁸⁵ To these should be added the lectors who are mentioned as belonging to a certain *regio* or district: in Rome (46) and Carthage (81, 94). In Rome, Eugamius, called a *virgo*, is commemorated by a priest and a group of fathers and brothers (55). Another Roman epitaph also mentions *fratres*, possibly in the context of a religious community (67).

Some inscriptions link the lectorate with the innocence of childhood. This is most explicitly elaborated in the *carmen epigraphicum* in honour of Honoratus (34). It is also the case for lector Paulus, who died as an adult (60), or for the chastity of Tigradius, who is called a *puer* too (101).

Other inscriptions mention the lectorate as a step in the ecclesiastical career: one step before the order of psalmist (25), or before being an exorcist (54), though in these cases the functions of the two minor ordinations may have been combined. In the case of Honoratus of Vercelli, the lectorate is clearly the first step before the ordinations of deacon, priest and bishop (34). A lector with the

⁸³ 74 and 76 (south wall), 79 (south west); 87 (portal); 88 (cemetery). Though the origin is not indicated in the editions, 86 may also have belonged to the portal of a basilica in Haidra.

⁸⁴ Though in this case it is not sure whether the slab has always belonged to the portal of the church.

⁸⁵ See also the list in Pietri (1977, 635).

name Primigenius later became a bishop, though such is not explicitly said on the inscription in which he is called lector. The proximity of the stones in the cemetery of the Via Praenestina might have made things clear for the passers-by (62).

7. Conclusions

In the eyes of historians of other periods, the lack of archives is a striking feature of ancient history. While we have a whole set of literary evidence on lectors at our disposal – mostly brief, *ad hoc* remarks, but also more elaborate digressions on ecclesiastical legislation – there is no way of confronting this documentation with any solid archival material. However, the dispersed evidence of 102 inscriptions for lectors over a period of about 400 years confirms the picture of the literary sources. The office was often, though not exclusively, entrusted to younger persons, while adults and elderly men were also readers and proudly carried this title until the end of their lives. The often brief and lapidary formulations ensure that many lectors are commemorated on their own, though the archaeological context now and then informs us on broader environments such as a training school. Some inscriptions reveal a whole set of social relations: wives, parents and (grand)children, friends, or the wider religious community.

This article started with the promise of tracking down local variations in the way the office of lector was filled in different ecclesiastical traditions. Therefore, both the literary evidence and the epigraphical documentation were presented with due attention to chronological context and geographical distribution. However, despite the obvious impossibility of centrally imposing a common practice, all our different sources focus on very much the same issues. The lectorate was often, though not exclusively, a preparatory function that prepared for higher ordinations, and therefore younger lectors come into the picture. Functions and tasks seem to have been similar in the different regions of the Latin Christian West. The inscriptions indeed show in greater detail the social background and agency of lectors, but for this too no significant divergence appears from what we read in the literary sources.

In all, the most important contribution of the epigraphical evidence is the glimpse of professional pride that lectors reveal by proudly mentioning them-

selves, their office, and sometimes their activities on a stone. This is not to say that in everyday life there were no lectors who were held in less esteem. Rather, it is safe to assume that at least some lectors who chose to advertise themselves in inscriptions were respected members of the Christian community. The epigraphical evidence teaches us how lectors represented themselves and how, in the context of Christian commemorative practices, they became signifiers of their own professional identity.⁸⁶

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⁸⁶ Felle (2010, 505–507) and Buonopane (2017, 26–28) for very much the same conclusions in their epigraphical studies of, respectively, deacons and *neofyti*.

II: LECTORES IN CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS

n.	References	Provenance	Name	Age
1.	<i>AE</i> 2005, 89; <i>HEp</i> 2005, 336	Baetica, Sevilla Hispalis	Cyprianus	± 40
2.	<i>IHC</i> 314 (p. 2, 133); <i>ILCV</i> 1283; <i>ICERV</i> 97; <i>CIPTP</i> 42	Lusitania, Myrtilis	Tiberius	± 14 y. 5 m.
3.	<i>CIL</i> III 9591 (p. 2140); III 13148; <i>ILCV</i> 1282; <i>Salona</i> IV, 2, 501	Dalmatia, Salona	(?)vinianus	?
4.	<i>CLEOr</i> 14; <i>SEG</i> IL728; <i>AE</i> 1999,147; <i>AE</i> 2005, 1342	Macedonia, Louloudia	Eufrosynus	--
5.	<i>ILJug</i> II 702; <i>Salona</i> IV, 1, 238	Dalmatia, Salona	Anastasius	--
6.	<i>AE</i> 2011, 413	Venetia et Histria (Regio X), Vicetia	Iohannes	--
7.	<i>AE</i> 2013, 649	Sardinia, Carales	Venustus	48
8.	<i>CIL</i> V 1583; <i>Inscr. Aqu.</i> III 3332; <i>ILCV</i> 1884; <i>EMC</i> p. 223-224; Zettler p. 195-196	Venetia et Histria (Regio X), Aquileia	Amara	--
9.	<i>CIL</i> V 1589; <i>Inscr. Aqu.</i> III 3342; <i>ICLV</i> 1870; <i>EMC</i> p. 241; Zettler p. 202	ditto	Iohannis	--
10.	<i>CIL</i> V 1599; <i>Inscr. Aqu.</i> III 3348; <i>ILCV</i> 1871; <i>EMC</i> p. 234; Zettler p. 199	ditto	Murgio	--
11.	<i>CIL</i> V 1605; <i>Inscr. Aqu.</i> III 3335; <i>ILCV</i> 1885 (add.); <i>EMC</i> p. 254	ditto	Secolaris (?)	--
12.	<i>CIL</i> V 1611; <i>Inscr. Aqu.</i> III 3357; <i>ILCV</i> 1886; <i>EMC</i> p. 241; Zettler p. 202	ditto	Victorinus	--
13.	<i>CIL</i> V 4118 and 4119; <i>ILCV</i> 1278	Venetia et Histria (Regio X), Cremona	Stephanus	± 35
14.	<i>CIL</i> V 4846 (p. 1080); <i>InscrIt</i> X, 5, 723; <i>ILCV</i> 1038	Venetia et Histria (Regio X), Brixia	Flavius Macrinus	--
15.	<i>CIL</i> V 4847; <i>InscrIt</i> X, 5, 724; <i>ILCV</i> 1279 (add.)	ditto	Attius Proculus	18 y. 8 m. 7 d.
16.	<i>CIL</i> V 5710; <i>ILCV</i> 1279a	Transpadana (Regio XI), Agrate Brianza	Albinus	--
17.	<i>CIL</i> IX 1377; <i>ILCV</i> 1276; <i>ICI</i> VIII 45; <i>VetChr.</i> 2005, 296; <i>AE</i> 2005, 424; 2006, 319; <i>Suplt</i> XXIX, p. 150	Apulia et Calabria (Regio II), Aeclanum	Caelius Laurentius	± 49

Dedicators	Date	Text
--	544	Cyprianus lec/tor ec(c)lesi(a)e His/palensi famu/lus Χρι(sti) vixit / annos plus mi/nus XL recessit / in pace d(ie) XII kal(endas) / Februarias era / DLXXXII.
--	566	Tyberius licto/r famulus dei vi(xi)/t annos plus min/us XIII mens(es) quinq/ue[m] requieuit in pace / domini die XIII Kalenda/s Iunias (a)era DCIII.
--	351–500	[---]NC sepulchra P[?]AV[...] / [...]vinianus lecto[r.../ [...]VIT[.]T[...]
friend (?)	5 s.	ἐνθάδε σῆμα / λέλαχεν Εὐφρόσυνος / ὁ αἰόδιμος ἀναγνώσ(της) / σταθμὸς στοργῆς / τῆς ἐν φίλοις / ἀκράδαντος // Eufrosynus / simplex verusque / fidelis amicus / scribturae lector / sanctae reverentia / pollens / hic requiem nactus / cunctorum laude / nitescit / haecque tibi sincera / Iohannes munera / solvit.
--	471–530	D(epositio?) Anastasi lector(i)s s(ub) d[ie ---].
--	6 s.	I(n) n(o)m(ine) d(omi)ni / hic r(e)q(uiescit) in / pace Io/hannis / lector.
--	?	B(ona)e m(emoriae) / Benustus lector / qui bixit annis XLVIII / requiebit in pace / X Kal(endas) Aug(ustas).
ipse, with wife and daughters	579	Amara l[ector ?] / et Anto[nina] / cum f[iliis suis] / Haelia [et Melli]/ta vo[tum] / solve(ru)nt.
ipse, with mother	579	Iohannis / lect(or) cum / matre sua / Agneta / f(ecit) p(edes) XXV.
ipse, with wife and children	579	Murgio / lector / et Bona / cum filiis / suis feceru[nt pedes X].
ipse, with servants (?)	?	Seco[laris(?) or -nius (?)] / lectu[r et ...aman]/uens[is]/ [domes]tigi sa(n)c[tae] / Eu[fimiae v[irginis?]] / [vo]/tum so[lverunt].
ipse, with father (?) and family	579	Victorinus / lect(or) fil(ius?) cum / Antonino et / suis vo[tum] solvit.
--	19 Dec. 587	Hic requiescit in pace b(ona)e m(emoriae) / Stephanus v(i)r lictur, qui vi/xit in hoc secul(o) ann(is) pl(us) m(inus) / XXXV depositus sub die / pridie idus Decembris et / iterum p(ost) c(onsulatum) Paulini Iun(ioris) / v(iri) c(larissimi) indict(ione) prima.
Daughter. Lector is mentioned together with his brother-in-law and his wife.	4 s.	Fl(avio) Latino episcopo / an(nos) III m(enses) VII pr[ae]s(b)yt(ero) / an(nos) XV exorc(istae) an(nos) XII / et Latinillae et Fla(vio) / Macrino lectori / Fl(avia) Paulina neptis/ b(ene) m(erentibus) m(emoriam) p(osuit).
mother	4 s.	Attio Proculo / lectori filio dulcis/simo qui vixit an(nos) XVIII / m(enses) VIII d(ies) VII Fabia Secun(da) contra votum me/nsa(m) posuit / b(ene) m(erenti).
--	5–6 s.	Hic requies/cet in pace / Alb(i)nus lec(tor).
--	8 May 494	Hic requiescit in somno / pacis Caelius Laurentius / lector sanctae aeclesiae / Aeclanensis qui vixit / annos pl(us) m(inus) XLVIII depositio / eius die VIII Idus Maias Flaviis / Asterio et Praesidio vv(iris) cc(larissimis) con(sulibus).

n.	References	Provenance	Name	Age
18.	<i>CIL</i> X 1193; <i>ILCV</i> 03869; <i>IPAvell</i> 16; <i>AE</i> 1998, 356	Latium et Campania (Regio I), Nola	[---]nus	± 13
19.	<i>CIL</i> X 1359; <i>ILCV</i> 1274a	Latium et Campania (Regio I), Nola	[---]anpenus	± 30
20.	<i>CIL</i> X 7252; <i>ILC</i> 275	Sicilia, Lilybaeum	?	20
21.	<i>CIL</i> X 7551; <i>ILCV</i> 1275 and 3399; <i>SRD</i> 39; <i>ICS</i> NOR 3	Sardinia, Nora	Rogatus	--
22.	<i>CIL</i> XI 550; <i>ILCV</i> 1277a	Aemilia (Regio VIII), Ariminum	Const[antius?]	?
23.	<i>CIL</i> XI 1704; <i>ILCV</i> 1277	Etruria (Regio VII), Florentia	Fundanius Iovianus	17
24.	<i>CIL</i> XI 1709; <i>ICLV</i> 1277a	ditto	Pompeius Lupicinus	5 y. (?) 5 d. (?)
25.	<i>Cornus</i> 75; <i>SRD</i> 1078; <i>ICS</i> CRN 8	Sardinia, Gurulis Nova	?	?
26.	<i>ICI</i> VIII 24	Apulia et Calabria (Regio II), Beneventum	Maturus	? y. 8 m. 5 d.
27.	<i>ILSard</i> I 84; <i>SRD</i> 546; <i>ICS</i> CAR 120	Sardinia, Carales	?	?
28.	<i>InscrAqu</i> III 3371; <i>EMC</i> p. 249; Zettler p. 205; <i>AE</i> 1975, 416 n.	Venetia et Histria (Regio X), Aquileia	Lautus	--
29.	<i>InscrIt</i> X, 2, 70; <i>EMC</i> p. 315; Zettler p. 227; <i>AE</i> 2002, 513	Venetia et Histria (Regio X), Parentium	?	--
30.	<i>InscrIt</i> X, 2, 185; <i>EMC</i> p. 333; Zettler p. 231	Venetia et Histria (Regio X), Parentium	Heraclius (?)	--
31.	<i>NSA</i> 1957.307	Etruria (Regio VII), Florentia	?	?
32.	<i>Suplt</i> XX 280; <i>ICI</i> XIII 39; <i>AE</i> 1973, 219; 1977, 228; 1981; 265; 2003, 545; 2008, 419	Apulia et Calabria (Regio II), Venusia	?	?
33.	Zettler p. 233	Venetia et Histria (Regio X), Cantianum	?	--
34.	<i>CLE</i> 787; <i>ICUR</i> IX 24831; <i>ILCV</i> 967; <i>AE</i> 2007, 127	Roma	Honoratus	--
35.	<i>ICUR</i> I 249	ditto	?	?
36.	<i>ICUR</i> I 284	ditto	Timotheus	--
37.	<i>ICUR</i> I 521	ditto	?	50
38.	<i>ICUR</i> I 1037	ditto		

Dedicators	Date	Text
--	558	Hic r[e]quiescit in pace / [---]nus lictor, qui vixit / [an]nos pl(us) m(inus) XIII d(e)p(ositus) III k(a)l(endas) Sep/[te]mbris XVII p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili. / [---]per? iu]dioum vos coniu(r)o ut ni qui sepultura mea violet.
--	556	[---]anpeni (?) lectoris in p[ace ---] / [qui vi]xit annos pl(us) m(inu)s XXX d(e)p(o)s(itus) III[---] / [Augu]stas XV p(ost) [c(onsulatum)] Basili [v(iri) c(larissimi)] / [---]idi[---] dec+[---]
?	4–6 s.	----- / [le]cto[r] hu/ius ecc(lesia)e qu(i) / vixit annos XX / depositus VI I/dus Februar/[i]as ind(ictione) XI.
ipse, for his deceased infant son	4–5 s.	Bono et in(n)ocenti is/pirito Respecti qui vi/xit an(num) I me(nses) IIII Rogatus / lector filio piissimo / fecit in ((Christo)) Hi(e)s(u).
--	5–6 s.	Hic requie[scit in] / [p]ace Const[antius(?)] / [l]ector qui [vixit in] / [saec]ulo ann[os] / [---]CC et di[es] ---
--	4–5 s.	B(onae) m(emoriae) / [hic] iacet Fundaniu[s] / [I]ovianus lec/[to]r qui vixit an/nis XVII mens(ibus) VIII d(iebus) XX / dep(ositus) in pace prid(ie) nona/s Ianuar(ias).
--	5–6 s.	B(onae) m(emoriae) / hic requiescit / Pompeius Lupici/nus lector qui / vixit annos / [---?] V d(ies) n(umero?) V.
--	?	[---]tus lec[tor] -----
--	4–6 s. (?)	----- qui [---]a / [---] lector psalmista / [---] Maturus consi/[lium(?)] dei(?) semp[er] servans qui / [vix(it) ann(os) ---] m(enses) VIII d(ies) V dep(ositus) / [-----]
--	5–6 s.	----- / [---]AIM+[---] / [---]+EDV+[---] / [---]o lect[or?] ---].
ipse, fulfilling a vow	579	Lautus / lector / votum / solvit.
ipse, donating	400–450	[De donis] D(e)i et / [s(a)nc(t)e ecclesie (?)] / lect(or) [f(e)c(it)] p(e)d(es) XC.
ipse, donating with his wife	6 s.	Eracli(us)? / tec(tor) cum / con(iu)g(e) sua/ Lau[rentia ---].
--	401–550	----- / [---]CTAN[---] / [---]le]cto[r][---] / [---]+[---] / -----
--	453–524	[Hic requi]escit in pace D(e)i famulus(?) / [---]s lec(tor) qui timore Chr(ist) i reli/[quit vit]am saecularem soci/[atus servi]tio aec(c)lesiae(!) migra/[vit ad d(omi)n(u)m] vixit annis / [---] mensis(!) V dies V de/[positus] est die tertiu(!) Idus / [---]mb(res) Opilione cons(s)ule(!).
ipse, donating	450–499	Domn[---] / lect[or] / fec(it) [-----]
--	6 s.	(...) parvulus utque loqui coepisti dulcisa verba / mox scripturarum lictor pius indole factus / ut tua lingua magis legem qua verba sonaret / dilectat a d(omi)no tua dicta infancia simplex / nullis arte dolis sceda fugata malignis / of(f)icio tali iusto puroque legendi / adque item simpex adulescens mente fuisti / maturusque animo ferventi aetatem modestus / remotus prudens mitis gravis integer aequus / haec tibi lectori innocuo fuit aurea vita / (...)
--	5–6 s.	----- / [ec]tor / t(i)t(uli) / [-----]
--	350–399	[---] Timo]theus lector d(e)p(ositus) XVI ka]l(endas) iun(ias) d[or]mit in pa]lce].
--	380–500	----- / qui viset annus c[in]/q<u>aginta (l)ector depo/situs in pace XV ka]l(endas) martia[s] ---].
		[---?] lictor [---?]

n.	References	Provenance	Name	Age
39.	<i>ICUR</i> I 1118	ditto	?	?
40.	<i>ICUR</i> I 3200	ditto	Leopardus	24
41.	<i>ICUR</i> II 4815; <i>ILCV</i> 1269; <i>ICaRoma</i> 130; Carletti I 58	ditto	Cinnamius Opas	46 y. 7 m. 9 d.
42.	<i>ICUR</i> II 5176; <i>ILCV</i> 1264	ditto	Ulpus	25-29 y. 23 d.
43.	<i>ICUR</i> II 6098; <i>AE</i> 1905, 96	ditto	?	20-49
44.	<i>ICUR</i> III 8143; <i>ILCV</i> 1268	ditto	Iulius Innocentius	73
45.	<i>ICUR</i> III 8165; <i>ILCV</i> 1269	ditto	Pascentius	21
46.	<i>ICUR</i> III 8719; <i>ILCV</i> 1266; <i>ICVaticano</i> p. 223	ditto	Equitius Heraclius	19 y. 7 m. 20 d.
47.	<i>ICUR</i> IV 10238a; <i>ILCV</i> 1274a	ditto	Vitalis	?
48.	<i>ICUR</i> IV 11746c; <i>ILCV</i> 1274	ditto	Domnio	16-19
49.	<i>ICUR</i> IV 11798 (p. 535); <i>ILCV</i> 2159	ditto	Alexius	--
50.	<i>ICUR</i> IV 12013b	ditto	Simplicius	--
51.	<i>ICUR</i> IV 12426; <i>ILCV</i> 1271; <i>ICVaticano</i> p. 232; <i>AE</i> 1997, 166	ditto	Augustus	--
52.	<i>ICUR</i> V 13289, 2; <i>ILCV</i> 1139; <i>ICaRoma</i> 132 and 134; Carletti I 114; <i>AE</i> 2009, 145	ditto	Maximinus	20 y. 8 m.
53.	<i>ICUR</i> V 14816f	ditto	?	?
54.	<i>ICUR</i> VI 15721	ditto	Proficius	--
55.	<i>ICUR</i> VI 16173	ditto	Eugamius	38 y. 2 m. 33 d.
56.	<i>ICUR</i> VI 16380; <i>ILCV</i> 1274	ditto	Olympius	--
57.	<i>ICUR</i> VI 16391	ditto	Paulus	--
58.	<i>ICUR</i> VI 16649a	ditto	?	26
59.	<i>ICUR</i> VI 16649b	ditto	?	?

Dedicators	Date	Text
ipse (?) family inscription	351–399	[---] lector [---] / [---]o Megalo coniu[gi ---] / [---] Valeria in pace q[uae] vixit / [a(nnis)] X m(ensibus) II d(iebus) XXI dep[ositus] ---
--	384	Mirae innocentiae adq(ue) eximiae / bonitatis hic requiescit Leopardus / lector de Pudentiana qui vixit / ann(is) XXIII def(unctus) VIII kal(endas) dec(embres) / Ricomedes et Clearco cons(ulibus).
--	377	Cinnamius Opas lector tituli Fasciol(a)e amicus pauperum / qui vixit ann(os) XLVI mens(es) VII d(ies) VIII deposit(us) in pace X Kal(endas) Mart(ias) / Gratiano IIII et Merobaude cons(sulibus).
--	?	Ulpus lector quiescit in / [p]ace qui vixit ann(XXV)--- et / d(ies) XXIII defunctus [est] / d(ie) XVI Kal(endas) April(es) dep(ositus) XIII K(al)endas ---.
--	5 s.	[---] qui[iescit] [---] / [---]us lec[tor] --- / [---] ann[os] XX [---] / [---] deposit[us] XI k[al]endas ---.
--	362	Iulius Innocentius lector / eccl[esi]e sancte c[on]sol[ati]one / vic[er]it ann(is) LXXIII d(e)p[ositus] XIII k(alendas) iun(ias) / Mame[r]tino et Nevita cons(ulibus).
--	398	[Hic] quiescit Pascentius lector de Fasciola / [qui] vixit an[no]s XXI depositus in pace / [---] cons(ule) d(omino) n(ostro) Honorio I[IIII].
ipse (?), buried together with his son	338	Equitius? Heraclius / qui fuit in saeculum / an(nos) XVIII m(enses) VII d(ies) XX / lector r(egionis) sec(undae) fecerunt sibi / et filio suo benemerenti in p(ace) / decedit VII idus febr(uarias) / Urso et Polemio / cons(ulibus).
sister	4 s.	Sanctissimo Vit[al]i --- / lectori --- / fec[er]it sopop (!) in p[ro]p[ri]a.
--	?	Lector de Savi[na]e / [Dom]nio qui vixit / [an]nis XVI[---].
wife	451–499	Dilectissimo marito anime dulcissime Alexio lectori / de Fullonices, qui vixit mecum ann(is) VX / iunctus mihi ann(orum) XVI / virgo ad virgine(m) cuius numquam amaritudinem habui. / Cesque in pace cum sanctis cum quos mereris / dep(ositus) VIII kal(endas) ian(arias).
--	390–425	[Locus Si]mplici / lectoris.
girl 12 y. buried in his place	462 or 482	Locus Auctusti / lectoris de Bela/bru / dep(osita) Surica XVI kal(endas) aug(ustas) / que vixit annos / p(lus) m(inus) XII cons(ulatu) / Seberini.
--	567	hic requiescit Maximinus lector tituli sanctorum / Iohannis et Pauli martyr[um] dulcis amicus omnium letus / e[st] semper cum omnibus [vicinis?] suos qui vixit annus XX et m(enses) octo / depositus in pace [VI idus] aprilis ante pridie pascae imperante / domno nostro Iustino p(ater)p(ater) [v]ict(ore) an[no] secun[do] anima tua in luce / [iterum] eodem consulem / et in pace aeternam et oret p[ro] nob[is] ani[ma] tua.
--	?	[---] lector [---]
ipse, for his wife	326–375	Proficius lect(or) et exorc(ista) / Istercoriae coniugi b(ene) m(erenti) / se vivo fec(it) cum q(ua) vixit annos VI d(ies) XXVI.
religious community	?	Eugamio lectori virgini in p[ro]p[ri]a / qui vixit annis [XXX]VIII m(ense) II dies XXIII / cu[m] titulum? presbyter Generosus una c[um] patribus et frat[ribus] posuit / [de]positus XIII k(al)endas aprilis.
--	4 s.	Olympio / lectoris de / d(ominico) Eusebi / locus est.
--	?	Deposito Pauli lectoris / d(eposito) V id(us) oct[obris].
--	4 s.	I[---]io I lectori / [---] an[no]s XXVI m(ensibus) / [---] id(us) aug(ustas).
--	350–399	[---] / [---] II mensis X diebus [---] / [---]simo lecto[ri].

n.	References	Provenance	Name	Age
60.	<i>ICUR</i> VI 17106	ditto	Paulus	maior aetas
61.	<i>ICUR</i> VI 17224a	ditto	?	?
62.	<i>ICUR</i> VI 17293; <i>ICaRoma</i> 131; Carletti I 123	ditto	Primigenius, Navigius	--
63.	<i>ICUR</i> VII 19994; <i>ILCV</i> 1272	ditto	Hilarius	± 30
64.	<i>ICUR</i> VIII 21026; <i>ILCV</i> 1265a	ditto	Favor	--
65.	<i>ICUR</i> VIII 22390; <i>ILCV</i> 1265b	ditto	Claudius Atticianus	--
66.	<i>ILCV</i> 972; <i>ICUR</i> 9.24832. Carletti 1.61	ditto	Siricius	--
67.	<i>ICUR</i> IX 24861; <i>ILCV</i> 1267	ditto	?	?
68.	<i>ICUR</i> IX 25810	ditto	?	?
69.	<i>ICUR</i> X 26679; <i>ILCV</i> 1274a	ditto	Rufinus	± 31
70.	<i>ICUR</i> X 26863; <i>ILCV</i> 1272	ditto	?	?
71.	<i>ILCV</i> 970; Damaso p. 112	ditto	?	--
72.	<i>ILCV</i> 1273 ; <i>ICUR</i> II p. 309.	ditto	Gemmulus	± 16 y. 6 m.
73.	<i>RAC</i> 1980, 252; <i>AE</i> 1981, 116	ditto	Victor	24 y. 11 m. 9 d.
74.	<i>AE</i> 1946, 26b; <i>Haidra</i> 1, 74	Africa Proconsularis, Ammaedara	Donatus	--
75.	<i>AE</i> 1946, 59a	Africa Proconsularis, Theveste	Donatus	--
76.	<i>AE</i> 1975, 929; <i>Haidra</i> I 203	Africa Proconsularis, Ammaedara	Teophilus (?)	--
77.	<i>AE</i> 1995, 1738	Africa Proconsularis, Theveste	?	--
78.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 55 (p. 2313); <i>ILCV</i> 1284; <i>ILTun</i> 104	Africa Proconsularis, Thysdrus	Iulius Sabinus	± 56 y ? m.

Dedicators	Date	Text
--	390–425	Hic sanctum corpus lectoris Pauli quiescit / caelo tamen animam cum iustis credo receptam. / Integer ut infans maior sic creverat aetas / mundus ab omni labe [tamen] fide purior esset. / Nobis a proavis procerum de stirpe creatus / ducere qui nihilum voluit mundi huius honores.
--	?	[---] et [---] / [---] lecto[r---] / [---].
mentioned as father and grandfather	390–425	Primicenia filia Pri/miceni lectoris et Asel/les pronep(tis) v(iri) s(ancti) Cresimi epis/copi nep(tis) v(iri) s(ancti) Navigi lectoris / vicsit annos II et <d>ies XXX / decessit XIII kal(endas) nob(embres).
--	528	Hic requiescit in pace Hilarius lictor (i)t(uli) Pudeniis / qui vixit ann(os) pl(us) m(inus) XXX d(e)p(ositus) VII idus iul(ias) p(ost) c(onsulatum) Maborti v(iri) c(larissimi).
--	3 s.	Favor Favor lector.
together with wife	300–350	Claudius Atticia/nus lector / et Claudia / Felicissima / coixus.
--	399	Liberium lector mox et levita secutus / post Damasum clarus totos quos vixit in annos / fonte sacro magnus meruit sedere sacerdos / cunctus ut populus pacem tunc soli clamaret. / Hic pius hic iustus felicia tempora fecit / defensor magnus multos ut nobiles ausus / regi subtraheret ecclesiae aula defendens / miseriors largus meruit per saecula nomen / ter quinos populum qui rexit in annos amore / nunc requiem sentit caelestia regna potitus.
two brothers, one lector	348	Depositus est Petrus VIII idus / [mar]tias qui vixit annis XVIII / dep(ositus) in pace Philippo et Salia / co(n)ss(ulibus) duo fratres / I[---] antius I lector de Pallacine qui vixit / [annis --- d]ep(ositus) XII kal(endas) sept(embres).
--	390–424	[---] / lect[or ---] / p[---]
--	402	[Hi]c requiescet Rufinus lector / qui vixit ann(os) p(lus) m(inus) XXXI / [dep]ositus in pace III idus sept / [Ar]cadio et Honorio augg(ustis) V cons(ulibus).
--	5 s.	[--- beneme]renti in p[ace ---] / [--- lec]tori titul[i ---] / [---deposi]t(us) VI id[us ---].
--	366–384	Hinc pater exceptor lector levita sacerdos / creverat hinc meritis quoniam melioribus actis / hinc mihi provecto Christus cui summa potestas / sedis apostolicae voluit concedere honorem / archivis fateor volui nova condere tecta / addere praeterea dextra laevaue columnas / quae Damasi teneant proprium per saecula nomen.
two women	5–6 s.	[L]ocum quem emit Redempta h(onesta) f(emina) / [cum B]onifatia hic requiescit in pace / Gemmulus lictor tt(ituli)) s(an)c(ta)e martyris Caeciliae qui vixit annos plus minus XVI m(enses) VI de/positus est in pace pridie K(a)l(endas) Octobris / per indictione prima feliciter / et si quis (e) um praesumpserit inde / de locum istum et ossa ipsorum inde / iactaverint habeant parte cum Iuda.
--	350–399	Victor lector qui (v)ixit / ann(os) XXIII m(enses) XI d(ies) VIII / in pace X(Christi).
--	?	Donatus lector depositus / est in pace sub die XIV / Kalendas Maias indict[i] one octaba mense Aprile/s.
--	?	Dona/tus / lec/tor / in /pace.
--	6–7 s.	Locus Teauf(?)il(?)[i](!) [.]OB[...] / lectori(?).
--	?	----- / l[ec]/t[or] / i[n] / pa[ce].
--	4–6 s.	Iulius / Sabinus / lec[t]or vi/xit in pace / ann(os) LVI / p(lus) m(inus) me(nses!) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st).

n.	References	Provenance	Name	Age
79.	<i>CIL VIII 453</i> (p. 926); <i>VIII 11524</i> ; <i>ILCV 1285</i> ; <i>Haidra I 404</i> ; <i>ILTun 429</i>	Africa Proconsularis, Ammaedara	Vitalis	5
80.	<i>CIL VIII 13422</i> ; <i>ILCV 1286</i>	Africa Proconsularis, Carthago	Deusededit	--
81.	<i>CIL VIII 13423</i> ; <i>ILCV 1286</i>	ditto	Mena	38
82.	<i>CIL VIII 13424</i> ; <i>ILCV 1286</i>	ditto	?	?
83.	<i>CIL VIII 13425</i> ; <i>ILCV 1286</i>	ditto	?	?
84.	<i>CIL VIII 23045</i> ; <i>ILCV 1286a</i> ; <i>ILTun 221</i> ; <i>AE 2007, 1696</i>	Africa Proconsularis, Uppenna	Quintus	22 y. 1 m. 17 d.
85.	<i>CIL VIII 25055</i> ; <i>ILCV 1286</i>	Africa Proconsularis, Carthago	?	?
86.	<i>AE 1946, 26a</i> ; <i>Haidra I 63</i>	Africa Proconsularis, Ammaedara	Iohannes	6 y. 8 d.
87.	<i>AE 1946, 26c</i> ; <i>Haidra I 108</i> ; <i>CICBardo 41</i>	ditto	Castalinus	6 y. 4 m.
88.	<i>AE 2009, 1701</i> ; <i>Haidra III, C, 4</i>	ditto	Redentus	13 y. 5 m. 14 d.
89.	<i>IFCCarth I 94</i> ; <i>ILTun 1147</i>	Africa Proconsularis, Carthago	Volitanus	--
90.	<i>IFCCarth I 241</i> ; <i>ILTun 1147</i>	Africa Proconsularis, Carthago	Quintus	?
91.	<i>ILAlg II 3, 8283</i>	Numidia, Cuicul	Pacentius	--
92.	<i>ILAlg II 3, 10324</i>	Numidia, Sila	Georgius	24
93.	<i>ILTun 1121</i> ; <i>IFCCarth 3.402</i>	Africa Proconsularis, Carthago	Bonifatius	?
94.	<i>ILTun 1122</i> ; <i>IFCCarth 3.609</i> ; <i>AE 1993, 62</i>	ditto	Cresconius	12 y. 9 m.
95.	<i>ILTun 1701</i>	ditto	Iulianus Venerius (?)	?
96.	Cintas-Duval 1958, p. 170	Africa Proconsularis, Clipea	Passibus	14
97.	<i>AE 1975, 588</i> ; <i>CAG 7, p. 179</i>	Gallia Narbonensis, Alba Helviorum	?	?
98.	<i>CIL XII 1156</i> ; <i>AE 1973, 328</i>	Gallia Narbonensis, Apta Iulia	--	--
99.	<i>CIL XII 2701</i> ; <i>ILCV 1280</i> ; <i>CAG VII, p. 436</i>	Gallia Narbonensis, Alba Helviorum	Severus	13
100.	<i>CIL XIII 2385</i> ; <i>ILCV 1287</i> ; <i>CAG LXIX 2, p. 670</i>	Lugdunensis, Lugdunum	Stefanus	66
101.	<i>CIL XIII 2799</i> ; <i>ILCV 1281</i> (add); <i>CLE 2197</i> ; <i>CAG LXXI 1, p. 175</i>	Lugdunensis, Augustodunum	Tigridius	(puer)
102.	<i>CIL XIII 7636</i> ; <i>ILCV 1282</i> ; <i>Binsfeld 2, p. 59</i> ; <i>Terrien 2007, p 92</i> .	Germania Superior, Confluentes	Leopardus	19

Dedicators	Date	Text
--	?	Vitalis / lector / in pace / vixit / annis V / depositus / s(ub) d(i)e III No/nas Ma/ias ind(ictione) pri/ma.
--	4–6 s.	Deusedit / lector / [in] pa[ce].
--	4 s.	Mena lect(or) reg(ione) qu[arta(?) or inta (?)] / fidelis in pace vixit / annos XXXVIII d(e)p(ositus) Id(us) / [--- i]nd(ictione) prima.
--	4 s.	----- fid[elis ---] / [---]us lec[tor -----]
--	4 s.	-----]us l[ector-----]
--	6 s.	Quint/us lec/tor vix/it anno/s XXII e/t mense(m) / unu(m) dies XVII.
--	4 s.	-----]tor lec[tor-----]
--	?	Iohannes lector / quiebit in pace vixit / annis sex dies VIII / d(e)p(o)s(i)t(u)s su(b) d(ie) Idus Iulias
--	?	Castalinu/s lector qui/ebit in pace / vixit annis / sex menses IIII / d(e)p(o)s(itus) (e)st su(b)d(ie) prizie Ka/l(endas) Ianuarias ind(ictione) III.
--	5–7 s.	Redentus / lector requi/ebit in pace / bixit annis(!) / XIII menses / V dies XIIIII de/positus est / sub d(ie) Idus Iu/lias ind(ictione) XV.
together with two <i>fideles</i>	?	Pascasius f[idelis ---] / Volitanus l[ector ---] / Felicitas f[delis ---] // depositus(?) ---]II Kal(endas) April(es) / [---] d(e)p(ositus) VII Id(us) Nob(embres).
--	?	KIII fac[---] / Eulalius [---] // Quintu[s lect]/or(?) in pac[e ---].
--	6 s.	I(n) n(omin)e d(omi)ni ame(n) Pacentius (?) lector in D(e)o bibat.
father	6–7 s.	Hic locum Georgi / miseri lectori(s) filius / Tiberi et Capri(a)e (e)gl(e)s(iae) / quiebit in pace d(ie) VIII / K(a)l(en)d(as) A(u)gustas in(dictione) X vix(it) / ann(os) XXIIII.
--	4–6 s.	Benen[atus? in] / pace vixit [annos ---] / d(e)p(ositus?) II Id(us) {II} No[vembres Bo]/mifatiu(s) lecto[r ---] / [---] in pace.
--	?	Cresconius lector r(e)gion(is) prim(a)e / in pace vixit ann(o)s XI mens(es) [(novem) / d(e)p(ositu)s (decem et novem) K(a)l(endas) Ianuarias ind(ic)t(ione) (decem et novem).
--	?	----- Iulia[nus?] / Venerius / [---] llc[tor(?) i]n pace.
--	5 s. (?)	Passibus / lector in pace / vixit ann(os) XIII / r(e)q(ui)escit XI k(a)l(endas) Oct(o)b(res).
--	?	----- l]ector / [--- m]emor[ia -----]
--	6–7 s.	Hic requiescit bon(a)e memori(a)e Lector obiit in Chr(ist)o / fuit defunctus XIII K(alendas) Ian(uarias).
--	6 s.	In hoc tomolo / requiescet bon/(a)e (me)moriae Severus / lectur ennocens / qui vixit in pace an/nis tredecem) obiit d(ecimo) Kal(endas) Decemb/res.
--	23 Nov 552	In hoc loco requiescit / famolus D(e)i Stefanus primicirius / sc(h)olae lectorum serviens c(c)l(esiae) / Lug(u)duninsi vixit annos LXVI / obiit VIII K(a)l(endas) Decembris duodecies p(ost) c(onsulatum) / Iustini indictione XV.
--	5–6 s.	[Hic i]acet Tigridius cas/tus puer et l]ector(?) ieix (!) / (s)impirqui (!) beatus qui / per saeculum sini sai/cuii (!) colpacioni / transivii (!) s(ub) [d(ie)] XI pai(endas) (!) / Mart(ias) in pace pprocessii (!).
father	6–7 s.	Hic requiescet(!) Leupa/dus lector amatus / gratus in fede prova/tus(!) qui vixit annus(!) / XVIII cui pater Leuninus / [-----]

III: NOTES ON THE INSCRIPTIONS

In order to let the evidence speak for itself as much as possible, I have chosen to offer full quotations of all the inscriptions, except for **34**. Every text is quoted after careful consideration of all editions mentioned. In more than one case, I have been able to offer readings that are more accurate than what is offered in the – admittedly essential and invaluable – online databases. In general, I have refrained from ‘correcting’ the Latin of the inscriptions with indications such as <B =V>*enustus*, and just offered the reading of the inscriptions, in this case *Benustus*. Needless to say, the commentary provides the place for explanations and clarifications wherever needed.

I have consistently used the abbreviations as they are found in the *Manfred Clauss Epigraphik Datenbank*. Books or articles that are mentioned only once in the commentary are quoted in full at that place in the paper. For other works, I refer to the bibliography at the end of the article for full references.

I have mainly followed the geographical distribution of the *CIL*, which has resulted in the following classification (for the sake of convenience, the South of Italy has been put together with the inscriptions from the North of Italy):

1–2	Spain and Portugal
3–5	Balkan provinces
6–33	Italy, Rome excepted
34–73	Rome
74–96	African provinces
97–102	Gaul and the Germanic provinces

The listing of the inscriptions within the different regions enables the reader to track down a reference in a quick and easy way. The starting points are *CIL* and *ICUR*. When an inscription does not exist in either of these, the reader first has to look for *AE*, and then for other editions, in alphabetical order. This classification also means that most of the inscriptions from the same location (e.g. a particular church or archaeological site) have been put together. In rare exceptions, the commentary will sufficiently make clear which inscriptions belong together.

Any other classification would involve unnecessary complications: the dating of the inscriptions is often unsure, the majority of the cases do not mention the age of the lector, and the typology of the monuments is often too uncertain to classify them in a way that makes consulting easy.

Needless to say, any selection involves some choices. I have included some cases in which the presence of a lector is somewhat doubtful (**8**, **57**, **83**, and **97**); in the commentary, I explain the reason for such choice.

Commentary

1. The grave plate for this lector was in the main choir of basilica I. A tilde occurs above the word *lector* (see 3).
2. This marble plaque from Mertola is now in the Museo Etnografico in Lisbonne. See Leclercq (1929, col. 2259–2260) who strongly stresses the young age of the lector (as opposed to the legislation of Emperor Justinian) and offers literary parallels for young lectors in his commentary on this particular inscription.
3. Fragments of a side of a limestone sarcophagus. The present reading is based on a careful study of the fragment and photo as they appear in the Salona edition from 2010. It differs from the overly reconstructed readings in the *CIL* volumes. The editors note that the tilde on the word *lector* might have been a way to mark the importance of the function. Tentatively, one might understand the beginning as: *In hunc sepulcrum pausat / [...] vinianus lecto[r...]*
4. This is the only bilingual inscription in the collection, coming from a bilingual province as Macedonia. Note that the Latin text is not a translation of the Greek. Though the Latin and the Greek state different things, both emphasise that Eufrosynus was a good and trustworthy friend to have (the rather rare word ἀκράδαντος means “unshaken”).
5. Cover of a sarcophagus, which has later been reused for a medieval grave.
6. From the basilica of Saint Felix and Fortunatus in Vicenza, on a limestone plate.
7. Marble plate of unknown origin, now in a private collection in Cagliari.
8. The presence of a lector on this inscription is far from sure. This inscription is on the mosaic floor of the Dom Sant’ Eufemia in Grado near Aquileia, which was built onto an older church, starting from 568, after the inhabitants of Aquileia fled from the Langobard invasion. The church was dedicated in 579. Zettler (2001, 95) notes that about 80 inscriptions are preserved on the mosaic pavement, most of which have never been edited properly. The pavement was constructed between 571/2 and 586/7. This fragmentary inscription on the mosaic floor has been interpreted time and again as referring to a lector who made a vow together with his family and paid for a part of the mosaic floor. Though the picture of the pavement is available, previous editors have proposed various and erroneous readings. Zettler (2001, 195–196) comes the closest to what is actually on the photograph. The male name Amara is very rare. Kajanto (1965, 106) mentions it as from a Celtic area, and thus probably Celtic. There may indeed be support for the reading of Amara as a local name. In fact, a mosaic inscription found in the old basilica of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Grado, which has been excavated under the Dom Sant’ Eufemia and which is dated to the fifth or sixth century, reads *Amara et Valentina/nus feceru/nt pedes XXVI* (*EMC* p. 205; Zettler 2001, 208; *AE* 1975, 419d). The name Amara may thus testify of “une implantation locale assez durable” (*EMC* p. 224). However, other readings are possible. One could interpret the sixth letter as a trace of the leg of the letter N. The *cognomen* Amaranth(us) is very well attested. See Solin (2003, 1152–1154), with other possibilities as Amaranthis, Amaranthianus or Amaranthio. *PCBE* II, 100 reads the name as Amara.

9. Together with his mother Agneta, the lector Iohannis paid for 25 feet of the mosaic floor of the Dom Sant' Eufemia in Grado. *PCBE* II, 1057.

10. From the same mosaic pavement in Grado. The name Murgio is probably similar to Dalmatian names as Murcius or Murcuius, and may reveal Illyrian origin. See *EMC* p. 224 and Kajanto (1965, 245) on the Roman name Murcus. *PCBE* II, 1525 (Murgio).

11. The restorations to this inscription from Grado are by Diehl in the *ILCV*. The editors of *EMC* judge them as rather probable, though on other inscriptions from the mosaic floor, *actuarius* is attested as a term for a secretary, rather than *amanuensis*. *Domestigi* might be a variant for *domestici*. The proposed reading confirms a lector in the state of a rather important administrator, in this case to the church of Saint Eufemia. *PCBE* II, 2007–2008 (Seco[laris?]).

12. From the same mosaic pavement in Grado. Zettler (2001, 202) is far too pessimistic about the “problematische Überlieferung”. On the second line the words *fil(ius) cum* appear clearly on the photograph. *EMC* p. 241 mentions the possibility of reading *fil(io) cum Antonino*, in which case Victorinus would mention his son Antoninus. Though this reading can certainly not be excluded, the inversion in the word order would be somewhat unusual. *PCBE* II, 2294 sees Victorinus as the son and Antoninus as the father (*PCBE* II, 156).

13. This epitaph was found under the present-day cathedral of Cremona. On the change of the vocalism, which caused *lector* to become *lictur*, see A. Zamboni 1965–1966, “Contributo allo studio del latino epigrafico della X Regio augustea (Venetia et Histria). Introduzione. Fonetica (Vocalismo)”, *AIV* 124: 484–485 and A. Zamboni 1967–1968, “Contributo allo studio del latino epigrafico della X Regio augustea (Venetia et Histria). Fonetica (Vocali in iato e consonantismo)”, *AIV* 126: 84. For the precise dating, see G. Pontiroli 1986, “Antica epigrafa inedita nei magazzini di archeologia del Museo Civico di Cremona”, *Epigraphica* 48: 239. *PCBE* II, 2123. See also Leclercq (1929, col. 2257).

14. In this inscription of considerable historic importance, one finds the name of the third bishop of Brescia. In fact, Flavius Latinus succeeded Viator and was the predecessor of bishop Apollonius. His ecclesiastical *cursus honorum* is mentioned. He served twelve years as an exorcist (the highest of the minor ordinations; for another mention of an exorcist and lector, see 54), then fifteen years as a *presbyter*, followed by three years and seven months as a bishop. *InscrIt* suggests that Latinilla was the sister of the bishop, in which case Flavia Paulina, daughter to Latinilla and Flavius Macrinus, was the bishop's niece (*neptis*). If one would understand *neptis* as granddaughter, it would mean that the bishop was married (Flavius Macrinus was probably his son) – a rather unlikely case. The inscription is now lost and only known from a manuscript. *PCBE* II, 1348. See also Leclercq (1929, col. 2246).

15. Epitaph from the church of San Feliciano. As *InscrIt* indicates, *mensa* refers to a funerary table to receive the votive offerings. In epitaphs from Roman Africa *mensa* often means the tomb itself. *PCBE* II, 1848 and Leclercq (1929, col. 2258).

16. *PCBE* II, 82 reads *Alb<i>nus* rather than *Alb<a>nus*.

17. The text of this inscription has been reconstructed by putting together six pieces of a marble slab found in the ‘crypts’ *Le Grotte* in present day Mirabella Eclano (Avellino). The inscription is now preserved in a private collection. See *PCBE* II, 1237 and Leclercq (1929, col. 2259). Leclercq rightfully remarks that a number of churches in Late Antiquity gave themselves the title *sancta*.

18. This stone is now lost. Note the several spelling errors, particularly iu]dioum for iudicium. Though the inscription has pertained to Lauro (Avellino) before 1757 and to Mugnano (Avellino) at the monastery of S. Pietro a Cesarano afterwards, its ancient provenance is Nola, in present day Naples. See Leclercq (1929, col. 2257) and H. Solin 2013. “Le iscrizioni paleocristiane di Avellino”, in S. Accomando (ed.), *San Modestino e l’Abellinum cristiana*, Avellino, 215–236, 227 and 236.

19. This epitaph belonged to the Complesso Basilicale di S. Felice, in present day Naples, but is now lost. *PCBE* II, 2385. See also Leclercq (1929, col. 2257).

20. From the monastery of San Pietro (now Complesso Monumentale) at Marsala. The stone now seems to be lost. The formula huius ecclesiae makes the reading lector certain. Leclercq (1929, col. 2257).

21. Marble slab, found in Cagliari, presumably in the church of Sant’Efsio. Now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale of the same town. See *PCBE* II, 1897.

22. Marble fragment from an unspecified provenance in Rimini. The stone is now lost. See *PCBE* II, 479 and Leclercq (1929, col. 2259).

23–24. Both inscriptions belong to the church of Santa Felicità in present day Florence. The former can still be read in the portal of the church, while the latter belongs to the necropolis. We possibly are confronted with two young lectors from the same school. Together with Vitalis (79), Pompeius Lupicinus would be the youngest lector in our records, though there is a chance that part of the left side of the slab has broken off, so that the numeral V needs to be completed by another numeral. In fact, *CIL* XI 1709 consists of ten broken pieces of marble which were reassembled. See *PCBE* II, 1148 (Iovianus) and *PCBE* II, 1340 (Lipicinus). Leclercq (1929, col. 2258) emphasises the lector’s young age. On Fundanius, Leclercq (1929, col. 2259).

25. The presence of a Christian monogram confirms that this fragmentary inscription indeed refers to a Christian lector.

26. This is the only Latin epigraphical attestation of the word *psalmista*.

27. Marble slab from Cagliari, near the San Saturnino church. The stone is now kept at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Cagliari.

28. This mosaic floor belonged to an annex building of the basilica of Sant’ Eufemia. This building had been constructed by the bishop Helios. The archaeological context of this inscription is quite revealing. In the centre of the floor, a large inscription in the form of a medallion mentions bishop Helios, who reveals himself as the builder of the church (Zettler 2001, 204). Around this central medallion are five smaller medallions mentioning those who contributed to the costs by an *ex voto*. Next to the lector Lautus are

mentioned, on separate medallions, the deacon Laurentius (Zettler 2001, 205), the *notarii* Petrus, Dominicus, and Iustinus (Zettler 2001, 205). Below it are other medallions: a votum by a *notarius* called Irenaius (Zettler 2001, 204), a *cubicularius* (?) called Firminus (?) together with his family (*cum suis*), a man named Honoratus (?) *cum suis* (Zettler 2001, 204), and a certain Probus (Zettler 2001, 205). On the lector Lautus, see *PCBE* II, 1267 and Leclercq (1929, col. 2258).

29–30. Both inscriptions are on mosaic floors. The former was found in the basilica of Sant' Eufemia, the latter in a street, ulica M. Laginje. The inscription for Eraclius reads *tector* (“plasterer”), a plausible possibility in the context of a church building. Some editors consider it a writing error for *lector*, because numerous names of lectors are attested on mosaic floors. *PCBE* II, 658 reads *lector*; see also *PCBE* II, 1234 for Eraclius' wife Laurentia.

31. Marble slab from the necropolis of the Santa Felicita church in Florence. The stone is now lost.

32. It is difficult to find out where this stone slab originally belonged, since it was found in a private house in the city of Venosa.

33. On a mosaic floor of the San Cazian di Isonzo church near Aquileia. Again, the mosaic is placed at the west side, near the entrance of the aula of the church. The name of the lector might have been Domnius or Domnicus.

34. Only the first ten lines have been given in the table from this long sixth-century *carmen epigraphicum*, found on the Via Salaria on a pope's grave. The author of the poem is probably Flavianus de Vercelli. The subject of the poem is bishop Honoratus of Vercelli, who was exiled together with bishop Eusebius of Vercelli in the context of the struggle between Athanasius of Alexandria and Emperor Constantius II in the mid-fourth century. This *carmen* fits with the tradition of exilic poetry on epigraphic documents. See M. Vallejo Girvés 2007, “Exilios y exiliados a partir de la epigrafía: un caso peculiar de movilidad geográfica”, in M. Mayer i Olivé – G. Baratta – A. Guzmán Almagro (eds.), *XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae*, Barcelona, 1477–1482. For the present subject, it is revealing that being a lector is closely connected to Honoratus' early childhood and later also to his adolescence. Deacon, levite, and priest are mentioned as following steps in the ecclesiastical *cursus honorum*. Note that *diaconus* and *levita* are synonyms: the repetition is for metrical reasons.

35. Small fragment of a marble slab, found in the crypt of the San Clemente church.

36. Marble slab, found in a wall of the monastery of San Cosimato in Trastevere. See Pietri (1977, 149).

37. This *titulus sepulcralis* from the *Santa Maria Maggiore* is now lost.

38. Since the origin of this fragment is unknown, it remains uncertain whether this is a Christian inscription or a pagan one for a lictor. See Silvagni in *ICUR*, quoting de Rossi, who writes: *suspikor detritas litteras fuisse et legendum 'l<e>ctor'; ceterum lictorum tituli haud rari sunt, et fragmentum fortasse est ethnicae inscriptionis.*

39. Marble slab in the Santa Saba church. Pietri (1977, 143) suggests that Megalus was the name of this lector.
40. The stone is now lost and of unknown provenance in Rome, but it links lector Leopardus with the Santa Pudenziana church. See Pietri (1977, 468, 635 and 720) and Leclercq (1929, col. 2252).
41. This slab was found below the floor of the San Paolo fuori le Mura, and is now at the Musei Vaticani, Lapidario Cristiano ex Lateranense. Fasciola was established as a place of worship during the pontificate of Pope Damasus (364–384). See Leclercq (1929, col. 2252). The *titulus Fasciolae* was the church inside the walls of the martyrs Nereus and Achilles in the catacombs of Domitilla. See Pietri (1977, 92, 466, 635, 649 and 720). On Christian euergetism and support to the poor, quite often mentioned on epitaphs of benefactors, see Janssens (1981, 191–193).
42. Marble slab in the basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura. See Leclercq (1929, col. 2256).
43. Marble slab belonging to the Cemetery of Commodilla.
44. Also this marble plate was found inside the walls of the martyr's tombs of Nereus and Achilles in the catacombs of Domitilla. What has remained consists of two fragments that do not fit together, but surely belonged to the same plate. Pietri (1977, 149) attributes an incorrect age to Julius “mort dans le lectorat à 83 ans, mais on ne sait pas s'il a été marié”. Leclercq (1929, col. 2250–2251) points to the remarkable date of 362, during the reign of Emperor Julian the Apostate. In this year, the emperor had given freedom to the Nicean bishops who had been exiled by Emperor Constans. The mention of *Ecclesia Sancta Catholica* might thus have been used in a triumphalistic way. In *ICUR IX 24435*, the wording *exorcista de katolika* possibly points to the ‘orthodoxy’ of the deceased, at the moment Church was facing schisms.
45. Marble plate, with same provenance as 41 and 44. See Pietri (1977, 719 and 835), who considers Pascentius as a Christian name, testifying to a vocation for the lectorate at a young age (also Kajanto 1965, 358 on the Christian origin of the name). See also Leclercq (1929, col. 2252).
46. This marble plaque was integrated into the portico of the Santa Maria in Trastevere church, but originally belonged to the catacombs of San Callisto, where it was the back side of a sarcophagus. It is now kept in the Musei Vaticani, Lapidario Cristiano ex Lateranense. The text of this inscription is flawed. One possibility is that Heraclius has this gravestone set up for himself (*sibi*) and for his son who predeceased him. In this case, the verb ought to be *fecit*. On the other hand, *fecerunt* suggests that other family members set this up for the deceased father and son. But in that case, the nominative *Heraclius* does not make sense. Heraclius was apparently a lector of the second region. See Pietri (1977, 119, 149 and 655 “il s’agit (...) du domicile”). According to the *Liber Pontificalis* 4,2 Christian Rome was divided into seven regions. However, the ‘regions’ could also be the fourteen Augustan regions, which survived in the City of Rome of the Early Middle Ages, see Spera (2014). See Leclercq (1929, col. 2251) who understands that the parents had set this up for their deceased son Heraclius (“les noms des parents manquent”).

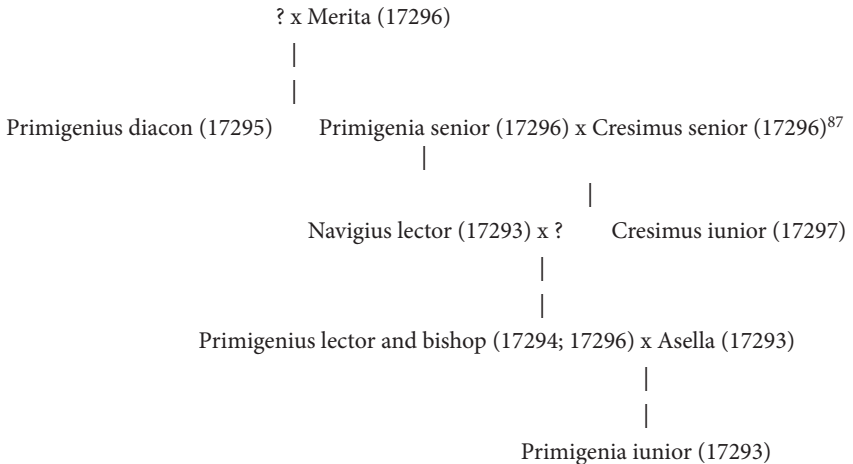
47. The text has the letter R represented by P, mistakenly confused with the Greek *rho*. Pietri (1977, 149).
48. This inscription is scratched on plaster (almost as a graffito) and stems from an anonymous cemetery on the Via Appia, near the cemetery of Callisto. It records the *titulus Sabinae*, the modern church of Santa Sabina, where young Domnio was a lector. See Marucchi (1912, 212) and Leclercq (1929, col. 2256), who locates the inscription at the cemetery of Balbina on the Via Appia. See also Pietri (1977, 635, 709 and 719) who considers Domnio as a Christian name (cf. Kajanto 1965, 362).
49. This marble inscription from the same cemetery refers to a house church which was probably located near or in a laundry (*fullonica*). See Marucchi (1912, 213) and Leclercq (1929, col. 2256), pointing to medieval texts mentioning a *fullonica* near the Via Merulana. See also Pietri (1977, 635 and 720). The inscription is exceptional because it refers to both the betrothal and marriage of a Christian couple, in which the wording *virgo ad virginem* is a marker of Christianity. See Laes (2013, 113 and 115).
50. This inscription is simply scratched on plaster, and comes from the same cemetery as 48 and 49. The name Simplicius is mainly used by Christians, see Pietri (1977, 143 and 149) and Kajanto (1965, 253).
51. This marble slab was found on the Via Appia and is now at the Musei Vaticani, Lapidario Cristiano ex Lateranense. This lector belonged to the church of the Velabrum, the modern San Giorgio in Velabro. See Marucchi (1912, 213), Leclercq (1929, col. 2253–2255) and Pietri (1977, 635).
52. A reused stone: the other part of this marble slab includes a grave inscription from the year 341.
53. Fragment of a marble slab from the cemetery of Praetextatus at the Via Appia.
54. For another mention of an exorcist, though not combined with the function of lector, see 14. See Pietri (1977, 139, 149, 635, 695 and 720) who mentions Proficius as a predominantly Christian name (cf. Kajanto 1965, 286).
55. In the cemetery of Saints Petrus and Marcellinus. A *presbyter*, together with fathers and brothers, commemorated the 38-year-old lector Eugamius. This mention of *patres* and *fratres* as well as the noun *virgo* strongly suggests that Eugamius lead a consecrated life somehow bound by religious vows. See Laes (2013, 112).
56. This *titulus sepulchralis* of sandstone also pertains to the cemetery of Saints Petrus and Marcellinus. Lector Olympius belonged to the *titulus Eusebii*, nowadays Sant' Eusebio. See Leclercq (1929, col. 2256) and Pietri (1977, 635).
57. Fragment of a marble slab, same provenance as 55. The restitution *l[ectoris]* is obviously unsure, but suggested because of the context and the location, and because of the name Paulus (see 60).
58. Same provenance as 55. See Leclercq (1929, col. 2256), suggesting that also this lector would have belonged to the Sant' Eusebio (see 56).

59. Fragment of a marble slab, Same provenance as 55

60. In this funerary epigram, again with provenance as 55, it is stated that the lector Paulus was already an adult (*maior aetas*), but had kept the innocence and integrity of a child (*infans*). This moral integrity also appears from the fact that, though of high class family, he never wanted to pursue a worldly career (*mundi huius honores*). On the theme of modesty and innocence in Christian poetic inscriptions, see Laes (2011, 322–323). On the Christian name Paulus, see Pietri (1977, 149 and 719) and Kajanto (1965, 286).

61. Fragment of a marble slab, Same provenance as 55.

62. Thanks to five inscriptions found in a cemetery on the Via Praenestina, we are able to reconstruct the genealogical tree of a family of Cypriot origin which made an ecclesiastical career in Rome (the numbers in brackets below indicate the *ICUR VI* references for the person mentioned).



Primigenia died at age two. She was a daughter of Primigenius, a lector who would later become a bishop, and Asella. Her grandfather Navigius also was a lector. As a title, *sanctus* predominantly combines with names of bishops or martyrs, but it could also be used for priests or monks still alive, as the process of canonisation was not known before the thirteenth century. In fact, it could be used to denote that a person (or a place) was venerable, see Delahaye (1909). The same counts for her great-grandfather Cresimus, who had been a lector and a bishop at the same church. See also Pietri (1977, 635 and 720).

⁸⁷ Mentioned as lector and bishop in two Greek inscriptions, respectively *ICUR VI* 17296 (Χρήσιμος ἀναγνώστης) and *ICUR VI* 17297 (Χρήσιμος υἱὸς Χρησίμου ἐπισκόπου Κύπριος), where Cresimus iunior is mentioned in the nominative.

63. A marble slab from the catacombs of Saint Hippolytus. This lector belonged to the *titulus Pudentis*, nowadays Santa Pudenziana. Note the mistaken spellings: *licitor* instead of *lector*, and *Pudeniis* for *Pudentis*, with the capital *T* confused with the capital *I*. See Leclercq (1929, col. 2255).

64. This is a possibly the earliest mention of a Christian lector. The inscription was found *in situ* in the cemetery of Sant' Agnesa on the Via Nomentana. See Marucchi (1912, 214). This rather long plaque (1.81 m. length and 0.50 m. height) covered a *loculus* containing two bodies: the skeletal remains of two adults in perfect state of conservation have been found. This also explains the repetition of the name Favor, since both deceased adults would have had the same name. For the latter Favor, the sculptor has inserted the letter *v* in suprascript, as from the second century CE on the name was rather pronounced as *Faor*. The depiction of an anchor in combination with the archaeological context makes sure that this is a Christian inscription. Pietri (1977, 149) mentions Favor as an “humble” *cognomen* (cf. Kajanto 1965, 285). See Leclercq (1929, col. 2246), who even dates the inscription to the second century (“certinement au II^e siècle”), referring to Calpetanus Favor, an owner of a factory producing wine casks (*doliaria*), who lived and worked in Rome during the first half of the second century.

65. This *titulus* belonged to the Coemeterium Maius (also known as the Cimiterio Maggiore or Catacomba Maggiore) at the via Nomentana. It is now kept at the Palazzo Ducale of Urbino. Leclercq (1929, col. 2246) suggests a date in the late second century (“presque aussi ancienne” – referring to 64). Pietri (1977, 149) cautiously suggests a third century date, pointing to other examples of the Christian use of the name Atticianus (cf. Kajanto 1965, 203).

66. This Damasian poem mentions the life and career of pope Siricius (384–399) and is located in the cemetery of Priscilla on the Via Salaria Nova. See Leclercq (1929, col. 2249). On the pagan origin of the name Siricius, see Pietri (1977, 153, 468–470 and 719) and Kajanto (1965, 346).

67. This *titulus sepulcralis* belongs to the catacombs of Priscilla. The church of Pallacine is the modern church of San Marco. See Marucchi (1912, 214) and Leclercq (1929, col. 2251–2252). It is not clear whether *fratres* here refers to biological brothers. They may also have belonged to a religious community (see 55).

68. Marble plate from the cemetery of Priscilla.

69. Marble plate belonging to the Coemeterium Bassillae ad Sanctum Hermetem, at the Via Salaria Vetus. See Pietri (1977, 635 and 720).

70. This marble *titulus sepulcralis* belongs to the same Coemeterium. The reading *lectori* is likely, since the word *tituli* suggests affiliation to a church. See Leclercq (1929, col. 2256).

71. “His father, advancing from here – notary, reader, deacon priest – has henceforth grown in merit through exceptional acts. To me, brought from here, Christ, whose power is greatest, wished to grant the honor of the apostolic see. For the archives, I confess, I wished to build a new building, to add as well columns to the left and right, so that they

perceive the proper name of Damasus through the ages". See D. Trout 2015. *Damasus of Rome: The Epigraphic Poetry*, Oxford, 187–189. This poem pertains to the San Lorenzo in Damaso church, the only intra-mural church built by Pope Damasus. It honours Damasus' father, who had pursued a career from notary to priest. This fourth-century church was destroyed in the fifteenth century, and excavations during 1988–1993 have greatly improved our understanding of the building. The Damasian poetic inscription is only known by manuscript tradition. See Leclercq (1929, col. 2249). Scalia has proposed a different reading: not *archibis*, but *arcib(us) his*: "in these arches". See G. Scalia 1977. "Gli 'archiva' di papa Damaso e le biblioteche di papa Ilaro", *StudMed* 18: 39–63.

72. Marble slab from the church of Santa Cecilia. The name Gemmulus is unique. See Rüpke (1995, 1021). Since no kinship relation is indicated, Redempta and Bonifatia were in all likelihood two women benefactors who dedicated this inscription to Gemmulus, a young lector of the church of S. Cecilia.

73. Marble slab from the catacombs of San Callisto (see 46 and 48).

74. The epitaph was found in one of the chapels in the south wall of the main church. This Basilica I is also called the Basilica of the Martyrs or the Basilica of Candidus. Haidra points to the date of 18 April: the sculptor no doubt wanted to indicate that *die XIV Kalendas Maias* was in the month of April.

75. The inscription is on the mosaic pavement of the Christian basilica of Thebesta.

76. This epitaph was found on the south wall of the Basilica I. The letters have almost faded away and are most difficult to read. The name might be Theophilus. *Haidra* I 203 dates this inscription to a later, i.e. Byzantine, phase of the church, as are other inscriptions with the formula *locus*.

77. On a mosaic from the necropolis, mainly pagan, near the basilica.

78. This inscription is now lost. Leclercq (1929, col. 2261–2262) observes that the formula *hic situs est* is less frequent in Christian epitaphs than in their pagan counterparts. *PCBE* I 1020.

79. This inscription was also found at the entrance of the Basilica I, at the south-west wall. *I. Haidra* I 404 notes how the very young age of the lector struck the first *CIL* editors, who suggested a mistake by the sculptor. Vitalis is the youngest lector in our records, together with 32 from Florence. Leclercq (1929, col. 2263) and *PCBE* I 1219–1220.

80–83. These fragments originate from the graveyard of the Christian basilica Damous el-Karita.

80. A broken tablet. Leclercq (1929, col. 2263) and *PCBE* I 274.

81. The indication of a fourth or fifth region probably indicates that the Carthaginian church was divided in different districts, as was the church in Rome (see 46 for Rome, and 94 for another example for Carthage). The Greek name Mena is well attested in the City of Rome. See Solin (2003, 403–404). Leclercq (1929, col. 2263).

82. Fragment of a marble tablet. Leclercq (1929, col. 2263).

- 83.** The restitution to *l[ector]* is of course unsure, but based on the archaeological context.
- 84.** This inscription is on a mosaic floor and is dated before the Vandal invasion of Africa in 439. *PCBE* I 944.
- 85.** This stone also belonged to the graveyard of the Christian basilica *Damus el Karita* (see **80–83**).
- 86.** Stone slab in the main church of *Haidra*.
- 87.** This inscription was originally located in the portal of the main church of *Haidra*, but is now partly in the *Bardo* museum, while the lower part still is *in situ*. The reading of the last part is much debated. While Duval and Prévot in *Haidra* I 108 believe that young *Castalinus* died on the 31st of December, Feraudi in *EDH* reads *su(b) d(ie) PR[---]/IS(?) Iun(ias?) V[---](?)*. The name seems unique. For the city of Rome, Solin (2003, 702 and 1455) mentions the names *Castalianus* and *Castalius*.
- 88.** This inscription belongs to the cemetery of basilica VII of *Haidra*. *AE* 2007, 1701 notes that this is the “cinquième attestation d’un jeune garçon comme lecteur”. In fact, it is the fourth one, since the age of *Donatus* (74) is not attested. *PCBE* I 957 mentions *Redentus* as a vulgarism for the name *Redemptus* (cf. *Haidra* I 204 for a subdiaconus *Redentus* in the basilica H of *Ammaedara*, who died at age 21).
- 89.** This stone consists of two broken parts, which in all likelihood fit together, though this would mean that for the three deceased only two dates of burial are mentioned.
- 90.** These two pieces of the stone probably belong together, which means that the lector *Quintus* would be mentioned together with another person.
- 91.** A graffito on the interior wall of the baptisterium in *Djemila* mentions a lector. Following the edition of *ILAlg* online databases such as the Manfred Claus *Datenbank* and *Trismegistos* still propose the name *Pallasius*, which is attested nowhere else. Originally, in *CRAI* 1922, 404 the proposed reading was *Pacsatius*, also unattested. Févier and Marrou have proposed *Pacentius*, and the name appears as such in *PCBE* I 808. This name too seems to be a hapax.
- 92.** *ILAlg* indicates that this inscription, dated to the end of the sixth or even the seventh century, belongs to the latest testimonies of Latin epigraphy in Numidia. The word *(e)gl(e) s(iae)* ought to be after the term *lector(i)s*. The letter cutter presumably made a mistake, because of the visual similarity of the mother’s name *Capri(a)e*, and fixed his error by adding the term after the name of *Capria*.
- 93.** Epitaph and mosaic in the church of *Bir el Knissia* at *Carthage*. *PCBE* I 162.
- 94.** See **81** on the *Carthaginian* church divided into different regions.
- 95.** This stone is now lost : the combination of the writing *llc[tor]* and the phrasing *i]n pace* makes it reasonable to assume that *Iulianus* was a lector.
- 96.** The excavations of the late ancient church in present day *Kelibia* have revealed a big mosaic floor, in which 55 names are recorded: four priests, two deacons, and one lector for the part of the clerics, and 48 lay persons. *Cintas-Duval* (1958, 174) offer an overview

of the constellation of the floor. All clerics were buried in the apse of the church. Surprisingly, part of these inscriptions has never been mentioned in *AE*, and the present inscription for lector Passibus does not turn up in any online database of Latin inscriptions, though *PCBE* I 830 mentions Passibus. To my knowledge, only Yassin (2005, 456) pays attention to this inscription. The name Passibus appears in *ICUR* III 9064. For Roman Africa, Passivus occurs in Theveste (*ILAlg* I 3450), also in a Christian epitaph.

97. A very fragmentary marble plate, belonging to a Christian epitaph from the necropolis of Saint Pierre in present-day Alba-la-Romaine. The editors indicate that mentions of Christian lectors go back to the beginning of the fourth century in Gallia Narbonensis. To this, one should add that there are not many epigraphical attestations (the editors were obviously inspired by **99**). The restoration *lector* is far from sure.

98. According to Marrou (see *AE* 1973, 328), Lector, formerly the title of a profession, became a proper name in this inscription from the Merovingian period, belonging to a local parish church Saint-Pantaléon in the vicinity of Apt. However, this would be the only instance of the name Lector. Kajanto (1965, 361) cites *Lectrix* as a cognomen, but this is also a rather doubtful example (*CIL* VI 8786: *C]renaei(?) Liviae / Drusi cubic(ularii) ser(vi) / colit ossa eius Cnide / lectrix coniunx eius* – here *lectrix* could very well have been the function of the slave Cnide, partner of Crenaeus (?), who was a slave in the household of Livia). It is just as possible that the name of the deceased lector is omitted in this inscription.

99. This is an epitaph from the archaeological site of Saint-Saturnin de Viviers (Ardèche). The lector Severus died on the 22nd of November. Leclercq (1929, col. 2260). *PCBE* IV 1757.

100. Epitaph from Sain-Irénée in Lyon. Stefanus was the head of a school of *lectores*. *CIL* notes that a school of *lectores* is attested for Lyon in Carolingian times. Quite surprisingly, Leclercq (1929, col. 2261–2262) offers a long digression on earlier mistaken readings of this text, but says nothing on schools of lectors. *PCBE* IV 1829.

101. This stone from Autun is now lost, and only known from transcriptions from the 18th century. The sculptor has frequently mixed up letters, mainly the *I* and the *T*. In lines 1–2 one should read: *felix semperque beatus* and in lines 3–4 *sine saeculi culpacione*. The word *culpacio* obviously points to a late date. Though no age is mentioned, both the term *puer* and the reference to innocence make clear that the deceased lector was still a child. He died on the 22nd of February. Leclercq (1929, col. 2260–2261) and *PCBE* IV 1890.

102. According to *CIL* the inscription is located at the Mittelrhein-Museum in Koblenz, but the stone seems to be lost. Leclercq (1929, col. 2260). *PCBE* IV 1165 restores the name as Leopa[r]dus, as well as the father's name to Leuni[a]nus, but mistakenly states that the father was a lector too.

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**“JUST RAGE”
CAUSES OF THE RISE IN VIOLENCE IN THE EASTERN
CAMPAIGNS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT**

JENNA RICE*

In 325 BCE, Alexander the Great was shot in the lung with an Indian arrow while mounting the wall of a Malli citadel.¹ The Macedonians’ retaliatory massacre of the city’s inhabitants was especially gruesome.² Curtius notes that “anyone the Macedonians encountered they believed responsible for their king’s wounds. Mass slaughter of the enemy finally appeased their just rage.”³ Arrian specifies that the men killed all, “leaving neither woman nor child” (6,11,1). The sources’ emphasis on reciprocal violence is naturally intended to show the Macedonians’ anger and fear because they believed their king to be dead.

Alexander’s near fatal wound explains the violence of only a single siege here, but the siege of this Malli citadel is far from the only act of outstanding brutality committed in India, nor is it the only occurrence of slaughtering non-combatants, including women and children.⁴ Injury to the king cannot be the

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¹ Diod. Sic. 17,98,3; Plut. *Alex.* 63,3–4; Curt. 9,6,9–10; Arr. *Anab.* 6,10,1; Just. *Epit.* 12,9.

² Diod. Sic. 17,98–99; Plut. *Alex.* 63; Curt. 9,5,9–20; Arr. *Anab.* 6,10,3–6,11,1; Just. *Epit.* 12,9.

³ Curt. 9,5,20. All translations of Curtius are Yardley’s (2009), and all other translations come from the Loeb Classical Library.

⁴ The brutality of the Indian campaign is well attested by modern scholars either in their enumeration of enemy casualties in the Indian invasion or their summarizing statements. For example, Worthington (2014, 255) notes that en route home from India, the “Macedonians marched, massacring all in

only cause for the augmented violence during the India campaign. A better explanation for the massacre of the Malli may be drawn from investigating the broader pattern of increasing violence following the fall of the Persian Empire. The Bactrian and Sogdian campaigns, for example, show a considerable uptick in violence against civilians, a pattern of behavior that escalated as the Macedonian conquest proceeded. Such violence has been emphasized by the ancient sources and used by some modern historians as a basis for forming a “new... orthodoxy”⁵ in order to combat the romanticized Alexander of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, Briant cautions that the view that characterizes Alexander as proponent of mindless massacre who has “ravaged the earth” is as dangerous as the romanticized version that it wishes to counterbalance.⁶ While Bosworth rightly notes that violence escalated sharply in the North East and India, the reasons for that escalation require careful analysis. The claim that “the killing was certainly a dreadful constant...and with it went a distinct lack of respect for life”⁷ is true, but the explanation that “the act of killing meant little”⁸ is not sufficient. If that were true, routine massacres on par with those in India would characterize the Macedonian’s entire career, making it impossible for modern scholars to point to India as noticeably more extreme.

This article will reassess *why* Alexander’s invasion of India was characterized by such viciousness. The article does not intend to exonerate, exculpate, or explain away a brutal campaign that, by modern standards, would rank high in the annals of war crimes. Rather, it examines why Alexander’s Indian campaign stands out in the ancient sources as such a noticeable example of extreme, sustained violence. By paying careful attention not only to royal policy, but to the conditions and perspective of rank and file soldiers, this article will focus on untangling some of some of the potentially myriad reasons for such violence on

their wake as had become their custom.” Briant (2012, 60) claims that the campaign against Malli was “unusually violent”. English describes the “bloody and brutal repression” (2009, 114) in even the initial phases of the Indian campaign; Cartledge (2004, 235) calls the Indian invasion a “campaign of blood”; and Bosworth (1998, 144) famously named Alexander’s Indian conquest a “reign of terror”.

⁵ Briant 2012, 140.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁷ Bosworth 1998, 28–29.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 28.

the part of the invaders. As we shall see, the Greek combat norms that limited those whom it was permissible to kill changed considerably.⁹

In keeping with Dwyer and Ryan's approach, this article investigates the behavior, social and cultural context, and mentality of the perpetrators in order to understand what combination of conditions made the escalation of violence possible.¹⁰ Such an investigation is difficult. Because the scale of slaughter in the Indian campaign is repugnant to us, attempts to explain its causes in ways other than an abrupt moral condemnation of the soldiers perpetrating it have fallen by the wayside. However, recent scholarly interest in violence and massacre in antiquity (both military and non-military) makes this inquiry an important one.¹¹ It is necessary to go beyond concluding that Alexander "behaved as though he felt no binding moral constraints,"¹² and to investigate what sort of combat conditions eroded the cultural restraints of the Greeks and Macedonians, and why such violence peaked in India.

In doing so, I follow a two-pronged method: an investigation of (1) how the acts and policies of Alexander and his generals contributed to an increase in slaughter, and (2) how the political, military, and ecological experiences the soldiers endured in India wore them down and made slaughter appear as the most efficient (or only) means of rapid conquest and a return home. The former can be gleaned rather easily from the ancient sources, as they often center reports on Alexander and his generals. However, in turn that makes the perspectives of rank and file soldiers, the majority of fighters, difficult to visualize. Such has been the general state of accounts of war throughout history. In his 1976 work *The Face of Battle*, Keegan showed that it is possible to reconstruct some degree of the

⁹ Certainly this is not the first time in Greek or Macedonian history that such a barrier had been breached; Konijnendijk (2018, esp. 6–38) convincingly shows that the Greek "rules of combat" developed by Prussian scholars of the 19th century and carried into modern scholarship, do not rest on firm or numerous ancient evidence. Nonetheless, the general limits to extreme acts of violence, such as *andrapodismos*, can be gleaned from ancient military narratives that indicate women and children might be enslaved, but were not slaughtered the way adult men were. See n.33 below.

¹⁰ Dwyer – Ryan 2012, xxi.

¹¹ Some well-known recent examples include: Riess – Fagan (2016) Meineck – Konstan (2014), Dwyer – Ryan (2012), and van Wees (2009).

¹² Bosworth 1998, 29.

common soldier's experience and to offer a fresh understanding of war.¹³ Following Keegan's approach, I argue that the rise in incidence of massacre in Alexander's Indian campaign stems from a variety of factors that began in Bactria and Sogdiana and escalated thereafter.

The Bactrian and Sogdian campaigns pitted the Macedonians against a strong and effective guerrilla resistance movement for which earlier mountain campaigning had not entirely prepared them. Naturally, the Macedonians had no familiarity with the land or local allies in Bactria and Sogdiana; they suffered numerous setbacks and considerable losses and spent two years subduing the territory because they were unable to force the enemy into pitched battle, a more efficient method of decimating an enemy.¹⁴ By the time the army reached India, it had been conditioned to use massacre pre-emptively to avoid prosecuting an endless succession of sieges. The conditions of the prior campaign combined with evasive Indian battle tactics, toxic weapons, environmental conditions that facilitated the spread of disease, and decreased opportunity for material profit, all contributed to a perfect storm of conditions for increased violence and ultimately mutiny at the Hyphasis. Thereafter, the desire to return home at any cost made slaughter tolerable for many soldiers, catalyzing the bloodiest leg of the march through India in 325. To understand the origin of such massacre, it is necessary to look back to 329.

¹³ Keegan's aim to view a battle, inasmuch as is possible, through the eyes of its rank and file combatants, has been adopted in some form or fashion by scholars of antiquity as well. E.g. it is well known that Hanson (2009) considers restrictive elements of battle and their impact on fighting men, from the physical burden of armor and weapons to the psychological burdens of terror and instinctive flight. The individual experience of battle seems to have influenced Krentz's (2013, 134–156) article "Hoplite Hell" which reassesses the way hoplites experienced the charge, the collision, and the much-debated "push". Crowley (2012, esp. 40–69) investigates the psychological impact of hoplite combat with emphasis on the "primary group".

¹⁴ The nature of Greek pitched battle, its function, and the degree to which it constitutes an agonal event, will always be much-debated, and it is not necessary to discuss it here. However, a cursory glance at Alexander's career shows that the one-day battles of Granicus, Issus and Gaugamela especially yielded immediate and significant financial, political, and military gains. For an up to date and detailed historiography of Greek hoplite combat and its debated agonal features, see e.g. Konijnendijk (2018, 39–71) and Kagan – Viggiano (2013, 1–56).

Bactria and Sogdiana

During the two years of Alexander's Bactrian and Sogdian campaign, Spitamenes' resistance movement successfully and repeatedly foiled Macedonian attempts at establishing military control over the two satrapies. As Holt notes, the Bactrian and Sogdian resistance was largely due to heavy-handed Macedonian interference, which Alexander's Persian predecessors had generally avoided.¹⁵ The Macedonians' efforts to capture Bactria and Sogdiana's strongholds took multiple attempts, as garrisons were often besieged or overrun by Spitamenes' allies. Previous campaigns of conquest had been managed through conclusive sieges (long or short) and decisive pitched battle. Even the mountain wars of the Balkans, those against the Pisidians, and those against the Uxians, were managed with local assistance¹⁶ in less time,¹⁷ with fewer losses, and more decisively¹⁸ than the regions of Bactria and Sogdiana.¹⁹ Indeed, many of the Macedonians tactics, when repeated against Spitamenes and his allies, did little to undercut resistance. The fact that the Macedonian army was suddenly being outpaced and seemingly outwitted by its enemy contributed to the burst of retaliatory violence enacted on

¹⁵ Holt 1988, 53–54.

¹⁶ The Macedonians were fighting ancestral enemies in familiar territory in the Balkans, and they had the aid of Langarus in their campaign against the Taulantians. (Arr. *Anab.* 1,5,2–4); in Pisidia they had the aid of Selge (Arr. *Anab.* 1,28,1), among the Uxians they had the aid of Tauron (Curt. 5,3,9–10).

¹⁷ Alexander's campaigns against peoples who made use of guerrilla fighting techniques were not especially lengthy compared to his campaigns in Bactria and Sogdiana. Neither the Pisidians nor the Uxians gave the Macedonians undue trouble. Pisidian cities either capitulated after short sieges or surrendered (Arr. *Anab.* 1,27,5–1,28,2; 1,28,8), and even the most warlike of the Pisidians (Arr. *Anab.* 1,28,2), those at Sagalassus, were beaten back and captured in decisive battle (Arr. *Anab.* 1,28,6–8) and the Macedonians pursued those who escaped with success and not excessive loss of time (Arr. *Anab.* 1,28,5–8). The Uxians (Diod. Sic. 17,67; Curt. 5,3,4–15; Arr. *Anab.* 3,17,1–6) dominated the terrain but were cut down by Alexander and Tauron (Curt. 5,3,11) or by the Macedonians alone (Diod. Sic. 17,67,5); the campaign could not have been too lengthy or devastating, as Alexander was persuaded by a Persian royal to spare the community (Curt. 5,3,13–15; Arr. *Anab.* 3,17,6).

¹⁸ The campaigns against the Pisidians and Uxians, as well as the battle at the Persian Gates, were decisive. Pisidians: Arr. *Anab.* 1,28,8; Uxians: Diod. Sic. 17,67,5; Curt. 5,3,15; Arr. *Anab.* 3,17,5; Persian Gates: Curt. 5,4,34–5,5,1; Polyaeus 4,3,27; Arr. *Anab.* 3,18,9.

¹⁹ Cf. Howe (2015, 159–166) argues that the tactics used in the campaigns above are essentially the same, and thus so are the campaigns themselves. See also Olbrycht 2007, 312–314. See below n. 24.

both enemy soldiers and civilians. Although Vacante has shown that ultimately the region would be pacified “definitively”²⁰ through diplomatic alliance, two years of brutal repression came first.

Spitamenes and his allies remained highly mobile, able to launch unexpected and often successful attacks against the Macedonian invasion. A clear back-and-forth emerges between the invading Macedonians and the resistance movement, culminating in a targeted attack on the civilian population of the Zeravshan Valley, as we shall see.²¹ After Alexander occupied the Sogdian capital Maracanda (Curt. 7,6,10; Arr. *Anab.* 3,30,6), it was besieged by Spitamenes (Arr. *Anab.* 4,3,6–7) who was narrowly warded off by the Macedonians (Arr. *Anab.* 4,5,2). The relief force that Alexander sent was massacred en route to Maracanda by Spitamenes’ Scythian allies,²² leaving him to besiege Maracanda once again (Arr. *Anab.* 4,6,3–5; Curt. 7,9,20). The attempted pacification of the Zeravshan Valley (Arr. *Anab.* 4,6,5–6; Curt. 7,9,21–22) failed to stop Spitamenes and his allies. Spitamenes appeared in the army’s rear at Bactra, where he slaughtered a garrison near the satrapal capital despite the nearby presence of Craterus’ defense force (Arr. *Anab.* 4,16,1, 4,16,4–5). The Macedonian sortie in defense of Bactra itself was initially cut down before Craterus’, and then Coenus’, eventual success.²³ The ubiquity of Spitamenes and his Scythian allies was aided in large part by their manipulation of the topography, putting the Macedonians at a fur-

²⁰ Vacante’s (2012, 118) assessment of the latter half of the Sogdian campaign theorizes convincingly that Arrian’s account masks the severe setbacks that the Macedonian army endured and illustrates how the use of brute force against the resistance was ultimately insufficient. Alexander’s diplomatic alliance with Oxyartes and his marriage to Roxane gave him the local support necessary to maintain control over the region.

²¹ As Bosworth has shown, the date of events preserved in Arrian after the summer of 329 differs significantly from the Vulgate tradition. Notably, Arrian digresses from 4,8–4,15 and he “loses track of Alexander” (Bosworth 1981, 29) for much of the spring of 328, applying much of what likely occurred in 328 to 327. For the purposes of this article, the cause and effect relationship of the events is more significant than the year in which they occurred. For a close examination of Arrian versus the Vulgate tradition and the difficulty of the chronology, see Bosworth (1981, 29–37).

²² Relief force: Curt. 7,6,24, Arr. *Anab.* 4,3,7; massacre of relief force: Curt. 7,7,31–39; Arr. *Anab.* 4,5,3–4,6,2.

²³ Arr. *Anab.* 4,16,6–7, 4,17,1–6; S. Vacante (2012, 111–113) provides a thorough and succinct summary of fortification and defense problems around Bactra.

ther disadvantage despite their familiarity with mountain campaigning.²⁴ Spitamenes' troops often fled to the desert steppes and so made pursuit impossible, and the Macedonians were unable to force a pitched battle, the surest way to a decisive victory.²⁵

Additionally, the Macedonians suffered regular setbacks in Bactria and Sogdiana thanks to ambushes with significant losses, all of which resulted in equally vicious retaliation.²⁶ For example, en route to the Jaxartes River, foraging Macedonians were caught unawares and surrounded by native soldiers who commanded the high lands.²⁷ Although Curtius notes that "more [Macedonians] were taken prisoner than were killed" (7,6,1), the sheer number of attackers, which the sources put between 20,000–30,000, indicates noteworthy losses.²⁸ The Macedonians' response, to attack their captors' citadel, ended in the deaths of thousands but failed to halt local resistance (Arr. *Anab.* 3,30,11). Hence the next example, that of the Scythian-led ambush and massacre of the Macedonians along the Polytimetus River,²⁹ which resulted in heavy casualties. Importantly, both extant accounts of the attack also emphasize an unusual degree of chaos and panic among veteran soldiers,³⁰ a testament to the effectiveness of the Scyth-

²⁴ On the debate regarding how foreign or familiar guerrilla tactics were to the Macedonians, see especially Holt (1988) and Howe (2015). I agree with Howe that the Macedonians were familiar with guerrilla tactics, but because success against guerrilla attacks depends largely on familiarity with a particular opponent's fighting style and knowledge of the topography an army is occupying, the Macedonians were at a severe disadvantage in Bactria and Sogdiana as opposed to, e.g. Illyria, where they had fought for generations. In the context of this paper, my concern is primarily with the Macedonian response to repeated losses and the gradual escalation of violence that culminated in a massacre of the Zeravshan Valley's inhabitants. See further n.39.

²⁵ Fuller 1958, 117. Such a victory would not stem from mutual recognition between two armies of one victor of the field, but rather one army's capture and decimation of a substantial number of the enemy. For the on-going debate regarding the nature and significance of winning the field in domestic Greek warfare, Konijnendijk (2018, 1–38, 178–215) provides ample historiographical discussion.

²⁶ Vacante 2012, 87–130.

²⁷ Curt. 7,6,1–10; Arr. *Anab.* 3,30,10–11. Curtius places the ambush near Maracanda 7,6,10; see Bosworth 1980, 379.

²⁸ Curt. 7,6,2; Arr. *Anab.* 3,30,10.

²⁹ For the massacre, see Curt. 7,7,30–39; Arr. *Anab.* 4,5,2–4,6,2; brief narratives in: Worthington 2014, 224; Bosworth 1993, 111–112; Hammond 1996, 195.

³⁰ Curt. 7,7,34–39; Arrian mentions a "panic –stricken and disorderly descent into the river" (4,5,7) and describes the isolated men on the river isle as "helpless and pressed on every side" (4,5,9). E.g.

ian circling tactic and the Macedonians' inability to counter it without the cover of artillery. Indeed this loss was so potentially devastating to morale that Alexander concealed the information from his men while marching his army swiftly to the site (Curt. 7,7,39). However horrifying a loss it was, Vacante rightly notes that the ancient sources may have exaggerated its impact to some extent in order to justify the tremendous acts of violence which followed.³¹

Thereafter, the Macedonians began to increase the frequency and scope of violence in order to subdue the region, a policy which would be carried over into India in its most extreme form, but not successfully. Previously, Alexander had operated by the nowhere codified but generally observable Greek custom of war, which permitted razing cities and, in extreme cases, the use of *andrapodismos*, or the execution of adult men and the enslavement of women and children.³² Generally, only particularly difficult sieges prompted this degree of retaliation,³³ but in Bactria and Sogdiana, the cities that suffered *andrapodismos* were far more numerous, and even short sieges that cost the Macedonians little

Arr. *Anab.* 4,4,4–8.

³¹ Vacante 2012, 103 esp. n.94.

³² The obvious exception is Persepolis, whose sacking celebrated the finale of Alexander's war of reprisal. The theme of revenge shaped both Philip and Alexander's campaigns. (Diod. Sic. 17,72; Plut. *Alex.* 38,3–4; Curt. 5,7,4–7; Arr. *Anab.* 3,18,10–12). The massacre of the Branchidae (Curt. 7,5,28–35) also fits within this category, if indeed it occurred. See Worthington 2014, 204–206; Squillace 2010, 69–80; and esp. Parke 1985, 62–65.

³³ On the treatment of cities after a siege, see Chaniotis 2013, 645–646; Kern 1999, 147–149. For a good overview of the general definition and pattern of *andrapodismos*, see Gaca 2010, 117–121, 127–128. From Alexander's own career, we may take as examples Miletus and Halicarnassus, where the civilian population was left unharmed, as it was distinguished from the Persian sympathizers and defenders of the citadels (Diod. Sic. 17,22,4–5; Arr. *Anab.* 1,19,6). At Halicarnassus, only those covering Memnon's flight by burning the city were killed; any civilians found in their homes were spared (Arr. *Anab.* 1,23,3–4). At Tyre and Gaza, where the locals resisted violently along with their garrison commanders and cost the army time and casualties, the most severe punishment was meted out, *andrapodismos*. In the severe case of Tyre, 2,000 were crucified as well. See Diod. Sic. 17,46,3–4; Curt. 4,4,13–14, 17; Arr. *Anab.* 2,24,5; Just. *Epit.* 11,10. On Gaza there is less detail, but Arr. *Anab.* 2,27,7 specifies *andrapodismos* was used against civilians and Curt. 4,6,25–29 adds the story of Batis' fate. Kern (1999, 230) notes that the duration and difficulty of the siege, and potentially Alexander's injury (Arr. *Anab.* 2,27,2), played a significant role in the treatment of the city.

in time or casualties were followed by the most extreme measures. Nonetheless, this type of destruction did not quell resistance.³⁴

The clearest examples of an enhanced policy of aggression emerging in Bactria and Sogdiana are the punitive rather than pre-emptive sieges of the seven Sogdian cities and the destruction of the Zeravshan Valley. Alexander besieged the cities in response to the massacre of Macedonians placed in garrisons along the Jaxartes River (Arr. *Anab.* 3,30,10–11; 4,1,4–5). Despite the fact that all seven citadels did not cost Alexander more than three to four days in sum, the sieges were ended in brutal fashion, and the civilian inhabitants were blamed for the resistance. The Macedonians used *andrapodismos* on several if not all the citadels' populations,³⁵ and they slaughtered any locals that took to flight to prevent them from regrouping elsewhere (Arr. *Anab.* 4,2,6), part of a broader "search and destroy"³⁶ mission. In similar fashion, Ptolemy reports that captives seized from Cyropolis were bound and put under guard to prevent further revolt, but likely these were sold into slavery upon Alexander's departure.³⁷ Because the Zeravshan Valley served as the breadbasket of Sogdiana,³⁸ its destruction led to both immediate slaughter and also long-term starvation. The index of Diodorus 17 *ky* suggests a death toll of 120,000 people. Such a number cannot possibly represent only men of fighting age, who were the traditional casualties of a massacre. In the Zeravshan Valley, non-combatants were also targeted.³⁹

³⁴ Holt 1988, 59; Holt (1988, 55–60) sees the foundation of Alexandria-Eschate as the root cause of revolt, as it epitomizes Alexander's heavy-handed approach to managing the Bactrian and Sogdian satrapies.

³⁵ For the seven cities of Sogdiana: Curt. 7,6,13–23; Arr. *Anab.* 4,2,1–4,3,5. Good narrative accounts in: Worthington 2014, 223–224; Bosworth 1993, 110; Holt 1988, 55–56; Hammond 1983, 193–194. On the duration of sieges, Arrian notes that the first five cities were captured in two days (4,3,1), Cyropolis was captured in two (4,3,1–4), and the seventh unnamed city was taken either on the same day as Cyropolis or the following, but on the first attempt (4,3,5). *Andrapodismos* was likely used against all seven, see: Curt. 7,6,16; Arr. *Anab.* 4,3,1; 4,3,5.

³⁶ Holt 1988, 61.

³⁷ Arr. *Anab.* 4,3,5; cf. Bosworth 1995, 21.

³⁸ On the ancient and modern fertility of the Zeravshan Valley, see Bosworth 1995, 35.

³⁹ Bosworth (1995, 35) confirms that Diodorus' index hints that 1.2 million Sogdians were killed in this revenge; this must be a typographical error for 120,000, which is what Hammond suggests. See Hammond 1983, 61–62.

At this stage Alexander and his Macedonians had begun responding to resistance with heightened violence both more rapidly and also with less provocation than in the past. While ultimately the Sogdian campaign was ended through diplomacy and marriage between Alexander and Roxane, such diplomatic measures were often not feasible or simply failed during the Indian campaign, often due to the Macedonians' own behavior.⁴⁰ The Macedonians were learning that the capture of a capital or citadel by no means translated into conquest of the entire territory, and enemies that had not been thoroughly oppressed would readily resist. Weighted with experiences from the north, the Macedonians entered the Punjab with the goal of preventing flare-ups of resistance in the rear and the later regrouping of a very mobile enemy.⁴¹ Such a goal helped condition the soldiers to preemptive and heightened violence in the face of resistance when they entered India, where the desire to complete its conquest and go home would further spur the army to challenge traditional Greco-Macedonian boundaries of violence.

India

Almost as soon as Alexander's army entered India, the pattern of the local evasion and waiting out sieges began. After a skirmish at the Choes (Kunar) River in the Assaceni territory of West India in 327, the Indian combatants fled to their stronghold. The Macedonians besieged it, but the inhabitants fled once again into the mountains.⁴² Curtius' account of the same conflict suggests that Alexander intended to make an example of the first Indian resistance to his conquest, utilizing severe policies of no resistance from the beginning of the campaign.

⁴⁰ On the marriage of Roxane and the reduction of the Sogdian and Scythian threat see Vacante 2012, 113 and bibliography of his n. 149; Holt 1988, 67–68 n.11.

⁴¹ It is no coincidence that it was between the Bactrian-Sogdian and Indian campaigns that Alexander reformed his companion cavalry, which had sustained serious losses fighting against Spitamenes. See especially Olbrycht 2007, 312–314. Bosworth (1998, 41) summarizes the Aspasian campaign thus: “The military situation is simple. As the Macedonian army moved from valley to valley, the inhabitants vacated their settlements, and took refuge in the mountains...and [Alexander] sent out scouting parties to detect the main groups of refugees”. This pattern of flight and avoidance of pitched battle occurred further east in India as well.

⁴² Arr. *Anab.* 4,23,1–5. See also the siege of Bazira, whose citizens fled before capitulating only to take up defense at Aornus (Arr. *Anab.* 4,27,5–4,28,1). Cf. English 2009, 120–122; Bosworth 1998, 49–50.

He ordered Craterus to spare no one (8,10,5) in the city to which the inhabitants had fled, and after besieging it, he “butchered its inhabitants to a man, and even unleashed his fury on the buildings”.⁴³ This is an acceleration of aggression that supersedes *andrapodismos*; no inhabitant was spared, and one can presume a city included women and children as well as fighting men. Indeed, there is little mention of enslavement in the Indian campaign at all, suggesting that many noncombatants were simply killed. In Curtius’ account of the Hyphasis mutiny, Coenus complains that few Macedonians even had slaves to attend them anymore (9,3,11). This brutal policy upon invasion did not have the desired effect; rather, many Indians favored razing their own cities to the ground, rather than allowing the Macedonians a local base of operation, as occurred among the Aspasians and at Arigaion and Dyrta.⁴⁴

Diplomatic measures remained an option and were occasionally used, if a city agreed not to resist.⁴⁵ Arrian specifies that Alexander sent Hephaestion and Perdicas en route to Peucelaotis “with orders to subdue, by force or diplomacy, the tribes they encountered on their march” and then meet Alexander by the Indus (4,22,7). After the destruction of the unnamed western Indian city

⁴³ Curt. 8,10,6; cf. English 2009, 114–115.

⁴⁴ Arr. *Anab.* 4,24,2; 4,24,6; 4,30,5. Curtius records only that the people of Arigaion (Acadira) deserted their city (8,10,19).

⁴⁵ A discussion of every region with which Alexander came to terms rather than besieged would require more space than this article permits. Because the goal of this article is the understanding of the Macedonian violence which did occur, it would not serve to speculate about occasions on which it could have been avoided. However, here I include a brief list of occasions on which Alexander used diplomacy to subdue a region.: with Taxiles the father (Arr. *Anab.* 4,22,6, and acting on behalf of Sangaius, Arr. *Anab.* 4,22,8); with Taxiles the son (Diod. Sic.17,86,6; Curt. 8,12,4–6; Arr. *Anab.* 5,3,5–6, 5,8,2, etc.); at Andaca (Arr. *Anab.* 4,23,5); famously, with Porus (Arr. *Anab.* 5,18,6–5,19,3); with the Glaucanicae (Arr. *Anab.*5,20,2–3); with an unnamed city whose people ultimately made terms with Alexander before the end of a siege (Curt. 9,9,20–23); Alexander accepted Musicanus’ submission (Arr. *Anab.* 6,15,6–7) and only turned back to attack him when he revolted (Arr. *Anab.* 6,17,1; Curt. 9,8,16 says only the instigator was killed; cf. Diod. Sic. 17,102,5); Alexander led an army against Sambus, but found the gates of his city flung open, giving way to diplomacy with the royal family (Arr. *Anab.* 6,16,3–4; cf. Diod. Sic. 17,102,6, Plut. 64,1 is unlikely; Curt. 9,8,13–15 mentions that only some cities surrendered). Olbrycht (2017, 199) implies that resolving conquest by diplomacy would not have been desirable, asserting that the campaign served as “an acidtest proof” of the reconciliation between Iranian and Greco-Macedonian troops, making success in India the ideal propaganda for unity.

mentioned above, Alexander made terms with a neighboring city, Andaca, and garrisoned it without violence, using it as an outpost to secure the area (Arr. *Anab.* 4,23,5).

Subsequently in western India, Alexander met with immediate resistance and defeated the Indian contingent in pitched battle (Arr. *Anab.* 4,24,8–4,25,4). Whether or not to make diplomatic overtures appears to have depended largely on Alexander's perception of Indian behavior—fleeing or meeting the Macedonians for battle was a sure formula for attack, while remaining in place and admitting Macedonian soldiers into the city could bring about a peaceful transaction. One can see why diplomatic means were used less frequently; it is logical that one would flee an invading army, especially one with such a gruesome track record. Thus, the combination of Alexander's policy of no resistance and the logical but tragic Indian desire to protect their autonomy often yielded high death tolls.

The tactic of evasion and strategic retreat meant the Macedonians devoted more time to pursuing their enemies than fighting them, a pattern which seems to have resulted in greater violence upon the capture of a city regardless of the effort involved in taking it. For example, when the Macedonians attempted pitched battle against the Assaceni in the winter of 327/6,⁴⁶ they stumbled in their crossing of the Gouraius River. Despite this advantageous moment, the Assaceni disbanded and went to their own cities to prepare for a siege.⁴⁷ At Massaga, the largest city of the region,⁴⁸ Alexander attempted to hasten a long siege by drawing the defenders away from the walls and out into battle with a feigned retreat. However, as soon as the defenders of Massaga had a taste of fighting in close quarters with the invading army, they retreated into the city (Arr. *Anab.* 4,26,4). Perhaps this unexpected sortie “helped mitigate the subsequent grim

⁴⁶ Arr. *Anab.* 4,25,1–7. See Worthington 2014, 238; Bosworth 1998, 49–53.

⁴⁷ Arr. *Anab.* 4,25,7; Curt. 8,10,22 explains that the Assaceni's king had recently died, and this is why they did not remain in battle array. See Bosworth 1995, 169. Nevertheless, it seems odd that the Assaceni army would prefer waiting out a siege and give up its advantage on the field while the Macedonians floundered temporarily in the river crossing. A similar event occurs along the Hydraotes in 325, where a Malli army of 50,000 awaited Alexander's approach but fled to their city by the time his infantry arrived after an indecisive skirmish (Arr. *Anab.* 6,8,4–7).

⁴⁸ Plut. *Alex.* 59; Curt. 8,10,22–36; Arr. *Anab.* 4,26,1–4,27,4. For narratives: Worthington 2014, 238; English 2009, 115–120; Heckel 2007, 114; Bosworth 1998, 122; Fuller 1958, 245–6.

siege work with its frequent set-backs and not inconsiderable losses".⁴⁹ Nonetheless, the vicious post-siege treatment of combatants persisted.

After he promised to absorb the Indian mercenaries stationed within the city into his army, Alexander ordered them killed that night because they allegedly planned to slip away (*Arr. Anab.* 4,26,3–4), an act which destroyed any future opportunity for a diplomatic approach with other Indian cities. Although the account and rationale for this slaughter appears variously in the sources,⁵⁰ there is a significant common thread: the mercenaries were attacked in their camp, and thus with their women and children. Diodorus notes it explicitly, claiming that the mercenaries' wives took up arms and were cut down as well. (*Diod. Sic.* 17,84,5–6).

The details of the siege of Aornus are not entirely discernible because of conflict within the sources, however Arrian's account of a slaughter makes the event relevant here.⁵¹ Arrian tells us that the defenders of the Rock agreed to terms of peace and to surrender the fortress to Alexander, but when they attempted to flee in the night Alexander and his men slew them (4,30,2–4). Diodorus gives a different account, claiming that after Macedonian siege engines had been drawn level with the defenders, the Macedonians abandoned their guard of the Rock's major exits and allowed the occupants to flee "without further fighting".⁵² This does not match the negotiations mentioned in Arrian's account, nor does it match Alexander's post-siege decisions up to this point. If Arrian is to be believed, then the siege of Aornus further highlighted Alexander's policy of

⁴⁹ Bosworth 1995, 170. Bosworth may be referring to the Macedonian casualties following a collapsed bridge between a siege engine and a breach in the city wall (*Arr. Anab.* 4,26,7).

⁵⁰ E.g. *Diod. Sic.* 17,84; *Plut. Alex.* 59,6; *Arr. Anab.* 4,26–4,27,4; ME 44–45; Baynham (2012, 33–35) addresses the varying accounts and proposes the compelling argument that Alexander was acting in concert with the Assacene Queen Cleopis, to whose regency the mercenaries proved a threat. Cf. Bosworth 1995, 173, 175–176.

⁵¹ For narrative accounts of the Rock of Aornus see: Worthington 2014, 241–3; English 2009, 122–129; Bosworth 1998, 49–53; Fuller 1958, 248–54.

⁵² *Diod. Sic.* 17,85,7. Curtius' account is not included here because it seems the least likely, or to use Bosworth's (1998, 50) phrase, "hopelessly confused". Curtius suggests that Alexander "made a show" of continuing the siege after having withdrawn his men (*Curt.* 8,11,19). The king only won the territory at all because for some reason the occupants of the rock gave up their celebration and decided to flee, and Alexander's men caught them midflight and terrified them, causing many to fall from the steep crags of the pass (*Curt.* 8,11,20–22).

no resistance and treating fleeing individuals as rebellious. Such a reaction likely stemmed from haste in the face of slow progress through India and the assumption that those in flight would take up arms elsewhere and force another siege.

The siege of Sangala in the summer of 326 again exemplifies Alexander's policy of no resistance in the face of evasive Indian maneuvers.⁵³ After the fortress fell to the invaders, the king sent word to the people of the resisting adjacent territories that they themselves would suffer no harsh treatment so long as they remained where they were (Arr. *Anab.* 5,24,6). Alexander's goal was to ensure surrounding regions would remain passive and not take up arms against him or unify elsewhere, forcing another siege. When neighboring locals fled before his approach, they were treated as resisters in the same way the defenders at Sangala had been, and those whom the Macedonians caught were killed. Even those left behind due to injury were seized and executed by the army (Arr. *Anab.* 5,24,7).

Not yet an all-pervasive policy, the behavior at Sangala clearly shows an expansion of the scope of violence on the part of the Macedonians. They had begun cutting down fleeing locals who had the potential to regroup elsewhere, and those in flight must have included women and children as well as adult men. This behavior constitutes an accelerated rate of violence compared to Alexander's earlier campaigns, where men were cut down only in post-battle routs, rather than in flight from an army's approach.⁵⁴ The fear of rebellious flare-ups appeared in Alexander's speech at the Hyphasis River in 326 when he reminded his men that "If we turn back, the tribes we do not now hold securely may be stirred up to rebel by those not yet under our control. And then many of our toils will be profitless, or else we shall have to again undertake fresh toils and dangers"⁵⁵ To

⁵³ On the siege of Sangala, see: Curt. 9,1,14–25, Arr. *Anab.* 5,22–5,24,8; for narrative see: English 2009, 129–135; Bosworth 1988, 132.

⁵⁴ Konijnendijk (2018, 188–205) has convincingly shown that the post-battle slaughter was integral to victory and far from uncommon in Greek armies, or Philip's. However, cutting down men in a post-battle chase is quite distinct from hunting out civilians who offered no resistance. From Alexander's career, we may consider the campaign against the free Thracians in the spring of 335. When the Thracians fled at the Macedonian battle charge, 1,500 were cut down in the immediate rout, but Arrian distinguishes that women and children traveling with them were captured separately, not killed (Arr. *Anab.* 1,1,12–13). Even though Arrian notes that of those fleeing "few were captured alive, by reason of their speed and their knowledge of the country" (Arr. *Anab.* 1,1,13), the decisive defeat of the free Thracians had *remained* a defeat.

⁵⁵ Arr. *Anab.* 5,26,3–4. One of the best sources for the perspectives of the Macedonian soldiers is the

Alexander, rebellion after conquest meant lost territory; to the Macedonians on the brink of mutiny, it meant another laborious siege.

On the return march from the Hyphasis, the Macedonians' haste to return home combined with Alexander's desire to secure India's submission before retreating westward maintained and in some cases augmented the already staggering rate of violence. This is most clearly seen in the campaign against the Malli in the winter of 326/5.⁵⁶ Because the Macedonians received word that the Malli were prepared to resist,⁵⁷ Alexander took the Malli entirely by surprise in an attack from the desert (Arr. *Anab.* 6,6,3), giving the tribesmen no opportunity to submit or prepare against him and rendering his offer of clemency relatively meaningless.⁵⁸

The preparations Arrian claims the Malli tribes were making are not apparent in all of his accounts (Arr. *Anab.* 6,4,3), suggestive of an apologetic addition to prop up a pitiable narrative. The Malli of the first (unnamed) city were ambushed from the desert and cut down "without resistance, unarmed as they were" (Arr. *Anab.* 6,5,3). The Macedonians besieged the city thereafter, killing its

exchange of speeches at the Hyphasis River, especially Coenus' speech "on behalf of the majority of the army" (Arr. *Anab.* 5,27,2) as recorded in Curtius (9,3,1–15) and Arrian (5,27,1–9). With respect to the reliability of speeches in Arrian or Curtius, I lean closer to Hammond's (1999, 248) perspective than Bosworth's, that "the substance of the speech [at Hyphasis] is...historical in principal". While neither ancient author's recorded speeches are verbatim, the broader meaning and substance behind them can be accepted as genuine. I rely on Curtius' and Arrian's reports of the speeches to illustrate the condition and complaints of the Macedonian soldiers, not to evaluate the speakers' rhetoric, Greek understanding of the territory beyond the Hyphasis, or Alexander's plans for global conquest, all of which appear to be the most controversial aspects of the speeches. It is reasonable to believe that the details of the soldiers' conditions are accurate, and even Bosworth (1988, esp. 128, 123–124), who rejects the speeches as fabrications, implicitly accepts the descriptions of monsoon- and march-weary men.

⁵⁶ For the Malli campaign see: Diod. Sic. 17,98–99; Curt. 9,4,15–9,5,30 (Curtius places the Malli invasion story among the Sudracae); Arr. *Anab.* 6,8,1–6,12,3. Plutarch (*Alex.* 63) and Justin (12,9) give highly condensed versions of the campaign. Worthington 2014, 255–6; English 2009, 135–142; Bosworth 1998, 135–7; Fuller 1958, 261–2.

⁵⁷ Arrian tells us that the tribesmen had "sent away their wives and children to the strongest of their cities and intended to meet [Alexander] in battle" (6,4,3).

⁵⁸ Diodorus' account asserts that the Malli met Alexander fully mobilized (17,98,1), however his account is only of the siege in which Alexander was injured and does not reflect the many sieges of the Malli territory. I rely more heavily upon the more detailed account of Arrian, as it discusses more than one siege (6,6,1–6,11,2).

2,000 occupants after breaching the walls (Arr. *Anab.* 6,6,3–6), while Perdikkas and a contingent of troops marched to a neighboring city to prevent the escape of civilians. Finding the city deserted, Perdikkas gave pursuit, massacring “all the fugitives who had not first found refuge in the marshes” (Arr. *Anab.* 6,6,6). Once again, we see that the scope of violence has expanded from *andrapodismos* to outright slaughter of all.

When Alexander found several Malli cities abandoned, he sent Pithon and Demetrius out to track the paths of the refugees along the river. Any who had gathered together in the forests by the banks were to be killed if they did not voluntarily surrender (Arr. *Anab.* 6,7,2–3), orders similar to those Perdikkas followed after an earlier siege (Arr. *Anab.* 6,6,6). Such a policy raises two important issues. First, if entire Malli cities were found abandoned, the refugees fleeing these cities must have consisted at least in part of individuals not traditionally killed in war: men not of fighting age or ability, women, and children.⁵⁹ Secondly, it is unlikely that troops under Macedonian generals could have ensured that the Malli “voluntarily surrender” (Arr. *Anab.* 7,8,3) when few if any could have spoken the local language and no mention of prisoner or slave taking follows the Macedonian generals’ pursuit. Arrian very succinctly summarizes the result: “Pithon’s and Demetrius’ troops did, in fact, find and kill many in the woods” (Arr. *Anab.* 7,8,3).

Curtius casts additional light on the severe carnage of the Malli campaign by noting that as the Macedonians entered the territory, having “believed themselves quit of any danger, were suddenly terror-stricken when they realized that a fresh war with India’s most belligerent tribes still lay before them, and once more they began to criticize their king with seditious talk” (Curt. 9,4,16–17). As Arrian has Coenus say at the Hyphasis, these are “unwilling troops” (Arr. *Anab.* 5,27,7). Alexander’s army did not want to continue campaigning. Its hesitation is highlighted several times in Arrian’s account of the Malli campaign with the inclusion of the reflexive pronoun, usually followed by an explanation of why Alexander was obligated to initiate an attack himself.⁶⁰ At the siege of

⁵⁹ Note that the Malli tribes that supposedly sent away all their women and children (Arr. *Anab.* 6,4,3) were those that were also preparing for battle, of which we see little evidence here.

⁶⁰ There is perhaps an earlier sense of this. Plutarch reports that Alexander’s men were hesitating to advance into Nysa because of the deep river that surrounded it, using the word *ὀκνοῦντων*, which has the sense of “to shrink from” (Plut. *Alex.* 58,4).

the “City of Brahmans” (Arr. *Anab.* 6,7,4–6), Arrian emphasizes that **αὐτός** δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος...ἤγεν the advance against the city, and the king was “the first to mount the wall and was seen holding it”, a sight which put the Macedonians to shame and obliged them to follow (Arr. *Anab.* 6,7,5–6). At the Malli siege, Arrian claims that Alexander thought that the Macedonians bringing the ladders were shirking (βλακεύειν), and so Ἀλέξανδρος δέ... ἀρπάσας κλιμακα ἐνὸς τῶν φερόντων προσέθηκε τῷ τείχει **αὐτός** καὶ εἰληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆ ἀσπίδι ἀνέβαινεν (6,9,3). Thus, as the Macedonians grew increasingly exhausted, Alexander willingly put himself in greater danger.

Alexander’s seemingly impulsive behavior was serious enough that his generals rebuked him for it.⁶¹ After the near-fatal siege of Malli, Craterus visited a recuperating Alexander and urged him not to risk his life so easily when so many men depended upon it, emphasizing the troops’ anxiety over Alexander’s wellbeing, allegedly asking, “Who wants to survive you? Who is able to?” (Curt. 9,6,9). Indeed, had Alexander died, then his troops would have been far from the center of the empire, farther still from Macedonia, and without a king, heir, or viable leader, “since a great many officers were held in equal esteem by both Alexander himself and the Macedonians” (Arr. *Anab.* 6,12,2). There was considerable rivalry among Alexander’s most powerful and capable generals. Strife emerged between Craterus and Hephaestion, who brawled publicly in India (Plut. *Alex.* 47,9–12) and were frequently so at odds that Alexander separated them, even having them march along opposite banks of the Hydaspes (Arr. *Anab.* 6,2,2). After Alexander was wounded at Multan, the rivalries of the generals and the lack of an individual capable of taking charge of the army uncontested inspired great anxiety. Craterus appeared to have been aware of this, reminding Alexander “we have reached a place from which returning home without your leadership is impossible for any of us” (Curt. 9,6,9).

Why Did Violence Increase?

Alexander responded to the evasive tactics of the Indians and the endless series of sieges by establishing a brutal policy of no resistance that was enhanced by the

⁶¹ I use the plural because Curtius does report that Craterus was “charged with the task of conveying to [Alexander] the entreaties of his friends” (Curt. 9,6,6).

soldiers' eagerness to subdue India as quickly as possible. Among the Macedonians, fear for Alexander's life and the stability of the army's leadership also led to vicious massacre and contributed to the Macedonian haste to march and hesitancy to besiege. In addition to this is the nature of Indian resistance, Alexander's destruction of the "city of Brahmins" contributed directly to local resistance, making his policy of violence less effective. Since Alexander would not have wanted to make his conquest intentionally more difficult and had in fact shown considerable religious toleration in the past, the killing of Brahmins was not an attempt to overturn the entire Indian caste system.⁶² Indeed, it seems unlikely that the Macedonians grasped what a caste system *was*. In Taxila, Alexander appears to have accepted the venerated status of Brahmins because he understood them to be philosophers, but in Malli territory he slaughtered them.⁶³ Brahmin deaths are mentioned in the Kingdom of Sambus, and that of Musicanus; they were killed to crush political resistance, a tactic which had the opposite effect. In the spring of 325, Musicanus⁶⁴ surrendered to Alexander, likely influenced by the surrender of the Malli and Oxydracae.⁶⁵ It was a short-lived victory. As soon as the Macedonian army marched further South, Musicanus, urged by Brahmins, rebelled, and Alexander had them and Musicanus executed.⁶⁶ The king's orders that Musicanus "be hanged in his own country *along with* the Brahmins who were responsible for the revolt" (Arr. *Anab.* 6,17,2) suggest that the Brahmins

⁶² Bosworth 1998, 97.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 95. Among the Greeks, Brahmins were equated with philosophers, and their position in society was seen as a profession rather than a status or caste. There was a constant filtering of Indian culture through a Greek lens and often a Greek mouth, pasting Greek terms onto a foreign system. Aristobulus calls Brahmins philosophers who differ in belief and practice, and Nearchus refers to them as political advisors. Indeed, they were both, and the fact that Brahmins consist of an entire caste is not mentioned by those accompanying Alexander's court in India, indicating there was not a full understanding of the system. See especially Worthington 2014, 239–41; Bosworth 1998, 90–3.

⁶⁴ These were a people, the Musicani, according to Curt. 9,8,16. For the campaign see: Diod. Sic. 17,102,5;

Curt. 9,8,16; Arr. *Anab.* 6,17,1–2. Bosworth 1998, 95–6 and 1993, 137–8.

⁶⁵ Surrender of Malli and Oxydracae: Curt. 9,7,12–15; Arr. *Anab.* 6,14,1–3. Surrender of Musicanus: Arr. *Anab.* 6,15,6. Curtius does not specify that Musicanus surrendered, but that the Musicani were conquered and then revolted: Curt. 9,8,10 and 9,8,16.

⁶⁶ Arr. *Anab.* 6,17,2. Diodorus at 17,102,5 says Alexander killed Musicanus the first time he entered the territory, but both Arrian (6,17,2) and Curtius (9,8,16) talk about the region revolting after the Macedonians pass through it.

were perceived as political advisors rather than priests or philosophers. They played a similar role in the resistance of Harmatelia in the Kingdom of Sibus despite the royal family's own surrender, and the Macedonians took the city by force,⁶⁷ executing the “wise men among the Indians” for instigating the revolt.⁶⁸ Immediate capitulation in Porticanus' kingdom in the Indus Valley prevented large scale slaughter, and there is no record of targeted Brahman execution,⁶⁹ indicating that the ongoing brutality was not the result of any religious persecution but rather the same fierce policy against any opposition.

As we have seen, diplomatic agreements were only offered in cases of preemptive or immediate surrender by the Indians, an unlikely and often impossible task given language barriers, the natural distrust in which the Indian people would have held Alexander, and especially the Indian tradition of political autonomy. Defending one's government, homestead, and life made turning over a city to foreigners or even awaiting their arrival a terrifying option. In addition to limited diplomacy, we have thus far considered the impact of the Bactrian and Sogdian campaigns on the conquest of India, Indian tactics of evasion, Alexander's increasingly intolerant policy of no resistance and his heightened risk-taking, and the religious undertones of Indian resistance in 325. However, the decisions of the king and his generals were not the sole contributors to violence. They provided only part of the framework—we must also consider the primary agents of violence, the Macedonian soldiers themselves.

The duration of the campaign alone would not have worn out hardy veterans, but the risk to reward ratio was no longer in Alexander's favor. The campaign in India diminished the chance of returning home, as it was fought primarily by siege rather than by decisive pitched battle, increasing the odds of debilitating injury. The result was that maimed soldiers could not go home, so they were left on permanent garrison duty in cultural isolation, surrounded by hostile tribes. The difficulty of acquiring loot also eliminated an important

⁶⁷ Diodorus reports most cities were razed, their populations enslaved or killed (17,102,6). On the name Harmatelia: Diod. Sic. 17,103,5. Arrian does not name the city (6,16,5).

⁶⁸ Diod. Sic. 17,102,6–7, Arr. *Anab.* 6,16,5, and Curt. 9,8,13–16 report a death toll of 80,000 Indians, which suggests more than one city revolted; Arr. *Anab.* 6,16,3 appears to have glossed over all but the most prominent.

⁶⁹ Arrian calls Porticanus 'Oxycanus', and although his, Diodorus', and Curtius' accounts of the king's death vary slightly, none of them record an extensive slaughter. Diod. Sic. 17,102,5; Curt. 9,8,11–13; Arr. *Anab.* 6,16,1–2.

incentive for marching on. Perhaps most significantly, the inhospitable climate slowed their march, rotted the soldiers' armor, and facilitated the spread of debilitating disease.

The only time in India that Alexander held games and gave his men a break for celebration followed the army's victory at the decisive pitched Battle of Hydaspes (Arr. *Anab.* 5,20,1). It is unsurprising that it was on this occasion that the so-called elephant medallions were minted as well, commemorating the conquest of India.⁷⁰ Even though (or perhaps because) the Macedonians engaged in far fewer pitched battles than sieges in their career under Alexander, the pitched battle is most celebrated, suggesting that the steady siege work of India was not only onerous, but lacked the martial glory of hand to hand combat.⁷¹ Craterus for example hints at this; he did not think sieges, even the massive city of the Malli, were worthy of a glorious death; in India, the Macedonians had endured *ignobiles pugnas* (Curt. 9,6,14). As this is not the proper place to engage in the lengthy and complex debate over the agonal nature of Greek pitched battle, I wish only to point out that the Macedonians' pitched battles in Asia were fewer and more decisive than their sieges, yielding quantifiable gains. As we have seen, sieges must have appeared an interminable status quo for many soldiers who undermined one local citadel only to learn another had revolted behind them.

Complicating the problem, sieges provided prime opportunities for debilitating injuries, as they did not afford soldiers the protection of the phalanx. Arrian marvels at the messy siege of Sangala: "the number of wounded...was out of proportion to the number of dead" (Arr. *Anab.* 5,24,5). This is a ratio of 1200 :> 100, due in part to the fact that a siege rendered troops vulnerable to

⁷⁰ See in general Holt 2003; Worthington 2014, 249; Heckel 2007, 124–125; Stewart 1993, 201–206 and figs. 68–69.

⁷¹ On the argument that hoplites (and lighter-armed Macedonians) took more pride in a pitched battle, see Hanson 2009, 9–18; Ober 1993, 173–179. I do not intend to address the hoplite debate in the context of this article, only to note that decisive pitched battles were more efficient and decisive means of conquest in the experience of Alexander's men. I do not argue that a battle's decisive nature stemmed purely from winning the field, but rather as Konijnendijk (2018, 226) has noted, pitched battles followed by a rout and massacre enabled one side "to devastate the enemy's land and manpower to such an extent that they would submit to any demands". Although his conclusions are drawn from hoplite warfare, they may be applied here as well; Alexander had great difficulty managing a decisive defeat of his opponents in India, and much of the killing was done in the context of post-siege massacres and attacks on fleeing civilians.

traditional and makeshift projectiles. All of Alexander's serious injuries came from sieges as well.⁷² Ober notes of classical hoplites the startling sense of vulnerability climbing up the scaling ladders, and the same must have been true of Alexander's lighter armed men.⁷³ At Massaga, a detachment of Macedonians suffered a serious setback when a bridge extending from a siege tower collapsed beneath them (Arr. *Anab.* 4,26,6–7). One can hardly imagine that there were not severe casualties, considering the weight of the soldiers' armour and the weapons they would have been brandishing.⁷⁴ Given this violent episode, the reported twenty-five Macedonian deaths suggest that there was a high toll of wounded survivors at Massaga (Arr. *Anab.* 4,27,5), similar to Sangala.

Certainly, professional soldiers like those in Alexander's employ were aware of the risks battle posed to their lives and well-being; however, the risk of injury was significantly greater when combined with the penalty of isolation. Because the wounded and disabled were unable to keep up with the army's march, they were stationed indefinitely in outposts or newly founded cities in India. The tactic of settling invalids in garrison began as early Bactria and Sogdiana,⁷⁵ but it became so problematic in India that Coenus complained about it at the Hyphasis mutiny: "those [Greeks] who have been settled in the cities you founded do not remain there entirely of their own will".⁷⁶ Such discontent was serious enough to change Alexander's patterns. While marching home through India, Arrian's re-

⁷² For a few notable examples of siege-related injuries, see: Diod. Sic. 17,24–25 (difficulty with Halicarnassus); Arr. *Anab.* 27,2 (Gaza); Arr. *Anab.* 4,3,3 (Cyropolis and catapult blow); Arr. *Anab.* 4,26,4 and Curt. 8,10,30–31 (Massaga); Arr. *Anab.* 5,24,5 (Sangala and Lysimachus wounded); Diod. Sic. 17,99 (Malli).

⁷³ Ober 1993, 182–3.

⁷⁴ English (2009, 119) asserts that the majority of injuries would have been due to missile attacks on the fallen soldiers from those defending the walls. Bosworth (1995, 173) suggests that the collapse of makeshift bridges was not an uncommon phenomenon in ancient siege warfare and compares the bridge collapse at Massaga to another at the siege of Metulus during the Illyrian Wars. Appian reports fatalities and broken bones (Appian, *Ill.* 4,20), and despite some differences in armor and weaponry, we might assume a similar result for the Macedonians at Massaga three centuries earlier.

⁷⁵ See for example settlements at Alexandria Eschate (Arr. *Anab.* 4,4,1), Bactra (Curt. 9,7,1, Arr. *Anab.* 4,16,6), and Arigaeum (Arr. *Anab.* 4,24,6–7). Holt (1988, 82–83) discusses how the men were unable to defend the garrisons efficiently.

⁷⁶ Arr. *Anab.* 5,27,5; Alexander's settlers rioted in Bactria and Sogdiana when they received false reports of his death (Diod. Sic. 17,99,5; Curt. 9,7), and in India Philip of Machatas in Taxila was overthrown by mercenaries as soon as Alexander was gone (Arr. *Anab.* 6,27,2).

cords reveal that Alexander established garrisons made up of injured tribesmen and mercenaries, but specifically *not* Macedonians.⁷⁷

Exploration of the Punjab showed that India was not the mythic world that Herodotus described, but its climate proved problematic and fatal to many Macedonians. A high incidence of poisoning from snake bites led to a reorganization of the Macedonian camp: soldiers slept in hammocks slung between trees to avoid being bitten by the multitude of venomous snakes native to the region.⁷⁸ Arrian reports from Nearchus that Alexander hired local physicians to travel with the army and “had it announced in camp that anyone bitten by a snake should go straight to the royal tent” (*Ind.* 15,11). Snake venom was also used in battle by Indians with the result that “the Macedonian wounded died in rapid succession”, and “even superficial wounds defied treatment”.⁷⁹ Less immediately obvious but ultimately more debilitating were India’s sub-tropical climate and the steady monsoon rains.⁸⁰ These produced ideal conditions for the spread of waterborne diseases like malaria and dysentery as well as trench foot, and Coenus bemoans the loss of many soldiers to sickness (*Arr. Anab.* 5,27,5–6). The rains caused rapid deterioration of weapons, armor, and horses. At the Hyphasis, Coenus declared, “Our weapons are already blunt, our armour is wearing out... How many of us have a cuirass? Who owns a horse?”⁸¹ The decay of personal armor referenced here must have provided a daily visual reminder of the duration and difficulties of the Indian campaign,⁸² and its impact is well measured

⁷⁷ *Arr. Anab.* 5,29,3; As Bosworth has noted (1995, 358), the failure to mention Macedonian troops is not a slip on Arrian’s part. Alexander would not have wanted to anger his men further by leaving disabled Macedonians behind. It is not too difficult to reconcile this hesitancy with *Curt.* 9,4,8, who states that Alexander stationed his sick in a Malli citadel after the town had been taken. Perhaps they were mercenaries and volunteers only, or men who were wounded in the many sieges of the region and could not physically return home.

⁷⁸ *Diod. Sic.* 17,90,6–7; *Curt.* 9,1,12 reports on the toxicity of snake bites.

⁷⁹ *Curt.* 9,8,20; see also *Diod. Sic.* 17,103,5; Mayor 2003, 86–97.

⁸⁰ For a discussion of monsoon season see Worthington 2014, 252 and 2004 215; Bosworth 1998, 176–177.

⁸¹ *Curt.* 9,3,10–11; on the horses’ hooves worn down in India see *Diod. Sic.* 17,94. See Worthington 2014, 251–253; Hammond 1983, 63.

⁸² *Diod. Sic.* 17,94,3. For a summary of the difficulties of the Indian campaign see Worthington 2014, 251–3. As Bosworth notes (1995, 343), Arrian curiously leaves out climate as a factor in his synopsis of Macedonian complaints (*Arr. Anab.* 5,25,2) perhaps assuming it was understood under the gen-

by Alexander's own response, to send for 25,000 sets of armor and burn the old (Curt. 9,3,21–22).

Because it is difficult to believe any reward could counterbalance the high risks of the Indian campaign, it is especially startling to find that prizes were in short supply in India. Booty was a significant incentive to war, even for paid soldiers, and yet before entering India, Alexander had his men burn their wagons of loot and prizes taken in previous sieges, likely to speed up travel.⁸³ In Curtius' account of the Hyphasis mutiny, Coenus complains of lost booty,⁸⁴ and Alexander uses future opportunities for booty as a lure.⁸⁵ The matter is not purely one of calculable risk and reward, but the state and status of the men: "conquerors of all, we lack everything!" (Curt. 9,3,11).

Conclusion

We have seen how resistance in Bactria and Sogdiana conditioned the Macedonians to initiate conflict with what had once been the most extreme, *final* resort measure, *andrapodismos*; eventually this too was surpassed by the outright slaughter of populations. Bactrian and Sogdian topography facilitated enemy use of ambushes and encirclement from which the Macedonians, for the first time, had difficulty extricating themselves. The campaign may have been tactically similar to what the army faced in the Balkans and other mountain expeditions, but the sluggish rate of Macedonian success and subsequent violence enacted upon civilians marks the Bactrian and Sogdian campaigns out as decidedly different experiences. This was carried on into India, where the Macedonians faced chariots, toxic weapons, months of steady rain, and fast-spreading disease. Once again, a decisive victory seemed impossible and promised a lengthy campaign.

eral heading of "toils and dangers" (Arr. *Anab.* 5,25,5).

⁸³ Plut. *Alex.* 57; Curt. 6,6,15–17; Polyaeus 4,3,10. claims this occurred directly before entry into Bactria.

⁸⁴ Curt. 9,3,11; see the same theme in Alexander's speech in Arr. *Anab.* 5,26,7–8.

⁸⁵ Curt. 9,2,26–27. On the tendency of Macedonian kings to manage their soldiers with the promise of booty, see Carney (1991, 25), who gives the examples of: Plut. *Alex.* 24,1, 1; Diod. Sic. 17,35,1, 70,1–6, 94,3, 104,1; Curt. 5,6,4.

In light of this, we must reconsider prior explanations of Macedonian violence. Crediting the increasing violence to something as nebulous as a love of killing misses the significance of the campaign entirely. India presented a unique combination of factors that appears to have made wholesale slaughter tolerable to Alexander and his men, if it ensured a safe return home. Alexander's policy of no resistance, characterized by orders to his generals to slaughter entire populations, played a key role in the increase of campaign violence, especially against civilians. The goals, far-flung location, and forms of combat the army endured in this campaign, coupled with declining morale and incentive to continue on, contributed to willingness among the rank and file soldiers to perpetrate such sweeping acts of violence. The shift the army experienced from skirmishing and pitched battles to sieges and cutting down rebels in flight did not occur at once, but in gradual stages, but it is telling that the bloodiest leg of the march occurred *after* Alexander had yielded to his soldiers, agreeing to return west. The threat of being injured on the cusp of a victorious homecoming and resigned to a far-off garrison post must have played a role in incentivizing the soldiers who enforced the brutal policy of no resistance.

The account of the Malli siege with which we began our discussion should be considered again, not as a stand-alone example of terror-driven violence, but rather the pinnacle, a product of a wider pattern. The graphic details of Curtius' and Arrian's accounts focus on Alexander's injury, presenting the massacre of the city as a gory backdrop. However, to read this account as a stand-alone incident would be deceptive. Ancient authors naturally gave more attention to the retribution sought by Alexander's devoted soldiers; references to sieges during which similar types of slaughter occurred are referenced, as we have seen, only in passing. Alexander was injured at the city on the Choaspes River only *after* giving orders to butcher the entire city (Curt. 8,10,5–6); Perdikkas pursued fleeing civilians on horseback and cut down all who had failed to escape to the marshes (Arr. *Anab.* 6,6,6). The king's injuries were not the sole or even primary cause of the violence in India.

Taken in isolation, not one of the explanations offered above would serve to explain the heightened violence of the Indian campaign; human violence is a complex behavior. Indeed, it is likely that there are many more causes than the ancient sources record even in passing. However, it is still necessary to reconstruct, in as much detail as possible, the conditions in, and under which,

the Macedonians marched. The scholarly tendency to deconstruct ancient war, focusing on the nuts and bolts of armor, formation, and agonal combat, plays a key role in making sense of ancient battle narratives. However, the human elements of ancient war have only recently come under scrutiny, and without them, our picture of Greek and Macedonian battle remains largely schematic, lines and numbers on a page. Visceral and difficult-to-quantify elements of war, such as violence, bring us closer to completing that picture. The illustration presented above is centered on the violence of a particular case study, not intended to condemn or absolve the campaign in any way. Rather, by investigating the myriad behaviors and experiences that contributed to making India a perfect storm of variables that resulted in increased slaughter, we have successfully problematized overly reductive explanations for Macedonian violence and revealed the complexities of an often-overlooked campaign. Now we may say, at the very least, the violence of the Macedonian campaign in India stems from more than the soldiers' "just rage" (Curt. 9,5,20).

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VICIT DISCIPLINA MILITARIS, VICIT IMPERII MAIESTAS? LIVY 8,30–35

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In 340 BC the Great Latin War broke out. It was a time of great tension, with soothsayers (*haruspices*) declaring that one of the Roman consuls had to devote, that is sacrifice, himself in order to gain victory. It was admitted that ancient discipline had to be enforced. It was ordered that no man leave his place to attack the enemy.

One of the consuls was T. Manlius Torquatus, holding office for the third time; his son was also serving, as one of the cavalry commanders (*turmarum praefecti*). He rode far beyond his lines and encountered the Tuscan commander Geminus Maecius. There was an exchange of challenges, and next moment the clash occurred. Maecius was thrown and killed by Manlius. The latter gathered his rival's armour and, incredible to say, given that this constituted precisely the proof of the younger Torquatus' having disobeyed his father, presented it to his father. The latter declared that the authority of the consuls and military discipline must be upheld. Manlius the son was beheaded by the lictors, to the horror of the troops, who gave him a funeral with the highest honours. *Manliana imperia* became proverbial (Liv. 8,6,8–7,22).¹

Fast forward to 325 BC, now in the Samnite wars.² A dictator had been appointed, L. Papirius Cursor, who named Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus³ as his

¹ Lendon (2005, 177), being much interested in Roman passion for single combat, notes the Manlius story, but omits the much more intriguing Fabian one.

² There are six other sources for this famous story: the *elogium* (CIL I 2, p.192 = ILS 53), Val.Max. 2,7,8; 3,2,9; Frontin. *Str.* 4,1,39 (a good summary); Dio frag. 36,1–7; Eutr. 2,8,1–3; *De vir. ill.* 31,1–3; 32,1, It is noteworthy that Cicero nowhere mentions the episode—or, it seems, Rullianus for that matter. My analysis will focus naturally on Livy's version; for that is the oldest (with only the hardly enlightening fragment of the *elogium* of similar date), and that is the version which every modern historian of fourth century Rome relies upon in order to reconstruct that history (see below).

³ Augustus in his new forum made a feature of the two series of heroes, one on either side of the

magister equitum. Already on campaign, at a place called Imbrinium (otherwise unknown),⁴ a keeper of the sacred chickens (*pullarius*) alerted Cursor that the auspices were “doubtful”.⁵ He thereupon determined to return to Rome to take them afresh, warning Fabius—for obvious reasons—not to engage in his absence. Being informed by scouts, however, that the enemy were unguarded, he engaged them and won a brilliant victory, although it is important to note that the cavalry could not break the enemy lines, despite numerous charges, until they threw away their bridles, and only then the infantry gained the advantage.⁶ The spoils were extensive, but Fabius burnt them,⁷ and sent a despatch not to Cursor but to the senate.⁸ The news reached Cursor in that assembly, and he immediately rushed out to return to the camp, asserting that the dictatorship and military discipline were overthrown. Fabius meanwhile convened a meeting (*contio*) of

temple of Mars Ultor, those of the old nobility, and those of the Julian family: statues with inscriptions (elogia) highlighting their deeds and virtues. The *elogium* of Cursor does not, however, come from the Augustan Forum or its copies, from Arretium etc. Gruter in 1603 recorded it as being in the collection of Fulvio Orsini; by 1820 it was owned by Carlo Fea (1820, xxxv); by 1843 it was in the collection of an antiquarian Fossati, whence it passed to Parma. It calls this Fabius Amb[ustus], but that is his father. It uses almost the same words as Livy, claimed its editors Mommsen and Christian Huelsen—apart from this fundamental mistake about the Fabii. Münzer (1949, 1042) judged therefore that they were essentially in agreement. The *elogium*, however, unfortunately breaks off after mentioning only that Cursor had returned to Rome and that Fabius joined battle. It is the sequel which counts, precisely what we do not have. Borghese (1864, 9.101) was interested only in the history of the family. See especially *Inscr. Ital.* (1937, 39–40) for its history and bibliography. Carla Doria (2016) is interested only in the matter from an epigraphical angle.

⁴ Eutropius (c.370) states that the war occurred 139 miles from Rome (2,8)

⁵ There was a *pullarius* in every camp (Mommsen 1887, 1.85). Oakley (1998, 708) alone tries to fill in the gap in Livy’s text and explain the defect: perhaps Cursor left Rome in too great a hurry in his anxiety to engage the Samnites.

⁶ Val.Max. 3,2,9 stresses that the battle was saved only by the action of the cavalry. For a sharp summary of the Livian narrative, we turn to Hooke (1771, 3.268): Fabius “found the enemy in less disorder than he had at first expected, and was at once very near losing the day”.

⁷ Livy here (8,30,8–9 has two versions: that the spoils were burnt in fulfilment of a vow, or out of jealousy, to prevent the dictator claiming the victory as his own. The latter, note, is the interpretation of Fabius Pictor. .

⁸ Hooke (1771, 3,269) again: Livy shows that victory made Fabius “insolent”. He sent no message to Cursor, “an instance of great disrespect to the general under whose auspices he had fought”. Two problems: Cursor at this point had no auspices, having returned to Rome to renew them, and Fabius claimed to fight under his own.

the troops. After asserting that the victory was won under his command and auspices (*ductu auspicioque*, Liv. 8,31,1; a claim repeated by his father, 8,32,1), he urged the troops to protect him, accusing Cursor of jealousy, and even preferring that the enemy had won. When he had dealt with his subordinate, Fabius declared, he would then turn on all the rest. The soldiers promised their protection.

Cursor arrived back in camp, and summoned a *contio* in which he accused Fabius of disobedience. Fabius naturally could not reply, and Cursor bade the lictors strip him and prepare the rods and axes.⁹ Fabius managed to escape to the rear,¹⁰ and the clamour infected all: it was almost a mutiny (*seditio*, Liv. 8,32,13).¹¹ Cursor's lieutenants (*legati*) around the tribunal urged reflection, given the state of the troops. This only aggravated Cursor, who dismissed the officers. A herald was unable to procure silence: night brought an end to the struggle. Fabius was ordered to appear on the morrow. Instead he fled to Rome.¹²

Here he resorted to his father, Fabius Ambustus (three times consul, and once dictator),¹³ and convened the senate.¹⁴ Cursor again appeared. The "leaders of the senate and that whole body" (*primoribus partum atque universo senatu*, Liv. 8,33,6) tried to pacify him, in vain.¹⁵ Fabius' father then sought the aid (*appello*) of the tribunes of the plebs, and appealed (*provoco*) to the Roman people. Yet another *contio* was summoned, where finally Fabius the Elder was heard. He accused Cursor of treating his son like an enemy general, and of a new-fangled arrogance (*novam superbiam*, Liv. 8,33,13). He quoted historical examples of "moderation": Cincinnatus (Liv. 3,26–29) and Camillus (Liv. 6,22–25). No defeated general had ever been executed, but this penalty was now threatened against a general who had won the right to a triumph!¹⁶ Cursor replied by invoking

⁹ According to Jane Chaplin (2000, 109), Cursor "prepares to have him beaten". She has missed the whole point.

¹⁰ Here the *triarrii* were placed, observing in a *contio* the same formation as in battle: Oakley (1998, 724). Valerius Maximus 2,7,8 changes this vital episode: Fabius offered himself to the lictor's lashes.

¹¹ Eutropius 2,8 goes much further than Livy, suggesting that Cursor could have been killed at this point: noted by Pais (1928, 5.14).

¹² Again Valerius Maximus 2,7,8 distorts events: the army enabled him to flee to Rome.

¹³ A point also emphasized by Valerius Maximus 2,7,8.

¹⁴ Hooke (1771, 3.281) suggested that his father convened the senate: This makes far more sense.

¹⁵ Eutropius 2,8 mentions the support of soldiers and people, but omits the senate.

¹⁶ Mommsen (1887, 2.179) noted that, although the *magister equitum* could command an army

ing Manlius' example, and insisted on upholding military discipline, now being undermined by the tribunes and people. Cursor vividly depicted a resultant total breakdown of discipline. The tribunes were confounded, but the people asked for mercy for Fabius, for their sake. Cursor was thereupon satisfied that Fabius' guilt was acknowledged and, given that the tribunes were powerless to help, granted Fabius as a boon to the people and tribunes (*donatur populo Romano, donatur tribuniciae potestati*) (Liv. 8,30–35).¹⁷

Within fifteen years there was thus a total reversal in the traditional history of military discipline at Rome. Two young men disobeyed an order not to engage the enemy. Both won considerable victories. One was executed—by a consul, his own father; the other was spared—by a dictator. This latter commander held the highest power (*summum imperium*), obeyed even by consuls with their “royal power” (Liv. 8,32,3); the dictator's edict was always observed as divine (Liv. 8,33,2). And “the Romans believed that *disciplina militaris* was one of the corner-stones of their success”.¹⁸

It is to be noted that the following analysis will include scholarship going back to the Renaissance; for these were matters which concerned the earliest “modern” scholarship. As historians, devoted to reconstructing the past, we can under no circumstances disregard the work of our predecessors, on whose shoulders we stand. They will be seen to offer much—and we do not want to be guilty of reinventing the wheel or to be thought so arrogant as to think that all problems have been solved only in our own time.

The fundamental matter of method here is one with which historians of the early Roman state are confronted daily. Our main source is Livy—and he is the first to warn us of the problems he encountered. Deciding that we are unable to separate Livy's account from “what actually happened”, we could admit defeat and leave the page(s) a blank, or we can use the historical methods evolved since the beginning of history with the Greeks to subject Livy's text to analysis on

(citing Liv. 8,31,2 and 8,33,22), none ever triumphed (*ibid.*, 1.128)—for obvious reasons—but makes no reference to this text. Fabius had no right to a triumph: Beck and Walter (2001, 120), citing Mommsen.

¹⁷ Valerius Maximus 2,7,8 agrees that Fabius' life was saved by the entire citizen body and the tribunes, and that his punishment was remitted (*poenam concedere*). *De viris illustribus* 32,1 attributes his saving to the tears of his father and the entreaties of the people.

¹⁸ Oakley (1998, 705–706).

grounds such as possibility, plausibility, internal consistency and so on. This is what is first attempted here, in order to show that *Livy's interpretation is undermined by his narrative*.¹⁹ Then, a representative selection of modern historians will be examined to see what they have made of the story.

The first thing to note is Livy's clear indication that all is not well. Fabius fought the Samnites and won a brilliant victory: so stated the earliest historians.²⁰ Some writers claimed that he fought two such battles.²¹ Certain annals omitted the story altogether (Liv. 8,30,7). The reader has been warned. Fundamental events in this story are told very differently in the Roman historiographical tradition.

Livy is aware, of course, that this story does not stand unique in the annals of the Republic. He has both Cursor and Fabius the Elder cite what they consider to be parallels, one of *severitas*, the other of *clementia*. That of Manlius, which opened this paper, was naturally cited (twice) by Cursor (Liv. 8,30,13; 34,2). Fabius in reply referred to two cases: Cincinnatus, dictator in 458, rescued the consul Minucius, whose army was surrounded by the Aequi. Since this was apparently due to Minucius' own incompetence, the dictator then reduced him to the rank of lieutenant (Liv. 3,26–29). Fabius' second example was Camillus, military tribune in 381, now very old, given charge of the Volscian war; attached to him was the young L. Furius, also military tribune. The latter ridiculed the clever caution of his colleague, insisted on joining battle, and was soon in dire trouble. From this he was saved by the intervention of Camillus, but when Camillus was appointed to command the war against Tusculum, he especially requested a lieutenant—and chose Furius (Liv. 6,22–25).

What is instantly apparent is that none of these examples matches Cursor and Fabius: we need a dictator and *magister equitum*, and a disobedient *magister* who wins a battle.²² The closest is Manlius, cited therefore by Cursor. Manlius

¹⁹ Compare the revolution in Thucydidean studies in the 1950s when Geoffrey de Ste Croix showed that Thucydides' interpretation of relations between Athens and the allies did not accord with his evidence.

²⁰ Almost certainly a reference to Fabius Pictor, and perhaps to Fabius alone: Oakley (1998, 711).

²¹ Accepted by Paribeni (1954, 222) as a balance to Cursor's subsequent double victory.

²² Hooke (1771, 3.272): Ambustus' precedents are "not much to the purpose". He "clamoured, he brangled, he complained, he called upon Gods and men for help". This is far more useful than Jane Chaplin's (2000, 111) uncritical statement that Ambustus "strings together exempla to support his case".

the younger wins a battle, but is a *praefectus*. Cincinnatus, on the other hand, was dictator, but Minucius neither disobeyed him nor won any success. The least applicable parallel is the two tribunes, Camillus and Furius, the latter also unsuccessful. Precedent does *not* favour Fabius.

There are a number of fundamental questions here. The first is the source of this strange story. Everyone agrees that the source named by Livy is the obvious answer: Fabius Pictor (Liv. 8,30,9).²³ The story is, however, more complicated than that. A little earlier (8,30,7), Livy noted disagreement over Fabius' victory among *three* groups of sources: in the oldest historians (*apud antiquissimos scriptores*), Fabius fought one battle; but "he knew of sources" (*auctores habeo*) that gave two battles (for what purpose one wonders), and "certain annals" (*in quibusdam annalibus*) omitted the whole episode. At least here, at the beginning of the story, then, Livy followed Pictor (*antiquissimos scriptores*), but he did not follow Pictor alone. He had at least three sources, and we do not know, in fact, what exactly he was doing with them at any point, except that he later contaminates the divergent versions by having Fabius' father refer to his son's *two* victories (Liv. 8,33,21).²⁴

The second question is how Fabius, knowing that the dictator had returned to Rome precisely because there were concerns about the auspices, could join battle with the enemy.²⁵ Livy realized this question and offered some suggestions: scouts informed Fabius that the Samnites were unguarded, but adds that Fabius resented the monopoly of power by the dictator, and lastly that he thought he had a chance to strike a successful blow (Liv. 8,30,4). None of this makes any sense: if the auspices are uncertain, the condition of the enemy is irrelevant, and

²³ Niebuhr (1828–42, 3.194) asked: does "the tragic dispute become more authentic" being related by a Fabius? Of course not. Such a family source makes the story all the more worrying. For acceptance of Pictor as the source: Soltau (1897, 120) (from a *laudatio*, which it would suit very well); Cornell (1989, 369); Forsythe (1997, 295): Pictor witnessed the events of 217 at first hand! Weissenborn-Muller (1924, 278): from Pictor, but via a late annalist (!) in keeping with the then-current dogma that Livy was an arch-deceiver over his use of people like Pictor at first-hand. Shuckburgh (1894, 140) went further: the story derived from the archives of both families. It is strange that Peter Bung 1950 offers no analysis of this fragment of Pictor. Linderski (1993, 62), however, laid more emphasis on the "family myths" of the Papirii.

²⁴ Noted by Forsythe (1997, 296).

²⁵ Levesque (1807, 1.351) claimed that on hearing about Fabius' victory, Papirius forgot all about the auspices. To the contrary, it was Fabius who forgot the auspices. NB Liv. 8,32,4–5.

there is little likelihood of success. Most irrational of all is the idea that the *magister* should be incensed that the dictator had all power.²⁶ That is precisely why the dictatorship was instituted, and the *magister*, of all people, understood that. The whole story is then turned topsy-turvy: *despite* the faulty auspices, Fabius wins a victory! How can all this be explained? In the first place, Livy does not explain how Cursor or his *pullarius* realized that something was wrong—or what exactly that was. Secondly, his “explanation” of the contradiction is absurd: the (admitted) flaw in the auspices somehow did not affect the outcome of the battle; the only adverse effect was the madness of the generals (Liv. 8,30,1).

The third question is the exact definition of Fabius’ crimes. *No one has even confronted this*. They were, in fact, to begin with, *three*, and the most serious in any military manual.

1. He had disobeyed the precise order of the highest military authority in the Roman constitution not to join battle in the dictator’s absence.
2. When charged, he had incited a mutiny (Liv. 8,32,11–12).²⁷ It should be noted, in addition, that this instigation was based on totally false claims.
3. When cited to appear again on the morrow, he had gone absent without leave, or, in other words, was guilty of *desertion*, and had again disobeyed the explicit command of the dictator, in this case, to present himself on the morrow (Liv. 8,33,3).²⁸

Lipovsky draws our attention to a fundamental feature of the narrative: “Neither Livy, nor any person in the narrative, save the irate dictator, even cites [Fabius’ evil deeds] as offenses.”²⁹ Livy has presented, in that case, an entirely biased account. No wonder that there are so many modern apologists for Fabius!

²⁶ Kajanto (1957, 27) nevertheless describes this as “a good psychological explanation”. The claim reminds the present author of another ridiculous episode in the history of the Fabii: the terror of the younger Fabia at the sight of a lictor (Liv. 6,34). Phillips (1972, 341) simply restated Livy: Fabius “resented [Cursor’s] monopolization of military *gloria*”.

²⁹ Lipovsky (1981, 123).

There is something else, equally important, in another category. Cursor had returned to Rome precisely because the auspices were doubtful, as attested by the *pullarius*. Fabius joined battle not only against the dictator's orders but also in this extremely dangerous religious situation. The battle was doubtful, but eventually the Romans won. This is indeed a paradox, but the oscillating course of the battle seems to demonstrate such doubt. The crucial question is how much did Fabius know before he joined battle. Livy is not precise. Fabius certainly knew that Cursor had to return to Rome, but that could have been for any number of reasons. He knew, on the other hand, that the dictator had forbidden him to fight in the meantime. The most obvious reason for this would be a problem with the auspices. Why would Cursor not have told him? Fabius, knowingly or not, had not only committed three of the gravest military crimes, he had also imperilled the *pax deorum*.

The fourth question is what defence Fabius could make for his disobedience to the precise order of the most powerful magistrate in Rome. The truth is, he had none, as Livy admitted. What he does do is attempt to distract attention from this crime by objecting to his just punishment. He stirs up the troops by involving them in his crime, by extending the dictator's anger to the whole army: Cursor was, he claimed, no angrier with the *magister* than with the military tribunes, the centurions and the soldiers (Liv. 8,31,6); the victory was their achievement; if Cursor could destroy Fabius, he would then punish the soldiers with equal cruelty. To defend him was to defend the freedom of all (Liv. 8,31,7). To such lengths went Fabius' self-serving fantasies.

The fifth and most fundamental question is why Cursor, unlike Manlius, relented. Military discipline and the majesty of *imperium* had been upheld, he claimed (Liv. 8,35,4). This claim is, to say the least, paradoxical. He stated that Fabius had, in fact, been found guilty (*non noxae eximitur Q. Fabius*, Liv. 8,35,5). That the people, the tribunes, and Fabius the Elder begged for Fabius' to be spared proved this. The tribunes were singled out by Cursor as pleading for Fabius, although they could not do anything to help him (Liv. 8,35,5).³⁰ Cursor's legates, after the first confrontation between dictator and *magister*, suggested that Fabius had been "sufficiently chastened" and his victory "discredited" (Liv. 8,32,15): this after Fabius had defied the dictator and sought refuge with the *tribarii*, who were stirring up a riot. The tribunes in Rome used the same argument

³⁰ See n. 19 above.

(*satis eum poenarum dedisse*: 8,35,2). An obvious puzzle now arises: the exact nature of that “sufficient punishment” to which Fabius had been subjected. Livy himself, at the end, when Fabius is pardoned, asserts that “military power had been upheld no less by Fabius’ danger than Manlius pitiful punishment” (Liv. 8,36,9). This is an outrageous comparison, between one young man’s brutal execution, and another’s escape after the same crime and many others as well. We have specious arguments and desperate claims, in short, on all sides: from Cursor, his officers, the tribunes, and Livy.

There is little doubt about Livy’s fundamental personal response to such conflicts. This is shown by his outspoken personal verdict on the Manlian story of 340 (Liv. 8,7,20–22): the father’s command was frightful (*atrox*), and the bystanders broke out in laments and curses (*lamentis...execrationibus*). We must not, however, neglect the crucial element in this story which distinguishes it from Fabius’: Manlius was executed by his own father.

Moderns have sometimes seen the problem. Hooke admitted that although the appeal to the people was “unprecedented”, Cursor “did not think it expedient to dispute the superior authority of the Roman people”.³¹ Barthold Georg Niebuhr suggested that had he persisted he would have destroyed the dictatorship.³² A number of scholars have suggested that the punishment was subsequent: Fabius’ “sacking” as magister (Liv. 8,36,1): Wilhelm Ihne, Evelyn Shuckburgh, and Fritz Bandel.³³ Livy asserts no such thing: Cursor simply forbade Fabius to “exercise his magistracy in any way” (*Fabio vetito quicquam pro magistrate agere*),³⁴ and then proceeded to engage with the enemy himself. Henry Liddell declared that the dictator was “obliged to grant a forced and ungracious pardon”.³⁵ Ettore Pais thought that Cursor was satisfied after proving that the dictator was not subject to the tribunes.³⁶ Stephen Oakley suggested that, although

³¹ Hooke (1771, 3.271–272).

³² Niebuhr (1828–42, 3.195). It should be noted here in Fabius’ engagement that an element in battle accounts for which Livy is endlessly pilloried, the cavalry taking off their bridles (8,30,6), is defended by Niebuhr (*ibid.*, 1.194): the Turks did that. There is also an example in Polyb. 3,35. The point is stressed by Richardson (2012, 85).

³³ Ihne (1871, 1.390); Shuckburgh (1894, 140); Bandel (1910, 90).

³⁴ Siber (1952, 109): Cursor could not dismiss him, but incapacitated (*kaltstellen*) him.

³⁵ Liddell (1902, 176).

³⁶ Pais (1913–20, 4.7).

the tribunes wavered, “the crowd supports Fabius, and thus Cursor has to give way”.³⁷ One can only ask when had a dictator, whose orders were treated with contempt, given way to the mob. Walter Beck and Uwe Walter thought that “finally the accord of the senate, people and magistrate triumphed”.³⁸ Fred Drogula followed Livy: Cursor “was assuaged by the sustained pleas of the tribunes, senators and citizens alike”.³⁹

Military crimes are, however, only part of the charge-sheet. There is the equally important religious one: engaging with the enemy in the face of uncertain auspices. This, in Roman terms, could hardly be more serious. There is furthermore a contradiction to explain. The obvious modern authorities let us down, but *Augur Maximus* does not.⁴⁰ Jerzy Linderski explains that a commander could take auspices in the field, but the most crucial were those connected with his election (civilian) and those taken before leaving the city (military). On these depended ultimately the “validity and felicity of practically all undertakings in war”. To ignore these requirements “would have exposed the republic to the utmost danger”. Hence the striking return by Cursor in mid-campaign all the way from the field to Rome. The explanation of the contradiction is there in the account: the auspices were only “uncertain” (*incertis*), and the result of the battle presumably shows that they were after all favourable.⁴¹ Fabius *could not, however, count on that*. His own military crimes affected only himself. His disregard for the gods, however, was far more serious: it imperilled the lives of countless men and exposed Rome to defeat in the most dangerous of all her wars to subdue the Italian peninsula.

A major concern is the constitutional problems raised by the narrative. Livy is constantly derided for his mistakes regarding constitutional law, which are used to undermine his reliability as an historian. Theodor Mommsen, still the founder of our understanding of Roman constitutional history, however, referred again and again to this story for constitutional points, and found it extraordinarily sound.⁴² The most basic question is whether the *magister equitum*

³⁷ Oakley (1998, 729).

³⁸ Beck and Walter (2001, 120).

³⁹ Drogula (2015, 121).

⁴⁰ It is incredible that neither Altheim (1933), nor Latte (1960) makes any reference to this episode.

⁴¹ Linderski (1993, 62–63).

⁴² Mommsen in his *Staatsrecht* has, in fact, some thirty references to this story. Mommsen (1887,

could command an army. Mommsen stated that he could, and Siber agreed, citing these precise passages, as did De Martino: the *imperium* of the magister was connected to his own magistracy, not delegated from the dictator. Giovannini asserted that, in the absence of the dictator, the magister commanded under his own auspices; all magistrates had *auspicium*, including the magister (he cited only Liv. 8,31,1 and 8,33,22).⁴³ Weissenborn-Muller and Oakley disagreed: Fabius “falsely claims to have fought under his own auspices”.⁴⁴ All these commentators have missed a vital clue provided by Livy (8,30,9): if Cursor could claim Fabius’ spoils as his own, the magister was fighting under the dictator’s auspices. Vervaeet agreed, accepting the second version as an example of how the *summus imperator* could take credit, whether he physically led the army or not.⁴⁵

Livy’s attitude to the story must finally be considered. That can be most securely determined by noting, alongside his direct judgements, his characterisations of Cursor and Fabius. The dictator is overcome with anger and resentment (*iram tristitiamque*),⁴⁶ he rushes headlong from the senate house (*ex curia proripuit*), full of threats and anger (*plenus minarum iraeque*) and thirsting to inflict

1.99) cited, for example, Liv. 8,30,2 (also 23,19,2; 23,36,2) for the basic law that the commander had to take the auspices on the Capitol before leaving the city. If auspices proved to be defective, he therefore had to return to Rome to renew them. Other examples of exactness in details include the possibility that the absent Cursor might have used Rullianus’ booty for his own triumph (8,30,9), or that Cursor removed private citizens to below the rostra (8,33,10). On the other hand, as one of the Arctos readers observed, it was impossible that a patrician could seek the aid (*auxilium*) of a tribune at this stage of the “Conflict of the Orders”. Mommsen (1887, 2.164; 2.292) believed that such aid was available. It was invalid, however, against a dictator: *non iustum auxilium* (8,35,5); Oakley (1998, 743), followed by Drogula (2015, 121): Fabius invoked his “right of *provocatio*”, but the tribunes were “helpless to resist the authority of the dictator”. He stresses, on the other hand, that Fabius’ story among others (Liv. 4,13–14), illustrates the dictator’s use of *imperium* within the city. A clear nonsensical element is Ambustus’ ‘appeal’ against the dictator. If we seek an excuse, it may be taken as simply a sign of the father’s hysteria. He surely knew better in his calmer moments. There was no appeal against a dictator: Lange (1876, 3.70); Mommsen (1887, 1.276; 2.164–65). Levesque (1807, 1.353) already knew that. Against the dictator neither the intercession of the tribunes nor the right of *provocatio* was valid: Meyer (1964, 158). Oakley (1998, 728–29) regarded this passage and 2.55,4–8, and 3,56,5 all as unhistorical.

⁴³ Mommsen (1887, 2.179); Siber (1952, 109); De Martino (1958, 1.390); Giovannini (1983, 35).

⁴⁴ Weissenborn-Muller (1924, 280), quote from Oakley (1998, 705).

⁴⁵ Petrucci (1996, 50–51); Vervaeet (2014, 121). There is, strange to say, no attention to this episode in *Praeda* (2009).

⁴⁶ On *tristitia*, see Oakley (1998, 715).

punishment (*avidum poenae*, Liv. 8,30,11–13); Fabius describes his uncontrollable cruelty (*impotenti crudelitate*), his insanity induced by jealousy (*amentem invidia*), his anger at another's bravery and good fortune (*iratum virtuti alienae felicitatique*), his imputed preference that the Samnites defeat the Romans, and his jealousy of others' bravery (*invidia impedire virtutem alienam voluisse*, Liv. 8,31,1–3; *invidia* again, 8,31,7). When he tries to execute Fabius, he is called cruel (*inclementem*, Liv. 8,32,13). His legates have the audacity to warn Cursor against fanning a mutiny: he alone would be blamed, if, blinded by anger (*occaecatus ira*), he provoked the mass of the soldiers by a “misguided struggle” (*parvo certamine*) to impose his sentence (Liv. 8,32,16–17).⁴⁷ Fabius flees to Rome because Cursor will be even more hostile (*infestius*) the next day (Liv. 8,33,3). There he describes to the senate Cursor's violence and injustice (*vim atque iniuriam*, Liv. 8,33,4). When Cursor appears, he is furious (*infensus*, Liv. 8,33,8)—not unnaturally—and the senators cannot deflect his cruel intention (*immitis animus*, Liv. 8,33,6). At the subsequent *contio*, Fabius the Elder inveighs against Cursor's pride and cruelty (*superbiam crudelitatemque*, Liv. 8,33,11, and again, 8,32,13), his anger and violence (*iram violentiamque*, Liv. 8,33,19). Not even when he pardons Fabius is any kinder epithet bestowed on him.⁴⁸ One can only call Livy's antipathy to the dictator unrelenting—and not meant to leave any reader in doubt where his sympathies were to be placed.⁴⁹

The *magister*, by contrast, is introduced as a “wild young man” (*ferox adulescens*, Liv. 8,30,4),⁵⁰ who refuses to share credit (*minime cum eo communicantis laudes*, Liv. 8,30,10). Then comes the switch: Cursor's own legates referred to Fabius as a young man without equal (*unico iuveni*, Liv. 8,32,15).⁵¹ They argued that it was not in the interests of the state (*e re publica*, Liv. 8,32,18) to pun-

⁴⁷ Lipovsky (1981, 121–122) claims that in Cursor's speech before the army (Liv. 8,32,1–8) “his strict formality gives him the air of a bully”—as if the most formal and personal command had not been disobeyed. Cursor emphasizes his own rights rather than the bad example to others. “Worst of all is his relentlessness in seeking Fabius' execution”. Perhaps his mistake, then, was giving Fabius a chance to justify himself, unlike Manlius' father.

⁴⁸ Dio *frag.* 36 suggested that Cursor's resistance was to increase Fabius' and his supporters' gratitude. Cursor “is not portrayed in a good light”: Oakley (1998, 706). Liddell (1902, 175) knows other things: Cursor was “a man with little education, of great bodily strength”.

⁴⁹ Lipovsky (1981, 115–116) claims that his characterization in Livy is “idiosyncratic”.

⁵⁰ *Ferocitas* is the defining trait of the *iuvenis*: Cic. *Sen.* 33.

⁵¹ Indeed, in the annals of Roman military discipline!

ish Fabius. On his return to Rome, despite being absent without leave, he was supported by the senate, the people, and the tribunes (Liv. 8,34,1). Cursor, it is admitted, at the end of the story accused him of disobeying both military discipline and the power of the dictator (Liv. 8,34,2), in sum, of indiscipline (*licentia*, Liv. 8,34,11). The positive view of Fabius is shared by Valerius Maximus, who stressed his bravery, success, and noble birth (Liv. 2,7,8)—all irrelevant to the charges, note.⁵²

There is therefore to be no doubt in anyone's mind that Cursor is defined again and again primarily by anger and cruelty. Fabius, on the other hand, despite his disobedience, and insults to his superior, is rarely assigned any critical labels and, to the contrary, gains *everyone's* support.

A very detailed analysis of Livy here is provided by James Lipovsky.⁵³ He divides the narrative into four parts: Liv. 8.30,8–33,22; 33,23–35,9; 35,10–36,4 and 36,5–37,2. He shows that Livy is first intent on condemning Cursor for his implacability, and trying to defend Fabius, by disassociating his “offences” from his personal attributes: *virtus nobilitasque* (33,7). In the second section, Cursor appears much more reasonable, emphasizing the importance of military discipline. He then wins the argument. In section (3), however, he reverts to harsh discipline, which results in military reverses. In section (4), Cursor swings about yet again, wins the affection of his army and crushes the Samnites. In sum, a major theme of book 8 is military discipline. The Manlii illustrate its being upheld by severity, Cursor “the effectiveness of mingling *severitas* with *comitas*.” This may well be Livy's message, but this paper argues rather that, in that case, Livy has distorted the whole and obvious point of the story.

What have modern scholars made of it all?⁵⁴ Nathaniel Hooke summed

⁵² Lipovsky (1981, 116) admits on the one hand (*recte*) that “there ought to be no worse scoundrel on earth, such is the magnitude of his disobedience and of his unrepentance” (the second point is very important), but in the next breath contradicts that entirely: “he is undeniably a sympathetic figure”. To the contrary, his final escape is utterly unprincipled. Cornell (2004, 119) asserts that “Livy's artful presentation of the episode is carefully balanced on the substantive issue [...] but is largely favourable to the Fabian side; the intervention of M. Fabius Ambustus [...] turns the dispute into a family affair”.

⁵³ Lipovsky (1981, 115–130).

⁵⁴ One would have expected that Machiavelli, of all people, would discuss the meaning of it all in his *Discorsi* (1531), under military discipline (2,16), but there is nothing. And in 3,22 he mentions Manlius' severity, but not Cursor's. Carlo Sigonio, the greatest sixteenth century authority on the Roman constitution (1715, 567) refers to Cursor's dictatorship, but not his *magister* Fabius.

up perfectly: the people and tribunes supported Fabius “not as innocent, not as a just exercise of power, but by their prayers for mercy on a convicted criminal”.⁵⁵ The greatest scholar of the eighteenth century on the constitution, Louis de Beaufort, noted only the total power of the dictator over the magister, citing Livy 8,32.⁵⁶ Niebuhr simply retold the story without drawing any lessons.⁵⁷ Mommsen omitted it entirely in his Roman history—in total contrast to the great attention which he paid to it in his *Staatsrecht*. George Cornwall Lewis declared the story “highly characteristic of the Roman notions respecting the maintenance of military discipline”.⁵⁸ Ihne declared that “the sanctity of military discipline had been solemnly acknowledged by this submission”.⁵⁹ De Sanctis is interested only in the military details, and declared Fabius’ victory “more than suspect”.⁶⁰ His account is frustratingly short. For Pais the key was *vicit disciplina militaris, vicit imperii maiestas* (Liv. 8,35,4), the “just rigour of military discipline”.⁶¹ William Heitland took the whole episode as illustrating “the stern discipline of the Golden Age”.⁶² Herbert Havell stated that “without impeachment [*sic*—surely impairment] to the majesty of a great office (the dictatorship), a gallant life was saved for the service of the Republic”.⁶³ Fritz Bandel, following Mommsen, thought that the story was all to illustrate that the dictator was not subject to *provocatio*.⁶⁴ Karl Elvers gnomically states that the story is “meant to explain the anomaly regarding constitutional law”.⁶⁵ Bruce Frier identifies the central point: the story was not flattering to Fabius.⁶⁶ Betty Radice, translator of Livy, identified the moral as

⁵⁵ Hooke (1766, 3.273).

⁵⁶ De Beaufort (1766, 403). There is no mention in de Beaufort’s *De l’incertitude des cinq premiers siècles de l’histoire romaine*, Utrecht 1734.

⁵⁷ Niebuhr (1828–42, 3.192–5).

⁵⁸ Lewis (1855, 2.443).

⁵⁹ Ihne (1871, 1.390).

⁶⁰ De Sanctis (1907, 290).

⁶¹ Pais (1913–20, 4.7; 124)

⁶² Heitland (1909, 1.145). He continues: “But while the dictator is abusing his subordinate we feel that his proper place is at the head of his army, and the story as it stands is worthless”.

⁶³ Havell (1914, 108).

⁶⁴ Bandel (1910, 90).

⁶⁵ Elvers (1978, 4.372).

⁶⁶ Frier (1979, 244).

Cursor's command to Fabius, described, indeed, as "today's lesson": "that in war and peace you are able to bow to lawful authority"⁶⁷—only this is precisely what Fabius did not do. According to Oakley, the "moral of the tale is that military discipline can be upheld without resort to needless brutality".⁶⁸ This, indeed, is Livy's message, but it does not seem to accord with our standard impression of Roman military law. Hans Beck and Uwe Walter described Livy's account as a "stylized debate about *maiestas imperii*"⁶⁹ — "stylized", when it includes threatened executions and mutinies? Beck naturally follows closely, but adds now the vital insight that Pictor illustrates "the inner conflict of the nobility, indeed, to some extent [*sic*] one of the principles of their political culture: conflict".⁷⁰ Fabius became "an instant exemplum for others", according to Chaplin, "a pointed foil for Manlius' harshness".⁷¹ An exemplum of, or for, what? For Myles McDonnell it was a close-run but jolly thing: "The daring young officer disobeyed and won a great victory, but nearly forfeited his life for his disobedience".⁷² Sara Phang in her study of military discipline tries to downplay the story, which is "rhetorically presented" by Livy and Valerius Maximus: "As authors of the new imperial dispensation, they moralize on the necessity of military discipline".⁷³ Pat Southern omitted fundamentals: she makes no mention of the essential peg (the doubtful auspices), and Fabius was put on trial "despite his success", whereupon "the soldiers rioted".⁷⁴ In sum, as Pais quoted directly, moderns have seized upon Livy's phrase put into Cursor's mouth: *vicit disciplina militaris, vicit imperii maiestas* (8,35,4). All one can say is that this is not what Livy's story tells. A young subor-

⁶⁷ Radice (1982, 18–19). Bloch and Guittard (1997, 1287–1290) devote attention only to the historical precedents and offer nothing on the present case.

⁶⁸ Oakley (1998, 707).

⁶⁹ Beck and Walter (2001, 121).

⁷⁰ Beck (2003, 82–83). So similarly, Uwe (2004, 246). Beck 2005, a study of the aristocracy and the beginnings of the *cursus honorum*, refers to Cursor and booty in 325 (204) and the cumulation of offices by the Fabii (166)—but says nothing of this episode.

⁷¹ Chaplin (2000, 110–111). In Hans Beck's very rich analysis of middle republican politics (2005), his focus is on the third and second centuries, and Fabius' crimes are not mentioned.

⁷² McDonnell (2006, 204).

⁷³ Phang (2008, 122).

⁷⁴ Southern (2014, 67). Scopacasa (2015, 135) refers to the story in only two footnotes: the burning of the booty by Fabius, and Cursor's punishment.

dinate of the most powerful office in Rome has committed multiple crimes and been let go scot free, when only a few years before a consul had executed his own son for only one such breach.

The central question is obviously being begged: was Fabius guilty of the crime of disobedience—not to mention the other two military charges? Livy's own most express statement, which becomes rather submerged in all the subsequent emotion, is that on the first reading of the basic charge by Cursor when he returns to camp, it was "far from easy" for Fabius to answer the charges (Liv. 8,32,9); he was, in fact, convicted of the crime (*noxae damnatus*, Liv. 8,35,5). It is a rare modern scholar who confronts this matter. Hooke declared roundly that Fabius had violated "not only the common laws of Military Discipline, but also the express order of the dictator".⁷⁵ Pierre Charles Levesque declared Fabius "brave but guilty" ("il valeureux coupable").⁷⁶ Wilhelm Ihne implied as much when he stated that Fabius threw himself on "the magnanimity and mercy of the dictator".⁷⁷ Roberto Paribeni stated simply that he was guilty ("colpevole").⁷⁸ Lipovsky was clear, at least here: "And yet Papirius is in the right. His *magister equitum* did violate orders, flouting military discipline".⁷⁹ Oakley wrote that "the young man, his father, the tribunes and the people all turn from argument to entreaty, thereby admitting the guilt of the *magister*...L(ivy) leaves us in no doubt that Fabius Rullianus was legally in the wrong".⁸⁰ This much is crystal clear.

The obvious source is Fabius Pictor, the first Roman annalist, writing a little over one century later. Is the story, therefore, to be regarded as historical? Gaetano De Sanctis regarded the very foundation of the story, Fabius' victory, as "more than suspect"; that of Cursor might then have been invented as a counterbalance:⁸¹ invention leading to invention. Friedrich Münzer first discussed the matter in his *RE* article on Fabius in 1909. The story was unhistori-

⁷⁵ Hooke (1771, 3.270).

⁷⁶ Levesque (1807, 1.352).

⁷⁷ Ihne (1871, 1.390).

⁷⁸ Paribeni (1954, 223).

⁷⁹ Lipovsky (1981, 121) – as is usual with modern scholars, one out of four crimes is noticed.

⁸⁰ Oakley (1998, 70).

⁸¹ De Sanctis (1907, 305).

cal, simply a paradigm for the supremacy of military discipline and the majesty of command (Liv. 8,35,4). It was based on events of 217 involving Fabius and Minucius (Polyb. 3,101–3, Liv. 22,24–26), not to mention the Manlii in 340.⁸² By 1920 Münzer admitted, however, that “the background is provided by a real enmity between the two clans”.⁸³ Fritz Bandel could accept nothing: the victory, the enmity, the “trial”: it was all a product of Fabian family bias. He therefore deleted Fabius’ magistership, and accepted only Cursor’s dictatorship and victory.⁸⁴ Ettore Pais explained the clash as a reflection of the enmity between Papirii and Fabii, citing 310 (Liv. 9,38,9–14), but also reflecting the clash between Fabius and Minucius in 217.⁸⁵ Karl Julius Beloch was suspicious of even the triumph of Cursor, despite its appearance in the *Acta Triumphalia*. The derivation of the story from Pictor similarly did not prove its authenticity. He regarded the episode as a duplicate of the victory of the same Fabius in 322 (Liv. 8,40,1–3 and *Acta*).⁸⁶ Frank Adcock followed the now orthodox view: that all was modelled on 217.⁸⁷ Howard Scullard noted only Cursor’s subsequent victory.⁸⁸ In his *RE* article on Cursor in 1949, Münzer declared the story unhistorical, in contrast to his certainty about Cursor’s victory.⁸⁹ Luigi Pareti differentiated Cursor’s victory, recorded in the *Acta*, from that of Fabius: a doublet of 315—meaning 310 (Liv. 9,38,9–14).⁹⁰ L. Halkin noted an often overlooked detail: Fabius as consul a mere three years later, and operating in Apulia, celebrated a triumph for victories over both Samnium and Apulia.⁹¹ Roberto Paribeni agreed with Münzer. The epi-

⁸² Münzer (1909, 1800).

⁸³ Munzer (1999, 105).

⁸⁴ Bandel (1910, 91).

⁸⁵ Pais (1913–20, 4.124). By the time of Pais’ contribution to Georges Glotz’s *Histoire generale, Histoire romaine* in 1940, any detail in the account of the Samnite wars was eschewed: there were too many contradictions and doublets. Cornell (1995, 353) avoided the whole fascinating episode, mentioning only a victory at Imbrinium, but no commander.

⁸⁶ Beloch (1926, 396). The victory is ascribed to *both* consuls Fabius and Fulvius Curvus in a one line variant.

⁸⁷ Adcock (1928, 598).

⁸⁸ Scullard (1935, 120).

⁸⁹ Münzer (1949, 1042).

⁹⁰ Pareti (1952, 1.689).

⁹¹ Halkin (1953, 17–18), cited by Bloch and Guittard (1987, 76).

sode provided “a dramatic and risky beginning” to Fabius’ career, to enhance his later deeds.⁹² Togo Salmon was interested only in the military history of the wars against the Samnites, but suggested a connection with 217.⁹³ Marta Sordi went so far as to declare even Fabius’ victory an invention of Pictor—but then he had burned all the booty!⁹⁴ Bruce Frier tried to explain the connection with Pictor. He may have constructed this parallel for 217 because it involved his cousin Verucossus, but at the same time he admitted the existence of *litterae* (Liv. 8,30,10), which may have come from a family archive.⁹⁵ Lukas Grossmann pointed out that the account of the wars 326–320 was very summary, but this episode receives six chapters in Livy; that it was one of few from the Samnite wars found in authors after Livy (the others being the Caudine Forks and Sentinum). This episode, however, has no comparable importance. It owes the attention given it to the fact that it appeared already in Fabius Pictor, and that it concerned the two leading generals in the Samnite wars. Grossmann’s most important observation, however, is that it is “principally of an internal political character.”⁹⁶ The resolution of the conflict was certainly fought out at Rome, because of Fabius’ desertion, but that does not confront the fundamental questions. James Richardson, in a specialist study of the Fabii, adduced more ingenious parallels. He seized on the involvement of Rullianus’ father, and drew parallels with events of 391: Q. Fabius, the ambassador (Diod. Sic. 14,113), and with Rullianus’ own son, Gurges in 192 (Liv. *Per.* 11). He goes on to stress patterns in Roman aristocratic family behaviour as depicted by the sources, with Cunctator as the exemplum—but that seems applicable to Rullianus’ later career.⁹⁷

There have been exceptions to this scepticism. According to the famous critic George Cornwall Lewis, the story “contains nothing improbable”. He then went on, however, to deny that it could be derived from a contemporary source.⁹⁸

⁹² Paribeni (1954, 223).

⁹³ Salmon (1967, 220).

⁹⁴ Sordi (1969, 45–46).

⁹⁵ Frier (1979, 244; 269). He claimed that Salmon argued that Pictor invented the incident—but Salmon makes no such statement; he also mistakes Mommsen’s reference for the fact that the magister could not triumph: Mommsen (1871, 1.128, not 3.128).

⁹⁶ Grossmann (2009, 54).

⁹⁷ Richardson (2012, 88–89; 95).

⁹⁸ Lewis (1855, 2.443–444).

Another exception is Filippo Cassola, who argued that the annalists may have embellished the story, but they started from the two offices held by Cursor and Fabius and a tradition of enmity, which could hardly have been invented by Pictor only a century later.⁹⁹ E. Phillips also stated that the story had been doubted “without sufficient reason and may be accepted as basically true”. This is because Fabius “never forgave Papirius for this affront to his *dignitas*”, and its repercussions played out by later senatorial differences over foreign and economic policy.¹⁰⁰ Beck and Walter gave two reasons why they did not think the story an invention of Fabius: the reason he gave explicitly for Fabius’ burning of the spoils was not a credit to him, and the source seemed to be a document in the Fabian family archives.¹⁰¹ Tim Cornell defended Livy’s Samnite narrative as depending not on late annalistic fiction, but a reliable version from Fabius.¹⁰²

It is agreed, therefore, almost unanimously that the whole story is an invention, devised as a precedent for events of 217. We have demonstrated above that the parallels supposedly drawn by Fabius the Elder do *not* fit. It is time to examine the famous episode of 217. We may begin deliberately with the more elaborate Livian version (Liv. 22,14; 22,24–29). Fabius Maximus (Cunctator) has been appointed dictator, Minucius Rufus is his *magister*. Rufus is violent and hasty. Fabius has to return to Rome “for religious reasons” (*sacrorum causa*, Liv. 22,18,8). He “commands, counsels and almost begs” Rufus to exercise caution (*non imperio modo, sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus agens*). Rufus engages the Carthaginians, claiming victory (in fact the losses on both sides are heavy), and sends a letter to Rome, producing uproar. The tribune Metilius moves a bill to make the *ius* of the *magister* equal to that of the dictator (Liv. 22,25,10). Fabius confronts Rufus for engaging against his orders. The outcome is not his punishment, but the division of the army in two. Rufus engages the enemy again, by himself, and suffers total rout (Liv. 22,28,10–14), and has to be rescued by Fabius. He then totally collapses and begs forgiveness (Liv. 22,29,7–30,6). Polybios (3,94–105) tells the story without any moralising. Fabius returned to Rome

⁹⁹ Cassola (1962, 141–143), noting that it is unlikely that it was Cursor in Apulia who nominated Fabius as dictator in 315.

¹⁰⁰ Phillips (1972, 341–342).

¹⁰¹ Beck and Walter (2001, 121).

¹⁰² Cornell (2004).

to perform certain sacrifices,¹⁰³ ordering Rufus to avoid disaster. The result of the first engagement is given without casualty figures (Polyb. 3,101–102). The second engagement, the rout, and Rufus' being saved by Fabius are recorded without Livy's extended emotional conclusion.

What exactly are the elements of 217 which are reflected in 325? The only connection is that there is a dictator and a *magister*, and the latter is told not to engage in the dictator's absence. The Fabius in 217 is not the *magister* but the dictator. The dictator is absent for quite different religious reasons. The order not to engage could not be given in more different ways. The *magister* engages first with dubious success, not brilliant and worthy of a triumph. Most importantly, however, the central features of the story of 325 are totally absent: first, the dictator takes no action against the disobedient *magister*; rather he is *rewarded* by being given powers equal to those of the dictator. Second, the *magister* then as 'co-dictator' engages for a second time, with disastrous results. Third, the most important element of the story, the conclusions, bear no resemblance one to another: in 325 the *magister* is saved from capital punishment by the combined pleas of the Romans of all classes, in 217 he is saved from military defeat and death by the kindness of the dictator himself. The most fundamental difference, perhaps, is that in 325 the arrogant young Fabius simply walks away, whereas in 217 the co-dictator offers a lengthy and humiliating apology. In short, the two dictators could not be more contrasting. One further final divergence: the dispute in 325 is between two patricians, in 217 between a patrician and a plebeian.¹⁰⁴

In sum, it is difficult to imagine how anyone could argue that the story of 325 was modelled on that of 217. It is indeed amazing that even Münzer¹⁰⁵ could make such a claim; no wonder, however, that Pais, always on the search for 'doublets', would seize upon this as an example. Since then such claims have been accepted, incredible to say, without murmur.¹⁰⁶

As proof of the desperation of modern scholars to dismiss the story by any means, Beloch claimed another parallel, in 322 (Liv. 8,40,1–3). Pais and Pareti also suggested a parallel in 310 (Liv. 9,38,9–14). In 322, in the Samnite wars,

¹⁰³ This perfectly suits what we know of the religious duties of the Fabii; cf. Dorsuo during the Gallic invasion (Liv. 5,46)

¹⁰⁴ Richardson (2012, 88) stressed the important divergences.

¹⁰⁵ The scholar, it should never be forgotten, who wrote all the biographical articles in RE from C to P.

¹⁰⁶ A rare exception is Cassola (1962, 141–142).

Rullianus was consul, and his father Ambustus (!) was *magister equitum*, and supposedly won a great victory over the enemy (Liv. 8,38–39). There is no clash with the dictator, no disobedience. The Romans in 310 had suffered a defeat in Samnium under consul Marcius Rutulus. A dictator was to be appointed by the other consul, none other than Rullianus. The senate nominated Papirius Cursor, his old superior commander, the leading general of his time. Fabius opposed this out of private enmity (*infestus privatim*)—presumably the events of fifteen years before. It required a delegation of ex-consuls to convince Fabius to make the appointment. One can see at a glance that there is no parallel at all.

The parallels adduced in ancient and modern times, therefore, are *totally inappropriate*. The episode cannot therefore be swept aside as an invented “doublet”. The claims of modern scholars simply prove one thing: the desperation that the story would go away. Livy’s narrative of 325 is, on the other hand, constitutionally sound—and this must be stressed. There is, as well, so much that is anomalous in the story: it is totally subversive of the dominant themes of Roman military history: despite Cursor’s claims, it is crystal clear that great damage has been done to Roman command and discipline. Intervention from powerful quarters *can* save one from penalties for the most serious crimes. Most suggestive of all, perhaps, is the fact that this story, drawn from Fabian family sources, shows Fabius Rullianus in a most unattractive light¹⁰⁷—*ferox adulescens*—at the beginning of his career. In the system of Roman aristocratic values, Rullianus’ dangerous and selfish behaviour finds no context.¹⁰⁸ A strong case may be made, therefore, for the authenticity of the episode.

Some might be tempted, *if they believed the story*, to set it in the context of Roman aristocratic military *mores*. The Roman aristocracy was a military ruling class, and *virtus* was its highest virtue. Young men were expected to prove themselves, especially by some great deed of valour, as soon as possible.¹⁰⁹ Our account of Fabius Rullianus does not at all fit this paradigm. There was no deed of personal valour, and no young Roman aristocrat could expect to find renown

¹⁰⁷ See Frier, above.

¹⁰⁸ Rosenstein (2006). Nota bene: “Service to the Republic remained the focus of aristocratic life and seeing to it that deviations were suppressed” (*ibid.*, 373).

¹⁰⁹ Rosenstein (2007, 133–138), who cites Old Cato’s son and the recovery of his lost sword (Plut. *Cat. Mai.*, *Min.* 20, 7–8), Marcellus saving his brother’s life (Plut. *Marc.* 2,1–2), and Scipio Aemilianus killing an enemy soldier in a duel (Appian *Iber.* 53).

by the gravest contraventions of both military discipline and religious ritual.

An explanation of these anomalous events is required. Those conversant with the brilliant second chapter in Münzer's *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien* can never forget the picture which he paints of the greatness and dominance of the Fabii, three generations of *principes civitatis*, whose power in this way was unparalleled, before and after. Ambustus was three times consul, as was Gurgus.

"Both were linked to and surpassed by the second [our Rullianus], who began his career in 331, still in his father's lifetime, and pursued it beyond his son's [Gurgus'] beginnings, beyond 292, during which time he acquired five consulships, two dictatorships, and the censorship."¹¹⁰

Evelyn Shuckburgh alone detected something: "a Fabius was sure to have powerful friends"¹¹¹ He obviously remembers his Livy: the disobedient *magister* was supported in Rome most notably by the *primores patrum* and the *universus senatus* (Liv. 8,33,6). Cursor might be intransigent, but this was a baulk hard to ignore. Livy, however, gave most credit to the people for saving Fabius' life (Liv. 8,33,8; 34,6; 35,5–6). We may sort out the apparent contradiction. Most weight should be placed on the highest orders.

There is nothing to contradict and everything to support the picture of the young Fabius, an impetuous and ambitious young man imbued with the pride of his illustrious family, now given the highly important traditional post of *magister equitum* and seeing his chance for fame, heedless of the grave risk from the uncertain auspices. Against all odds, he wins a desperate victory, only to be confronted by his most severe commanding officer. He again with utter recklessness twists and turns, but has not a leg to stand on. He commits the second crime of inciting mutiny to save himself. That does not suffice. He then commits the third crime of deserting the camp. In this way, he manages to shift the location of the story from the camp where he is under the strictest code of obedience—although he seems for the most part to be oblivious of such duties—to the capital where, although the dictator can exercise his *imperium*, the now dominant Fabian influence can be brought to bear. Being a Fabius, son of a father who has held three consulships and who was a leading figure in public life from 360 to 322, it is no surprise that support can be mustered from all sides—despite

¹¹⁰ Münzer (1999, 55).

¹¹¹ Shuckburgh (1894, 140).

the fact that everyone knows that there is no legal argument which can save him. It is this extraordinary, indeed paradoxical, situation which is finally accepted by Cursor. In truth, power and status have triumphed, as usual.¹¹²

If this is a convincing interpretation, we have won two new insights: a further striking and suggestive example of the dominance of the Fabii in the early Republic, and a most revealing example of the character of the young Fabius Rullianus. The rejection by Münzer is paradoxical; for the episode would have constituted one of the most powerful pages in his second chapter to illustrate that Fabian dominance. How many young aristocrats have had an undisciplined early career, but have finally settled down and risen to their responsibilities? Rullianus had, indeed, a somewhat varied career, despite all those consulships, before he appears finally to have come to understand the importance of military discipline, winning with Decius the battle of Sentinum in 295, which decided the destiny of the peninsula.¹¹³ A human question, however, hangs over all: did Fabius in later life ever reflect on the fact that a young man a little older than himself had been brutally beheaded for crimes far less than his own, the penalty for which he himself had so shamelessly avoided?

There is no way that the events of 325 can be conceived as the upholding of military discipline. The all-powerful dictator¹¹⁴ was forced to climb down in the face of the most shameless and partisan civilian and familial pressure. Military discipline had been entirely *subverted*. It would have been of the greatest interest to see how the official eulogists in the Augustan forum, where Cursor featured, manipulated this fact. The true nature of the story, properly understood, is the strongest evidence that it cannot have been invented.

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¹¹² As a reader has suggested, the story boils down to the point in Livy that Papirius could not carry out his punishment. What this paper has attempted to analyse is what explanation Livy gives for this.

¹¹³ Even Cornell (2004, 125) admits that “the Battle of Sentinum, in particular, can justly be seen as the event that made the Romans’ domination of the entire peninsula inevitable”, in an important contribution that revises the way the Samnite wars are presented and rightly absolves the Samnites from a desire to rule the whole of Italy.

¹¹⁴ He was the sole exception to the principle of collegiality in the Roman constitution, and there was no appeal against his commands. This was an office created precisely to give one man total control in a crisis.

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LATIN COGNOMINA ENDING IN *-ILLIANUS*

OLLI SALOMIES*

My aim in this paper is to catalogue and discuss a smallish group of Latin cognomina, namely those derived from existing cognomina by adding the ending *-illianus*, as for instance in *Maximillianus* (for those derived from *nomina* see below). The suffix *-illianus* (if it appears in cognomina derived from cognomina) belongs to those suffixes which can be described as “late”, by which I mean suffixes appearing in cognomina in our sources only after the early Empire; other “late” suffixes are e.g. *-ianus* (if derived from cognomina), *-illus* (if derived from either *nomina* or cognomina; to be contrasted with the female suffix *-illa* attested already in the late Republic), *-ius*, *-icinus* (a combination of the suffixes *-ico-* and *-ino-*). The consular *fasti* give us an indication of the spread of the cognomina with these suffixes: the earliest consul with a cognomen ending in *-ianus* derived from a cognomen rather than from a *nomen*¹ is, as far as I can see, A. Cornelius Palma Frontonianus consul in 99 and again in 109;² this man is followed in from AD 115 onwards by a number of Severiani,³ in 155 by a cer-

* Thanks are due to the two (anonymous) referees of this paper. Abbreviations of epigraphical publications are mainly those of the *Année épigraphique* (sometimes slightly modified). ‘Kajanto’ = I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Comm. Hum. Litt. 36:2, 1965); PFOS = M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial (I^{er}–II^e siècles)* (1987); *Repertorium* = H. Solin & O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum* (1994²).

¹ Cognomina in *-ianus* derived from *nomina* are of course attested already in the Republican period especially as adoptive cognomina (Scipio *Aemilianus*, etc.).

² The cognomen certainly derives from *Fronto*, not from *Frontonius*, a late *nomen* attested mainly in the provinces.

³ P. Iuventius Celsus T. Aufidius Hoenius Severianus was consul in AD 115 (see *AE* 2005, 299) and again in 129. *Severianus* derives certainly from *Severus* rather than *Severius*, cf. T. Hoenius Severus, consul in 141. The next Severiani are Sex. Cocceius Severianus Honorinus consul in 147 and M.

tain Sabinianus, in 157 by a certain Orfitianus and in 160 by a certain Hastianus.⁴ As for *-illus*, the earliest consul with a cognomen derived with this suffix from a name (and not identical with a noun or a diminutive form of a noun)⁵ is Plautius Quintillus, consul in 159 (and father of another Quintillus, consul in 177); in the third century, after the not exactly datable late Severan consul L. Caesonius Lucillus Macer Rufinianus (the son of one Manilia Lucilla),⁶ we find Lucillus consul in 265 and Sabinillus consul in 266.⁷ The earliest consul with a cognomen ending in *-ius* is Constantius (one of the two *Caesares*) in AD 294, who is followed by many consuls with a cognomen of this type in the fourth century, and the first (and the last) consul with a cognomen derived from a name with the double suffix *-ic-inus* is Lupicinus in AD 367.⁸ As for *-illianus*, the suffix to be discussed here, the earliest consul with a cognomen of this type is P. Manilius Vopiscus Vicinillianus (etc.), consul as early as 114; he is followed in the third century by Sex. Catius Clementinus Priscillianus, consul in 230.

Kajanto in his book on the Latin cognomina says (p. 13)⁹ that “the ending *-illianus* generally appears in the form *-ilianus*”, but stresses that the correct form must have been *-illianus*. The endings *-ilianus* and *-illianus*, however,

Sedatius Severianus consul in 153.

⁴ [Nin]nius Hastianus, surely the son or grandson of Q. Ninnius Hasta, consul in 114 (himself a descendant of an homonymous consul in 88).

⁵ Cognomina such as *Pulvillus* (attested for early Republican Horatii between 509 and 386 BC [RE Horatius 13–15]), *Camillus* (attested for Republican and early imperial patrician Furii [RE Furius 41–48]), *Regillus* (attested for patrician Aemilii from the third century onwards [RE Aemilius 127–130]) thus belong to a different category.

⁶ PIR² C 209, consul probably in 225/230, cf. P. M. M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander* (1989) 184.

⁷ As mentioned above, female cognomina in *-illa* are attested already during the Republic. The wife of Catiline was called Aurelia Orestilla (RE Aurelius no. 261) and the corpus of Republican inscriptions, CIL I², includes inscriptions mentioning women called Balbilla, Lucilla (but the reading of the inscription from Rome, CIL VI 14574 = I² 1273, now lost, seems uncertain and problematic), Posilla and Urbilla. In his youth, Augustus was alleged to have had a relationship with a Terentilla and a Rufilla (Suet. Aug. 69,3); cf. my observations in W. Eck & M. Heil (eds.), *Prosopographie des Römischen Kaiserreichs* (2017) 126–8.

⁸ Cf. *Ursicinus*, attested for several fourth-century men (PLRE I Ursicinus 1–7).

⁹ Cf. the same author's *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage* (AIRF II:1, 1963) p. 68f.

should not necessarily be lumped together; in spite of this, Kajanto tends to ignore the difference between names in *-ilianus* and *-illianus*, for he normally registers cognomina with these two endings as representing just one cognomen; for instance the cognomina *Quin(c)tilianus* and *Quin(c)tillianus* appear in his lists conflated as *Quin(c)til(l)ianus* (p. 153 and 174). But the fact is that, if there is a significance in the difference between the two spellings *Quintilianus* and *Quintillianus*,¹⁰ we are dealing with two names with different etymologies, for *Quintilianus* with one *L* should be regarded as having been derived from the nomen *Quintilius*, whereas *Quintillianus* with double *L* should be seen as a derivation from the cognomen *Quintillus/Quintilla*, itself derived from the nomen *Quintius* or in some cases from the praenomen *Quintus* (cf. n. 79).

But whereas the nomen *Quintilius* is only rarely written with a double *L*, there are also nomina in which case we find both forms in *-ilius* and forms in *-illius*, for instance *Petil(l)ius* and *Popil(l)ius*, and the forms in *-illius* can of course be used in deriving cognomina in *-ianus*. Moreover, even in the case of nomina for which *-ilius* with one *L* was certainly the normal and correct ending we sometimes find spellings with double *L*, both in the case of nomina ending in *-ilius* (e.g. *Caecilius*) and in the case of those ending in *-illius* (e.g. *Atillius*), both nomina occasionally appearing as *Caecillius* and *Atillius*.¹¹

As a result, we find two types of cognomina ending in *-illianus*, those derived from nomina (not considered here) and those derived from cognomina:

- *Atillianus*¹² *Petillianus*¹³ *Popillianus* etc., derived from the nomina *Atillius* *Petillius* *Popillius*; and, on the other hand,
- *Maximillianus* *Novatillianus* *Priscillianus* derived normally from the female cognomina *Maximilla* *Novatilla* *Priscilla* (rather than from the masculine *Maximillus* *Novatillus* *Pris-*

¹⁰ From now on, I omit the references to the archaic and solemn forms with a *c*.

¹¹ There are some instances of both forms in the Claus-Slaby database.

¹² For *Atillianus* cf. W. Eck, in M. Maiuro & al. (eds.), *Uomini, istituzioni, mercati. Studi di storia per E. Lo Cascio* (2019) 299–319 (a letter of Hadrian, dated *Pontiano et Atilliano co(n)s(ulibus)*); *CIL VIII* 3011; C. B. Welles in C. H. Kraeling (ed.) *Gerasa* (1938) no. 172 (Ἀττλιανός).

¹³ In *CIL V* 58 = *Inscr. It. X* 1, 89, C. Plaestinus C. f. Petillian[us] is the brother (adopted by a certain C. Plaestinus) of Q. Petillius C. f. Velin[a] Crispus.

cillus, cf. below), for their part derived from the cognomina *Maximus Novatus Priscus*.

Now in the case of *Atillianus Petillianus Popillianus* there is no problem in identifying these cognomina as having been derived from nomina rather than from cognomina. But in the case of some nomina in *-ilius* corresponding to nomina in *-ius*, especially *Lucilius Quintilius* (but also *Sextilius* etc.), there is a problem, for these names, too, can sometimes be written with a double *L*; *Lucillius* is in fact not that rare,¹⁴ and as for *Quintillius* note M. Quintillius Epaphroditus and his freedwoman in *CIL* VI 25275. Cognomina could of course also be derived from these forms, this resulting in *Lucillianus* and *Quintillianus*, forms which could also be derived from *Lucillus/Lucilla* and from *Quintillus/Quintilla*. On the other hand, we also often find (as observed by Kajanto, cf. above)¹⁵ cognomina which should have the suffix *-illianus* having been furnished with the suffix *-ilianus*: a legate of Moesia Inferior in 236–8 appears in our sources both as Flavius Lucillianus and as Flavius Lucilianus,¹⁶ and the cognomen of the third-century senator, M. Caecilius Novatillianus, appears in one inscription correctly as *Novatillianus*, but as *Novatilianus* in two other inscriptions pertaining to him (cf. below at n. 46). Cf. also e.g. *Crescentilianus Gratilianus Magnilianus Maximilianus Pacatilianus Priscilianus Sergilianus Titilianus* in the catalogue below, all forms in *-ilianus* representing certainly or at least probably forms in *-illianus*.

¹⁴ For *Lucilius* written as *Lucillius* cf. e.g. *CIL* VI 21587; *AE* 1991, 456 (Abella); *CIL* IX 3097; *CIL* V 5176. 7946; *CIL* XII 65; *CIL* XIII 4548; *Tituli Aquincenses* II 662; *CIL* VIII 15614. For Λουκίλλιος in Greek inscriptions cf. *Arctos* 41 (2007) 72, with references not only to inscriptions but also to Λουκίλλιος the poet, often appearing in the *Anthologia Palatina*.

¹⁵ Cf. M. Niedermann, in *Mélanges de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire ancienne offerts à Alfred Ernout* (1940) 271f. = Id., *Recueil Max Niedermann* (1954) 225f., although I am not sure his summary of the issue is altogether adequate (“*Maximiliānus* et *Priscilliānus* sont de simples variantes phonétiques et graphiques de *Maximiliānus* et *Prisciliānus*”); for one thing, the *i* preceding the *l* was surely short, not long (cf. *Priscilianus amor*, the second hemiepes of a pentameter in *ILCV* 1307 = *ICVR* 19220).

¹⁶ See *PIR*² F 306; the cognomen is written with double *L* in *CIL* III 7605 = *ISM* V 97 and in *AE* 1926, 98 = *IGBulg.* II 638. This man may well be identical with L. Flavius Lucilianus, patron of Canusium in AD 223, *CIL* IX 338 = *ILS* 6121 = *ERC* 35). Cf. below at n. 34.

As for the derivation of the cognomina in *-illianus* derived from cognomina, I observed above that most of them would be derived from female cognomina in *-illa*; the main reason for this claim is the fact that female cognomina in *-illa* are far more common than their masculine equivalents in *-illus*.¹⁷ Moreover, we find this derivation appearing now and then in our sources;¹⁸ note *CIL* VI 37097, Laecanius Novatillianus son of Faminia Novatilla; *CIL* X 2771 (Neapolis), Nepotillianus son of Nepotilla; *CIL* III 3553 = *Tituli Aquincenses* 641, (Iulius) Quintillianus son of Septimia (?) Quintilla; *CIL* III 3998 = *AIJug.* 583 (Municipium Iasorum), Carmaeus Atticillianus son of Iul(ia) Att<i>cilla (or perhaps *At<t>icilla*); *CIL* III 14360 Titius Lucil[*l*]ianus son of [---]m(ia) Lucilla; *IGR* IV 1234 = *TAM* V 2, 957 (Thyatira), M. Αὐρ. Πρεισκιλλιανός, a knight, son of Αὐρ. Ἀθηναῖος (an Asiarch) and Φλ. Πρεῖσκιλλα. In Kremna in Pisidia, Rutilianus Longillianus Callippus, a duumvir of the colony, is surely a close relative of a certain Ulpia Rutiliana Longilla (cf. below at n. 34); and cf. below at n. 70 on P. Iul(ius) Iunianus Tironillianus. On the other hand, there are also male cognomina ending in *-illus*, and especially *Quintillus*, attested also in senatorial families, is not extremely rare;¹⁹ and there is in fact an inscription from Berytus mentioning a certain [Ti. (?) Car]maeus Ti. f. Fab. Montanus Quintillianus who was the son of Ti. Carmaeus Quintillus (*AE* 1939, 63 = *IGLS* VI 2748).

I shall now proceed to an examination of the attestations of the cognomina in *-illianus* which are relevant from my point of view.

¹⁷ This was already observed by Niedermann (n. 15). Note e.g. that, according to the prosopography of senatorial women by Raepsaet-Charlier (*PFOS* p. 807), seventy different cognomina in *-illa* are attested for senatorial women of the first two centuries AD, whereas only three or four cognomina in *-illus*, *Tuscillus* *Laevillus* *Quintillus* and possibly *Bassillus*, are attested for senators in the same period: for *Tuscillus* see *PIR*² M 475 (the son of a consul in AD 99) and *PIR*² P 108 (consul in AD 135, see below n. 82); *Laevillus*: *PIR*² I 391 and 477; *Quintillus*: *PIR*² P 473f.; *Bassillus* (?): *PIR*² B 73 (from a fragment of the *fasti* of the Palatine *salii*, *CIL* VI 1977, now lost, recording this man's election; but the cognomen, sometimes restored as *Bassil[us]*, could also have been *Bassil[lianus]* or *Bassil[ianus]*).

¹⁸ Some of the instances mentioned below are also quoted by I. Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies* (n. 9) p. 69.

¹⁹ Cf., in addition to the senatorial Plautii Quintilli (above at n. 5 and n. 17), *PIR*² A 1480 = *PLRE* I Quintillus 1 (perhaps identical with a procurator of Sardinia under Claudius, i.e. in 268–270, *AE* 1984, 446) and *PLRE* I Quintillus 2; and *CIL* II 1754. 3002; *HEp* 1993, 248 = *AE* 1989, 361d; *ILJug.* 2578; *IGLS* VI 2748; *CIL* VIII 5681. 6766. 6831. 7880. 9205. 21131; *ILAlg.* I 2314; *ILAlg.* II 1500. 4502. 5395; slaves and freedmen: *AE* 1982, 287 = *Suppl. It.* 1 Falerii Novi 41; *CIL* III 12363.

Atticillianus (Kajanto p. 168 and 203):²⁰ C. Galbius Atticillianus, a *praetextatus* in Canusium in AD 221 (*CIL* IX 338 = *ILS* 6121 = *ERC* 35); for Carmaeus Atticillianus in Municipium Iasorum see above.

Balbillianus (Kajanto p. 240):²¹ C. Domitius Balbillianus, son C. Domitius Alexander, centurion of the legion *III Augusta* (*CIL* VIII 2863 cf. 18152); [---] Γ(---?) Βαβιλλιανός in a prytany list from Cyzicus, mentioning also Aurelii (*CIG* 3664, l. 18).

Bassillianus (?): cf. n. 17.

Crescentillianus (Kajanto p. 234):²² T. Magnius Felix Crescentillianus, prefect of Egypt under Valerian and Gallienus (*PIR*² M 96); Plotius Crescentilianus (*sic*), *fl(amen) p(erpetuus)* in Thamugadi, *CIL* VIII 2403 (A. Chastagnol, *L'albun municipal de Timgad* [1978]), 1, 32 (c. AD 350); Kajanto also adds the

²⁰ According to Kajanto p. 203, *Atticilla* is attested for two senatorial women, sixty other women and one freedwoman. This cognomen is probably normally derived from *Atticus*, but there is also the nomen *Atticius*; this nomen could incidentally be the source of the only attestation of *Atticillus*, namely the four-year-old son of a certain T. Sici[nius ---] (*CIL* VI 12701); this inscription also mentions a [---] *cia* Prima, who may be Sici[nius]' wife and the boy's mother, in which case one could think of restoring [*Attic*] *cia*.

²¹ Kajanto p. 240 mentions several women with the cognomen *Balbilla*, one in a Republican inscription (*CIL* I² 2109 = XI 4930), two senatorial, fourteen other and one Christian. But *Balbillus* is also attested, and interestingly already in the first century. This cognomen is found in a relatively early inscription from Rhegium (*IG* XIV 617 = *IReggio Calabria* 8; dated to the Julio-Claudian period by the editor L. D'Amore on p. 35) and for three persons, apparently all of eastern origin, in the middle of the first century, namely for two men called Ti. Claudius Balbillus, both from Alexandria and active in the middle of the first century, *PIR*² C 812 (one of the Alexandrian ambassadors to Claudius in AD 41) and 813, probably the former's son, equestrian and prefect of Egypt between 55 and 49 AD. Moreover, there is Balbillus, Nero's astrologer (Suet., *Nero* 36; *PIR*² B 38), possibly mentioned in *CIL* III 7107 = *ISmyrna* 619 (see *PIR*² T 190) and in that case another Ti. Claudius. In addition, there is Ti. Iulius Balbillus, a *sacerdos Solis* attested in the time of Septimius Severus in a number of inscriptions from Rome (*CIL* VI 708. 1027. 1603. 2129. 2130. 2269. 227), a certain Βάλβιλλος ἠουοκᾶτος (*IG* XIV 997 = *IGUR* 124), and a Balbillus who with his wife Firma set up the funerary monument of their son L. Arruntius Heliodorus in Castrum Novum (*CIL* XI 3590). There are also some Balbilli or Barbilli in Egypt, the choice of the name possibly having been inspired by the prefect.

²² According to Kajanto p. 234, there are 25 instances of *Crescentilla* in the *CIL* and one freedwoman *Crescentilla* in *CIL* X. But *Crescentillus*, not registered by Kajanto or in the *Repertorium*, is also attested, namely in *CIL* VI 39061 cf. H. Solin, *Analecta epigraphica* (1998) p. 73 = EDR103417 for M. Ulpius Crescentillus, a boy of 11 years and the son of Ulpia Lartilla and the brother of C. Anaedius Trofimus.

bishop of Lambiridi in Africa in AD 411, Crescentilianus (sic; P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae Catholicae* [1873] p. 466).

Domitillianus (Kajanto 168):²³ Κλ(αύδιος) Δομετιλλιανός Πρόκλος, a senator from Sagalassos (*IGR* III 356 = *I. Sagalassos* 41, proposing a date in the first part of the third century).²⁴

Flaccillianus (*Repertorium* p. 332):²⁵ attested as a second name for two non-citizens in the Lydian cities Philadelphia (Ἀλέξανδρος γ' Φλακκιλιανός (sic), *TAM* V 3, 1460) and Silandus (Ἀπολλώνιος β' Φλακκιλλιανός, *TAM* V 1, 62 of AD 186/7). In Asia Minor, the cognomina *Flaccillus* and *Flaccilla* are attested in Ephesus.²⁶

Flavillianus (*Repertorium* p. 333).²⁷ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Φλαβιανός Φλαβιλλιανός, an athlete from Oenoanda in Lycia in the Severan period (*SEG* 44, 1169; 1194-6; *AE* 2011, 1412, cf. *AE* 2016, 1720); and two Φλαβιλλιανοί, surely somehow connected with the athlete, are mentioned in the genealogical inscription of Licinnia Flavilla (Λικιννία Φλάβιλλα) from the same town (*IGR* III 500, III, l. 70; IV, l. 15).

Frugillianus (*Repertorium* p. 335). H. Solin registers Φρουγιλλιανός Αὐξάνων from Phrygian Apeamea (*MAMA* VI 225), but there is also [---]nius Tiro Frugillianus, a *camillus* at a meeting of the Arval brethren in AD 155 (*CIL* VI 2086 = J. Scheid, *Commentarii Fratrum Arvalium qui supersunt* [1998] p.

²³ According to Kajanto p. 168, fifteen Domitillae are known, including three senatorial women and a Christian. (But the Claus-Slaby database gives 38 results for the search 'Domitilla' and the PHI Greek Inscriptions database three results for 'Δομίτιλλα' and 'Δομέτιλλα'.)

²⁴ Cf. H. Halfmann, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* II (Tituli 5, 1982) p. 641.

²⁵ For *Flaccilliana* (cited in *Repertorium* from an unpublished inscription) see now *AE* 2001, 301 (Rome). As for *Flaccilla*, this cognomen is according to Kajanto p. 240 attested for more than thirty persons, including four senatorial women, one freedwoman and one Christian.

²⁶ For the high-priestess Φαβωνία Φλάκκιλλα see *IEphesos* 1060; and there is also at least one Favonius Flaccillus (Φαβώνιος Φλάκκιλλος, cf. *IEphesos* 667 and 823), who could have been Flaccilla's son or descendant (Flaccilla is dated to around AD 200 by G. Frija in her prosopography of priests and priestesses in Roman Asia, no. 131 [see <http://www.pretres-civiques.org/recherche?str=Favonia&type=&cite=&empereur=&pretrise=&after=&before=>], where the Flaccillus (or Flaccilli?) is (are?) dated to the third century. In Ephesus, the cognomen *Flaccilla* is perhaps also attested in *SEG* 34, 1108 ([Α]ρουντία Φλάκ[κιλλα?]).

²⁷ For *Flavilla* see Kajanto p. 169 and 227; *TAM* II 920 (Rhodiapolis). Several Flavillae appear in the family tree of Licinnia Flavilla (cf. below).

236–9 no. 80, l. 28; J. Rüpke, *Fasti sacerdotum* [2005] p. 711 no. 349; not registered in *PIR*² F or T), perhaps from Asia Minor, where one finds not only the Frugillianus from Apamea but also several attestations of the cognomen Φρούγιλλα (and also of Φρούγιος Φρουγιανός etc.).²⁸

Gratillianus (Kajanto p. 147 under cognomina derived from nomina; cf. p. 282, where Kajanto cites *Gratilianus* with one *L* as being derived from *gratus*).²⁹ In both places, Kajanto, who does not seem to distinguish between the two spellings, also mentions persons whose cognomen is written with just one *L*, but on p. 282 he does cite (under *Gratilianus*) Flavius Gratillianus, epistrategos of Heptanomia in Egypt in AD 164/165 (*PIR*² F 282; J. D. Thomas, *The epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* 2 [1982] p. 188 no. 46). There is also M. Antius Grat[il]lianus, quaestor of Sicily in AD 213 (*CIL* X 7228; *PIR*² A 782), in whose case the cognomen seems to have been written with a double *L*.³⁰ The cognomen *Gratillianus/-a* (for the female equivalent *Gratilliana* see n. 29) is surely derived from *Gratilla*;³¹ but what about *Gratilianus* with just one *L*? The nomen *Gratilius* is attested³² and *Gratilianus* could thus be derived from this nomen; but the nomen is rare, whereas cognomina identical with, or derived from, *gratus* are common, and I thus suggest that in most cases the cognomen written as *Gratilianus*, of which we know five instances,³³ should in fact be in-

²⁸ See T. Corsten (ed.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* Vol. V.A (2010) p. 459; J.-S. Balzat & al. (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* Vol. V.B (2013) p. 435. Cf. H. Solin, *Repertorium* p. 335 (with only one instance of *Frugilla* outside Asia Minor).

²⁹ For the female equivalent *Gratilliana*, not registered by Kajanto or in the *Repertorium*, see *IAquil* 372; *CILA* I 68.

³⁰ Although it must be admitted that the name, inscribed at the end of line 5 and in the beginning of line 6, could possibly also have been *Grat[i]llianus* rather than *Grat[il]llianus*. However, the stone was seen by Mommsen who must have assumed that two letters were needed to fill the lacuna. There is a photo of this text at ISic0508 (<http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/inscription/ISic0508>), but not of the side on which the quaestor is mentioned.

³¹ For this cognomen see Kajanto p. 282 (almost thirty instances); senatorial *Gratillae* are listed in *PFOS* 790 and 795.

³² *CIL* VI 19115. 19116. 35398; *CIL* X 2491. 2492; D. K. Samsaris, *Η Ακτία Νικόπολη* (1994) p. 51 no. 2, cf. p. 175.

³³ See *AE* 2007, 1770 (an equestrian officer, AD 178); *CIL* VI 2579 (centurion of the praetorians in AD 211/222); *AE* 2004, 1243 (Novae, apparently a legate in 218/222); *PIR*² N 139 (AD 257); *PLRE* I *Gratilianus* (ca. AD 300).

terpreted as representing *Gratillianus*.

Longillianus (*Repertorium* p. 353). This cognomen is attested only in Pisidia for the patron of Ειρήνη Λονγιλλιανού και Σεουήρου οικονόμισσα (*MAMA* VIII 399 from the “Pisido-Phrygian borderland”; the two men are perhaps brothers), and for Ῥοτειλιανός Λονγιλλιανός Κάλλιππος, duovir of the colony of Kremna in about the middle of the third century (*ICentral Pisidia* 39, 40, 41), who must be closely related to Οὐλ(πία)Ῥοτ(ειλιανή) Λόνγιλλα (*ICentral Pisidia* 38), the presence of the cognomen *Longilla* (not in Kajanto or in the *Repertorium*)³⁴ indicating the derivation of the cognomen *Longillianus*.

Lucillianus (Kajanto, who does not distinguish between *Lucillianus* and *Lucilianus*, p. 149 among cognomina derived from nomina and p. 173 among nomina derived from praenomina via *Lucil(l)us*). The cognomen of Flavius Lucillianus, legate of Moesia Inferior in AD 236–8, appears in our sources both as *Lucillianus* and as *Lucilianus* (above n. 16). This name is written with a double *L* in many inscriptions, e.g. *CIL* VI 9559; *ICVR* VII 20015. 21904. 21905; *AE* 1990, 285 = *Suppl. It.* 4 Trebula Suffenas 65; *CIL* X 8317 (Sicily); *CIL* II² 14, 727 (Saguntum, *Lucill[ianus]*); *CIL* III 5771 = 11885 (Raetia); *CIL* III 14360 (Vindobona); *CIL* VIII 4813 = *ILAlg.* II 6336. However, it is only in the case of *CIL* III 14360 (already cited above at n. 18) that we can be fairly sure that the intended reading was in fact *Lucillianus* and that the name was derived from *Lucilla*, for in this particular case we know that the mother was called Lucilla; in the other cases the orthography with two *L* may just be a variant of *Lucilianus* and the name derived from the nomen written with a double *L* (cf. n. 14). On the other hand, we also observe cases where *Lucilianus* was probably written instead of the expected *Lucillianus*; thus perhaps in the case of the inscription from Moughtiacum, *CIL* XIII 6811, where Adiatorius Lucilianus, an equestrian, is the son of Ulpia Lucilla.

Magnillianus (Kajanto p. 275):³⁵ P. Allius Magnillianus, the son of P. Alliu[s] A[n]n[i]us (?) (*aed(ilis)*, *IIIvir*) and [---]ia Nucерina (*CIL* X 8105 = *In-*

³⁴ *Longilla* is attested also in *I. Sagalassos* 20 (the same women *ibid.* no. 94) and in *MAMA* VIII 129 from the “Isauro-Phrygian borderland”.

³⁵ *Magnillus* is attested for a *vicarius Africae* in AD 391 (*PLRE* I Magnillus; cf. H. Solin, *Arctos* 45 [2011] 150) and for [--- ?] Magnillus, a 10-year-old boy who died in Vesontio (*CIL* XIII 5396). Kajanto p. 275 registers nine Magnillae, including one senatorial (*PFO*s 447, second century) and one Christian woman (note *ILJug.* III 1300 = *IMS* III 2, 45 from Timacum Maius, where T. Fl(avius) Maximus has three daughters, Maximilla, Magnilla and Quinta).

scr. It. III 1, 29, Volcei); (Vetulenius) Magnilianus (sic), the son of Q. Vetulenus Urbanus Herennianus, a *fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus)* and *cur(ator) r(ei) p(ublicae)* (*CIL* VIII 23964 [= *ILS* 5713]. 23965 from an African city between Carthage and Thuburbo Maius, ca. AD 300).³⁶ *Magnilianus* is written with one *L*, but as the nomen **Magnilius* is not attested, the assumption that even in this case we are dealing with a name which should in fact have been written *Magnillianus* seems plausible.

Marsillianus:³⁷ Valerius Pudens Marsillianus *c(larissimus) v(ir)* (*AE* 2016, 1853 from a site near the modern city of Meknassy in Tunisia).

Maximillianus (Kajanto p. 276).³⁸ This cognomen is attested within the nomenclature of C. Neratius C. f. C. n. C. pron. C. abn. Cor. Proculus Betitius Pius Maximillianus, a local dignitary and patron of Aeclanum (*CIL* IX 1160 = *ILS* 6485, set up in AD 138/161), who must be identical with a man of almost the same name, but with *Maximillianus* preceding the elements *Betitius Pius* (*CIL* IX 1161).³⁹ This man must be the ancestor of the senators mentioned in *CIL* IX 1126 and *CIL* IX 1121 = 1162, both with the cognomen *Maximillianus* included

³⁶ For the date cf. C. Lepelley, *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire* II (1981) p. 77. The two identical inscriptions *CIL* VIII 23964 and 23965 both begin with the genitive *Magnilianorum* (only this text, and not also the son's cognomen, is cited by Kajanto) which because of its position and because of the genitive looks like a *signum* of sorts; because of the plural one could assume that the father used his son's cognomen *Magnilianus* as a *signum* (cf. I. Kajanto, *Supernomina. A Study in Latin Epigraphy* [1966] p. 50).

³⁷ *Marsillus* (Kajanto p. 185), derived from the cognomen *Marsus*, is attested for D. Laelius Marsillus from the Sabine city of Amiternum (*CIL* IX 4502), who may be identical with, or closely related to, D. Laelius D. f. Pal. Marsil[us] (*CIL* IX 4508). *Marsillus* in *CIL* XIII 3069 (Cenabum in the Lugdunensis, mentioning a certain Marcus Marsilli) may be barbarian. As for *Marsilla*, Kajanto says that there are two *Marsillae* in *CIL*, probably referring to *CIL* X 3020 (Puteoli) and *CIL* IX 3945 (Alba Fucens close to the country of the Marsi), but note also *ICVR* 21899a and especially Tullia P. f. Marsilla Quentina Rossia Rufina Rufia Procula, a senatorial woman (*PFOS* 767; *PIR*², T 396; *AE* 2014, 449), certainly a close relative of P. Tullius Marsus, suffect consul in AD 206 (*PIR*² T 385).

³⁸ *Maximillus* (Kajanto p. 276) seems to be attested only in Africa (*CIL* VIII 6328 = *ILAlg.* II 9547, *Maximilus*; *ILAlg.* I 2653); *Maximillus* in *CIL* III 5914 = *IBR* 266 (Raetia), adduced by H. Solin, *Arctos* 44 (2010) 246, is just a tentative and surely incorrect restoration of a corrupt text (cf. J. Osnabrügge in HD058816). As for *Maximilla*, Kajanto registers more than 100 *Maximillae*, including three senatorial women and nine Christians.

³⁹ Thus S. Evangelisti, in M. L. Caldelli & G. L. Gregori (eds.), *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio, 30 anni dopo* (2014) 642.

in their nomenclatures (*PIR*² M 404; B 119).⁴⁰ As for the patron mentioned in *CIL* IX 1160, who looks like either the son of a certain Neratius and one Betitia or the son of Betitius and Neratia,⁴¹ *Maximillianus* clearly goes with *Betitius* rather than with *Neratius*, and this takes us to a certain Betitia C. f. Maximilla in *CIL* IX 1234. It would be good if we could take this woman to be an ancestor – say the mother or the grandmother – of the patron in order to explain the presence of the cognomen *Maximillianus*, but according to the inscription this Maximilla was married not to a certain Neratius but to Vibius, and there are problems with the date of this inscription;⁴² but there can in any case have been several generations of Betitiae Maximillae.

To continue with senatorial Maximilliani, there is also Q. Marcius Victor Felix Maximillianus, legate of the legion XIII Gemina in Dacia under Severus and Caracalla, and his son, mentioned in the same inscription (*CIL* III 1118 = *IDR* III 5, 350), P. Marcius Victor Maximillianus (*PIR*² M 253, 254); these men are clearly Africans.⁴³ But there are also persons with the cognomen *Maximilianus* with just one *L*; as the nomen **Maximilius* is not attested, we have most probably to assume that this cognomen is derived from *Maximilla* and that the correct orthography would in each case have been *Maximillianus*. For fourth- and fifth-century Maximiliani belonging to the higher classes see *PLRE* I Maximilianus 1 and 2, *PLRE* II Maximilianus 1–3 and *CIL* VI 41332. Clearly this cognomen must have had an upper-class ring to it, for among the *plebs* the instances are rare; the most interesting one is L. Annius Maximilianus in *CIL* IX 1216 from Aeclanum, i.e. the same city where we observe upper-class

⁴⁰ See now Evangelisti (n. 39) p. 650f. no. A7 and A8, dating no. A7 to the middle of the second century and no. A8 to about the Severan period.

⁴¹ Evangelisti (n. 39) p. 646 prefers the latter scenario.

⁴² Evangelisti (n. 39) p. 651 (no. A10) dates the inscription to the second half of the second century, but in EDR134490 the same author assigns it the date “71 d.C. / 130 d.C.”.

⁴³ M. Corbier, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* II (*Tituli* 5, 1982) p. 687–9, attributing them to Bulla Regia. The son is surely identical with P. Marcius Maximillianus, patron of Canusium in AD 223 (*CIL* IX 338) and with Marcius Maximillianus, governor of a province (Pannonia Superior?) in AD 240 (*AE* 1998, 1619) and perhaps also with a certain Maximillianus, proconsul of Asia in AD 253/4 (*TAM* V 3, 1422); this proconsul was assumed to have been called Flavius Montanus Maximillianus (*PIR*² F 323; B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum* I² [2009] p. 92 no. 26:220), but it now seems that the second cognomen of the proconsul Montanus was in fact *Maximianus* (for all this see *MAMA* XI 104 with P. Thonemann’s commentary; *AE* 2012, 1489 = *SEG* 62, 877).

Maximilliani (see above) who may have provided the inspiration for this man's cognomen.⁴⁴

Nepotillianus (Kajanto p. 305): Nepotillianus son of Nepotilla (*CIL* X 2771 from Neapolis, already cited above at n. 18).

Novatillianus (Kajanto p. 353):⁴⁵ C. Laecanius Novatillianus, *subpr(aefectus vigilum)* in and around AD 207, the son of Laecanius Vitalianus and Faminia Novatilla, known from five inscriptions (*PIR*² L 37); and his son Laeccanius (sic) Novatilianus (sic), mentioned in *CIL* VI 1621 (*PIR*² L 36). M. Caecilius Novatillianus, a senator possibly from Beneventum⁴⁶ in the later third century (*PIR*² C 66), known from three inscriptions: the cognomen is written *Novatillianus* in *CIL* IX 1572 = *ILS* 2939, but as *Novatilianus* with one *L* in *CIL* IX 1571 and in *CIL* II 4113 = *CIL* II² 14, 973.

Pacatillianus (*Repertorium* p. 373):⁴⁷ P. Cavarasius Pacatilianus, the son of P. Cavarasius Cataplus and Cavarasia Nice (*AE* 1978, 39 from Rome). In the commentary in the *Année épigraphique*, it is said that *Pacatilianus* “dérive visiblement du gentile *Pacatilius*”, but **Pacatilius* is not attested, and the commentary would have gained very much by the inclusion of a reference to *CIL* XIV 2660 = XV 7833, a *fistula* from Tusculum belonging to Cabarasia (sic) P. f. Pacatilla, as this *fistula* shows that *Pacatilianus* must (as one would in any case expect) derive from *Pacatilla* and moreover, that the correct orthography would be *Pacatillianus*. As for the relation of this Pacatilla to the parents of Cavarasius Pacatil(l)ianus, my guess is that the parents were freedmen of Pacatilla, who had given their son a cognomen derived from the cognomen of their patroness.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ For other instances see the Clauss-Slaby database under “Maximilian-”, with a number of instances also from Christian inscriptions.

⁴⁵ For *Novatilla* see Kajanto (and Faminia Novatilla below); add Attia Flavia Veratia Augurina Novatilla *c(larissima) p(uella)* (*AE* 1977, 22; her family is perhaps from Ephesus, cf. M. Heil in *PIR*² V p. 423).

⁴⁶ But see G. Camodeca, in P. Caruso (ed.), *Antiqua Beneventana* (2013) 238f.

⁴⁷ For *Pacatilla* (written *Pacatila* in *CIL* IX 2615) see Kajanto p. 262 and below. Add Emilia (sic) Pacatilla in Sitifis, *BACTH* 1946–49, p. 350.

⁴⁸ For freedmen giving their children cognomina identical with, or reminiscent of, the cognomina of their patrons, cf. my observations in H. M. Schellenberg & al. (eds.), *A Roman Miscellany. Essays in Honour of Anthony R. Birley* (2008) p. 85–88.

Passenillianus: M. Casineius Vassius Passenillianus Titianus *c(larissimus) v(ir)*, AE 2013, 334 = G. Camodeca, EDR135848 from Beneventum (about Severan). This cognomen is evidently derived from **Passenilla* (apparently not yet attested),⁴⁹ for its part derived from the nomen which appears in our sources as *Passenus Passenius Passienus Passienus*.⁵⁰ *Casineius*, *Vassius* and *Titius* are attested in Beneventum, whereas *Pass(i)eni(i)* are not found in the area,⁵¹ so perhaps one could conclude that the item *Passenillianus* in this man's nomenclature came from the maternal side.

Primillianus (?) (Kajanto p. 291): according to Kajanto this cognomen is attested in *CIL* VI 9487 = *ILS* 7743 and, written with one *L*, in AD 411 in "Series episc. 466";⁵² but even in *CIL* VI 9487, now lost, the copies of Cyriacus have the reading *Primiliano* (or *Prymiliano*) with just one *L*, which has been corrected to "*PRIMILLIANO*" in *CIL*. However, it is certainly possible to assume that the name should be understood in both cases as representing *Primillianus*, which should then be derived from *Primillus/Primilla*.⁵³ On the other hand, it is possible to postulate the existence of the nomen *Primillius*, for there is a Greek inscription from Beroea mentioning Πρεμιλλιανὸς Κούρτιος and his freedwoman Πρεμιλλιανὴ Διονύσια (*SEG* 27, 274 = *IBeroeae* 334), and nomina in *-ius* are frequently furnished with the suffix *-ianus* in Greek inscriptions from Macedonia,⁵⁴ all this resulting in the possibility that *Primillianus* could in fact be derived from the nomen *Primillius*. But surely the derivation from *Primillus/-a* is the most plausible one.

⁴⁹ But note *Passenil[la]* in *CIL* VIII 23156 = *ILS* 9292 = *ILPBardo* 116.

⁵⁰ For this variation see my article in F. Mainardis (ed.), 'Voce concordi'. *Scritti per Claudio Zaccaria* (2016) 615–631.

⁵¹ Cf. G. Camodeca in the presentation of this inscription in *Antiqua Beneventana* (cf. above n. 46) p. 241.

⁵² This is a reference to P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae Catholicae quotquot innotuerunt* (1873/1886) p. 466, where we find a certain Primilianus, bishop in Lucus Magnus in Africa in AD 411.

⁵³ For this cognomen see Kajanto p. 291, with almost 150 instances of *Primilla*. The corresponding masculine form *Primillus* is attested in Afilae (M. Ulpius Prim[il]lus, EDR153007), Beneventum (C. Helvius Primillus, *CIL* IX 1836), Catina (L. Arrius Primillus, *CIL* X 7048), and in a Christian inscription from Rome (*ICVR* I 2936 = *ILCV* 3896).

⁵⁴ See my paper in *Arctos* 18 (1984) 97–104.

Priscillianus (Kajanto p. 288).⁵⁵ This cognomen is sometimes written *Priscilianus*, but seeing that there is no trace of the nomen **Priscilius* combined with the fact that *Priscilla* is quite common and that even its masculine equivalent *Priscillus* is not unknown (n. 55), it seems certain that all attestations of *Priscilianus* with one *L* are to be interpreted as representing *Priscillianus* derived from *Priscillus/Priscilla*. Among equestrians and senators, we find this cognomen from the Severan period onwards in the case of the following persons: L. Lucilius St<e>l. Pansa Priscillianus (thus *AE* 1988, 1023 from Ephesus), a knight from Beneventum, procurator of several other provinces and of Asia in ca. 214–216, known from many inscriptions (*PIR*² L 391).⁵⁶ The cognomen is rendered as *Priscillianus* in all inscriptions except in *CIL* IX 663 where we find *Priscilianus* (but this inscription, now lost, is only known from an old copy). But this man's son (*PIR*² L 392) appears in any case as L. Lucilius Priscilianus (with one *L*) as patron of Canusium in *CIL* IX 338 = *ILS* 612. To continue with senators, the consul of AD 230, Sex. Catus Clementinus Priscillianus, surely an Italian (*PIR*² C 564) is normally referred to as *Clementinus*, but is in some consular dates⁵⁷ given the cognomen *Priscillianus* (*Priscilianus* *CIL* XIII 8588), which seems to have been his second cognomen.

In an inscription in honour of L. Valerius Maximus, a patrician and consul in 233 and 256 (*PIR*² V 131), the consul is given the additional names, of unknown origin, *Acilio Priscilian[o]* (sic) in the inscription in his honour from Lavinium, *ILS* 8979; another, albeit fragmentary, honorific inscription addressing a senator of whose nomenclature only *Priscilli[ano]* has been preserved, could also refer to this consul (see *PIR*² P 952, mentioning Catus Clementinus as an alternative). Another senator honoured in Lavinium, Iunius Priscilianus (sic)

⁵⁵ Kajanto p. 288 registers around 140 Priscillae, three of them senatorial and four Christian. As for *Priscillus*, this cognomen is also attested in the first century AD: *CIL* VIII 26518 = M. Khanoussi & L. Maurin, *Dougga, fragments d'histoire* (2000) no. 25 (from the time of Tiberius); *AE* 1993, 462b (AD 62); *CIL* IV 2374 (Pompeii and thus pre-AD 79). For later instances see *CIL* VI 32929 = *ILS* 2700 (*PIR*² A 1188; *PME* A 168); *CIL* VI 17587. 33124; *CIL* III 7312 = *IG* IX 1,4, 1008.

⁵⁶ For Beneventum see G. Camodeca, in the article cited in n. 46, p. 248f.; A. De Carlo, in the same volume p. 293f. For his career see M. Christol, *Ant. Class.* 77 (2008) 201–214. For other inscriptions mentioning this man see *CIL* IX 662+663 (Ausculum); *I. Ephesos* 696A I & II (in these inscriptions the cognomen has not been preserved), 697, 3053; *AE* 1947, 89 (Athens).

⁵⁷ In addition to the inscription cited above see *CIL* II 3720 = *AE* 2015, 701 (with [*P*]r[is]cilliano) and the ms. *fasti* in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores Antiquissimi* XIII p. 377 and 392.

Maximus (*PIR*² I 800; *PLRE* I Maximus 45), is known from four inscriptions, of which three⁵⁸ preserve the first cognomen, written with just one *L* in each case. The rest of the Priscilliani can be relegated to a footnote.⁵⁹

Procillianus (Kajanto p. 177): this cognomen is obviously derived from *Procillus/Procilla*; in this case the masculine and the female forms must probably be kept apart, for *Procillus* is attested only for C. Valerius Procillus (?), the son of the Helvian chieftain C. Valerius Caburrus in 58 BC⁶⁰ and for a marine in the fleet of Ravenna calling himself *nat(ione) Ger(manus)* (*CIL* XI 95), thus leaving the impression that it is a barbarian name.⁶¹ On the other hand, the female equivalent *Procilla* is quite common⁶² and was apparently perceived as a variant of, and corresponding to, *Proculus* and *Procula*.⁶³ The cognomen *Procillianus* should, then, surely be interpreted as being derived from *Procilla*. The cognomen is attested for Domitius Leo Procillianus, legate of Syria Phoenice in 207 (*RE* Suppl. XIV 114, Domitius 63a),⁶⁴ known from two inscriptions, *AE* 1969/70, 610 = *IGLS* XVII 1, 118 (Palmyra: *Dom(itio) [Leone] [Pro]cilliano*) and *IGLS* VII 4016bis (Arados: Δομίτιου Λέοντος Προκιλλιανού). In addition to this man we find C. Minucius Procillianus in *CIL* X 4223 (Casilinum), Ti.

⁵⁸ *CIL* XIV 2074. 2075. 2076 (= *ILS* 6184).

⁵⁹ *ICVR* 23251. 23333m; *CIL* V 4485 = *Inscr. It.* X 5, 276 = *ILS* 6716 (Brixia), Sex. Valerius Publicola Priscillian(us), the son of Sex. Valerius Sex. fil. Fab. Publicola, a knight, and Clodia Q. f. Procilla, *sacerd(os) divae Plotinae* (i.e. after AD 123; G. L. Gregori, *Brescia romana* I [1990] p. 189 no. A, 295, 058 dates this man to the middle of the second century; for another Sex. Valerius Publicola from Brixia, but with the additional cognomen *Vettillianus*, see below at n. 86); *AE* 1934, 213 = *IMS* I 45 (Aur(elius) Priscillianus, son of Nunnus Priscianus and Sept(imia) Lupercilla); *CIL* III 6580 (a veteran in AD 194); *TAM* V 2, 957 = *IGR* IV 1234 (cf. above at n. 18).

⁶⁰ F. Münzer, *RE* VIII A 234f. Valerius no. 368; the cognomen may be uncertain, for Münzer, citing others, thinks that the correct reading may in fact have been *Troucillus*.

⁶¹ For Gaulish or Celtic personal names ending in *-illus* see A. Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz* II (1904) 34f. s.v. *-i-llō-*.

⁶² Kajanto p. 177 says the cognomen *Procilla* is attested more than sixty times, the attestations including three senatorial women (but note that *PFOS* includes altogether six Procillae), one freed-woman, and one woman in a Christian inscription.

⁶³ Cf. Procilla daughter of Proculus: *CIL* XII 212; Procilla daughter of Procula: *CIL* VI 33776 and *CIL* III 12765; Proculus son of Procilla: *CIL* XIV 2981. *CIL* X 8131. *CIL* III 5545; Procula daughter of Procilla: *CIL* III 12770; Proculus son of Procilla: *CIL* X 5662; Procilla sister of Procula: *CIL* X 2717.

⁶⁴ B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum* I² (2009) p. 131 no. 33:101.

Κλαύδιος Προκιλλιανός, a Galatarch (*OGI* 542 = *IGR* III 194 = *GLIA* I 83), Τι. Κλαύδιος Προκιλλιανός, a hymnode in Pergamum in AD 129/138 (*IPergamon* 374, l. 28); and C. Albuc(ius) C. f. Tr(omentina) Procilianus (sic), a decurion etc. in Salona (*CIL* III 2074), whose cognomen must be understood as *Procilianus* because this man was the son of Liguria Procilla, mentioned in the same inscription. On the other hand, the cognomen of Flavidius Procilianus in the *album* of Thamugadi in Numidia of ca. AD 350 (*CIL* VIII 2403 = A. Chastagnol, *Lalbum municipal de Timgad* [1978], 2,33) may well derive from the nomen *Procilius*, attested in Cirta in Numidia (*CIL* VIII 19618 = *ILAlg.* II 1595).

Quintillianus (Kajanto 174, who does not distinguish between *-ili-* and *-illi-*). The spelling with a double *L* is attested for M. Coculnius Sex. fil. Quir. Quintillianus, a man from Cirta made senator by Septimius Severus (*PIR*² C 1234); the cognomen is written with double *L* in *CIL* VIII 7041 = *ILS* 6857 = *ILAlg.* II 626, but rendered as *Quintilianus* in *CIL* VIII 7042 and 19508 = *ILAlg.* II 627 and 628. Another Quintillianus belonging to the upper classes is C. Iulius Quintillianus, prefect of the *vigiles* in AD 211 (*CIL* XIV 4388; *PIR*² I 511), most probably identical with a man of the same name who was legate of Moesia Inferior in AD 215 (*AE* 1998, 1618 = Pferdehirt, *RGZM* 73).⁶⁵ The spelling with double *L* appears in both inscriptions and may well be the correct one, but in *CIL* VI 1058 and 1059 (both from AD 210 and referring to the same man as prefect of the *vigiles*) the cognomen is written *Quintilianus* with one *L*. An earlier Quintillianus belonging to the equestrian order is now attested as prefect of the *cohors I Bracarorum* in AD 132.⁶⁶ Other instances of *Quintillianus* with double *L* known to me are *ICVR* IX 24676; *CIL* X 1755; *AE* 1978, 2756 = *Suppl. It.* 3 Locri 1; *CIL* XI 2664; *CIL* II 6106 = II² 14, 1247; *AE* 2012, 1143 (Carnuntum); *CIL* III 3553 = *Tituli Aquincenses* 641; *CIL* III 7688; *IGLS* VI 2748. 2850; *AE* 1998, 1436 (Berytus); *ILAlg.* II 4992. 8669.⁶⁷ Except for the inscription from Aquincum, where the mother of one Quintillianus is called Quintilla (cf. above at n. 17) and for *IGLS* VI 2748, where Quintillianus is the son of Quintillus (above at n. 19), the exact interpretation of the name in each case must remain uncertain, for seeing that *Quintillianus*, derived from *Quintillus/Quintilla*,

⁶⁵ Thomasson, op. cit. (n. 64) p. 54 no. 20:112.

⁶⁶ W. Eck & A. Pangerl, in G. I. Farkas & al. (eds.), *Visy 75. Artificem commendat opus. Studia in honorem Zs. Visy* (2019) p. 135–7.

⁶⁷ Note also Κοιντιλλιανός (*IGBulg.* 5434; *ICentral Pisidia* 131).

could be rendered as *Quintilianus* one should surely also consider the reverse possibility that *Quintilianus*, derived from *Quintilius*, could in some cases have been rendered as *Quintillianus*, and there is also the fact, pointed out above at n. 14, that the nomen *Quintilius* was sometimes written as *Quintillius*, this form for its part being potentially the source of the cognomen *Quintillianus*.

Regillianus (Kajanto 316): L. Marcius Simplex Regillianus, mentioned in inscriptions from Thugga with L. Marcius Simplex, surely Regillianus' father (*CIL* VIII 1471 = 15513/15514 = *DFM* 31/32 of AD 168; *CIL* VIII 26610 cf. *AE* 1999, 1843). One wonders whether the father might not have been married to one Regilla.⁶⁸ In addition, a certain Πηγυλλιανὸς Πηγυεῖνος is mentioned in the inscription of AD 238/244 from Callatis, *ISM* III 74, B, l. 23.

Sergillianus (cf. *Repertorium* p. 401): Sergilianus, a slave *vilicus* who set up a votive inscription in Montana in Moesia Inferior (*AE* 1975, 744 = 1985, 737 = 1987, 874); as the nomen **Sergilius* is not attested, it seems that the name should be understood as representing *Sergillianus*. Perhaps this slave was owned by a certain Sergilla.⁶⁹ As for Αὐρ(ήλιος) Σε[ργ]ιλλιαν[ός] in Bostra (*IGLS* XIII 9009), the cognomen should perhaps be read as Σε[πτ]υμιαν[ός].

Sextillianus (Kajanto p. 155 as *Sextil(l)ianus*): M. Cocceius Sextillianus, *dec(urio) municipi Margi* (*CIL* III 8253 = *IMS* IV 38 from Naissus). If the spelling with a double *L* is correct, the cognomen could be interpreted as having been derived from *Sextius* (or perhaps *Sextus*) via *Sextillus/Sextilla*.⁷⁰

Tironillianus (Kajanto p. 320): P. Iulius Iunianus Tironillianus *c(larissimus) p(uer)* (*PIR*² I 370), the son of P. Iulius Iunianus Martialianus (*PIR*² I 369), legate of Numidia in the time of Severus Alexander⁷¹ and an African

⁶⁸ For a Regilla in Thugga see *CIL* VIII 26976 = *Mourir à Dougga* 645. In the nomenclature of [--- Cl]audi Caesaris Augusti servus Regillianus (*CIL* XI 7745), *Regillianus* is not a cognomen but an imperial slave's agnomen (see H. Chantraine, *Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst römischer Kaiser* [1967] 331 no. 281).

⁶⁹ For *Sergilla* cf. Kajanto p. 170. This cognomen seems to be attested only in Saguntum for Antonia M. f. Sergilla (*CIL* II 3841ff. = II² 14, 337ff.) and perhaps a Sergi[a ---] Sergilla] (*CIL* II 3845 = II² 14, 341).

⁷⁰ *Sextillus* is perhaps attested in *CIL* IV 5664 and in *CIL* VI 32533 b, I, 36 (as for *P. Graux* II 9 of AD 33, adduced by H. Solin, *Arctos* 49 [2015] 214 as an attestation of *Sextillus*, the reading of the papyrus is in fact Σεξτίλλιος). *Sextilla* is, according to Kajanto p. 170 and 174, attested eight times, this number including a slave.

⁷¹ Thomasson, op. cit. (n. 64) p. 182f. no. 60.

from Thamugadi.⁷² This Tironillianus is known from *AE* 1920, 30, *AE* 1989, 892 and *ILS* 6022.⁷³ Now *Tironillianus* takes one's thoughts to *Tironilla*, the cognomen of Antonia Tironilla, wife of Iulius Max[---], mentioned as having taken part, among the *matronae equestres*, in the Severan secular games of AD 204;⁷⁴ the reading Max[---] of the cognomen of Tironilla's husband seems certain (cf. the photo available at the Clausss-Slaby database) and the man is a knight;⁷⁵ I wonder whether it would be possible to assume that we have here Iunius Martialianus' parents (the father could have been called e.g. Iulius Max[imus]), the result being that Tironillianus would have inherited his cognomen from his grandmother.

Titillianus (?) (cf. Kajanto p. 157, registering *Titilianus* from *PIR*¹ S 67). Kajanto says, following *PIR*,⁷⁶ that the cognomen of this T. Sallustius Rufus Titilianus is "corrupt", but this is contested by H. Solin in *Repertorium* p. 412 who refers to *Titillianus* in *MAMA* VIII 517 from Aphrodisias (for a better reading of the inscription see *AE* 1999, 1606). This is the cognomen of Σαλλούστιος Τιτιλλιανός, συνκλητικός around the middle of the second century (*PIR*² S 97, where this man is identified with the man in the *fristula*), the son of the senator Σαλλούστιος Ροῦφος (*PIR*² S 96) and the brother of Σαλλουστία Φροντεῖνα (*PIR*² S 104). The only plausible way⁷⁷ of explaining the appearance of the cogno-

⁷² M. Le Glay, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* II (*Tituli* 5, 1982) p. 773.

⁷³ In this last inscription, the spelling of the cognomen is (in the genitive) *Tironiliani* in the original publication in *MEFR* 13 (1893) p. 470 and in *AE* 1894, 84, but perhaps by error *Tironilliani* with double *L* in *ILS*.

⁷⁴ *CIL* VI 32329 = *AE* 1932, 70 = G. B. Pighi, *De ludis saecularibus populi Romani Quiritium* (1941) p. 159, l. 29 (*PIR*² A 899).

⁷⁵ For some suggestions for identifying the husband see A. Álvarez Melero, *Matronae equestres* (2018) p. 157 (all Iunii Maximi mentioned there being Africans).

⁷⁶ The author of the article in *PIR*¹ (H. Dessau?) says that the second cognomen of the man, T. Sallustius Rufus Titilianus, known from the *fristula* *CIL* XV 7526, is "fortasse corruptum", referring for no obvious reason to the nomenclature of a certain T. Atilius Rufus Titianus who cannot have had anything to do with the man in the *fristula* (and whose cognomen derives most probably from the family's praenomen *Titus*, cf. e.g. the numerous (T.) Flavii Titiani, *PIR*² F 378–387).

⁷⁷ There is, of course, the nomen *Titilius* (*CIL* I² 317 [Praeneste]. X 3699. IX 3112; written *Titillius* in *CIL* VI 7975; for *Titilius* : *Titius* cf. e.g. *Quintilius* : *Quintius*) on which the cognomen *Titil(l)ianus* could in theory be based. But there is no trace of this extremely rare nomen in the eastern parts of the empire and its emergence in Aphrodisias would be close to a miracle.

men *Titillianus* in the Aphrodisian network of Sallustii and Flavii⁷⁸ is to assume that the cognomen derives ultimately from the praenomen *Titus* of an unknown Aphrodisian T. Flavius (several persons in the city had evidently received Roman citizenship under the Flavians) and to postulate the existence of a Flavia Titilla with a cognomen formed from her father's praenomen,⁷⁹ who would have been Titillianus' mother or grandmother. In this case, the spelling of the cognomen with double *L* would be correct, the spelling *Titilianus* in the *fistula* being incorrect.

Tuscillianus (Kajanto p. 157 and 188): *CIL* II 4989 cf. 5161 = *IRCP* 80 (Balsa in Lusitania, perhaps from about the middle of the second century), an inscription in honour of T. Rutilius Gal. Tuscillianus, the son of Q. Rutil(ius) Rusticinus and the grandson of T. Manlius Martialis ('Tuscillianus' mother was thus a Manlia). There is the nomen *Tuscilius* which one could imagine having sometimes been written *Tuscillius*,⁸⁰ but this nomen is not attested in the Spanish provinces, whereas the cognomen *Tuscus* is often found there⁸¹ and even the diminutive form *Tuscillus* is attested in the nomenclature of the senator Gn. Papirius [f.] Gal. Aelianus Aemil(ius) Tuscillus from Iliberris in Baetica, consul in 135.⁸² We can thus surely conclude that *Tuscillianus* is derived from the cognomen *Tuscillus/Tuscilla*; perhaps this man's mother was a (Manlia) Tuscilla.

⁷⁸ See J. Reynolds, in P. Scherrer & al. (eds.), *Steine und Wege. Festschrift für Dieter Knibbe* (1999) p. 327–334; cf. the stemma on p. 329 and in *PIR*² S p. 26.

⁷⁹ Cf. the cases in which Quintillae are daughters of men with the praenomen *Quintus*: *CIL* VI 19148; *CIL* IX 1421; *CIL* II 245. 267. 347. 5068. 5187; *CIL* XII 2739. 2783; *AE* 1962, 143 (Vasio); *ILAlg.* II 3045. The cognomen **Titilla* does not seem to be attested but is of course perfectly plausible and acceptable.

⁸⁰ This spelling is, however, not actually attested.

⁸¹ For *Tuscus* and derivatives being namens indicating Spain cf. R. Syme, *Roman Papers* IV (1988) p. 102, cf. p. 111 and 147; J. M. Abascal Palazón, *Los nombres personales en las inscripciones latinas de Hispania* (1994) p. 535f. (with references also to *Tuscilla*, *Tuscinus*, etc.).

⁸² A. Caballos Rufino, *Los senadores hispanorromanos y la romanización de Hispania* I (1990) p. 248f. no. 137; *PIR*² P 108 (the complete nomenclature is attested in *CIL* II 2075 = *CIL* II² 5, 676). The year of the consulate: cf. *AE* 2007, 1778; W. Eck & A. Pangerl, *ZPE* 203 (2017) 227–34. For another Tuscillus belonging to the senatorial order and possibly originating from Spain note L. Memmius Tuscillus Senecio (*PIR*² M 475), the son of Senecio Memmius Gal. Afer, consul in AD 99 (*PIR*² M 457); a Spanish origin (“hipotético, aunque verosímil”) is assigned to these senators by Caballos Rufino, p. 211f. no. 118.

Valentillianus: M. Αὐρ(ἥλιος) Ἀπτινᾶς Τατιανοῦ Οὐαλεντιλλ[ι]ανός, a local dignitary in an unknown Lydian city, perhaps Saittai (AE 2000, 1420 = SEG 50, 1194).⁸³ For the date, note M. Aurelius Attinas, surely a relative, pro-consul of Macedonia perhaps around AD 230/250;⁸⁴ *Valentillianus* is obviously derived from the cognomen *Valentilla*, attested also in Asia Minor (note Curtia Iulia Valentilla ὑπατική from a Lydian city, probably Philadelphia, PFOS 305; for Philadelphia cf. AE 2015, 1470).⁸⁵

Vettillianus (?) (*Repertorium* p. 421): Sex. Valerius Sex. fil. Fab. Pobllicola Vettillianus, *eq(ues) R(omanus)*, CIL V 4484 = *Inscr. It.* X 5, 275 (Brixia, about Severan).⁸⁶ The nomen *Vetilius*, not uncommon, is sometimes written *Vetillius*,⁸⁷ and the spelling (not attested) *Vettillius* (cf. *Vetidius* ~ *Vettidius*), leading to *Vettillianus*, would thus also be possible. But although the nomen *Vetilius* is attested precisely in Brixia (*Inscr. It.* X 5, 578), I think that it is more probable that *Vettillianus* is derived from *Vettilla*, itself derived from the nomen *Vettius* (very common in Cisalpine Gaul). The cognomen *Vettilla* is not very common, but there is an Aebutia L. f. Vettilla in Comum (CIL V 5677), and all three Vettillae (nos. 333, 334, 778⁸⁸) in the prosopography of senatorial

⁸³ Cf. on this inscription H. Bru & G. Labarre, *DHA* 43/2 (2017) p. 160f. The inscription has been copied in Smyrna; the tentative attribution to Saittai is based on the fact that a certain Aurelius Attinas is attested by coin from Saittai from the time of Elagabalus (cf. G. Petzl, *EA* 32 [2000] p. 199).

⁸⁴ *IG* X 2, 148; cf. *PIR*² A 1462; B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidium* I (1984) 23:42.

⁸⁵ According to Kajanto p. 247, *Valentilla* is attested six times in *CIL* (in the Clauss-Slaby database, the number of attestations is fourteen); for Greek inscriptions from Asia Minor see T. Corsten (ed.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* Vol. V.A (2010) p. 349 and J.-S. Balzat & al. (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* Vol. V.B (2013) p. 333. A search in the PHI Greek Inscriptions database produces many further matches for Οὐαλέντιλλα in Asia Minor.

⁸⁶ No date is offered for this text by G. Migliorati in EDR09275, but the formulations (and the mistakes) of this text all point to a date not earlier than the second part of the second century, and Vettillianus' wife Nonia Arria Hermionilla must be closely related with the Nonii Arrii of Brixia (*PIR*² N 114–116) attested in the end of the second century. G. L. Gregori, *Brescia romana* I (1990) p. 191 n. A, 295, 076 suggests a date in the beginning of the third century. Cf. Sex. Valerius Pobllicola Priscillianus, also from Brixia, above n. 59.

⁸⁷ *CIL* III 2985; S. Hagel & K. Tomaschitz, *Repertorium der westkilikischen Inschriften* (1998) p. 96f. Kotenna 3 (Οὐετιλλία). Cf. Οὐετιλλιανός (nomen) *I. Prusias ad Hypium* 7, l. 22 (for the category of nomina in *-ianus* derived from nomina in *-ius* see my paper cited in n. 54).

⁸⁸ Βέτιλλα in the inscription *Fouilles de Xanthos* no. 42 = AE 1981, 826b is surely only a loose rendering of *Vettilla*.

women by Raepsaet-Charlier (above n. *) are from northern Italy. Perhaps one could say that this is a cognomen characteristic of Cisalpine women belonging to the higher classes; possibly Valerius Pobllicola Vettillianus' mother or grandmother was a Vettilla. The same cognomen also seems to be mentioned in *ICilicie* 125 (Βεττιλλιανό[ς]).

Vicinillianus (?) (Kajanto 312): attested for the consul ordinarius of AD 114, P. Manilius P. f. Gal. V[opis]cus Vicinillianus L. Elufrius Severus Iulius Quadratus Bassus (*PIR*² M 142; the name is rendered as above in *CIL* XIV 4242 = *ILS* 1044 = *Inscr. It.* IV 1, 109). The easiest way of explaining the cognomen *Vicinillianus* would probably be to assume that the name is derived from an unattested nomen **Vicinillius*.⁸⁹ However, the fact that one of the children of a certain N. Prosius Platanus who set up the monument was called *Vibia Vicinill[a]*⁹⁰ points to the conclusion that *Vicinillianus* was interpreted as having been derived not from an unknown nomen but from the cognomen *Vicinilla* (cf. n. 90 for the cognomen *Vopiscianus* of one of the sons of Platanus and Eutychia, clearly a reference to the consul's main cognomen). As for the derivation of *Vicinilla*, there is the extremely rare nomen *Vicinius* (n. 89), not really plausible, and there is of course also the noun *vicinus*, according to Kajanto p. 312 also attested once as a cognomen.⁹¹ But then there is also *Vicina*, the cognomen of L. Plotius Vicina, proconsul of Crete and Cyrene in the time of Augustus between 2 BC and AD 7 (*PIR*² P 520). W. Schulze thought that this could be an Etruscan nomen used as a cognomen,⁹² and that is perhaps a plausible interpretation. In any case, the female cognomen *Vicinilla* could obviously also be derived from *Vicina* (cf. e.g. *Galba: Galbilla*, *Murena: Murenilla*), and I suggest that it is this cognomen that is at the beginning of the development leading to *Vicinillianus*.

⁸⁹ *Vicinius* is rare, but attested (*CIL* VIII 14743; cf. the nomen *vecineo(s)* in the Faliscan inscription E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* I [1953] 322d); **Vicinillius* could in theory be in the same relation to *Vicinius* as e.g. *Gavillius* to *Gavius*.

⁹⁰ This is, I think, the correct interpretation of the formulation *N. Prosius Platanus cum Manilia Eutychi[a] uxore et Vibia Vicinill[a] et Manilis Vopisciano et Attico libe[r]is suis*. Apparently Platanus, when still a slave, had a relationship not only with Manilia Eutychia (surely a freedwoman of the consul) but also with a Vibia.

⁹¹ Kajanto refers to *CIL* V 7842, seen by Mommsen but now lost (cf. E. Cimarosti, in EDR010365), from Forum Germa(-) in the area of modern Cuneo. The reading of Mommsen is *Vicino / Comiacus / V SVVI*, but I am not sure this text permits us to postulate the existence of a cognomen *Vicinus*.

⁹² W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (1904) p. 102.

One could for instance assume that the mother or the grandmother of the consul of 114, who was a patrician and who was thus born around AD 80, had been a Plotia Vicinilla, a descendant of the proconsul of Crete and Cyrenae. Having just mentioned a proconsul of this province I cannot help pointing out that, interestingly, another proconsul of the same insignificant province can be extracted from the full nomenclature of the consul of 114, for *Vicinillianus* is followed in the full nomenclature by the item *L. Elufrius Severus*, which must refer somehow to L. Elufrius Severus, proconsul of Crete and Cyrenae in AD 100 (*PIR*² E 57).⁹³ This observation, however, does not lead us anywhere, for another proconsul of Crete is not really needed in order to explain Vopiscus' second cognomen, and the fact that his full nomenclature includes references to two proconsuls of this particular province is probably only a coincidence.

The above catalogue consisting of cognomina in *-illianus* derived from cognomina in *-illus/-illa*⁹⁴ contains 31 names, some of them uncertain. I would like to conclude this article with some general observations, and to begin with the observation that in cognomina derived from cognomina, the suffix *-illian-* is clearly a suffix preferred in male, rather than in female, names, as about 30 male names ending in *-illianus* must be contrasted with a much smaller number of female cognomina ending in *-illiana*. The *Repertorium* registers only two names in *-illiana*, *Fadilliana* and *Flaccilliana* (cf. above n. 25), but there is also *Gratilliana* (cf. above n. 29)⁹⁵ and *Rusticilliana* (Ρουστικιλλιανή *ICentral Pisia* 28 from Cremna),⁹⁶ and one could also adduce *Drusilliana*, the agnomen of the imperial slave girl Cinnamis (*CIL* VI 8824).⁹⁷ We could perhaps conclude that, because the female suffix *-illa* was common and popular, female cognomina derived from cognomina in *-illa* (as e.g. *Flaccilliana* from *Flaccilla*) may

⁹³ Perhaps the proconsul had died after the proconsulate and Manilius Vopiscus had inherited him, adding his names to his own in gratitude.

⁹⁴ I hope it is clear that I am dealing exclusively with cognomina derived from cognomina in *-illus/-illa*, and not with cognomina of the type *Aquillianus Popillianus* derived from nomina.

⁹⁵ Cf. the reverse index on p. 434 and p. 507.

⁹⁶ This name is probably derived from *Rusticilla*; but it should be noted that there is also the nomen *Rusticilius*, which is in fact attested in the Greek east, although only in Thessalonica (A. B. Tataki, *The Roman Presence in Macedonia* [2006] 367 no. 490) and thus very far from Pisidia.

⁹⁷ The rest of the cognomina in *-illiana* which one can find in the Clauss-Slaby and the PHI Greek Inscriptions databases (*Lucilliana* Λουκιλλιανή Ποπιλλιανή *Quintilliana*) are certainly or at least probably derived from nomina.

have been considered not really needed or desirable, whereas the masculine suffix *-illus*, which never became very popular, was because of this in some cases replaced with the suffix *-illianus* which was normally derived from names in *-illa* and probably considered to amount to a form corresponding to these female forms. To quote one of the referees of this paper, “[t]he essentially diminutive quality of the *-illus/-illa* suffix probably made it inherently more suitable for girls in the minds of parents. Whereas this effect was neutralized, if not even reversed, by the addition of *-ianus*, making *-illianus* more popular as a name choice for boys”.

As for the chronology of the names in *-illianus*, most of the instances of the names cited in the catalogue are either not exactly datable (but normally probably “late”, about Severan or so), or can be dated to the third century or later. Only four of the names are attested for persons who were certainly active in the second century, the earliest being the consul of AD 114, P. Manilius Vo-piscus Vicinillianus; C. Neratius Proculus Betitius Pius Maximillianus, [---] nius Tiro Frugillianus and Flavius Gratillianus are attested during the reign of Pius. As the consul of 114 was probably born around AD 80 (above at n. 92), my conclusion is, then, that the *terminus post quem* for the development of the cognomina of this type is the end of the first century AD. This is exactly the same period when we start to observe other types of cognomina derived from cognomina, especially those in *-ianus* (*Frontonianus Severianus* etc., cf. above at n. 1ff.), but also e.g. those in *-inus* (like e.g. *Maximinus* rather than *Maximus*), this being a phenomenon which I like to think represents a general tendency to prefer lengthy and expressive cognomina, a tendency resulting in the end in cognomina with double suffixes of the type *Lupicinus* (above n. 8: *Lupus* + *-ico-* + *-ino-*) and *Valentinianus* (*Valens* + *-ino-* *-iano-*).

It is in my view probable that most of the names in *-illianus* were derived from female names in *-illa*, for this suffix is much more common than its masculine equivalent and *-illianus* derived from *-illa* is the derivation that appears in our sources (cf. above at n. 18), although it is true that I have been able to trace one inscription in which a certain Quintillianus is the son of a Quintillus (above at n. 19). It could also be noted that for many of the names in the catalogue above no corresponding male form in *-illus* is known,⁹⁸ whereas only in

⁹⁸ *Domitillianus Flavillianus Frugillianus Gratillianus Longillianus Nepotillianus Novatillisus Pacatillianus Passenillianus Sextillianus Tironillianus Titillianus Valentillianus Vettillianus Vicinillianus.*

two cases is the corresponding female form in *-illa* not attested.⁹⁹ On the other hand, cognomina in *-illus* do exist, although not in the same numbers as those in *-illa*, and in the case of several of the names above the corresponding name in *-illus* is in fact found; thus e.g. in the case of *Atticillianus* alongside which name there is not only *Atticilla* but also one instance of *Atticillus* (n. 20).¹⁰⁰

But the problem of the cognomina in *-illianus* is that they evidently came into existence in completely different situations and environments. We have, for example, cognomina of this type attested for senators from various parts of the Empire: *Gratillianus Marsillianus Maximillianus Novatillianus Passenillianus Priscillianus Procillianus Quintillianus Tironillianus Titillianus Vicinillianus*, among which we can observe names which must have been felt to be “noble”, especially *Maximillianus* and *Priscillianus*. Some of the senatorial names can be attributed to Italy (*Novatillianus Passenillianus Priscillianus Vicinillianus*), some to both Italy and Africa (*Maximillianus*), some only to Africa (*Marsillianus Quintillianus Tironillianus*), some to the Greek-speaking provinces in the East (*Domitillianus Titillianus* and probably *Procillianus*).¹⁰¹ Some of the names we find among senators are also found among persons belonging to the equestrian order (*Novatillianus Priscillianus Quintillianus*) or in the category of the *domi nobiles* (*Maximillianus*). Then there are other names which we find attested not for senators, but for local dignitaries and which accordingly were probably thought of as corresponding to the status of the families in which the cognomen was in use; to this category belong names attested in Italy (*Atticillianus Vettillianus*), in Italy and Africa (*Magnillianus*), in Spain (*Tusillianus*), in Moesia (*Sextillianus*) and in Africa (*Crescentillianus Regillianus*).¹⁰² But we also find names in *-illianus* among more or less ordinary people and even among slaves (e.g. *Balbillianus Nepotillianus Pacatillianus Sergil(l)ianus*). A group of names in *-illianus* of especial interest is that consisting of names

⁹⁹ *Passenillianus Titillianus*.

¹⁰⁰ Further names in this group are *Atticillianus Balbillianus ?Bassillianus* (for *Bassillus* cf. CIL VI 36364 = ILS 8218, *clivus Bassilli*; IG XIV 1888 = IGUR 824; ILAlg. II 4282) *Crescentillianus Flaccillianus Lucillianus Magnillianus Marsillianus Maximillianus Primillianus Priscillianus Procillianus Quintillianus Regillianus Tusillianus*.

¹⁰¹ The origin of the senator *Gratillianus* must probably remain uncertain.

¹⁰² The prefect of Aegypt under Valerian, T. Magnius Felix *Crescentillianus*, whose name has an African ring, probably also came from Africa.

attested in the Greek-speaking east, either exclusively in eastern inscriptions or both in the west and in the Greek-speaking east, both for so-called ordinary people and for members of the higher classes. The names *Balbillianus Priscillianus Procillianus Quintillianus Regillianus Vettillianus* are also known in the west, whereas *Domitillianus Flaccillianus Flavillianus Frugillianus Longillianus Titillianus Valentillianus* are found only in Greek inscriptions from the east. The names attested in Greek inscriptions probably came into existence in about the same way as those we find in Latin sources, namely by being derivations of female names in *-illa/-ιλλα*;¹⁰³ the Latin suffix *-ianus/-ιανός* is known to have been quite popular in the Greek lands in the imperial age, for we find it being added not only to Latin but also to Greek names (*Amyntianus Berenicianus Eutygianus* etc.) and even to Latin nomina in *-ius*.¹⁰⁴

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¹⁰³ The suffix *-ιλλα* is also found in Greek names (cf. e.g. the poets Πράξιλλα and Τελέσιλλα), and sometimes also in names of barbarian origin; cf. Δραγιλλιανός in the nomenclature of Δραγιλλιανός ε΄ Τυλλιανός Έλευσεινιανός Ποϋλχος, a knight in Perge (*IPerge* 322).

¹⁰⁴ See my paper cited in n. 54, with instances of Ίουλιανός for Ίούλιος, etc.

ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN*

327. NEUE NAMEN

Diesmal nur eine kleine Nachlese.

Absens: Kajanto 289 mit fünf Belegen für den Männernamen. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 231 mit zwei weiteren Belegen. Dazu *RendLincei* 1984, 286 Nr. 141 (Rom, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Abse[nti(s)] Caesar[is]*.

Aprillus: *CIL* IV 2342 (überliefert ist APRILIVS, doch durch leichte Konjektur könnte man *Aprillus* festlegen, das neben dem einigermaßen belegten *Aprilla* (s. *Arctos* 45 (2011) 135) eine mögliche Bildung darstellt. Vgl. auch *Carte archéologique de la Gaule* 62, 2 (1994) *Aprilli m(anu)* und *CIL* XIII 10010, 149c APRILLV, deren Deutung aber ein bisschen dunkel bleibt. Ein Gentilicium *Aprilius* hier anzunehmen kommt nicht in Frage, denn eine solche Bildung war auf den gallisch-germanischen Bereich begrenzt und kommt nicht in Italien vor. Ein Cognomen *Aprilius* wiederum wäre eine spätantike Bildung, von der ich einen einzigen Beleg kenne: *ICUR* 21031 = *CIL* VI 17797 (ein Supernomen); vielleicht auch *CIL* V 5972 *Aprilii mariti mei*.

Auricinus: *AE* 2014, 1509 (Byzacena) *G. Sem(pronius) Auricinus*. Die sprachliche Herkunft bleibt unsicher, formal könnte der Name aus dem Gentilicium *Auricius* abgeleitet sein; dieses ist aber nur aus *CIL* XIII 4717 (Leuci in der Belgica) *M. Aurici(us) Scaurini filius* bekannt, dessen Herkunft verständlicherweise offen bleibt. Kajanto 338 verzeichnet das Cognomen *Auricius* in der

* Mein inniger Dank geht an Linda-Marie und Wolfgang Günther für die Durchsicht meines deutschen Stils. Olli Salomies hat mir dankenswerterweise eine Liste von selteneren Namenbelegen zur Verfügung gestellt.

altchristlichen Inschrift *ICUR* 2169 und stellt es zu *Aura* (aus *aura*), was kaum überzeugt (er fragt sich auch, ob der Name zu *aurum* gestellt werden könnte, was ebenfalls wenig überzeugt). Das Fazit heißt: die sprachliche Zuweisung von *Auricinus* (und auch des Cognomens *Auricius*) bleibt eine offene Frage. Höchstens könnte man *Auricinus* > *Aura* mit *Lupicinus* > *Lupus*, *Ursicinus* > *Ursus* vergleichen, doch sind die zwei letztgenannten Namen Ableitungen aus beliebten Personennamen.

Campestrinus: Kajanto 309 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *Cod. Iust.* 11, 59, 1 *Imp. Constantinus A(ugustus) Capestrino*. Diese Namensform gehört wohl hierher, jedenfalls bliebe *Campestrinus* unerklärlich (in *ThLL Onom.* II 155 wird kein Erklärungsversuch unternommen).

**Capestinus*: *Rep.* 308 ist zu streichen; vielleicht bloßer Druckfehler für *Campestrinus* (s. oben zu *Campestrinus*).

Caridianus: *CIL* II² 14, 58 (Valentia) *Fabio Caridiano Fabius Caridianus patri*. Es bleibt jedoch offen, wie dieser Name zu klären ist. Für eine echt lateinische Etymologie gibt es keinen Anhaltspunkt. Man fragt sich, ob der Name nicht eher zur griechischen Sippe *Charis* gehört. *Charis* war ein überaus populärer Name in Rom (weniger gebraucht im griechischen Bereich) und wurde im Lateinischen *Charid-* flektiert (entgegen gr. Χαριτ-). Freilich ist in der antiken Anthroponymie kein Name *Charidianus* bezeugt, stellt aber eine mögliche Bildung dar.

Coronaria: *DefTab* 231 (Carthago) Κορωνάρια (lat. mit gr. Lettern). Der Männername *Coronarius* sechsmal in Kajanto 322 (fünf davon aus Africa).

Dianensis: Kajanto 208 = 211 mit acht Belegen. Dazu *Cod. Iust.* 4, 31, 1 (Caracalla); *HEp* 2013, 146 (Gades, instr. inscr.) *Dianes(is)*. Besonders oft ist der Name in Pompeji belegt, und die Belege können sich auf ein und denselben Lebewann beziehen: *CIL* IV 2993 (dazu s. unten unter *Gemmula*), 7021, *Cronache Pompeiane* 5 (1979) 75 Nr. 5, 8; 77 Nr. 14 Graffiti im Bereich des Grabes des M. Obellius Firmus, möglicherweise auch *CIL* IV 8486c. Für die Identität spricht die relative Seltenheit des Namens. Wenigstens die Belege, die im Bereich der Porta di Nola gefunden worden sind (*CIL* IV 7021; Graffiti beim Grab des Obellius Firmus), gehören demselben *Dianensis*.

Gemmula: Kajanto 345 mit sieben Belegen für den Frauennamen (davon fünf christlich) und einem Beleg für den Männernamen. Dazu *Cronache Pompeiane* 5 (1979) 77 (Wandinschrift aus Pompeji) *Dianesis Gemmulae sal(utem)*,

wobei etwas unsicher bleibt, ob hier ein Eigenname oder ein Appellativ vorliegt; doch angesichts der Tatsache, dass das schon an sich nicht sehr üblich gebrauchte Appellativ *gemma* sich in den erhaltenen Quellen nie auf Personen bezieht,¹ würde man für einen Personennamen plädieren. Desgleichen bleibt etwas unsicher, ob ein Frauen- oder Männername vorliegt, doch würde man auf den Frauennamen schließen, wenn man davon ausgeht, dass ein Mann eine Frau begrüßt (*Dianensis* ist zweifellos hier Männername; notiere aber den Frauennamen in *ICUR* 23887); doch ist zu berücksichtigen, dass in *Cronache Pompeiane* 75 Nr. 8 *Dianensis* einen Mann begrüßt. Dasselbe Paar *Dianensis - Gemmula* in *CIL* IV 2993, wo also die korrekte Lesung *Dianensis Gemm[ulae]* lauten muss (völlig missverstanden von V. Weber im neuen Supplement zu den pompejanischen Wandinschriften [*CIL* IV Suppl. IV 1 S. 1344], wo die Inschrift als eine Wahlempfehlung verstanden wird).

Gemmulus: Kajanto 346 mit einem Beleg (*CIL* XIV 3898, Tibur, 613 n. Chr.). Dazu *ILCV* 1273 (Rom, spät, etwa 6. Jh.) *Gemmulus lictor* (= *lector*) *t(i)t(uli) s(an)c(ta)e marturis Caeciliae*.

Iuventius: *CIL* VI 1057 I, 39 (205 n. Chr.); V 5606 (3. Jh.); *Suppl. It.* 8 Brixia 5; *I. Emerita* 162; *CIL* XII 1131, 1146 (3. Jh.), 2277 (2./ 3. Jh.), 2445 (1. Jh. n. Chr.), 5686, 466; Oswald, *Index of potter's stamps* 156 (Rheinzabern);² *AE* 2008, 792 = 2009, 739 (Britannia, etwa 3. Jh.);³ *CIL* VIII 10485, 2 (christl.), 18615 (3. Jh.); *ILAlg* I 1362, 1364 (Signium, spät); *I. Didymoi* 219 (erste Hälfte des 2. Jh.); *RMD* 3, 188 (206 n. Chr.). Einige der älteren Belege mögen den Gentilnamen *Iuventius* in der Funktion des Cognomens vertreten, aber die jüngeren (wenigstens die ins 3. Jh. oder später datierbaren) möchte man als das echte Cognomen *Iuventius* erklären, das man vorzüglich als eine charakteristisch spätantike mit dem Suffix *-ius* versehene Bildung verstehen kann.

Marinius: *Rep.* 358 aus Brigetio in Pannonien (3. Jh.). Dazu *CIL* X 4859 corr. (*Venafrum*, spätantiker Beamter, zweite Hälfte des 5. oder 1. Hälfte des 6. Jh.) *Flavius Marinius* (auch als *Signum* am Anfang des Textes); *IMS* III 2, 73 (Ti-

¹ Vgl. I. Kapp, *ThLL* VI 1, 1759.

² Vgl. A. Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen in den zwei germanischen Provinzen* II 1, Rahden/Westf. 2007, 445, wo noch ein weiterer unsicherer Beleg aufgeführt ist: *Iuventi(us)*, wo man auch anders auflösen kann.

³ Vgl. A. Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen im römischen Britannien*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2011, 418.

macum Minus, 3. Jh.) *Rufius Marinus*. Aus *Marinus* mit dem spätantiken Suffix *-ius* gebildet; in diesen späten Belegen handelt es sich kaum um den Gentilnamen *Marinius* mit cognominaler Funktion.

Martialinus: AE 2013, 478 (Tuficum in Umbria, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Sex. Aetrius Martialinus*. Suffixableitungen aus dem beliebten *Martialis* sind selten; bekannt sind nur *Martialianus* und *Martialicus*, beide nur okkasionell belegt. Als Eigentümlichkeit sei erwähnt, dass *Martialis* auch als Frauenname gebraucht werden konnte (Kajanto 212 kennt zwei Belege aus Africa; dazu CIL VI 22258).

Mollatina: AE 2007, 1100 (Salona, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Iulia Mollatin(a)*. Schwer erklärlich, vielleicht aus einem unbelegten, aber aus anderen Gentilicia wie *Molletius*, *Mollicius*, *Mollitius* zu schließenden Gentilnamen **Mollatius* abgeleitet. Oder aber epichorisch?

Mutlianus: CIL Albanie 27 = LI Albanien 30 (Macedonia, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Ingenuus Mutliani*. Ableitung eher aus dem Gentilnamen *Mutlius* als aus dem Cognomen *Mutilus* (dazu Kajanto 245, wo viermal belegt).

Regius: Rep. 390 aus 37.–38 BRGK 88 (Rätien), wo der Editor F. Wagner in *Regi<n>us* ändert.⁴ Dazu *Cod. Iust.* 7, 16, 17 (293 n. Chr.); BCTH 1917, 273 (Lambaesis) *Valeri Regi* (stimmen Lesung und Deutung?). Auch als Pferdename belegt: AE 1907, 68 (Hadrumetum, 2. Jh. n. Chr.).⁵

Regulina: Kajanto 317 mit einem Beleg. Dazu S. Bahamova, *Students and colleagues for Prof. F. Papazoglu* (2018) 16 (Macedonia) Ἐρρία Ῥηγλεῖνα.

Σουπέρστλλα (?): *P. Bodl.* I 34 + *P. Louvre* II 114 (Krokodilopolis im Arsinoites, 158–159 n. Chr.) Ῥουβρία Σουπερσίλλη τῆ καὶ Εἰρήνη. Die überlieferte Form ist unerklärlich, aber durch leichte Emendation erhielten wir eine plausible Bildung *Superstilla*, Ableitung aus dem einigermaßen verbreiteten *Superstes* (30 Belege bei Kajanto 274). Eine weitere Ableitung ist *Superstianus*, bekannt aus Hadrumetum (*Arctos* 44 [2010] 252). Beide Ableitungen stellen statt *Superstit-* eine gekürzte Form dar.

Velasianus: Rep.² 504 aus Pompeji. Dazu CIL IV 1801 aus der Abschrift von Mommsen, wo statt *Lasiani* eher [*Ve*]lasiani zu verstehen. Vgl. das neue Supplement zu CIL IV (in Druckvorbereitung). Die gens Velasia ist bestens in

⁴ So auch A. Kakoschke *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Rätien*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2009, 262f.

⁵ Vgl. J. Tremel, *Magica agonistica. Fluchtafeln im antiken Sport* (Nikephoros Beihefte 1), Hildesheim 2004, 147 Nr. 49.

Pompeji bekannt (s. P. Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus* [1975] 235, dort füge hinzu *CIL* IV 9613, *NSc* 1912, 71).

328. FALSCHENAMEN

Euphes. Einer der Grabeigentümer von *CIL* X 8252–8254 (Minturnae) heißt *M. Pontius M. l. Euphes*, wie es die zwei Zeugen lesen, die die Inschriften gesehen haben, Ricciardelli und Iannelli. *Euphes* ist aber kein Name, und es ist gewiss *Eupaes* zu verstehen. *Eupaes* ist im römischen Westen aus stadtrömischen Inschriften bekannt (*CIL* VI 8685, 1407, 19693, *ICUR* 25137 [vielleicht auch *AE* 1993, 275; s. meine *Analecta epigraphica* 388]; s. mein griechisches Namenbuch 1032). Im griechischen Bereich nicht belegt, doch wäre Εὔπαις ein plausibler Name, εὔπαις war ja ein mit positivem Begriffsinhalt beladenes Adjektiv. Ungewiss bleibt, ob es sich im minturnensischen Grab um eine Verlesung seitens der Autoren handelt (Ricciardelli war ein sehr schlechter Autor, Iannelli aber besser) oder ob hier das wohlbekannte, teilweise graphisch, teilweise phonologisch bedingte Phänomen vorliegt, dass der Steinmetz (oder der *ordinator*) A und H miteinander verwechselt hat (vgl. z. B. meine *Analecta epigraphica* 164).

Versor. Dieser Name könnte den Editoren zufolge möglicherweise in *AE* 2007, 1327 (Nikaia, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) Εἶα Παπίου, γυνὴ δὲ Βέρσορος Μητροβίου vorliegen. Ein derartiger Name ist aber vollends unbekannt und die Existenz einer solchen Bildung wäre auch unwahrscheinlich. Schließlich kennt die antike (wie auch die spätere) Latinität kein Appellativ *versor*. Die sprachliche Herleitung des Namenbelegs von Nikaia bleibt vorerst ungewiss. Was eine eventuelle kleinasiatische Erklärung angeht, so sei nur angemerkt, dass ähnliche Bildungen in Zgustas Namenbuch vollends fehlen.

329. VARIA URBANA

1. C. Ferro, *Supplementa Italica, Imagines, Roma* 5, 5322, wo ein Foto von *CIL* VI 17267 = 33828 gegeben und kommentiert wird, macht die folgende Bemerkung zur Zeile 3: „Errore di incisione NIMPHIDRAE pro NYMPHIDIAE“. Auf dem Foto liest man aber ohne Zögern NYMPHIDIAE: das Y ist sicher, und auch der

drittletzte Buchstabe ist zweifellos ein I, nicht ein R. Was den Anfang der Zeile angeht, so scheint *p(rimi)p(ilaris) act(or)* zu lesen zu sein. Mommsen hat in 33828 also gut gesehen.

2. *ICUR* 21095 heißt in der Lesung des Editors Ferrua *Hodius Crescentianus*. Die Form des ersten Namens bleibt aber unsicher. Ferrua vermutet einen griechischen Namen Ὅδιος, der zwar bekannt ist (findet sich auch bei Bechtel *HPN* 532 aus *IG XII* 8, 240 von Samothrake [nicht Thasos, wie Bechtel angibt] als Name des Verfertigers einer Sonnenuhr, was auf fremde Herkunft hinweisen könnte), sich doch nur selten bezeugen lässt: ein Beleg kommt mutmaßlich aus Kalchedon, *Iambl. Vita Phil.* 267 (Datierung ungewiss),⁶ ein unsicherer aus *Didyma*, *I. Didyma* 50, 1 A 51 (um Christi Geburt?), wo die Lesung nicht feststeht (mündliche Mitteilung von Wolfgang Günther);⁷ hinzukommt der Name eines bithynischen Heros in *FGrH* 156 F 97–8. So bleibt es nur übrig, die Lesung des Belegs offen zu lassen, wenn man hier nicht einen Mann mit Gentilnamen und Cognomen versehen annimmt, wie in *Rep.* 94 vorgeschlagen.

330. ZUR FRAGE UM DIE FORTFÜHRUNG VON *ICUR*

Wie bekannt, fehlen von den *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae* noch, abgesehen von einem aus den *addenda et corrigenda* bestehenden Band, drei wichtige Bestandteile: die *Intramurana*, sepulkrale Texte, die in Glasgegenständen geschrieben worden sind (gesammelt vor allem von Buonarruoti, *Vetri cimenteriali* und Garrucci in seinem monumentalen *Storia dell'arte cristiana*; vgl. auch *Arctos* 48 [2014] 412) und Inschriften, die mit gutem Grund als Fälschungen oder suspekt angesehen werden können. Die Zahl der Fälschungen mag nicht sehr hoch sein, sie müssten aber einmal zusammengestellt werden. Ich habe darauf einmal im Rahmen dieser *Analecta* hingewiesen (*Arctos* 34 [2000] 180f). Kein Widerspruch bisher.

Was die sog. *Intramurana* angeht, also Inschriften, die innerhalb der Aurelianischen Mauern gefunden worden sind, so wäre eine Zusammenstellung von ihnen eine dringende Aufgabe. Schon aus dem einfachen Grund, dass sich

⁶ Vgl. *LGPV* V. A 343, wo weitere Literatur zur Frage.

⁷ Vgl. W. Günther, *Inschriften von Milet. Teil 4: Eine Prosopographie* (Milet VI 4), Berlin – Boston 2017, 487.

unter ihnen manche Stücke befinden, die Grabinschriften sind, deren Herkunft ungewiss bleibt, d. h. sie können aus altchristlichen Zömeterien stammen. Und mitunter können sie den älteren Schichten altchristlicher Epitaphien gehören.

Unten werden einige diesbezügliche Fälle besprochen. Sie sind den *Inscriptiones Latinae christianae veteres (ILCV)* entnommen.

ILCV 315 B. Grabinschrift einer *Porfirius c. f.*, etwa 4./5. Jh. (vgl. *PLRE* II 900, dort Datierung in das 5./ 6. Jh.). Die Inschrift hätte wohl verdient, in Band II der *ICUR* aufgenommen zu werden. Sie wurde von P. Sabinus *in atrio sancti Petri in domo episcopi Milli D. Celsi* angezeigt und dann von de Rossi in seinen *Inscriptiones christianae* II 422 Nr. 35 allgemein zugänglich gemacht. Wenn eine ähnliche Inschrift, zuerst *in Basilica Vaticana iuxta altare super quo repositum est sacrum sudarium* (in der *navatella della Veronica*) gesehen, von de Rossi II 418 Nr. 14 publiziert, in *ICUR* 4208 aufgenommen wurde, so liegt es wohl daran, dass diese Inschrift, anders als die vorhergehende, von mehreren alten Autoren publiziert worden war.

1273 aus de Rossi II 309. Grabinschrift eines *Gemmulus*, etwa 6. Jh. Sie wurde in S. Gregorio gesehen; ob sich das Grab aber dort befand, bleibt wohl vorerst offen. Ein interessanter Text inhaltlich, sprachlich und onomastisch.

2188 aus *BAC* 1886 52 Nr. 37. Stammt aus Priscilla, fehlt versehentlich in Band IX der *ICUR*; schon in *Arctos* 48 (2014) 409 angemerkt.

2941: s. *Arctos* 46 (2012) 230 und 48 (2014) 409.

3018 aus de Rossi I 750b. Stammt aus der Hermes-Katakomben, fehlt aber in Band X der *ICUR*. Die Weglassung beruht auf purer Nachlässigkeit, denn der zweite Teil der opisthographen Tafel findet sich in *ICUR* X 26986. Vgl. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 205; *Gnomon* 76 (2004) 416.

3403 aus *BAC* 4. serie 6 (1888–1889) 10: Stammt aus Priscilla, fehlt aber in Band IX der *ICUR*. Vgl. *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage* I (1967) 247 Nr. 612; *Arctos* 33 (1999) 201f. Bedauerliche Weglassung, denn der Text hat einen interessanten Wortlaut: *spiritum Parhesiastae in pace; scripsit [---]*.

3463 aus de Rossi II 273 Nr. 3 ungewisser Herkunft. Fehlt in Band I der *ICUR*, wo sie den Sitz im Leben hätte. Zur Geschichte des Textes und zu seiner Erklärung s. *Arctos* 46 (2012) 231.

3844 aus *NSc* 1895, 203. Epitaph einer *Gemmula*, gefunden in einer christlichen Grabstätte nahe dem Colosseo. Spät, kaum vor dem 6. Jh.; in der Zeit konnten also Begräbnisse im Stadtbereich beliebig stattfinden, als die Friedhöfe

über den Katakomben verlassen wurden. Dieser Text gehört also deutlich zu den Intramurana, die Gattung ist aber die der Grabinschriften des 6. Jh. (wenn nicht 7.) Jh., wie wir sie aus unzähligen Beispielen aus den *ICUR* kennen. Ähnlicher Fall 3866 aus *NBAC* 15 (1909) 141 (6. Jh., ohne 7. Jh. auszuschließen), in einem Grab in der Nähe von S. Cecilia in Trastevere gefunden.

3855 und 3856 sind ebenfalls Grabinschriften, die ihren Sitz in den *ICUR* hätten; sie sind aber wohl mittelalterlich,⁸ was ihre Auslassung in den *ICUR* rechtfertigt.

3891 C aus Marangoni, *Cose gentilesche e profane* (1744) aus Kallistus. Versehentlich aus *ICUR* IV weggefallen, nachträglich aber von A. Ferrua, *RAC* 51 (1975) 237 für diese Katakombe gerettet (mit besserer Lesung anhand des Originals, das sich in Florenz befindet).

4325 aus Muratori 1959, 6; war in der Hermes-Katakombe, fehlt aber im Band IX der *ICUR*. Vgl. *Arctos* 46 (2012) 231; 48 (2014) 409.

4342 aus de Rossi I 174 (vgl. S. 575, Suppl. 1525 und Ferrua, *ILCV* IV S. 38), der sie in einer römischen Katakombe überliefert. de Rossi hielt den Text für modern, und in der Tat sind die drei auf uns gelangten Exemplare der Inschrift neu, sie geben aber zweifellos den Text einer echten Inschrift wieder, deren Archetyp verloren gegangen ist. Wahrscheinlich durch de Rossis Urteil beeinflusst, hat der Editor des ersten Bandes der *ICUR* Silvagni den Text verworfen, dieser hätte es aber verdient, dort zugänglich gemacht zu werden dort. Vgl. *Arctos* 48 (2014) 409.

4766. Die Inschrift, ehemals in Ss. Cosma e Damiano, wurde von Bücheler, *CLE* 1416 'ex Lerschi schedis' publiziert (es dürfte sich um Laurenz Lersch handeln, zu welchem vgl. F. Hagen, *ADB* 18 [1883] 428–31). Der Text hätte die Aufnahme in den ersten Band der *ICUR* verdient. Dasselbe gilt für 4788.

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⁸ So auch A. Ferrua, *Nuove correzioni alla silloge del Diehl* *ILCV*, Città del Vaticano 1981, 129.

WORDS OR SOUNDS? ANCIENT GRAMMARIANS ON INTERJECTIONS

TOIVO VILJAMAA

1. Introduction

Interjections—exclamations, short phrases and little words or “non-words” (sounds) that constitute syntactically independent utterances—appear in all languages. Despite the generality of this linguistic phenomenon, the interjection has gained only marginal attention in linguistic discourse since classical antiquity. Interjections had not gotten the attention they deserve in serious linguistic research until around the end of the last century, thanks to sociolinguistic and pragmatic approaches to language study.¹ One reason for the neglect has been the interjections’ independent position in grammatical sentence structure. Additionally, difficulties in analysis are caused by the great formal and semantic variety of interjections: outbursts of passion, exclamations, reactions, interruptions of speech, pauses, *anacolutha*, etc.² But the biggest obstacle has been the word-oriented language theory of Greco-Roman grammatical art (*ars grammatica*) and grammarians’ insistence on categorising formal elements (words) of language according to their behaviour in the sentence structure; this falls within the framework of the parts of speech (*partes orationis*) where, despite their syntactical looseness, interjections have also been fitted in with the noun, the verb, the

¹ See the special issues dedicated to the study of interjections in the *Journal of Pragmatics* 18 (1992) and in the *Bulletin of the Henry Sweet Society* 50 (2008).

² On the classification of interjections, F. Ameka, “Interjections: The universal yet neglected part of speech”, *Journal of Pragmatics* 18 (1992) 101–118, and “Interjections”, in K. Brown (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics*, Amsterdam 2006, 743–746.

pronoun, etc.³ In this article this ancient view about how the interjection forms a separate word class (its own part of speech) will first be discussed (Section 2): its definition as a part of speech, problems connected with the definition and the kinds of spoken or written expressions primarily included in that category. The grammatical definition, however, is problematic. It is not a linguistic definition indicating grammatical relationships, but rather a statement about the speaker's emotional state. Emotional expressions of joy, sorrow, fear, etc., were considered primary representatives of the interjection, which constituted a theoretical problem because vocal signs of emotion, according to philosophers, were considered to be confused sounds or unarticulated words, incompatible with the definition of human language and, therefore, theoretically "non-words". These problems will be discussed from three viewpoints: philosophy of language, rhetoric and conventions of language use (Sections 3–5).

2. Interjection as a part of speech

2.1. *The Roman grammarians*

The Roman grammarians defined the interjection as follows (Donatus, fourth cent. AD):⁴

Interiectio est pars orationis significans mentis affectum voce incondita.

Interjection is a part of speech signifying an emotion by means of an incondite word.

³ On the status of the interjection within the Western grammatical tradition, see R. Ashdowne, "Interjections and the Parts of Speech in the Ancient Grammarians", *Bulletin of the Henry Sweet Society* 50 (2008) 3–15, and D. Cram, "The Exceptional Interest of the Interjection", *id.* 57–66. For interjections in Greek and Latin grammarians, see I. Sluiter, *Ancient Grammar in Context. Contributions to the Study of Linguistic Thought*, Amsterdam 1990, 173–246.

⁴ *Gramm.* IV 366, 13–17. G.A. Padley, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe, 1500–1700: The Latin Tradition*, Cambridge 1976, 266 translates: "A part of speech signifying an emotion by means of an unformed word (i.e., one not fixed by convention)".

The Greeks did not have a separate word class for interjections; they listed them within the heterogeneous class of adverbs. The interjection as a separate part of speech was then born specifically for the grammatical analysis of Latin language. Latin used no articles, so its grammar had no article class, but rather the interjection was added to the parts of speech, as Quintilian (*inst.* 1,4,19–20) states: *Noster sermo articulos non desiderat ... sed accedit superioribus interiectio*. Thus, the new class was a replacement for the Greeks' article class, so the number of eight word classes was established. Quintilian also remarks (*ibid.*) that the Greek grammarian Aristarchus and the Latin grammarian of his own day, Q. Remmius Palaemon, "following good authority, had asserted that there are eight parts of speech" (*ex idoneis dumtaxat auctoribus octo partes secuti sunt*). Obviously, Quintilian presents the views he learned from the *ars grammatica* of his teacher, Palaemon.⁵

However, the wish to have eight parts of speech was not the motive for introducing a new class; some grammarians wanted to separate certain exclamations from the adverb class because they are syntactically independent of verbs and are therefore not true adverbs.⁶ Priscian, ca. 500 AD, takes the view that Latin grammarians separated these sorts of words from adverbs because they seem to have the force of verbs and to signify mental affections without using an added verb. Along with Greek exclamations (παπαί, ιού, φεῦ), for example, he also mentions Latin "exclamatory words" of joy, *euax*, and grief, *ei* (*gramm.* III 90,6–15).⁷ As examples of these sorts of words (*voces*), Donatus presents Latin interjections of fear, *ei*, address, *ô*, sorrow, *heu*, and of joy, *euax* (*gramm.* IV 391,28–30). Similar exclamatory words are already mentioned ca. 40 BC by M. Terentius Varro, who remarks on the exclamation *euax* (*ling.* 7, 93): "*Euax*, 'hurray' is a word that

⁵ Cf. W. Ax, "Quintilian's 'Grammar' (*Inst.* 1.4–8) and its Importance for the History of Roman Grammar", in S. Matthaios – F. Montanari – A. Rengakos (eds.), *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar*, De Gruyter: Mouton 2011, 331–346.

⁶ See Charisius [Julius Romanus] *de adverbio* (*gramm.* I 190, 14–17): *quam partem orationis (σχετλιασμούς), non ut numerum octo partium articulo, id est τῷ ἄρθρῳ, deficiente supplerent, sed quia videbant adverbium esse non posse, segregaverunt.*

⁷ Priscian follows Apollonius Dyscolus (G. G. II 1,121), who discusses the status of adverbs at length (like οἶμοι and similar complaints), which seem to be independent of verbs; for the grammatical papyrus P.Lit.Lond.182 (ca. 300 AD), where Greek adverbs φεῦ, παπαί and ὄμοι are discussed, see A. Wouters, *The Grammatical Papyri from Graeco–Roman Egypt. Contributions to the Study of the 'Ars Grammatica' in Antiquity*, Brussels 1979, 84–85.

in itself means nothing, but is a natural ejaculation (*nihil significat, sed effutitum naturaliter est*); in the same context he mentions three other “natural ejaculations”: *hahae, eu* and *heu*,⁸ By *effutitum naturaliter*, Varro probably means that these kinds of exclamations do not follow the rules of inflection.⁹

It seems likely that the discussion about the heterogeneous class of adverbs is connected with the period of synthesis and formalisation of the grammatical art at Rome in the first century BC. The eight parts of speech doctrine, developed by Alexandrian scholars during the second and first centuries BC and presented in the *Techne* attributed to Dionysius Thrax, was not yet finished. Grammarians searched for morphological patterns adaptable both to Greek and Latin and separated parts of speech mainly in terms of inflection.¹⁰ The grammarians who turned their interest to philosophy tried to build a rational system and added notional criteria to describe the parts of speech in terms of sentence-structure. It was not until the second century AD that the system got a kind of finished form in the syntactical works of Apollonius Dyscolus, who incorporated the parts of speech in his doctrine of the completed and rationally ordered sentence. Formally defined parts of speech were also used in rhetorical treatises in Rome by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (in the end of the first cent. BC), followed by Quintilian. Among Greek scholars who remarkably contributed to the discussion about the number and status of the *partes orationis* we should mention Varro’s contemporary Tryphon of Alexandria, “a grammarian of parts of speech”.¹¹ He is frequently quoted by Apollonius Dyscolus concerning problems of separating parts of speech, participles (Prisc. *gramm.* II 548, 4–8), adverbs or exclamatory particles resulting from the syncretism of two grammatical categories, like οἴμοι and the particle ὦ (Ap. Dyc. G. G. I 2,121,19–21 and II 2,62,9); the former may be compared to the Latin exclamation *ei mihi*, the latter to the

⁸ Varro explains the etymology of *iurgium* “strife” and picks up some verbal altercations from the archaic Latin (Plautus, Ennius and Pompilius).

⁹ Cf. Diomedes (*gramm.* I 419, 5–13): “*Euax* (and the like) ... are produced by emotions rather than by grammatical rules (*quae affectus potius quam observationes artis inducant*)”.

¹⁰ For Varro’s morphology, see D. J. Taylor, *Declinatio. A Study of the Linguistic Theory of Marcus Terentius Varro*, Amsterdam 1974, 111: “The first level of Varro’s theory is that of derivational morphology”.

¹¹ S. Matthaios, “Tryphon aus Alexandria: der erste Syntaxtheoretiker vor Apollonios Dyskolos?“, in P. Swiggers – A. Wouters (eds.), *Syntax in Antiquity*, Leuven 2003, 129.

interjection of address \hat{o} ,¹² see, e.g., Cic. *Arch.* 24,4: ‘O fortunate’, inquit, ‘adulescens’ (“Oh, lucky man!”).

The ancient Roman scholars practised their studies with three intentions: 1) philosophically to investigate the nature of language, 2) rhetorically to search methods of speaking well, to bridge the gap between grammar and discourse (cf. Quint. *inst.* 1,6,27: *aliud esse Latine, aliud grammaticae loqui*), and 3) philologically to explicate old texts. These intentions are seen in the definitions assigned to the part of speech called *interiectio*. The first definition is a fragment from Palaemon’s *ars grammatica*, which survived in the mid-fourth century grammar of Charisius:¹³

Palaemon ita definit: interiectiones sunt quae nihil docibile habent, significant tamen adfectum animi, velut heu. eheu, hem, ehem, eho, hoe, pop, papae, at, attatae.

Palaemon defines as follows: interjections have *no definite meaning*, but they indicate a state of mind, like *heu*, etc. (trans. R. H. Robins)¹⁴

The definition consists of three elements:

1. *Interiectio* describes *the function* of interjections as causing interruptions in text or discourse. The Latin *interiectio* is a rhetorical term meaning any kind of insertion in the course of language; short interjections aiming to increase emotion are also called *exclamatio* (Quint. *inst.* 9,2,26–27 and 9,3,23; Cic. *or.* 135).

¹² The address \hat{o} is often mentioned by Latin grammarians as one of the most typical interjections, e.g. by Donatus (*gramm.* IV 391, 28–30). Is this why Romans replace the article with the interjection? See Ashdowne (above n. 3), 11 and 13–14.

¹³ *Gramm.* I 238, 23–25.

¹⁴ R. H. Robins, *The Byzantine Grammarians. Their Place in History*, Berlin – New York 1993, 98. Ashdowne (above n. 3) 12 translates “Interjections are those which have no referential value but rather signify a state of mind”; for the meaning of *nihil docibile* later in Ch 5.1. “Usage and context”.

2. The *signification* of an interjection signifies an emotion or a mental state (*affectus animi*), which presupposes a philosophical examination of its logical and psychological content.
3. The *form* of interjections is expressed by the phrase *nihil docibile*, which refers to their anomalous character: interjections do not follow the rules of inflection (cf. [above n. 9] Varro's *effutitum naturaliter*); also, the mere interruption in conversation without any concrete word form may be called *interiectio* Varro, fr. 40):¹⁵ in abrupt conversation, the break between short elliptical phrases “causes affection of the mind (*generat animi passionem*).¹⁶ Palaemon's examples are indeclinable words displaying the particularities of spoken language.

Palaemon's definition of the interjection was still incomplete: it appeared about three centuries later in the grammars of Donatus and Diomedes. Thus, the definitions from the periods after Palaemon and Quintilian reflect the scholarly discussion around the status of the interjection.¹⁷ Three definitions have survived: Iulius Romanus (third cent.), Cominianus (fourth cent.) and Sacerdos (ca. 300); each differs in its signification of interjections. Romanus (*gramm.* I 239, 1–5) defines it as “a mental movement” (*motus animi*) and Cominianus (*gramm.* I 238, 19–22) as “a mental state” (*affectus animi*), but Sacerdos (*gramm.* VI 447, 1–3) more accurately describes “various passions of the mind, which some call emotions” (*animi variae passiones, quas quidam affectus dicunt*). Sacerdos may be referring to philosophers (the Stoics) or philosophical grammarians (Varro, Apollonius Dyscolus). Further variations mainly concern the formal properties of interjections: they are “very similar to the adverb” (Sacerdos) and signify “various emotions” (Cominianus). Formal variations are also presented by stock examples, which are “of joy *aaha*, of sorrow *heu*, or of admiration *papae*” (Cominianus and Julius Romanus). Examples are collected from archaic texts in both the Greek and the Latin.

¹⁵ Char. *gramm.* I 241, 33–34.

¹⁶ Usually in expressions of anger, cf. Donatus on Ter. *Eun.* 65: *familiaris ἔλλειψις irascentibus*, see Sluiter (above n. 3) 175.

¹⁷ By no means was the system of *partes orationis* ready and completed in the time of Palaemon and Quintilian. Many classes—besides adverbs and interjections, particularly nouns and participles—were under constant dispute from antiquity to medieval times (for nouns, cf. Quint. *inst.* I, 4, 20).

Romanus discusses the formal and semantic characteristics of interjections at length.¹⁸ His main source seems to be Varro's *De lingua Latina*, but he also uses terms and concepts that imply a thorough knowledge of Greek and Latin rhetorical writings. In accordance with the concepts of *pathos* and *ethos*, he takes interjections from the early Latin dramatic writers and divides them into two groups: 'pathetic' and 'ethical', i.e., those occurring in tragedy and comedy:¹⁹

Interjection is a part of speech signifying an emotion: of joy (*aaha*), of sorrow (*heu*), or of admiration (*babae, papae*), which, although they convey the status of *pathos* rather than of *ethos* (πάθος σπάσιν *nec ἥθους*), we can find also in those [writers] who though being *ethici* often seem to rouse *pathos* in a moderate way (*gramm.* I 239, 1–5).²⁰

Ethos (ἥθη), as Varro says in *De lingua Latina* book V, was convenient (*convenit*) to Titinius, Terence and Atta, whereas Trabea, Atilius and Caecilius with ease made an impression of *pathos* (πάθη) (*gramm.* I 241, 27–29).

The distinctions made by Romanus remind us of the classification of public speeches (*orationes*) into different rhetorical styles. Rhetoricians and literary critics of the first century BC (Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Cicero) and later Quintilian distinguished three types (or characters) of style: plain (*subtilis*), grand (*uber*) and intermediate (*mediocris*). The plain style seemed best adapted for instructing (*docere*), the grand for moving (*movere*), and the intermediate for charming (*delectare*) or conciliating the audience (Quint. *inst.* 12, 2, 11 and 12, 10, 58–59). The Roman critics used these distinctions also to characterise poetical genres and compare styles of the early Latin poets and the orators (Cic. *de or.* 3, 27–28). In his *Attic Nights*, second-century lexicographer and literary critic Aulus Gellius relates that Varro had already made this distinction and presented,

¹⁸ On the grammar of Julius Romanus, see D. M. Schenkeveld, *A Rhetorical Grammar: C. Julius Romanus, Introduction to the Liber de Adverbio as incorporated in Charisius' Ars Grammatica II.13*, Leiden 2004.

¹⁹ See Schenkeveld (above n. 18) 34.

²⁰ On *pathos* and *ethos* in grammatical texts, see Sluiter (above n. 3) 180–187.

“as genuine Latin exemplars of these styles, Pacuvius (tragedian) of the grand style, Lucilius (satirist) of the plain, and Terence (comic writer) of the middle”.²¹

Romanus (*gramm.* I 240, 1–2) also presents examples from orators, such as this from an (unknown) speech by Cato Maior: ‘*Vita deum immortalium*’, *Cato Senex*; *ubi Statilius Maximus*: ἔκφώνησις’, *inquit*, ἄρχαϊκῆ, ὡς ὃ πόποι. Romanus’ source, Statilius Maximus (contemporary with Gellius), is a known as a lexicographer who collected examples of problematic adverbial forms from works of the early Roman historians.²² The Greek *ecphonesis* (“exclamation”) ὃ πόποι²³, mentioned by him, occurs often in poetry but is also used in prose for rhetorical emphasis, as the Latin *Vita deum immortalium!* (cf. *Di immortales!* often in Cicero). These kinds of exclamations can also characterize the *ethos* of a person’s social group, for instance, ὦταν is a hetaeric *ecphonesis* (Ap. Dyc. G.G. I 2,159,10). The examples presented by Romanus include also whole phrases, besides *Vita deum immortalium!*, *Pro Jupiter!*, showing his emphasis of the rhetorical meaning of interjections.

The Roman grammarians, as the above presentation shows, took their Latin examples of interjections from lexicographical and etymological writings (Varro being the primary source) and analysed them for grammatical or rhetorical purposes using theories from Greek grammarians (Apollonius Dyscolus?) and distinctions from rhetorical writings (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cicero and Quintilian).

The interjection developed its authoritative definition in the fourth-century grammars by Donatus and Diomedes: *Interiectio est pars orationis significans mentis affectum voce incondita*. There are three remarkable changes compared to the previous definitions: The main element, *significatio*, becomes a constant *significans mentis affectum* (“signifying an emotion [or a state of mind]”). Secondly, *voce incondita*, referring to the anomalous form of interjections, occurs here for the first time; the theme was a subject of continuous discussion during late antiquity and early medieval times. Thirdly, interjection placement is firmly established among the *partes orationis* as part of the sentence construction: *Interiectio est pars orationis interiecta aliis partibus orationis* (Don. *gramm.* IV 391, 26–27). The definition is then presented (usually verbatim) and discussed by the later

²¹ Gell. 6, 14, 7.

²² Cf. Schenkeveld (above n. 18).

²³ Usually, an exclamation of surprise.

Roman grammarians (*artium scriptores*) Servius, Dositheus, Probus, Consentius, Cleonius, Sergius and Pompeius; and in the early Middle Ages by Isidore of Seville, Audax and Julian of Toledo among others.

2.2. Priscian and after

With Priscian, ca. 500 AD, a new period in Latin grammar history began. Priscian did not follow the Roman grammarians; rather, he based his systematic exposition of Latin (*Institutiones grammaticae*) on the Greek grammar of Apollonius Dyscolus, whose doctrine about the complete and well-ordered sentence (*oratio est congrua dictionum ordinatio, perfectam sententiam demonstrans*)²⁴ became his guiding principle in defining the *partes orationis*. The principle is also apparent in Priscian's exposition of the Latin interjection; he does not present the authoritative definition of Roman grammarians as such, but states only why interjections were separated from adverbs:²⁵ "Roman grammarians (*artium scriptores*) took this part of speech as separate from adverbs because it seems to have in itself *the verbal force* (*affectum habere in se verbi*) and to indicate *the full signification of mental emotion* (*plenam motus animi significationem*) even without an added verb". Almost verbatim, Priscian follows Apollonius' definition of Greek exclamatory adverbs (*schetliastica*, G. G. II 1,121,24–26): δύναμει ἀπὸ διαθέσεως ῥηματικῆς ἀνάγονται ("they are moved/affected by the force of the verbal disposition").²⁶ Thus, using syntactic and semantic criteria, Priscian defines the interjection as a sort of adverb that is constructed with an emotional verb understood in ellipsis (*verba ei subaudiuntur*), e.g., *Papae <miror>, quid video?* "Wow <I wonder>! What do I see?". However, Priscian's examples of interjectional words, presented after the general introduction, are divided into groups by formal, pragmatic and textual criteria:²⁷

1. Pragmatically, as exclamations: *voces quae per exclamationem intericiuntur. habent igitur diversas significationes: gaudii, ut 'euax', doloris, ut 'ei'.*

²⁴ Prisc. *gramm.* II 53, 28–29.

²⁵ *Gramm.* III 90, 6–15.

²⁶ Cf. Prisc. *gramm.* II 373, 10–11 *Significatio vel genus, quod Graeci affectum vocant verbi, in actu est proprie ... vel in passione.*

²⁷ *Gramm.* III 90,12–91,22.

2. Formally, as primitive words: *Proprie tamen voces interiectionum primitivae sunt, ut papae, euax, ei, heu, euhoe, ohe et similia*, that is, as so-called primary interjections (uninflected words) in opposition to secondary interjections (words or phrases formed from other word classes) used *pro interiectione*, e.g., ‘*pro dolor*’, ‘*pro nefas*’ and ‘*infandum*’.
3. Pragmatically and textually, as conventional imitations of human voices: *Inter has (voces passionis) ponunt etiam sonituum illitteratorum imitationes, ut risus ‘hahaha’, et ‘phy’ et ‘euhoe’ et ‘au’*.

Priscian’s and the Roman grammarians’ views about the interjection were then transported through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance into the grammars of European languages.²⁸ Medieval grammarians, principally led by Aristotle, concentrated on the syntactical status of the interjection and, following Priscian, argued whether interjections would be classed as adverbs, verbs, nouns or even sentences. In speculations about word origins (*natura* vs. *conventionem*) they emphasised the primitiveness and naturalness of exclamatory voices. Renaissance scholars abandoned Aristotelian explanations of medieval philosophers and, with Plato as their master, restricted the *partes orationis* to three (noun, verb and conjunction). They pushed interjections into the periphery of language studies, to the boundary between language and sounds of nature. “Interjections are nothing but signs of the affected mind (*notae animi affecti*) originating in the nature itself (*ab ipsa natura*), for instance, in fear or pain”, states Italian scholar J. C. Scaliger (*De Causis* X 162–164).²⁹ F. Sanctius (*Minerva* I 2) of Spain writes:³⁰ “Interjections are neither Greek nor Latin, but signs of emotions: signs of sorrow and joy are common to all (languages), hence natural; if they are natural, they are not *partes orationis*”. Sanctius, however, makes us understand that emotional voices, which are common to all by nature (*natura*), can be words by the conventions (*ex instituto*) of the linguistic community. This conclusion presumed knowledge of not only of Greek and Latin but also of Oriental languages and of

²⁸ See I. Michael, *English Grammatical Categories: and the Tradition to 1800*, Cambridge 1970, 76–81 and 461–465, and M. de Boer, “Talking about Interjections”, *Bulletin of the Henry Sweet Society* 50 (2008) 31–37.

²⁹ *De causis linguae Latinae*, Lyons 1540.

³⁰ *Minerva, seu de causis linguae Latinae*, Salamanca 1587; reprint with an introduction by M. Brevi-Claramonte (*Grammatica universalis* 16), Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1986.

Latin vernaculars, Spanish, French and Italian (*Minerva* I 7): *Hispana, Gallica, Italica et aliae plures*. Renaissance scholars analysed classical Greek and Latin to find universal principles of grammar for needs of “new” languages. One fruit of these endeavours was the influential Port-Royal Grammar (1660), which succinctly delineates all that remained of the classical definition of interjections:³¹

Interjections are also words which do not signify anything outside of us. These are only instances of the natural rather than artificial³² voice, which indicate the emotions of our soul, like ‘ah’, ‘oh’, ‘ha’, ‘alas’, etc.³³

The history of the interjection as a *pars orationis* ends here. The definition is still used in grammars of classical languages and interjection words have been researched, named variously according to linguistic approaches as particles, minor sentences, independent utterances or exclamations. In these particles, linguists of the Enlightenment (Leibniz and Herder) saw natural voices as the origins of not only of particular words but also of human speech. In the framework of psychological theories, these particles were interpreted as items of the pre-linguistic systems of primitive people.³⁴ In last century’s structuralism, interjections were treated as particles or minor sentences that are totally outside the logical sentence structure. Finally, in the frameworks of text linguistics and pragmatics at the end of the last century, interjections came into their own as genuine items of linguistic expression.

In modern linguistics interjection is “a term used in the traditional classification of parts of speech, referring to a *class of words* [my emphasis] which are unproductive, do not enter into syntactic relationships with other classes, and whose function is purely emotive”.³⁵ And from the pragmatic approach interjec-

³¹ See De Boer (above n. 28) 31–32.

³² That is, “rather than by grammatical rules”, cf. Diomedes (above n. 9): *quae affectus potius quam observationes artis inducant*

³³ A. Arnauld – C. Lancelot, *General and Rational Grammar: The Port-Royal Grammar*, English translation by J. Rieux and B. E. Rollin, The Hague – Paris 1975, 169.

³⁴ See De Boer (above n. 28) 32–34, and A. Heinekamp, “Sprache und Wirklichkeit nach Leibniz”, in H. Parret (ed.), *History of Linguistic Thought and Contemporary Linguistics*, Berlin 1976, 543–544.

³⁵ D. Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics & Phonetics*, sixth ed., Oxford 2008, s.v. “interjection”.

tion is “an exclamatory insert [my emphasis] used in speech to express emotion or attitude”.³⁶ The main difference between the traditional and modern views is that the former sees interjection as a word class and the latter as part of linguistic discourse. In the traditional grammar, interjections were defined using psychological, syntactic and morphological criteria,³⁷ but modern pragmatics defines them using formal, semantic or pragmatic criteria.³⁸

The traditional view lists three explicit problems in its definition 1) *Significans mentis affectum* is not a linguistic definition indicating grammatical relationships but rather a reference to expressions associated with the speaker’s emotional state; 2) “interjection” (*interiectio*) is obscure because the supposed meaning of its syntactical independence contradicts the meaning of a *pars orationis* as a member of the logical sentence structure; 3) the formal definition “by means of an unformed word” (*voce incondita*) is obscure and ambiguous, meaning words or sound sequences outside the grammatical description, uncouth and primitive formations, confused sounds or unarticulated words that are incompatible with the definition of human language and, therefore, theoretically “non-words”. Greek and Roman language students and grammatical writers tried to solve these problems based on 1) philosophy of language, 2) observations of the rhetorical and communicative structure of texts (rhetoric and stylistics), and 3) observations of spoken or written utterances (*consuetudo*). These bases will be my starting points for the following discussion.

3. Defining interjections: philosophical considerations

According to traditional grammar, the central meaning of an interjection is “to signify an emotion or a mental state” (*significans affectum mentis*), but the only accident of an interjection is to signify: *Interiectioni quid accidit? tantum significatio* (Don. *gramm.* IV 366,13–14).³⁹ Thus, this definition lacks both the

³⁶ D. Biber – S. Conrad – G. Leech 2005. *Longman Student Grammar of Spoken and Written English*, Harlow 2005, 457.

³⁷ Michael (above n. 28) 77.

³⁸ Ameka 2006 (above n. 2) 743–746.

³⁹ Latin grammarians used the verbs *significare* and *ostendere* to “indicate” emotions; the former refers to the verbal level of language, the latter to the expressive; see F. Biville. “La syntaxe aux confins

grammatical and semantic content expected in a linguistic definition and fails to notice different uses of interjections in various situations (that is, semiotic and pragmatic explanations are missing). Usually, grammarians only state that interjections have “diverse” or “various meanings”, which are then described by examples from written texts. In other words, theoretical deliberation is missing, though ancient grammarians were eager to comply with the philosophers’ definitions on other occasions. Next, I discuss the so-called primary class of interjections, which was the main concern of ancient grammarians (Don. *gramm.* IV 366,13–17):

Significatio interiectionis in quo est? quia aut laetitiam significamus, ut 'euax', aut dolorem, ut 'heu', aut admirationem, ut 'papae', aut metum, ut 'attat' et siqua sunt similia.

What is the meaning of an interjection? That we signify joy, e.g., *euax*, sorrow, e.g., *heu*, admiration, e.g., *papae*, or fear, e.g., *attat*, and similar.

What kind of *psycho-physic principles* are behind this traditional definition of prototypical interjections,⁴⁰ expressions of joy, sorrow, admiration, fear, etc.?⁴¹

What is the difference between man and horse? – Man is a laughing animal, the horse a whinnying one. Laughter consists of human voice, but is it part of human language? In fact, ancient philosophers of language made laughter distinctly human, as seen in a scholiast’s (seventh cent. AD) comment on *Techne* (*Schol. in Dion. Thr., G.G. I 3, 357, 20–21*): ἴδιον δέ ἐστι ... ἀνθρώπων τὸ γελαστικόν, ἵππων δὲ τὸ χρεμετιστικόν (“Laughing is specific to man, whin-

de la sémantique et de la phonologie: les interjections vues par les grammairiens latins”, in P. Swiggers – A. Wouters (eds.), *Syntax in Antiquity*, Leuven 2003, 228. Cf. Ameka 1992 (above n. 2) 113: “Expressive interjections may be characterised as the vocal gestures that are symptoms of the speaker’s mental state. They may be subdivided into two groups: the emotive and the cognitive.”

⁴⁰ In modern definitions, a prototypical interjection is an indeclinable and syntactically independent word that expresses emotion. On defining different types of emotive interjections, see U. Stange, *Emotive Interjections in British English: A Corpus-Based Study on Variation in Acquisition, Function and Usage*, Amsterdam – Philadelphia 2016, 5–16.

⁴¹ An interjection can be a sign of different emotions; for instance, *hahaha* can express joy, admiration, irony etc., *ei* fear or grief, *ô* sorrow, desire or address, and *heu* complaint or address.

nying to horse”).⁴² This shows the peculiarity of ancient grammarians to mix philosophical (ontological and physical) considerations with linguistic analyses. Comparing man’s and horse’s voices is a well-known topos in ancient grammatical texts,⁴³ originating in Aristotle’s biological treatise, *Parts of Animals*, where Aristotle asserts that “man is the only animal that laughs.”⁴⁴

In the scholiast’s comment, the question is about defining word classes in terms of Aristotelian categories (presented in late Antiquity by commentators of Aristotle). The scholiast argues that definitions must be based on observations of each being’s specific property (*idion*), not on its accidental attributes (τὰ ἴδια δεῖ σκοπεῖν καὶ οὐ τὰ παρεπόμενα). The specific property pertains to only one being: laughing to man, whinnying to horse; accidental attributes might be white or black, fast or slow. Accordingly, the “noun’s” *idion* indicates the specific property of a being whose accidental attributes are “proper” and “common”. Thus, the scholiast here presents the well-known debate about how to define “noun” and defends the *Techne* against the Stoics, who regarded common and proper nouns two separate parts of speech. This comment also affects the interjection, implying that defining each part of speech (including the interjection) should correspond to the Aristotelian defining principles. But the comment is of great importance when defining interjections as it mentions man’s laughter. Laughter is specific to man, but is it part of human language? As mentioned, the ancient philosophers typically explained language phenomena physically, based on the human *physis*.

Within his discussion of the midriff (*φρένες*) in *Parts of Animals*,⁴⁵ Aristotle searches for roots of human laughter, asserting “that man alone is affected by tickling ... due firstly to the delicacy of his skin, and secondly to his being the only animal that laughs” (trans. W. Ogle). Aristotle’s argumentation is somewhat circular⁴⁶, but his message is that linguistic phenomena like laughter are both

⁴² For a similar argumentation by later Latin grammarians (Audax and Julian of Toledo) in the context of the noun category, see *gramm.* V 317,23–318,6: *si quaeras a me, quid sit homo, respondebo ‘animal rationale mortale risus capax’, and ‘risus capax’ ... dixit, quod tantum modo homini accidit, non aliis rebus, quia solus homo ridet, non alia res.*

⁴³ In grammatical texts “man” and “horse” are usually mentioned as examples of common nouns.

⁴⁴ *Part. an.* 3,10 (673a7–12).

⁴⁵ See previous note.

⁴⁶ M. Beard, *Laughter in Ancient Rome*, Oakland 2014, 32.

physical and conventional. The human being is *homo sociabilis* by nature because of his ability to speak, which distinguishes him from other animals:

For nature, as we declare, does nothing without purpose; and man alone of the animals possesses speech. The mere voice, it is true, can indicate *pain and pleasure*, and therefore is possessed by the other animals as well (for their nature has been developed so far as to have sensations of what is painful and pleasant and to indicate those sensations to one another), but speech is designed to indicate the advantageous and the harmful, and therefore also the right and the wrong.⁴⁷ (trans. B. Jowett)

We can make two observations. First, Aristotle's description of the sound of the voice signifying *pain and pleasure* comprises the most typical emotional interjections: positive or negative emotions. Compare Priscian: "The interjection includes expressions which can be exclamatorily interjected by the impulse of any mental experience. Therefore, interjections have many diverse meanings, of joy as *euax* and of grief as *ei*."⁴⁸ Secondly, though Aristotle does not expressly state that man is a laughing animal he clearly believes that the *voices* of man and of other animals are connected in how they make themselves understood, i.e., how they communicate.⁴⁹

Aristotle's words give grounds for deliberating the origin and development of natural human sounds and imitations⁵⁰, onomatopoeic words, and primitive words, which may also be interjections, as Priscian (*gramm.* III 91, 26–27) maintains: *Proprie tamen voces interiectionum primitivae sunt, ut 'papaē', 'euax', 'ei', 'heu', 'euhoē', 'ohe' et similia.* Interestingly, Aristotle bases interjections on the boundary between verbal and non-verbal communication.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Arist. *Pol.* 1,2; 1253a9–15, see Sluiter (above n. 3) 205

⁴⁸ *Gramm.* III 90, 12–15; cf. Sanctius (above n. 30) *Minerva* I 2: "Interjections are neither Greek nor Latin but *signa tristitiae aut laetitiae*, similar to voices of brute animals."

⁴⁹ On "the language of animals", see Sluiter (above n.3) 205.

⁵⁰ See Prisc. *gramm.* III 3, 91, 3–4 *Inter has (voces passionis) ponunt etiam sonituum illitteratorum imitationes, ut risus 'hahahae', et 'phy' et 'euhoē' et 'au'.* Cf. theories by linguists of the Enlightenment, Leibniz and Herder (above n. 34).

⁵¹ Cf. Ameka 1992 (above n. 2) 12.

From the discussion, we may conclude that laughter and language share many commonalities: senses, mind and behaviour, or in Greek philosophers' terms, λόγος, πάθος and ἦθος. Laughter as a pathetic (psychological or physiological) phenomenon and the laughable, γέλοιοι, as an ethical (behavioural) and social phenomenon are associated through our senses because, to me, laughter manifests as an emotional *sensation* caused by some comic effect. These considerations confront us with laughter's phonic and linguistic nature: How do we recognise a laugh? What makes us say someone is laughing? The answer, again, is by sensation, but rather than a feeling, it is an observation or perception acquired through our sense of hearing. We recognise the sound without seeing the laughing person and without knowing what caused the laughter. Obviously, we are used to hearing laughter, and there is a preconceived notion in our minds about its sound, an aspect that may be called *conventional*.

Conventionally, vocal signs of laughter are part of language. That laughter, or the voice perceived through hearing, is part of the sound material used in human communication when transmitting and receiving messages; thus, it is possible that laughter sounds are parts of utterances or uttered speech, which is the concern of language study. Language is understood as a *communicative system* of instruments including voices, sounds, words and sentences. Secondly, language presupposes a *cognitive* competence of its user⁵² (that is, intuitive knowledge of human conventions); thirdly, the linguistic system implies reasoning, i.e., *homo rationalis*. For instance, when I suddenly burst into laughing or tears, the voices I produce are not necessarily part of language—provided I am not communicating. But someone who senses my laughter may interpret it as part of language because my sounds are conventional, i.e., familiar. They may ask what my laugh means: Is it somehow connected with the communicative situation? What is the message? And lastly, what is the meaning of the laughing sound? Maybe there is a sensation of pleasure, joy, amusement, humour, bewilderment, admiration, irony, derision, disdain and so on? These considerations of laughter sounds hold true for other emotional voices: wailing or weeping and, correspondingly, for conventional signs of sorrow, fear or pain.

Ancient grammarians used philosophical tools to define interjection words according to their natural meanings, and sometimes they presented views

⁵² Cf. Priscian (*gramm.* II 552, 1–2): *quid est enim aliud pars orationis nisi vox indicans mentis conceptum, id est cogitationem.*

supporting their pragmatic interpretation. Since laughter and other expressions of audible or visible feeling—vocal signs of emotion—can form part of continuous speech, conversation, or dialogue, etc., they are given attention in language studies. According to Latin grammarians, these kinds of emotional words frequently occurring in Latin texts are interjections of joy, fear or sorrow: *hahahae*, *euax*, *ei*, *heu* and *vae*.⁵³

4. “Interjected”: between grammar and rhetoric

The term “interjection” is misleading and obscure if taken literally to indicate an insertion in the sentence construction, as the classical definition would suggest: “Interjection is a part of speech interjected between the other parts of speech to signify emotions” (Don. *gramm.* IV 391,26–27: *Interiectio est pars orationis interiecta aliis partibus orationis ad exprimendos animi affectus*). The term does not differentiate between the interjection and other parts of the sentence because “every *pars orationis* is actually inserted in the sentence (*nulla enim pars orationis non interponitur*)”, as the Renaissance humanist J. C. Scaliger (*De causis* [above n. 29] X 162) notes criticising the term used by the ancients. Secondly, the supposed meaning of the syntactical independence of an interjection contradicts the *pars orationis* as a member of logical sentence structure.⁵⁴ The grammarians knew the controversy well, often presenting interjections as independent utterances inserted into text or discourse (*textus, oratio*):

Interiectio est pars orationis affectum mentis significans ... Haec vel ex consuetudine vel ex sequentibus verbis varium affectum animi ostendit ... et fere quidquid motus animi orationi inseruerit, quo detracto textus integer reperitur, numero interiectionis accedet (Diom. *gramm.* I 1–5; 17–19).

⁵³ For examples in Latin literature: Terentius *Phorm.* 411 *Hahahae, homo suavis!*; Plautus *Eun.* 497 *Hahahae – Quid rides? Truc.* 209 *Hahahae, requievi, Cas.* 835 *Euax! nunc pol demum ego sum liber;* *Aul.* 796 *Ei mihi, quod ego facinus ex te audio! – Cur eiulas?, Aul.* 721 *Heu, me miserum, misere perii!* *Most.* 369 *Vae mihi. quid ego ago?; Ennius, ann.* 2.126 *Heu, quam crudeli condebat membra sepulcro.*

⁵⁴ See Ashdowne (above n.3) 22.

Interjection is a part of speech signifying an emotion.... (Interjections) have their meanings *from usage* and *from context*... and almost any insert *in discourse* caused by a mental affection, the removal of which leaves *the text* intact, will be classed as an interjection.

The Latin word *oratio* has two meanings: in grammar, it is a syntactically ordered sentence, in rhetoric a sequence of sentences, discourse or text. Diomedes uses it to mean “sentence” in the introductory phrase *interiectio est pars orationis*, but a “sequence of sentences” in the phrase *quidquid motus animi orationi inseruerit*. This can be concluded from the phrases *textus integer* and *ex sequentibus verbis*, which clearly refer to the continuation of speech or discourse.⁵⁵ Thus, Diomedes defines an interjection as either a sentence constituent (interjected into the sentence structure) or as an independent utterance (inserted into discourse or text). The latter meaning of the word *interiectio* comes from the teachings of rhetoricians who collected examples of interjections from written texts for oratorical purposes. *Interiectio* is a rhetorical term, first used in a grammatical text by Varro⁵⁶ (meaning an emotional break [breath, suspiration] between short elliptical phrases). According to Quintilian, *inst.* 9,3,23, the *interiectio* (Greek *παρένθεσις*) is a figure of speech which consists of some meaningful element in the interruption of speech by the insertion (*cum continuationi sermonis medius aliqui sensus intervenit*). These kinds of figures were also used for rhetorical emphasis to intensify emotion, (Quint. *inst.* 9.2.26–27): “For we may feign that we are angry, glad, afraid, filled with wonder, grief or indignation, or that we wish something, and so on. To this, some give the name exclamation (*exclamatio*).” Quintilian refers to Cicero, *or.* 135, who discusses the emotional character of speech and mentions, among other excellences of style, the “exclamation of admiration or complaint (*exclamatio vel admirationis vel questionis*)”.

Priscian’s treatment of interjections is ambivalent. First, he asserts that “any meaningful voice” must be classed as a *pars orationis* (*gramm.* II 552, 1–2 [see above n. 52]); for instance, voices, like *papae*, *euax* and *ei* were classed by Greek grammarians as adverbs because of their being syntactically *adjuncts to*

⁵⁵ Cf. Ameka 1992 (above n.2) 107: Interjections “are conventional, encode the speaker’s attitudes to communicative intentions and are context-bound.”

⁵⁶ See above n.15.

verbs. On the other hand, the same voices were classed by Latin grammarians as *interjections* because they have the force of emotional verbs and can therefore appear as *independent utterances* without an added verb (see above n. 25). Both assertions are based on the Greek grammar of Apollonius Dyscolus.

In *Institutiones*, Priscian clearly presents a Latin interjection as a *pars orationis*, i.e., as a genuine part of the sentence structure. To demonstrate the ordering of the complete sentence (*oratio perfecta*), he remodels a Greek sentence by Apollonius (*G. G. II 2,17,4*) into a Latin sentence, which, after substituting the Latin interjection *heu* for the Greek article, includes all parts of speech except conjunction (*gramm. III 116, 5–19*):

ὁ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ὄλισθήσας σήμερον κατέπεσεν
idem homo lapsus heu hodie occidit

The same man slipped. *Alas!* Today fell down

Unfortunately, Priscian fails to explain the syntactic dependency of the interjection *heu*, though he accurately accounts for the syntactic ordering of all parts in the Greek sentence (including the article, which is lacking in Latin). Thus, Priscian's text is an accurate Latin translation from Apollonius, except for the added interjection *heu*, whose meaning Priscian does not care to explain but leaves it to be conjectured. If we try to interpret the "sentence" (i.e., translate it into English), we immediately see that the new Latin version completely differs from the original: there is no statement about the state of affairs but rather the speaker's emotional reaction to the situation that "the man today fell down" (*hodie occidit*). This interpretation also follows Priscian's own definition of the interjection, that it contains an implied emotional verb and is therefore an independent sentence. The independent nature of the interjection can also be demonstrated by replacing *heu* with the phrase *pro dolor*, which is mentioned by Priscian among the so-called secondary interjections (words or phrases formed from other word classes but used in the interjectional meaning, *pro interiectione*):⁵⁷

Idem homo lapsus. Heu! <doleo>. Hodie occidit.
Idem homo lapsus. Pro dolor! Hodie occidit.

⁵⁷ See above n. 25.

Consequently, the interjection *heu* is not a *pars orationis* in the sentence structure but rather an independent utterance, that is, an *exclamation* (*Heu!*) expressing the speaker's sorrow or surprise, as Priscian (*gramm.* III 90, 12–15 [see above n. 27]) states that the class of the interjection “also includes words which can be exclamatorily (*per exclamationem*) interjected by the impulse of any mental passion, e.g., *Euax!* or *Ei!*.”

The idea that interjections are independent utterances was already present in the fourth- and fifth-century grammars. Diomedes' use of the word *oratio* as continuous text or discourse—which can be interrupted by an interjection—and Priscian's view that interjections are emotional exclamations conflicted with the rules of the *ars grammatica*. Therefore, the grammarians could not directly deny the status of the interjection as a syntactically dependent *pars orationis*. Ps.-Augustine's sixth/seventh-century *Regulae* (*gramm.* V 524, 9–10) is probably the first to expressly say that the interjection is not a *pars orationis*: *Interiectio non pars orationis est, sed affectio erumpentis animi in vocem*.⁵⁸ Isidore of Seville, seventh century, in his *Etymologies* (1, 14),⁵⁹ simply states that *interiectio* is thus named “because it is interjected between meaningful phrases [*sermonibus*]” without mentioning the status of the interjection as a *pars orationis*.

The interjection is a good example of the non-grammatical use of language (grammar, as noted, concerns only the analysis of sentence constituents). After Priscian, in late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, there was much discussion about whether interjections are adverbs, verbs or nouns. It was important to set forth these alternatives, but they did not resolve the interjection question because the grammarians insisted on the parts of speech system. Therefore, the explanatory models found in rhetorical writings may sound more plausible and correspond to modern views about the structure of speech. Surely, the interjection problem arises from the fact that emotions are difficult to clothe in words and insert in the matter-of-fact discourse (*logos* vs. *pathos* and *ethos*).

⁵⁸ V. Law, “St. Augustine's ‘De grammatica.’ Lost or found”, *Recherches Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 19 (1984) 166–170.

⁵⁹ *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, translated with introduction and notes by A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach and O. Berghof, Cambridge 2006, 46–47.

5. Conventions of language use

5.1. Usage and context

The morphological definition of the interjection as a signifier of an emotion “by means of an unformed word” (*voce incondita*) concerns its phonic substance which would somehow correspond to the mental state of the producer of an interjection. It questions the relation between form and meaning: with what kinds of formal elements appealing to our senses (hearing, sight) can we produce expressions of various emotions? Diomedes (*gramm.* I 419, 1–5 and 17–19) answers:

Haec (significatio) vel ex consuetudine vel ex sequentibus verbis varium affectum animi ostendit ... et fere quidquid motus animi orationi inseruerit, quo detracto textus integer reperitur, numero interiectionis accedet.

It (the signification of an interjection) appears as various mental affections expressed by formal elements (words, sounds) which have their meanings *from usage and from context* ... and almost any insert in discourse caused by a mental affection, the removal of which leaves *the text* intact, will be classed as interjection.

In fact, the grammarians start their analyses with the text, with the uttered speech (*oratio*). The approach has two parts: “usage” and “context” (*vel ex consuetudine vel ex sequentibus verbis*). That the term *consuetudo* indeed refers to existing texts is implicitly shown in the examples of interjections cited by grammarians (Diom. *gramm.* I 419, 5–14, and 17–19):

Interjections express joy *evax*, pleasure *va*, grief *vae*, complaint *heu*, fear *ei*, *attat*, admiration *babae*, *papae*, arrission *hahahae*, exhortation *eia*, *age*, *age dum*, anger, *nefas*, *pro nefas*, praise *euge*, indignation *apage*, call *eho*, silence *st*, irony *phy*, *hui*, admonition *em*, or surprise *attat*, and similar cases that are produced by emotions rather than by grammatical rules.

All examples presented by Diomedes can be found in Latin texts, and they are meant to be taken from existing texts. This can be proved by the evidence of other grammarians who explicitly mention their sources and by ancient grammarians' habit of quoting old texts not only to explicate but also to use them in linguistic analyses. The use of language (*consuetudo*) analysed by grammarians is represented mainly by examples taken from spoken Latin varieties, the early tragic and comic poetry. Therefore, quoted examples often reflect particularities of spoken Latin. For instance, it is typical of spoken language to exhibit short non-linguistic (disobeying the rules of grammar) sound sequences, like *attat*, *but*, *hem*, *mu*, *mut*, *pax*, *pol*, *pop*, *prox*, *trit*, etc.⁶⁰

The formal definition of interjections as *voce incondita* is problematic. From late antiquity onwards, there have been different interpretations: words or sound sequences that are outside grammatical description, uncouth and primitive formations and confused sounds or unarticulated words that are incompatible with the definition of human language, and therefore theoretically "non-words". In general, the phrase *voce incondita* refers to words or word-forms that are somehow irregular, either because their meanings are not distinct but vary according to each context or because they are not analysable by the rules of the grammatical art and are, therefore, on the boundary between language and sounds of nature.

Grammarians usually state that interjections can have many various meanings. Obviously, because interjections are connected with the communicative situation, they can have several different meanings (*varium affectum animi ostendit*). For instance, *hahahae* may signify joy, admiration, surprise, mockery or irony according to the context and situation.⁶¹ *Attat* is an interjection of fear or surprise (Diomedes), *ô* may be an interjection of sorrow, desire or address (Priscian)⁶² and *heu* of complaint or address (Probus). The interjections *st*, *phy* and *hui*, mentioned by Diomedes, are good examples of contextual meaning, for instance, *st* is not a sign of an inner emotion but is an exhortation or a command

⁶⁰ The earlier grammarians collected long lists of interjections, the main source of which was the comic poetry. See J. P. Hofmann, *Lateinische Umgangssprache*, 3. ed., Heidelberg 1951, 9–39.

⁶¹ For the meanings of *hahahae* in Roman grammarians: *adridentem significat* (Diomedes), *in comico carmine collocari potest* (Probus), *sonituum illitteratorum imitatio* (Priscian), *laetantis et risus* (Sacerdos), *ridentis* (Maximus Victorinus), *laetitiam animi* (Charisius).

⁶² For the interjection of address (*interiectio vocandi*), see above n. 12.

(“Silence!”, “Be quiet!”), but in a convenient context, it may be an emotional interjection of indignation or annoyance.

Strictly speaking, *voce incondita* (or *voce abscondita* and *voce confusa*, which were also used by grammarians) refers to the formal characteristics of interjections, to the sound material of which words are composed.⁶³ As said before, grammarians collected examples of interjections from early Latin poetry, and accordingly, their views about the anomalous character of interjections are based on the particularities of spoken Latin:

1. Interjections were defined as “unformed” and “obscure” because they are formations that do not follow the grammatical rules of inflection (Palaeomon: *nihil docibile*). The interjections of popular language are short indeclinable words often beginning or ending with rough sounds, explosives, double consonants or aspirates: e.g., *hem*, *hoe*, *pop*, *attat*, *vah* and *evax*.⁶⁴ Priscian (*gramm.* II, 19, 26 – 20, 4), discussing the anomalous pronunciation of the interjections *ah* and *vah*, states that “it is characteristic of the interjection to be uttered as an obscure sound (*voce abscondita*).”
2. In dramatic poetry, the mere break (breath, suspiration) between short elliptical phrases may act as the interjection (Varro, above n. 15). Grammarians, in fact, state that sighing or aspiration in itself is a sign of an affected mind⁶⁵ and is therefore an essential formal property of the interjection (see Sluiter [above n. 3] 191). Consequently, emphatic aspiration caused inconsistencies and irregularities in the written forms of interjections (in marking the letter h).
3. In the metrical language of dramatic poetry, there are irregularities that are suggestive of the confused nature of interjections. Laughter words in comical texts could be pronounced either *hāhāhae* or *hāhāhae*, and admiration words either *pāpae* or *pāpae*. Roman grammarians sometimes say that the confused nature of interjections is shown by the inconsistency

⁶³ See Sluiter (above n. 3) 193–199.

⁶⁴ According to Scaliger (above n. 29), *De causis* X 162–164, medieval scholars considered interjections as rude formations because they may have extra aspiration, like *ohe*, or obscure endings in -t or -x, like *attat* and *euax*.

⁶⁵ Cf. Scaliger, *ibid.*: *Aspiratio explicat suspiria et difficultatis nota est: phui, heu, ah, oh.*

of their accentuation (Prisc. *gramm.* III 91, 20–22, *pro affectus commoti qualitate, confunduntur in eis accentus*).

4. The incondite and confused nature of interjections is often seen in natural speech (Varro: *effutitum naturaliter*), in uncivilized or barbaric pronunciation and in primitive or uncouth word forms, which imitate nature sounds. How to differentiate between confused sounds and meaningful voices was also an object of theoretical deliberation in treatises on the physical nature of words.

Phrases like *voce incondita* and *voce confusa* are technical terms in the ancient grammatical doctrine *de voce*, “on the voice”.⁶⁶ Grammatical textbooks usually include a chapter termed “*de voce*”, which intends to explain how the phonic material—the range of sounds produced by human speech organs and falling within the range of human hearing—becomes a form of language. The grammarians could not avoid including this philosophical issue in their definitions of language, as Priscian maintains (*gramm.* II 5,1–2): *Philosophi definiunt, vocem esse aerem tenuissimum ictum vel suum sensibile aurium, id est quod proprie auribus accidit*. Diomedes argues that the definition of voice is originally Stoic (*ut Stoicis videtur*) and presents a physical theory about two kinds of voice: “articulated” and “confused”. The theory is based on the difference between human and animal voices (*gramm.* I 420,8–10):

Omnis vox aut articulata est aut confusa. Articulata est rationalis hominum loquellis explanata, eadem et litteralis vel scriptilis appellatur, quia litteris comprehendere potest. Confusa est irrationalis, simplicis vocis sono animalium effecta, quae scribi non potest.

Articulated voices are represented by rational human language (*hominum loquellis explanata*), i.e., sentences and words analysable into minimal sound

⁶⁶ To be precise, in the *de voce* chapters, only the term *voce confusa* appears, while *voce incondita* belongs in contexts where interjections are discussed. See Sluiter (above n. 3) 194–199. The terminological difference shows that the doctrines of the parts of speech and of the voice were based on different traditions.

elements (*litteralis vel scriptilis*); confused voices are simple, non-writable animal sounds.

Diomedes' definition of *vox* reflects the most typical view of language represented by Greek philosophers and adopted by grammarians: that it consists of meaningful units (words and sentences), which are made up of sounds, the minimal material of language (letters).⁶⁷ Here, we are confronted with a problem: when analysing meaningful formal units, uttered words and sentences into minor elements, we encounter material that is not analysable linguistically but physically: the mass of sound. The linguist, however, wants to analyse it because they know that sound can be analysed by human senses and is therefore the most suited material for human communication. Mixing philosophical speculations on the nature of voice into linguistic definitions, the grammarians concluded that language is constituted of units that are both *meaningful* and *analysable in letters*. Consequently, other sounds or voices are not part of language but are, by definition, "non-words". Thus, the physical explanation as such cannot solve the problem of the interjection since the definition of *vox confusa* also comprises human laughter, weeping, and so on: exactly the group of interjections that seems to be primary or ordinary.

5.2. *Convention and imitation*

There is, in the ancient grammatical science, another tradition about the *vox* that tries to bridge the gap between physical sounds and meaningful words. To quote Priscian's (*gramm.* II 5,5–6,2) definition,

Vocis autem differentiae sunt quattuor: articulata, inarticulata, literata, illiterata. Articulata est, quae coartata, hoc est copulata cum aliquo sensu mentis eius qui loquitur, profertur. Inarticulata est contraria, quae a nullo affectu proficiscitur mentis. Literata est, quae scribi potest, illiterata, quae scribi non potest. Inveniuntur igitur quaedam voces articulae, quae possunt scribi et intellegi, ut 'arma virumque cano', quaedam quae non possunt scribi, intelleguntur tamen, ut sibili hominum et gemitus: hae enim voces, quamvis sensum aliquem significant proferentis eas, scribi tamen

⁶⁷ See W. Ax, *Laut, Stimme und Sprache. Studien zu drei Grundbegriffen der antike Sprachtheorie*, Göttingen 1986, 22–27.

non possunt. aliae autem sunt, quae quamvis scribantur, tamen inarticulatae dicuntur, cum nihil significant, ut ‘coax’, ‘cra’. aliae vero sunt inarticulatae et illiteratae, quae nec scribi possunt nec intellegi, ut crepitus, mugitus et similia.

Priscian defines different *voces* using the following distinctions:

vox articulata vs. *vox inarticulata* = *cum sensu* vs. *sine sensu* (*nullo affectu mentis*)
vox literata vs. *vox illiterata* = *scribi potest* vs. *scribi non potest*

According to these distinctions there are four types of *voces*:

1. Meaningful (intelligible) voices which can be written, e.g., “*arma virumque cano*”,
2. Meaningful (intelligible) voices which cannot be written, e.g., *sibili et gemitus hominum*,
3. Meaningless (non-significant) voices which can be written, e.g., “*coax*”, “*cra*”,
4. Meaningless (non-intelligible) voices which cannot be written, e.g., *crepitus, mugitus*.

Priscian’s definition most markedly differs from that of Diomedes in that, for him, *articulata* and *literata* mean different things. “Articulated” does not mean “analysable in letters” but “analysable in meaning units” (*aliquo sensu mentis eius qui loquitur*). In addition, although there are implicit distinctions in Priscian’s definition that often occur in philosophical texts (e.g., “rational” [type 1] and “human”, or more precisely, voices produced by human speech organs [types 1 and 2]), he does not follow the usual physical theory on voice. On the contrary, his examples are evidence that he was not interested in the physical nature of different *voces*.⁶⁸ He only wanted to analyse “conventional” *voces*, i.e., intelligible voices that can appear in human communication⁶⁹ and that actually appear as “words” in Latin texts. At this point, however, Priscian’s presentation has short-

⁶⁸ For similar views of the Renaissance rationalists, see above ns. 29 and 30.

⁶⁹ Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1,2 (above n. 47).

comings, probably caused by his carelessness. He follows his Greek source quite accurately,⁷⁰ only adding Latin examples. But in type 2, he fails to mention the imitations of “unwritable” human voices, although, on another occasion, he mentions them as examples of Latin interjections (*gramm.* III 91, 3–4): *Inter has (interiectiones) ponunt etiam sonituum illitteratorum imitationes, ut risus ‘hahahae’, et ‘phy’ et ‘euhoe’ et ‘au’*. These kinds of words which imitate human emotional voices can be written by the *conventions* of each linguistic community.

We may conclude that, according to Priscian’s view, there are four types of conventional words: (1) The first represents rational human speech; the Latin example is the first line of Vergil’s *Aeneid*: (2) the second type consists of vocal signs of emotions, which imitate human sounds, *sibili et gemitus hominum*;⁷¹ this type includes also emotional interjections, e.g., *hahaha*, *phy*, *euhoe* and *au*; (3) the third type consists of irrational (“non-human”) voices that denote the source of the sound, e.g. the frog or the crow: *coax* or *cra* (*coax* is a quotation from Aristophanes’ *Frogs*⁷²); (4) the fourth type consists of voices without any imitative meaning or reference to some source.⁷³

Philosophical speculation about the relation of sound and language, which operated with oppositions such as rational vs. irrational, animated vs. inanimate and human vs. animal was not able to solve the problem, which, in the definition of language, is that it consists of *vores articulatae*. Grammatical study that starts with the text, *oratio*, and with the speech situation, *consuetudo* and *imitatio*, gives a better explanation, even giving meaningful reasons for the birth and evolution of language. For instance, in Latin, we have *eiulare* from the unarticulated sound *ei*. We could also coin a verb like *hahahare*, which is

⁷⁰ Similar definitions can be found in later scholia (*Schol. in Dion. Thr.*, G. G. I 3,181, 310 and 478), whose common source is probably Apollonius Dyscolus.

⁷¹ *Sibili* and *gemitus* are probably Priscian’s ad hoc translations from the Greek original, e.g., *risus* is missing, but is mentioned by Probus, *gramm.* IV 47,11–13: *est et confusa vox sive sonus hominum, quae litteris comprehendere non potest, ut puta oris risus vel sibilatus, pectoris mugitus et cetera alia*. Probus, however, does not differentiate between meaningful and meaningless voices.

⁷² *Ar. Ran.* 209ff.: “*brecececx coax coax ...*”, also quoted by a scholiast (*Schol. in Dion. Thr.*, G. G. I 3,181,20–23) as an example of unarticulated (meaningless) voices that can be written. Note the difference between the second and third type: in vocalising “*hahahae*”, I imitate the sound of laughter, but when I say “*coax*” I imitate the frog.

⁷³ Even these can appear in texts as interjections, but they are only situationally understandable, for instance, Plaut., *Pseud.* 1279: *itaque cum enitor – prox – iam paene iniquavi pallium*.

understandable but does not occur in Latin texts. And finally, to take the eternal dispute, whether words are natural or conventional, the study of interjections or of words that are often used to prove the natural origins of words, will prove the opposite: words are conventional.

6. Concluding remarks

In conclusion, I return to Section 3 “Defining interjections”, where I observed that expressions of feeling like laughter or wailing can be recognised although you don’t know (see or hear) what causes the voice. But from the view of language theory, this kind of sound, although it may be phonetically analysable, is meaningless and accordingly it is no part of language. It is not a part of speech but merely a sound of laughter or wailing. Only if we know the linguistic context where the sound of voice occurs, it becomes language: then there is not only the uncontrolled sound but there is some meaning controlled by the human producer of the sound. It is by *convention* that an emotional voice becomes a word in the grammatical sense. This becomes clear, for instance, in Diomedes’ statement that interjections mean by “usage” and “context”. The second answer is given by Priscian, who argues that a confused sound becomes an expression of emotion when it “imitates” a natural human voice. The use of a particular vocal expression in the speech situation—the imitation of a particular emotional voice—is naturally prescribed by the habits of the speaking society, that is, by the *consuetudo*, as the Roman grammarians defined it. These views come near the modern definitions of interjections: “From a semantic point of view, prototypical interjections may be defined as conventionalised linguistic signs that express a speaker’s current mental state, attitude, or reaction toward a situation.”⁷⁴ The ancient grammarians had adequate means to explicate language phenomena so that their proper nature as part of linguistic behaviour was understandable, and when analysing interjectional words, they presented views, which have greatly contributed to European linguistics and may be of importance to the study of human communication.

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⁷⁴ Ameka 2006 (above n. 2) 743.

AUGUSTUS' ANNOYANCE WITH ATHENS

IAN WORTHINGTON*

In 21 BC Augustus visited Greece. After going to Sparta, he moved to Athens, where he imposed a series of punitive measures on the Athenians, ending their control of Aegina, Eretria and probably Oropus, and banning the selling of Athenian citizenship (a practice going back to the Lycurgan era).¹ His actions unsurprisingly led to reduction in city revenues, while the loss of Oropus impacted Attic border security with Boeotia.² Possibly at this time Augustus also prohibited the minting of bronze coinage, and, so Dio 51,2, limited the powers of the Assembly, although how so is not known.³ Augustus' treatment of Athens was markedly different from the honours he bestowed on the Spartans for their support of Livia, her first husband Ti. Claudius Nero, and their son, when they had fled Rome in 40 to Greece.⁴ However, why he punished the Athenians, and even

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¹ Dio 54,7,2–4 (selling citizenship), with P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, Cairo 1927, 5–8; A. N. Oikonomides, "Defeated Athens, the Land of Oropos, Caesar and Augustus. Notes on the History of the Years 49–27 B.C.," *Anc. World* 2 (1979) 102–3; D. J. Geagan, "Roman Athens: Some Aspects of Life and Culture. I. 86 B.C.–A.D. 267," in H. Temporini (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 2.7.1, Berlin 1979, 378–9; M. C. Hoff, "Civil Disobedience and Unrest in Augustan Athens," *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 267–76; G. C. R. Schmalz, "Athens, Augustus, and the Settlement of 21 B.C.," *GRBS* 37 (1996) 381–98.

² Removing Aegina from Athens' sphere of influence may have been to restore its historical independence: Schmalz (above n. 1), 384–9.

³ Coinage: J. H. Kroll, "The Eleusis Hoard of Athenian Imperial Coins," *Hesperia* 42 (1973) 323–7, Hoff (above n. 1), 269.

⁴ Cf. Dio 48,15,3–4.

when he did so, deserve further consideration; the reason and the timing shed light on his earlier relations with Athens, and by extension on the veracity of a passage in Plutarch on the emperor's dealings with the city.

Plutarch quotes a letter purportedly written to the Athenians by Augustus on Aegina in which he makes his outrage plain: "when, as it appeared, the Athenian people had committed some offence, he wrote from Aegina that he supposed they could not be unaware that he was angry; otherwise he would not have spent the whole winter in Aegina" (*Mor.* 207f; Loeb trans.).⁵ In other words, he chose to snub the Athenians by remaining on Aegina and not in Athens as we might expect. There is no clear evidence in the letter as to its date; it was commonly assigned to 31 after Actium, but Bowersock, in a succinct discussion of Augustus' policy towards Athens in 21, argued that it should be associated with the emperor's punitive acts of 21, and Bowersock's view has been followed since.⁶ The problem with Bowersock's argument, and hence the date of 21, is that after quoting this letter Plutarch goes on to say: "But he (Augustus) neither said nor did anything else to them". However, the punitive measures show the reverse was true – that Augustus did indeed do other things to the Athenians. That being the case, as I shall go on to argue, we have little choice but to reassign the letter to 31 after Actium.

First, what was the Athenians' offence? Dio, in the context of events of 21, implies it was their support of Antony (54,7,2–4). Yet it seems extraordinary, if the letter belongs to 21, that Augustus was still holding this resentment a decade after Actium.⁷ The time for anger would have been after that battle, surely: instead, he went to the city and treated it and the rest of Greece favorably: he "became reconciled with the Greeks and distributed the army's remaining stores of grain to the cities, for they were in great need and had suffered heavy losses of money, slaves, and teams of horses", so Plutarch (against Dio, who claims he punished the Greeks, but there is no other evidence to support Dio).⁸ In this he was

⁵ Dio 54,7 claims that Augustus spent the winter on Samos, but Plutarch's account is commonly preferred.

⁶ G. W. Bowersock, "Augustus on Aegina", *CQ*² 14 (1964) 120–2; cf. G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford 1965, 106. In 31: Graindor (above n. 1), 17–18; J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, New York 1942, 134–6; Schmalz (above n. 1).

⁷ Graindor (above n. 1), 17–18, Hoff (above n. 1), 268.

⁸ Dio 51,2, Plut. *Antony* 68,4,6–8, with Day (above n. 6), 132–8.

no different from, say, Caesar, who did not hold Athenian support for Pompey against the city, nor Antony, who did not punish the people for championing Brutus – we do not hear of Caesar or Antony sulkily refusing to stay in Athens. The offence, then, must be something else.

Dio also gives the story (in relation to Augustus' visit of 21) that the statue of Athena (perhaps Athena Polias) on the Acropolis had been turned from facing eastwards to westwards, towards Rome, and was spattered with blood to make it look as though the goddess was contemptuously spitting blood on Rome.⁹ Hoff has argued that this subversive act was a sign of anti-Roman feeling brewing since the Sullan sack in 86.¹⁰ The slaughter of Athenians at that time, followed by various Romans imposing their wills on the Athenians and the widespread looting of art works throughout Greece over the decades must obviously have caused discontent. Thus the incident involving Athena shows that the Athenians did not merely harbor an anti-Roman stance but made it public, and it was this act that motivated Augustus to act as he did.

But why the Romans would allow a hawkish faction (if indeed there was such a thing) to remain in existence is hard to fathom. Since they would have been well aware of the Greeks' attitude to them, as no one likes to be conquered, why would an earlier ruler, such as Caesar or Antony, not stamp out anti-Roman feeling before it got to the level (if we follow Hoff's thesis) of the open act of defiance with Athena's statue? Again, we must turn to some other misconduct, though we will not take our leave of Athena's statue.

Here we can return to the letter in Plutarch. It has been assumed from it that Augustus heard of some sort of Athenian move that rubbed him up the wrong way and decided to castigate the city by wintering instead on Aegina. In that respect, the letter has added the most confusion to this whole episode. To begin with, it does not follow that he intended to spend the entire winter in Greece before hunting down Antony and Cleopatra: as Schmalz has pointed out,

⁹ Dio 54.7.2–4; cf. Bowersock 1965 (above n. 6), 106; Hoff (above n. 1), 269; D. Kienast, "Antonius, Augustus, die Kaiser und Athen", in K. Dietz – D. Hennig – H. Kaletsch (eds.), *Klassisches Altertum, Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, Würzburg 1993, 199 n. 5, but Schmalz (above n. 1), 385–386 contends that the anecdote about Athena's statue may belong to the earlier triumviral period (comparing it to Dio's anecdote about the wind toppling the statues of Antony and Cleopatra before Actium).

¹⁰ Argued by Hoff (above n. 1), 269–76, repeated in M. C. Hoff, "The Early History of the Roman Agora at Athens", in S. Walker – A. Cameron (eds.), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*, London 1989, 4–5.

the wording of the letter is opaque, for the Greek could simply mean that he decided to leave Aegina and the whole province of Greece that winter.¹¹

More important is the assumption that the emperor never went to Athens but only Aegina, in which case the letter seems suited to the events of 21 and not 31. But that does not follow. Insufficient attention has been paid to Plutarch's statement after quoting the letter: "But he neither said nor did anything else to [the Athenians]". There is a simple solution that reconciles letter and statement in Plutarch: Octavian went to Athens after Actium, where something happened that caused his indignation, prompting him to leave for Aegina; from there he reproached the Athenians in a letter, but did not do anything else against them. It was thus up to them to regain his goodwill.

The likeliest explanation for his reaction was not what the Athenians did but what they did not do. Octavian did not remain in Athens very long after he settled his affairs with the Greeks; he made a careful visit back to Rome, and thence to Egypt to hunt down Antony and Cleopatra. If because of his short stay the Athenians had dallied in expressing their gratitude for his benevolent treatment, we should not be surprised he was vexed and laid the blame on them. Indeed, given the lavish honours they had heaped on Antony – calling him a "new Dionysus" for example¹² – it was in their best interests to revere Octavian (in 31) all the more.

This scenario explains the flurry of activity that can now be dated more precisely. To begin with, we have a lead token with the head of a youthful Apollo on it, along with a six-rayed star and the inscription "Kaisar"; it must predate 27, after which time the Greeks called Augustus *Sebastos*.¹³ This type of token was given to someone making a generous donation to the city: Octavian's much-needed gift of grain after Actium gives us that context.¹⁴ The association with Apollo is significant. All emperors identified themselves with traditional divinities; for Augustus Apollo stood out.¹⁵ The Athenians began to call him a *new*

¹¹ Schmalz (above n. 1), 389–92.

¹² *IG II²* 1043, 22–23.

¹³ M. C. Hoff, "Augustus, Apollo, and Athens", *MH* 49 (1992) 223–32; cf. D. Peppas-Delmousou, "A Statue Base for Augustus *IG II²* 3262 + *IG II²* 4725", *AJP* 100 (1979) 125–32.

¹⁴ Graindor (above n. 1), 37–8 n. 2 and 118, Hoff (above n. 13), 225.

¹⁵ L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, Middleton 1931, 118–20, 153–5; D. J. Geagan, "Imperial Visits to Athens: The Epigraphical Evidence", *Praktika*, 8th Congress for Greek and Latin

Apollo to echo his ties with the god and distance themselves further from Antony the new Dionysus.

Further, the people likely now initiated Octavian into the Eleusinian Mysteries, holding them at a different time so as to accommodate his visit and as part of a reconciliation.¹⁶ Doing so would also distance themselves further from Antony, whom they had not inducted.¹⁷ Since Octavian favored ancient cults in Greece, his initiation may have taken on special meaning for him.¹⁸ Then at Eleusis the Athenians dedicated a large monument to his wife Livia (calling her Livia Drusilla on it) and him as savior and benefactor of the people, perhaps also in acknowledgement of the grain he gave the city after Actium.¹⁹

These gestures make perfect sense as the Athenians scrambled to win the emperor's favour in 31. Nor did they end there. In the years following Actium, they continued to pay Augustus honours, including altars around the city, as well as other members of the imperial family.²⁰ Thus in 27, for example, they set up a monumental statue of Agrippa in a chariot drawn by four horses as

Epigraphy, Athens 1983, Athens 1984, 75–8; Hoff (above n. 13), 226–9; J. Poccini, “Man or God: Divine Assimilation and Imitation in the Late Republic and Early Principate”, in K. A. Raafaub – M. Toher (eds.), *Between Republic and Empire*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1993, 344–65; G. W. Bowersock, “The New Hellenism of Augustan Athens”, *ASNP* 4 (2002) 4–5.

¹⁶ Dio 51,4, with P. Graindor, “Auguste et Athènes”, *RBPhil* 1 (1922) 429–34; Grandor (above n. 1), 20–3; R. Bernhardt, “Athen, Augustus und die eleusinischen Mysterien”, *Ath.Mitt.* 90 (1975) 233–7 (arguing for the reconciliation); K. Clinton, “The Eleusinian Mysteries: Roman Initiates and Benefactors, Second Century B.C. to A.D. 267”, in W. Haase (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 2.18.2, Berlin 1989, 1507–9; Kienast (above n. 9), 198; A. J. S. Spawforth, *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution*, Cambridge 2012, 167–8.

¹⁷ Bowersock (above n. 15), 5.

¹⁸ Spawforth (above n. 16), 159–68 and 192–206.

¹⁹ Dio 51,4, *IG II²* 3238 (Livia), with K. Clinton, “Eleusis and the Romans: Late Republic to Marcus Aurelius”, in M. C. Hoff – S. I. Rotroff (eds.), *The Romanization of Athens*, Oxford 1997, 163 and 165. See too K. Clinton, *Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme* 1A: Text; 1B: Plates, Athens 2005, and vol. 2: Commentary, Athens 2008.

²⁰ Graindor (above n. 1), 45–53; A. Benjamin – A. E. Raubitschek, “Arae Augusti”, *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 65–85; Geagan (above n. 15), 72–5; M. Torelli, “L'immagine dell'ideologia augustea nell'Agora di Atene”, *Ostraka* 4 (1995) 9–32; see too G. C. R. Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens: A New Epigraphy and Prosopography*, Leiden 2009, 92–9 and D. J. Geagan, *Inscriptions: The Dedicatory Monuments. The Athenian Agora* 18, Princeton 2011, H274–H282 on pp. 157–9.

their “benefactor”.²¹ But by 21 they had clearly done *something* that led to Augustus’ punitive measures. Here we return to the symbolic blood spattering of Athena’s statue: in particular, why her statue? The exploitation of the patron deity of Athens in this way is important; it suggests something beyond simple discontent with secular Roman rule, and here Whittaker’s argument connecting the defiant act to Augustus’ cult on the Acropolis gives us the most plausible explanation.²² His cult had been spreading throughout the East for some time, and was probably established in Athens in 29, especially as there was already a cult to Roma in the city.²³ That date suggests that Octavian had forgiven Athenian nonchalance after Actium, and in relief the people introduced his cult on the Acropolis.²⁴

Octavian stressed that his cult was to be connected to that of the goddess Roma.²⁵ The Athenians were long used to venerating rulers, going back to the Antigonids in 307, but not ones intimately attached to foreign gods. Roma, the personification of the Roman state, now had a home in Athens and on the Acropolis no less, the dwelling place of Athena. Their attitude may well explain why the imperial cult started off slowly in the city and why buildings associated with it were marginalized – even as late as Claudius’ reign, when the people rededicated the temple of Nemesis in Rhamnus to Livia, the location was “about as far from the sight of most Athenians as it was possible to get.”²⁶ Several years

²¹ IG II² 4122 and 4123 = Geagan (above n. 20), H417 on pp. 227–8; cf. Graindor (above n. 1), 48–9.

²² H. Whittaker, “Some Reflections on the Temple to the Goddess Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis at Athens”, in E. N. Ostenfeld (ed.), *Greek Romans and Roman Greeks: Studies in Cultural Interaction*, Aarhus 2002, 30–1, F. Lozano, *La religión del Poder. El culto imperial en Atenas en época de Augusto y los emperadores Julio-Claudios*, Oxford 2002, and M. Kantiréa, *Les dieux et les dieux Augustes. Le culte impérial en Grèce sous les Julio-claudiens et les Flaviens. Etudes épigraphiques et archéologiques*, Athens 2007.

²³ Whittaker (above n. 22), 27–30; on the spread: Benjamin – Raubitschek (above n. 20), Bowersock 1965 (above n. 6), 116. Thus it predates the temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis, most commonly connected to a cult of the emperor: for example Graindor (above n. 1), 149–52; T. L. Shear, Jr., “Athens: From City-state to Provincial Town”, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 363–5; Bowersock 1965 (above n. 6), 112–21; Clinton (above n. 19), 165–7.

²⁴ Cf. Hoff (above n. 1), 275 n. 45.

²⁵ Suet. *Augustus* 52; cf. Tac. *ann.* 4,37, Bowersock 1965 (above n. 6), 116.

²⁶ A. J. S. Spawforth, “The Early Reception of the Imperial Cult in Athens: Problems and Ambiguities”, in M. C. Hoff – S. I. Rotroff (eds.), *The Romanization of Athens*, Oxford 1997, 194, and see

later, when news arrived of Octavian's next visit to the city (in 21), we might well imagine a group of aggrieved citizens mixing politics and religion by scorning Rome for making the Acropolis, the sacred centre of Athens, home to Roma as well as their own patron deity. Octavian did not take the slight lightly, and retaliated with the sanctions that we discussed above. Not saying or doing anything else (so Plutarch) in no way fits that context.

In 19 when Augustus returned to the city, having successfully retrieved the standards lost by Crassus at Carrhae, there was no frostiness between him and the people, and probably at that time he donated money to complete the Roman Market.²⁷ What had led to the thawing in strained relations? The answer lies in the diplomacy of Herod the Great, who had become a close friend of Augustus and Agrippa, and acted as a mediator in disputes between them and various communities.²⁸ Herod was with Augustus in the East in 20/19, hence the Athenians may have appealed for his help in reconciling themselves to Augustus. Herod was successful, which explains the grateful Athenians' setting up a statue to him and describing him as a benefactor.²⁹ Again in relief that they were back in Augustus' good books, it may be now that the hoplite general Antipater of Phlya proposed they celebrate Augustus' monthly *dies natalis*.³⁰

The Athenians had backed a number of Romans over the second half of the first century, all of whom turned out to be on the losing side until Octavian. Instead of rushing to shower him with honours for his generosity after Actium and in acknowledgement of a new ruler, they may well have been caught on the back foot. Their previous support of Antony, who was still at large (albeit in Egypt), exacerbated the situation, prompting an aggrieved Octavian to leave the

passim for the slowness of the cult and Athenian responses to it. On the cult throughout Achaëa: S. E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge 1993, 181–91, M. Kantiréa, "Remarques sur le culte de la domus Augusta en Achaïe de la mort d'Auguste à Néron", in O. Salomies (ed.), *The Greek East in the Roman Context*, Helsinki 2001, 51–60, and especially Kantiréa (above n. 22).

²⁷ Hoff (above n. 10), 3–5, Hoff (above n. 13), 231; cf. Shear (above n. 23), 360–1.

²⁸ See M. Toher, "Herod, Athens and Augustus", *ZPE* 190 (2014), 127–34.

²⁹ IG II² 3441 = Geagan (above n. 20), H316 on pp. 170–1, with Toher (above n. 28), 127 and 133.

³⁰ IG II² 1071. Since he is referred to as Sebastos on the inscription (line 5), it cannot predate 27: see Graindor (above n. 16), 434–40; Graindor (above n. 1), 25–32, 101, 113, 142; Stamires in B. D. Meritt – A. G. Woodhead, – G. A. Stamires, "Greek Inscriptions", *Hesperia* 26 (1957) no. 98 on pp. 260–5; Benjamin – Raubitschek (above n. 20), 74–5; Geagan (above n. 1), 383.

city for Aegina, from where he made his feelings known, causing the Athenians to move swiftly to appease him.

This article has proposed a reconstruction of the events of 31–19 concerning the relationship between Athens and Augustus, which aligns with what we are told in the accounts of Dio and Plutarch; in the process, I have rejected Bowersock's dating of Augustus' letter in Plutarch to 21. The proposed historical background thus restores Octavian's letter to the aftermath of Actium in 31, and removes the inconsistency in Plutarch's account. In doing so, I hope to have provided a vivid insight into the Athenians' somewhat turbulent early relations with Octavian and during his 'transition' to the *princeps* Augustus.

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Antiquities beyond Humanism. Edited by EMANUELA BIANCHI – SARA BRILL – BROOKE HOLMES. Classics in Theory. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2019. ISBN 978-0-19-880567-0. 310 pp. GBP 70.

The objective of the collected volume, *Antiquities beyond Humanism*, is indicated in its title. On one hand, the collection of essays turns to Greco-Roman antiquity through the lens of the recent theoretical movements loosely gathered under the flag ‘posthumanism.’ On the other hand, the book aims to locate anti- or ante-humanist discourses in antiquity. For, as the editors remark in their thought-provoking *Introduction*, the Western humanist tradition has an intimate relationship with Greco-Roman antiquity, perceiving it as the home of the classical ideal of (hu)man. However, as this book aims to show, antiquity can also provide alternative narratives that resist this interpretation and challenge humanism from the past.

As noted in the Introduction, much work in dismembering the myth of ancient humanism has already been conducted in the field of classical studies, from Nietzsche to Dodds’ *Greeks and the Irrational* (1951), and the works of Vernant, Vidal-Naquet, Detienne, and Loraux. The approach of this book, however, differs from the previous studies in that it does not focus on the imperfections in the humanist ideal of the rational man. Rather, turning away from the human to animals, *daemons*, the cosmos, and other manifestations of life, the texts pay attention to ancient discourses that seem to challenge and disrupt the human on the level of *species*. What makes this collection an intriguing read is that its aim is not to deconstruct the anthropocentrism embedded in ancient thought, but to offer creative and productive readings of ancient texts that in themselves seem to challenge, distort, and queer modern western assumptions about the human and the world.

However, because the theories that count as posthumanist are so diverse and discordant (the essays bring in continental philosophy all-stars from Spinoza and Hölderlin to Bergson, Freud, Heidegger, Arendt, Barthes, Deleuze, Foucault, Irigaray, Butler, Grosz, and Meillassoux) the collection seems somewhat incoherent. There is, then, a danger that the term ‘posthuman’ becomes merely a fashionable buzzword without any special interpretive weight.

The collection shares its theoretical framework with two recent publications, Melissa Mueller and Mario Telós (eds.), *Materialities of Greek Tragedy* (2018), and Abraham Greenstine and Ryan Johnson’s (eds.), *Contemporary Encounters with Ancient Metaphysics* (2017).

Five essays stand out as the highlights of the collection. The first highlight is the opening essay of the collection, Adriana Cavarero’s “The human reconceived: Back to Socrates with Arendt,” in which Cavarero diagnoses a need to rethink the human after the horrors of the Holocaust. Cavarero argues that the goal of the concentration camps was to annihilate human spontaneity and plurality, thus producing ‘posthuman’ subjects. The essay is a surprising start for a collection that has evoked posthumanism as a creative tool of thought since Cavarero does not see the posthuman as “a category

of critical thought” but as “a material outcome of totalitarianism.” Cavarero holds that the possibility of the destruction of the humanist subject is inscribed in the tradition that gave rise to it in the first place, that is, embedded in the platonic idea of a metaphysical individual. Nevertheless, Cavarero also maintains that in Plato’s Socrates and his *daimonion* we could find a more promising way of conceptualizing humanity and politics in a way that respects what Hannah Arendt calls ‘human plurality.’

The second highlight is Miriam Leonard’s complex and fascinating paper “Precarious life,” which turns to Greek tragedy with Freud and Lacan to think about a premodern concept of life that would not play into the discourses of shared humanity – since it is not our humanity, Leonard suggests, that gives us a connection to the Greeks. Leonard argues that Greek tragedy stages expressions of death drive first conceived by Freud and later diagnosed in *Oedipus at Colonus* by Lacan. Leonard reads the death of Oedipus as a metaphor for the experience of entering language, which is always a foreign “speech that comes from elsewhere” and proposes that we could see the Greek tragedy as this kind of speech that comes from elsewhere but whose language is not necessarily *human*.

Third, Sara Brill’s intriguing essay approaches Aristotle’s *Politics* as a fundamentally *zoological* text. Brill argues that in Aristotle the human language makes the shared life of humans an intensification of, rather than a breach from, animal communality. Thus, the *polis* can be understood as the *topos* or habitat of the human animal, which shapes its inhabitants and their way of life, *bios*, (as water is the *topos* of fish and determinates their *bios*), but which is correspondingly *shaped* by its inhabitants with their *logos*. Human communality, Brill concludes, is special because, in actively shaping their habitat and their way of life with their *logos*, humans are particularly *vulnerable* to political pathologies.

Fourth, Emanuela Bianchi’s paper “Nature trouble” is an ambitious attempt to show that the ancient notion of nature, *physis*, is performative, excessive, and queer. Bianchi makes the argument by combining Judith Butler’s theory of performativity with Elizabeth Grosz’s non-dual account of materiality and Heidegger’s remarks on the phenomenality of the ancient *physis*. Consequently, Bianchi’s argument is based more on the readings of contemporary theorists than on the analysis of ancient texts themselves (Homer, Heraclitus, Empedocles and Aristotle’s *Physics* are mentioned). Even in its overreach, Bianchi’s essay is perhaps the one that comes closest to fulfilling the objective of thinking about non-human (meta)physics.

The fifth notable essay is Brooke Holmes’ paper on the Stoic notion of sympathy. Through a detailed argument and careful reading of the rare sources, Holmes paints a picture of Stoic understanding of the cosmos or Nature as an immense live being, which is made out of a multiplicity of different bodies such as planets, mouse livers and souls. Both vulnerable and vital, the cosmos is permeated by incorporeal sympathy that connects everything from micro to macro levels. Holmes’ elaborate paper suggests that in Stoic metaphysics we could locate an alternative to materialism or idealism: an incorporeal becoming.

Other interesting offerings include Michael Naas’ beautiful and deconstructive essay on Plato. Starting with a surprising proposition in Plato’s *Laws* that humans are distinguished from other animals by their ability to sing and dance, Naas argues that, for Plato, the human capacity par excellence is to put order into unformed material. However, the condition of ordering, which is the rational man’s ordered speech, *logos*, is itself already haunted by its material condition, the meaning-

less voice, *phonê*, that the rational man shares with children and animals – and thus always borders on the non-human.

Giulia Sissa conducts a careful and well-argued reading of Ovid, noting that the Ovidian cosmos is both posthuman (the human undergoes fluid transformations into animals and plants) and anthropocentric (for it is all about *human* metamorphoses). Focusing on the speech of Pythagoras in book 15, Sissa argues that vegetarianism has a special value in a universe where human flesh takes surprising new, and edible, forms.

James I. Porter studies the possibilities of bringing together contemporary metaphysical trends of object-oriented ontology and speculative realism with different strands of ancient metaphysics – Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, Lucretius and Heraclitus are mentioned. The essay is a clearly written paper on a subject that calls for further investigation.

Claudia Barracchi's text "In light of *eros*" suggests a reading of *eros* as a very non-human power that underlies all generation and destruction. Barracchi finds this generative-destructive *eros* at play in Plato's *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*, but also, quite surprisingly, at the heart of Aristotle's unmoving mover. Musing on the idea of androgynous love, which would not include the desire to own and control, Barracchi moves away from philosophy to the love imagined in Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*.

In some of the papers the arguments are unfortunately not fully developed. Although Ramona Naddaf's analysis of the *daimonic* voice within Socrates is appealing, the main argument – that listening to this alien voice makes Socrates a non-human figure by reducing his moral autonomy – is not laid out very convincingly.

Also focusing on voice, Kristin Sampson argues that phonocentrism does not apply to Homer. While the essay maps interesting examples of human, animal, and nature sounds in Homer, it is difficult to see how these examples support the argument that we can find in Homer a model of "corporeality without the body," a mode of corporeality that does not require a fixed bodily entity or a division between body and soul.

In a paper on different conceptions of time, Rebecca Hill takes up a formulation from Aristotle's *Physics* according to which time is "always other" (*aei allo kai allo*), arguing that Aristotle conceives time as difference. Hill suggests that this understanding comes close to Henri Bergson's concept of duration and Luce Irigaray's concept of the interval in that it is not exactly a concept of time but a way of formulating the condition for presence. The paper, however, runs too short for the complex argument.

Mark Payne's essay aims to identify a special relationality or a 'chorality' between humans and other forms of life, which Payne defines as "participating in shared organismic life" and locates in Hölderlin's *Hyperion*, Schiller's *Aesthetics*, and Callimachus' and Theocritus' poetry. The essay, however, is written in dense and undecipherable prose that makes the argument very hard to follow.

The book is recommended reading for anyone interested in contemporary continental philosophy and the ancient world. It includes thought-provoking and surprising, but rather miscellaneous, openings for approaching antiquity from posthuman perspectives. The collection succeeds in showing that ancient texts are blooming with non-human life.

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN: *Anmerkungen über die Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums. Dresden 1767. Texte und Kommentar*. Herausgegeben von ADOLF H. BORBEIN – MAX KUNZE. Bearbeitet von EVA HOFSTETTER – MAX KUNZE – BRICE MAUCOLIN – AXEL RÜGLER. Schriften und Nachlaß 4,4. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2008. ISBN 978-3-8053-3844-8. XXVI, 280 S. EUR 46.

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN: *Monumenti antichi inediti spiegati ed illustrati*. Roma 1767. Text. Herausgegeben von ADOLF H. BORBEIN – MAX KUNZE. Schriften und Nachlaß 6,1. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2011. ISBN 978-3-8053-4193-6. XXXII, 622 S. EUR 82.

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN: *Monumenti antichi inediti spiegati ed illustrati*. Roma 1767. Kommentar. Herausgegeben von ADOLF H. BORBEIN – MAX KUNZE – AXEL RÜGLER. Schriften und Nachlaß Band 6,2. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2014. ISBN 978-3-8053-4889-8. 835 S., 523 Abb. EUR 86.

Die unter der Ägide der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, der Akademie gemeinnütziger Wissenschaften zu Erfurt und der Winckelmann-Gesellschaft, seit einigen Jahren auch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts herausgegebene neue kritische Ausgabe der Schriften von Winckelmann schreitet zügig vorwärts (frühere Bände besprochen in dieser Zeitschrift 38 [2004] 225; 39 [2005] 218–9; 41 [2007] 131; 47 [2013] 390–1).

Band 4, 4 “Anmerkungen über die Geschichte des Alterthums” enthält die zwei Teile des Textes und den von den Herausgebern verfassten Kommentar. – Habent sua fata libelli kann man sagen. Winckelmann hat sofort nach dem Erscheinen seines klassischen Werkes *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* erkannt, dass er mit einem Ergänzungsband in die Öffentlichkeit treten muss. Aber er erkannte auch, dass *Anmerkungen über die Geschichte des Alterthums* nur eine vorläufige Lösung war. Doch konnte er seinen Verleger nicht zu einer zweiten Auflage des Hauptwerkes bewegen. – Die Herausgeber haben das vorliegende Werk gewissenhaft neu aufgelegt, wofür alle über die Geschichte der antiken kunsthistorischen Forschung dankbar sein müssen.

Und der von ihnen hinzugefügte Kommentar ist wertvoll zum Verständnis des Winckelmannschen Werkes. – Ich habe keine kritischen Anmerkungen beizutragen. Auf S. 237 sollte die von W. auf S. 121 publizierte Inschrift besser als *CIL VI 27515 = IGUR 979* zitiert werden. Druckfehler sind höchst selten; auf S. VII schreibe “Übersetzung” statt “Übersetzungen”.

Band 6, 1–2 “*Monumenti antichi inediti spiegati ed illustrati*” ist das zweite Hauptwerk Winckelmanns. Leider stand es lange Zeit im Schatten der berühmten *Geschichte des Alterthums*. So kann ihre Publikation und Kommentierung im Rahmen der neuen kritischen Ausgabe dazu beitragen, dieses für die Entwicklung der Hermeneutik von Bildern und auch für Begründung der Archäologie als wissenschaftliche Disziplin zentrale Werk neu zu entdecken. – Die Leistung der Herausgeber ist mustergültig und kann nicht genug gelobt werden. – Hier nur eine Kleinigkeit zum Kommentar. S. 620 zu 466, 22: die Inschrift steht in *IG XIV 1227*. Notierungswert ist, dass Winckelmann den Text als unversehrt gibt, während Marini ihn als lückenhaft angibt; man würde annehmen, dass Winckelmann hier großzügig vorgegangen ist und Lücken nicht gemeldet hat – er kannte ja den Mann mit ganzem Namen aus literarischen Quellen, die er zitiert.

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Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio: Libro dei pesi, delle misure e dei vasi antichi. Napoli – Volume 4, libro XIX, codice XIII B. 4. A cura di STEFANIA PAFUMI. De Luca Editori d'arte, Roma 2011. ISBN 978-88-8016-985-7. XXXII, 118 pp. EUR 150.

Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio: Libro dei fiumi, dei fonti e dei laghi antichi. Napoli – Volume 9, libro XL, codice XIII B. 9. A cura di ROBERT W. GASTON. De Luca Editori d'arte, Roma 2015. ISBN 978-88-6557-136-1. XXVII, 331 pp. EUR 150.

Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio: Libri delle sepolture di varie nazioni. Napoli – Volume 10, libri XLVIII–L, codice XIII B. 10. A cura di FEDERICO RAUSA. De Luca Editori d'arte, Roma 2019. ISBN 978-88-6557-432-4. XXXI, 311 pp. EUR 150.

Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio: Libri delle medaglie da Cesare a Marco Aurelio Commodo. Torino – Volume 21, codice Ja. II. 8, libri XXVII–XXX. A cura di PATRIZIA SERAFIN PETRILLO. De Luca Editore d'arte, Roma 2013. ISBN 978-88-8016-968-0. XXXII, 590 pp. EUR 150.

Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio: Libri di diverse antichità di Roma. Oxford – Bodleian Library, ms. Canonici Ital. 138. Libri VI, X, XI, XII, XIV, XVI, XXXIV, XXXVI. A cura di IAN CAMPBELL. De Luca Editori d'arte, Roma 2016. ISBN 978-88-6557-310-5. XV, 343 pp. EUR 150.

Procede con lodevole ritmo, sotto l'egida della Commissione Nazionale e del suo energico Segretario Marcello Fagiolo, l'edizione nazionale della produzione scritta di Pirro Ligorio. Ho già avuto l'opportunità di apprezzare i volumi precedentemente editi in due puntate in questa rivista 43 (2009) 219-222 e 46 (2012) 298 sg. I volumi esaminati nella presente recensione continuano a offrire nuovi orizzonti sulla persona e produzione di Pirro. Essi stessi sono stati redatti da eccellenti specialisti. Possiamo quindi aspettarci esaltanti esperienze di lettura. Di seguito faremo qualche osservazione sul contenuto e sull'indole dei singoli volumi.

Napoli, volume 4, libro XIX, Libro dei pesi, delle misure e dei vasi antichi (a cura di S. Pafumi). Il codice napoletano XIII.B.4 contiene un volume tematico dell'*Enciclopedia del mondo antico*, un vasto corpus di antichità scritto e figurato che Ligorio aveva progettato e cominciato a scrivere nei decenni centrali del secolo, ma che rimase incompleto e pressappoco inedito. Del contenuto e dei molteplici problemi che il volume suscita, come della sua datazione e della sua fortuna o del metodo ligoriano, rende egregiamente conto l'editrice Stefania Pafumi nella sua introduzione, che ho letto con interesse e profitto. Il testo di Ligorio stesso è interessante sotto molti punti di vista. Per i lettori di questa rivista di particolare interesse saranno i pezzi iscritti disegnati da Pirro. Mi sia concesso di fare alcune osservazioni su di essi, anche perché l'a. non offre di solito riferimenti sulla loro fortuna nei corpora epigrafici: a p. 4 l'a. presenta una serie di pesi con iscrizioni greche, senza dire una sillaba della loro provenienza e pubblicazione; si trovano in *IG XIV 2417* e probabilmente provengono dalla Magna Grecia (sono interessanti per l'onomastica, per es. Σκάλαφος è un ἄπαξ λεγόμενον; va ancora detto che Ligorio ha capito bene le note dell'oncia da lui disegnate nelle figure); – p. 8 il bollo con croce seguita da πέντε è *IG XIV 2417, 8*; – a p. 10-12 nel capoverso *Delli pesi all'usanza latina*

capo XIX, Ligorio disegna parecchi pesi iscritti, crederei di provenienza urbana, perlopiù inediti, ma altri esemplari già noti sono stati ritrovati altrove in Italia e anche nelle province; per riportare il solo caso dei pesi di Q. Iunius Rusticus, praefectus urbi negli anni sessanta del II secolo, un peso urbano è stato pubblicato in *Bull. com.* 1884, 71, altri per es. in *CIL X* 8068 o XI 6726, ma quello a p. 10, che quindi crederei urbano, è inedito e avrebbe dovuto trovare posto in *CIL XV*, la cui pubblicazione si è fermata ai *signacula*, mancando categorie, come appunto i pesi e le gemme (qualcosa sui pesi iscritti si potrebbe trovare nel lascito di Heinrich Dressel, editore di *CIL XV*, presso l'Accademia di Berlino; dell'iscrizione riportante l'*auctoritas* di Q. Iunius Rusticus, Dressel aveva visto due esemplari nel Museo Kircheriano, come desumo da *ILS* 8638); a p. 11 Ligorio riproduce tra le altre cose, due pesi di Olibrius e Turcius Apronianus, ambedue nomi di praefecti urbi del IV secolo (*PLRE I L.* Turcius Apronianus 9-10, Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius 3), finora non attestati nei pesi iscritti. – a p. 64 Ligorio presenta un vaso provvisto della datazione consolare del 59 d.C. (tuttavia, legge male i nomi dei consoli) seguita dal sorprendente *sextaria pond. II exact. in Capitol.*: speriamo che l'iscrizione un giorno possa trovare il suo posto nel *CIL XV* (ma l'autenticità del testo è tutt'altro che certa, e come modello avrebbe potuto fungere quello ricordato immediatamente qui di sotto); a p. 65 un testo simile, anch'esso mancante nel *CIL XV*, ma pubblicato in *ILS* 8628 (resta però incerto se si tratti dello stesso esemplare di questo congio farnesiano). – a p. 77 viene riprodotto uno strigile iscritto in rame col testo inedito *L. Minutius L. f. Latinus*, ma per me si tratta di un evidente falso (manca anche nella raccolta degli strigili *CIL XV* 7084-7095). Il volume è stato edito con cura. Ho trovato soltanto pochi refusi: a p. 103, l'articolo di EICHE 1986 si trova a pp. 115-133, non a pp. 11-133; a p. 104, nell'articolo di FRANZONI 2004 le pagine devono essere 61-68; manca inoltre il riferimento a GASPARRI – FRANZONI, in *Alberto III e Rodolfo Pio*, 2004, 69-84 come titolo indipendente.

Napoli, volume 9, libro XL, Libro dei fiumi, dei fonti e dei laghi antichi (a cura di W. Gaston). Si saluta con piacere la pubblicazione di questo libro, databile agli anni '50 del Cinquecento, anche perché esso è stato finora poco esplorato. Il libro è costituito da un elenco alfabetico di fiumi, laghi e fonti, tramandati dagli autori romani e anche greci (inclusi lessici, tipo la Suda). L'ordine alfabetico viene seguito cum grano salis, come avveniva già nell'antichità (viene sempre osservata correttamente la prima lettera, ma non più le seguenti; su ciò cfr. L. W. Daly, *Coll. Lat.* 90 [1967] 59-62). La presentazione dei materiali, priva di disegni, è necessariamente un po' arida, ma Ligorio la ravviva con passaggi di autori antichi (che tuttavia conosce di seconda mano, in quanto fornitigli da eruditi contemporanei) e dissemina nel suo testo un numero di iscrizioni che egli immagina bollate su fistule acquarie. Sono tutte, senza eccezione, invenzioni di Pirro (in tutta la sua produzione conservata si trova un'unica fistula iscritta genuina, *CIL XV* 7320, trascritta in *Neap.* I. 34 p. 133), con le quali egli ha voluto ornare le descrizioni di natura geografica. Qui possiamo notare una caratteristica tipica di Ligorio: le "falsificazioni" devono essere viste nel quadro dei suoi tentativi di rendere vivo il patrimonio antico per i contemporanei, e ciò poteva essere realizzato anche con l'attività di ricostruzione (della quale esistono numerosi esempi lampanti nella sua opera). Il confine tra "ricostruzione" e "produzione" (cioè "falsificazione") è fluttuante come una linea tracciata nell'acqua; in effetti il passo dalle "ricostruzioni" alle "produzioni" poteva essere minimo. Qui Ligorio ha voluto rendere più disinvolto il materiale relativo alle acque, presentando al lettore diverse iscrizioni su fistule, riportanti espressioni completamente diverse da quelle che si

incontrano nei reperti autentici (egli per es. usa spesso il termine P o PED, cioè *pedes* o *pedum*, mai attestato nei bolli genuini). Quando l'autore parla seccamente di meri falsi di Ligorio, non rende giustizia alle sue specificità di presentazione.

Del contenuto e dell'indole del libro e della sua (magra) fortuna l'autore dà ampiamente resoconto nell'introduzione, provvista di numerosissime note. L'edizione del testo ligoriano è redatta con cura e comprende una grande quantità di note, a volte diventate veri e propri contributi scientifici. Dopo l'edizione seguono i soliti apparati critici, una vastissima bibliografia e gli indici. Ho letto il volume con grande interesse e profitto (qualche piccolo refuso: a p. XII sarebbe meglio scrivere *enkyklios paideia*, anziché *enkyklion paideia* [che sarebbe ἐγκυκλιῶν παιδεία, in effetti attestato in greco antico]; a p. 215 nt. 643, a proposito del falso FONT.AMMIANI.PED.LII, l'autore dice "and Amnius could possibly be Amnius", il che non ha senso; un altro caso di fraintendimento a p. 217 nt. 741, a proposito di *Apollinaris*; p. 230 nt. 1389 il rinvio a Patienus si trova in un posto sbagliato). Qui solo due osservazioni: 1) si capisce che uno studioso del Rinascimento non può essere esperto in epigrafia e onomastica antica (egli stesso lo confessa) e infatti sorprendono i riferimenti bibliografici, a proposito di nomi di ogni sorta, senza distinzione fra le opere come Kajanto, Salomies, Solin, o addirittura Petersen-Wachtel, nei quali l'a. chiede per quale ragione nelle opere che menziona non compaia l'uno o l'altro nome, senza tener conto del fatto che queste sono dedicate a categorie onomastiche del tutto differenti; per quanto riguarda l'epigrafia, l'a. si chiede (p. IX) come mai Henzen evitò di catalogare nel volume dei falsi, nel complesso del *CIL VI*, i testi presenti sulle fistule, ma tale tipologia di reperto entrò nel programma di tutt'altro volume, vale a dire *CIL XV*, dove Dressel non ritenne opportuno riportare i falsi. Ancora più grave è che non si sia accorto che a p. 65 = 54v Ligorio non ha trascritto il bollo di una fistula, ma una falsa iscrizione sacra, che del resto manca nell'edizione delle false urbane del *CIL VI*; parimenti, Ligorio presenta a p. 150 = f. 152r (cfr. p. 256 nt. 2716) una simile falsa iscrizione sacra, questa volta ripresa in *CIL VI* 368*; anche l'iscrizione trascritta a f. 63r = p. 73 sg., non reperita dall'a. (p. 228 nt. 1283) si trova tra le false del *CIL VI* 761*; invece l'a. si è accorto a p. 75 che GENIO FONTIS AVRVCIANI ha trovato posto in *CIL VI* 281*. – 2) a p. 173 = f. 175v Ligorio scrive alla fine del capoverso, dove tratta il fiume Maxera, "Sono alcuni che l'chiamano il fiume YPKANOS MAXEPOS ΠΙΟΤΑΜΟΣ, cioè l'Hyrano Maxero fiume"; l'autore dice di non aver trovato il passo "in the dictionaries or in *TLG*" (pur rinviando ai passi di Tolomeo), ma gli è sfuggito che Ligorio ha inventato il testo in base a Ptol. *geogr.* 6, 9, 2 Μαξήρα ποταμοῦ e 6, 9, 5, dove menziona la tribù dei Μαξήραι, nella regione Ἰρκακία. Ligorio ha scritto male nel testo greco MAXEPOS e non si è accorto che nel secondo passo Tolomeo parla del popolo dei Maxerai.

Napoli, volume 10, libri XLVIII–L, Libri delle sepolture di varie nazioni (a cura di F. Rausa). Si tratta di un ulteriore importante volume. È costituito da tre libri, dei quali il primo (48) tratta "de' diversi costumi delle genti usati in seppellire l' morti", il secondo (49) "narra particolarmente de' luoghi delle sepolture delle fameglie romane", il terzo (50) "tratta del costume di seppellire di varie nationi". Questi tre libri concludono il gigantesco trattato enciclopedico sul mondo antico e rappresentano, nel corso del Cinquecento, il maggiore tentativo di sintesi sull'argomento. Del contenuto, delle modalità, delle fonti e della fortuna di questo volume Rausa tratta ampiamente nell'ottima introduzione. Al testo ligoriano, che nell'opera assume la parte del leone, seguono i soliti apparati critici e una bibliografia. Purtroppo mancano indici di qualsiasi tipo.

Alcuni dettagli: a p. 4 = f. 5 Ligorio chiama Silla coi nomi *L. Sulla Faustus Felix*, ma il dittatore non ha mai portato il nome *Faustus*, che invece diede a suo figlio come prenome (ancor peggio a p. 151 = f. 122 scrive “sepulchro di Lucio Cornelio Fausto Sylla”); a p. 23 = f. 20 p. 34 l'autore osserva: “Iscrizioni non reperite”, ma non si tratta di iscrizioni antiche, bensì dei nomi di due tipologie di vaso scritti in greco (l'equivoco si ripete più avanti, a p. 34); nel primo caso sembra stare ΔΙΑΚΡΥΩ (l'ultima lettera resta incerta), dove sospetto si tratti della parola διάκρυσος, ‘(vaso) indorato’, mentre nel secondo, dove troviamo scritto ΠΥΚΤΑ, si cela forse πικτή, ‘tavola’, cioè il supporto indicante il nome del defunto; – a p. 28 = f. 23v a nt. 8 andrebbe aggiunto che l'iscrizione nel vaso a sinistra è *CIL VI 2176**; – a p. 34 = f. 27v l'autore osserva “Iscrizione non reperita”, ma diversamente non poteva essere: la scritta nel vaso TAPXANON altro non è che designazione del vaso sepolcrale (cfr. Hesych. τάρχανον· πένθος, κήδος; nota che Ligorio conosceva il lessico di Esichio, cfr. per es. *Neap.* l. 19 f. 45v, 66); – p. 69 = f. 57 Ligorio riporta l'iscrizione sepolcrale dei liberti di Marco Tullio che lui s'immagina a Bisanzio, senza dubbio un falso (*CIL III 30**), ma è interessante come Ligorio abbia potuto trovare dei cognomi popolari dell'età ciceroniana e di quella un poco posteriore, provvisti anche di forme secondarie ben attestate, come *Anthiocus* (con una comune trasposizione dell'aspirazione), con un'unica corruttela LACHRYSA; era una caratteristica di Pirro di connettere epitaffi di gente comune con i grandi nomi della storia romana; un poco prima, a p. 66 = f. 55, riporta l'epitaffio dei Titi Flavii (*CIL VI 1895**), tra cui *T. Flavius T. f. Quir. Vespasianus* e *Flavia Domitia Domitilla* (cfr. anche p. 89 = f. 70 *CIL VI 1312* Atiliae Calatinae*); – a p. 73 = f. 60v si trova una bella invenzione di Ligorio che ha creato il cognome *Lantanyus* in base al femminile *Lanthanusa*, discretamente attestato a Roma; – a p. 83 = f. 66 nella figura di *CIL VI 2891* è rimasta fuori la prima riga *dis m. sac.*; – p. 84 = f. 67 l'iscrizione è *CIL VI 1274*; – p. 99 nt. 6 non *CIL VI 1927*, ma 1926*, – p. 124 = f. 92v GENIO FAMILIAE CLAUDIAE SAC sembra in effetti mancare nell'edizione dei falsi urbani; p. 133 = f. 97 è la seconda parte di *CIL IX 2855*; a p. 139 = f. 110v meglio citare *CIL I² 1216*; – p. 202 = f. 162 la seconda iscrizione è *CIL VI 1821**; – p. 204 = f. 163 il falso è *CIL VI 1490**; – a p. 205 = f. 163v c'è stata una confusione: *CIL VI 1180** si riferisce a nt. 2, mentre il falso riferito in nt. 1 è *CIL VI 1233**.

Torino, volume 21, libri XXVII–XXX, Libri delle medaglie da Cesare a Marco Aurelio Commodo (a cura di P. Serafin Petrillo). Ligorio era nel Cinquecento uno dei molti appassionati di monete, uomini di cultura, collezionisti, eruditi, *anticari*, *banchieri* e ogni sorta di trafficanti. Ligorio scrive i suoi trattati in un momento in cui l'attenzione alle monete, certamente il documento antico più diffuso tra le persone colte e in vista dell'epoca, è particolarmente vivo. Egli stesso partecipa a tale attività con i suoi numerosi libri su monete e medaglie, sia nella serie napoletana che in quella torinese. Uno degli umanisti che aveva una fitta corrispondenza con Ligorio era lo spagnolo Antonio Agustín, famoso studioso e collezionista di monete, medaglie e iscrizioni, che visse lungamente in Italia; Agustín nutriva una certa stima verso Pirro per la grande mole della sua opera, ma d'altra parte lo criticava per la mancanza di una vera cultura umanistico-letteraria (la polemica doveva essere nata assai prima), e in sostanza lo spagnolo aveva ragione: la conoscenza di Ligorio della letteratura antica era assai superficiale, come pure la sua padronanza delle lingue classiche; i brani degli scrittori romani li presentava di seconda mano, e quelli greci (diversamente dall'uso che ne fa in altri codici) sempre in traduzione latina (mutuandoli, in alcuni casi, da Benedetto Egio), come pure addirittura le iscrizioni greche. Ma veniamo all'apporto dell'editrice del volume. Nell'introduzione rende conto del codice 21, dunque dei

presenti libri 27-30 qui pubblicati, ma anche degli altri manoscritti ferraresi delle medaglie; si occupa dei problemi della trascrizione, relativi al testo stesso e alle immagini, e inoltre delle contraffazioni, dei falsi, dei falsari e dei collezionisti. Succinte osservazioni sulla cronologia: secondo l'autrice, Pirro ha iniziato la composizione dei libri prima del 1580, ma vi ha lavorato fino alla sua morte, avvenuta nel 1583 (riesce a respingere altre proposte di datazione presentate ancora di recente). Alla fine, l'a. presenta considerazioni generali, con osservazioni interessanti; sottolinea come non si possa cercare sistematicità o rigore di presentazione nell'opera di Pirro la quale, tuttavia sarebbe concepita con uno spirito profondamente moderno; la modernità dell'impianto consisterebbe anche nel continuo confronto con il suo tempo, con il sentire e interpretare momenti della storia passata con un sentimento da contemporaneo. Per finire, la moneta era – a detta dell'autrice – per Ligorio una fonte primaria, della quale, in un ideale ampliamento e sviluppo del Vico, Pirro faceva un uso sistematico, inserendola in un racconto storico, non fine a sé stesso. Dopo l'introduzione, segue il testo del Ligorio, accompagnato da un pregevole apparato numismatico che contiene il catalogo delle monete. Concludono i soliti apparati critici, la bibliografia (dove non trovo P. F. Mittag, *Römische Medaillons. Caesar bis Hadrian* del 2010) e un indice dei nomi e dei luoghi.

Alcuni dettagli: a p. 98 = f. 71 l'autrice non ha fatto delle ricerche per reperire le due iscrizioni; si tratta di una coppia interessante: il testo dell'antica è genuino (*CIL* VI 760), quello della postica falso (*CIL* VI 653*), tramandato anche in *Taurin.* 26 f. 168. – p. 124 = f. 86v: l'iscrizione citata in nt. 12 come Gruterus 519, 3 è la falsa parmense *CIL* XI 137*, resa male da Ligorio. – p. 195 = f. 144v: l'a. rinvia (nt. 2) alle due iscrizioni *CIL* X 5825 e 5838 che ricordano *Ferentinates novani*, ma le è sfuggito che l'iscrizione disegnata da Pirro è la goffa falsa ferentinate *CIL* X 753*. – p. 235 = f. 242v: le iscrizioni, ambedue false, sono *CIL* XI 304* (di provenienza ignota, ma pubblicata tra le false perugine, essendo l'onorato *patronus coloniae Perusinae*), e VI 735*. – p. 331 nt. 17: invece di *CIL* X 220 leggi *CIL* X 6220. – p. 342 = f. 253v: la prima iscrizione è *CIL* VI 3113*, la seconda X 754*, e in nt. 3 rimane incomprensibile il rinvio ad *AE* 1982. – Ho trovato solo pochi refusi: a p. 555 s. v. Babelon 1901: "grecques", non "greques"; p. 556 s. v. *CIL*: "auctoritate", non "auctoritatae"; p. 558 s. v. PIR: "Romani", non "Romanii"; p. 560 s. v. Vagenheim 2000: leggi *Ἐπιγραφαί*.

Oxford, libri di diverse antichità di Roma: Libri VI, X, XI, XII, XIV, XVI, XXXIV, XXXVI (a cura di I. Campbell). Il manoscritto bodleiano è un codice miscelaneo. È unico nel suo genere fra i codici ligoriani: i fogli dell'album oxoniense non furono messi insieme sotto la supervisione di Pirro o durante la sua vita; sembra che ciò sia accaduto molto più tardi. L'album venne poi in possesso dell'abate Matteo Luigi Canonico (1727-1807), dai cui eredi fu acquistato dalla Bodleiana. Rimase per lungo tempo all'ombra dei codici napoletani e torinesi, e solo nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento ha cominciato ad attrarre l'interesse degli studiosi. Gli autori del Corpus delle iscrizioni berlinese hanno fatto spogli del codice, ma sembra non del tutto sistematicamente. Prendo un esempio: nel f. 144 (p. 221) Ligorio riproduce dopo la grande iscrizione *CIL* VI 27099, una serie di piccole lastre che perlopiù sembrano materiali di colombari, immaginate nei loculi designati da Ligorio sotto 27099; una parte è finita nel *CIL* VI, ma quattro lastre sembrano inedite. Una sembra certamente autentica: si tratta di una lastra pseudoansata, che presenta nella parte inferiore sinistra del disegno il testo *NAEVIA / IMEDABV* (la terza lettera della seconda riga è incerta, ma in primo luogo penserei a una E). Il cognome sarà forse semitico, cfr. *CIL* VI 19136 *Ammadabu* (sull'interpretazione vedi J. T. Milik, *Recherches d'épigraphie*

proche-orientale I [1972] 325). Le altre potrebbero essere false: l'ultima della terza colonna presenta il testo NAEVIA / ADMETA GER; in *Admeta* l'ultima lettera sembra essere una O, poi corretta in A, se non al contrario una A sarebbe corretta in O, così che avremmo *Naevia Admeto ger(ulo)* [meno probabilmente andrebbe inteso *Ger(mano)*], nel qual caso *Naevia* sarebbe un nome servile, ma è difficile decidere tra ingenuo e falso (il femminile *Admete* è attestato in *CIL* VI 11918; XI 4114); invece la seconda lastra nella colonna destra LOVILLIA ADMETA / LOVILLIVS ADMETO / B M FECIT è un evidente falso, e forse lo è anche quella pseudoansata sotto, che riporta il testo ADMETO VRB / VILICVS. Le altre lastre, di cui Ligorio non fornisce la provenienza, l'autore dice di non averle ritrovate, ma sono *CIL* VI 9197, 9440, 9441 (Ligorio legge *Leti*), 9985, 13628, 17760, 23063, 23640 (a loro riguardo, l'editore Henzen non cita Ligorio in 9440, 9441).

Delle questioni inerenti al codice l'autore riferisce egregiamente nell'introduzione (va ancora detto che un'analisi dettagliata del materiale epigrafico in esso contenuto resta da fare). L'edizione del testo dell'album è esemplare, ed è accompagnata da importanti note esplicative, nelle quali anche le iscrizioni sono ricordate a sufficienza. Seguono brevi considerazioni sull'analisi codicologica, una nota al testo (a cura di Anna Capuzzi) e la solita bibliografia.

Per finire, un paio di osservazioni di dettaglio: a p. XIV nt.19 l'autore rinvia a Henzen 1877, ma non trovo lo studio di costui in bibliografia. – nel f. 83v (p. 124) l'autore non è riuscito a reperire le due ultime iscrizioni (come dice a p. 286), ma quella a sinistra, che Ligorio presenta come narbonese, riproduce due iscrizioni l'una sotto l'altra, che sono *CIL* V 2629 di Este e XI 707 di Bologna (nell'apparato di quest'ultima l'editore Bormann rinvia al codice bodleiano, ma senza notare la sbagliata collocazione di Pirro); è invece disperato il tentativo di rintracciare quella a sinistra, la cui provenienza resta incerta (Ligorio l'attribuisce a Firenze, ma ciò non è degno di fede, e anche se fosse realmente stata a Firenze, la sua origine resterebbe aperta, e si potrebbe senz'altro pensare a una provenienza urbana, in quanto Firenze pullula di epigrafi portate da Roma); del testo è conservata soltanto l'ultima riga (della penultima riga si distingue a destra soltanto un'asta verticale), nella quale si legge *sibi et suis lib. libe+++ eor(um)*, ma della disastrosa riproduzione di Pirro è difficile tirar fuori che cosa in realtà vi sia stato scritto (forse si potrebbe immaginare qualcosa come *suis lib(eris) liber[ti]q(ue) eor(um)*). – nel f. 114 (p. 169) Ligorio riproduce due iscrizioni palesemente false con la seguente collocazione: *sono in via Lavicana le reliquie del sepolcro ... dentro di esso sono state trovate queste parole*; l'autore (p. 292) incorre in uno strano errore, quando afferma che la prima sia *CIL* VI 241* e la seconda inedita, mentre in realtà ambedue sono state pubblicate insieme come labicane dal Dessau, *CIL* XIV 241* (Dessau quindi le assegna a Labicum, ma con lo stesso diritto potrebbero essere attribuite al corpus delle false urbane). – nel f. 121v (p. 181) l'iscrizione trascritta da Ligorio è riportata da Henzen tra le false urbane in *CIL* VI 1950*, ma sembra trattarsi piuttosto di un'epigrafe genuina, come ho cercato di dimostrare nel contributo 'Ligorian und Verwandtes. Zur Problematik epigraphischer Fälschungen', pubblicato nel 1994 nel volume *E fontibus haurire*, p. 345, citato dall'autore in bibliografia. – nel f. 142 (p. 217) Ligorio riproduce un evidente falso che non sembra ricordato altrove (è assegnato alla via Labicana, ma manca tra le false sia del *CIL* VI che del XIV); il testo dice *C. Licto/rius C. / f. Assin. / a(b) u(rbe) c(ondita) / CCCC*. – nel f. 151v (p. 233) la prima iscrizione sarebbe, secondo l'autore (p. 307), 'unrecorded', ma in realtà è la falsa ispellata *CIL* XI 674*. – nel f. 152 (p. 234) la seconda iscrizione di S. Crisogono non è 'unrecorded', come afferma l'autore (p. 307), ma una cattiva copia di *CIL* VI 2719 (come si fa notare in *CIL* VI p. 3370). – nel f. 153 (236) riproduce

un'epigrafe di Teano (probabilmente di Teanum Sidicinum, se non di Teanum Apulum, certo non di quella della Lucania, come afferma l'autore [forse egli ha confuso Teano con la Teggiano/Diano lucana]), secondo l'autore anch'essa 'unrecorded', ma si tratta di *CIL X 605**. – nel f. 154 (p. 238) la seconda iscrizione a sinistra da 'Agnelo Castello' sembra in effetti mancare nelle raccolte epigrafiche, come constata l'autore a p. 308; è difficile indovinare perché: forse gli editori del *CIL* non erano certi a quale volume del *Corpus* andasse attribuita (le iscrizioni del foglio provengono, a detta di Ligorio, da vari castelli di Sabini), se al IX o al XIV (l'incertezza dell'attribuzione è visibile anche nell'assegnazione dell'unica iscrizione del f. 165v [dove si continua la serie dei testi dei castelli di Sabini] pubblicata sia nel IX che nel XIV volume), e perciò l'hanno per inavvertenza omessa (va detto ancora che può essere genuina, almeno nell'andamento del testo non c'è nulla che militerebbe a favore di un falso); manca nei corpora anche l'ultima iscrizione del f.155 (p. 239).

Ho trovato pochi errori di stampa e altri refusi: a p. 300 (ad f. 135v) l'ultima iscrizione non è *CIL VI 9427*, bensì 9247; (ad f. 136v) *CIL VI 11086** è un errore per 1086*; a p. 228 (= f. 148), l'autore condivide l'errore di Ligorio, secondo il quale *C. Tap(p)onius C. f. Clu. Tappo* sarebbe da ascrivere alla tribù Claudia, mentre era della Clustumina; f. 149r-v (con il commento a pp. 305 sg.): il lettore si sente in imbarazzo, non trovando alcuna traccia delle iscrizioni che avrebbero dovuto trovarsi nel f. 149r (*CIL VI 1035*) e 149v (*CIL VI 2170, 2171*), per cui l'autore avrebbe dovuto spiegare meglio perché le dette iscrizioni non compaiono a p. 229; p. 308 (ad f. 153v) leggi *CIL IX 368**, non *CIL VI 368** (e il testo nella parte inferiore del foglio è *CIL XI 30**, che sembra dipendere da Sabino); p. 332 s. v. Solin 2009: scrivi Desideri invece di Desieri.

In conclusione, vorrei ancora indirizzare due auguri all'intera serie della presente Edizione nazionale: 1) Sarebbe auspicabile pubblicare, magari on line, una riproduzione dei codici editi (con questo non voglio minimamente disprezzare la fedeltà delle trascrizioni proposte dai vari autori, ma certo sarebbe utile per il lettore poter comparare il testo edito con l'originale); 2) Raccomanderei di porre le note sempre nella medesima pagina del testo al quale si riferiscono; ciò agevolerebbe notevolmente l'utilizzo dei volumi. E per finire, per non essere frainteso a causa delle osservazioni critiche che ho fatto relativamente ad alcuni dettagli, vorrei sottolineare l'alta qualità dei volumi sopra recensiti, volumi che sono stati creati con un arduo lavoro, durato spesso decenni. Auguriamo all'impresa dell'Edizione nazionale un felice e fecondo futuro. Vivat, valeat, crescat, soprattutto crescat.

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GIOVANNI COLONNA: *Italia ante Romanum Imperium. Scritti di antichità etrusche, italiche e romane (1999–2013)*. Vol. V–VI. Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, Pisa – Roma 2016. ISBN 978-88-8147-441-7. XXII, 1248 pp. EUR 580.

Giovanni Colonna è uno tra i più grandi studiosi contemporanei di archeologia e storia etrusco-italica, un indagatore instancabile. Ho avuto l'opportunità di apprezzare in questa rivista (45 [2005] 215–218 la prima serie dei suoi scritti pubblicata dalla medesima casa editrice nel 2005. Ecco, ora

tocca esaminare i due ulteriori volumi, nei quali si raccolgono gli scritti dell'autore pubblicati tra il 1999 e 2013. Anch'essi testimoniano un'attività incessante e offrono un contributo fondamentale alla conoscenza dell'Etruria, dell'Italia preromana e di Roma antica, senza dimenticare protagonisti e momenti importanti della storia degli studi, sul quale tema si concludono i due volumi.

Data la ricchezza degli argomenti trattati nei due volumi, sarebbe un'impresa impossibile cercare di caratterizzare, nel quadro del limitato spazio concessomi dalla redazione di questa rivista, tutti i contributi di Colonna contenuti nei due volumi, contributi scritti in italiano, tranne due in francese e uno inglese. Perciò ne toccherò soltanto alcuni, che mi sono apparsi più interessanti.

Il primo volume è intitolato *Tra storia e archeologia*. I suoi contributi sono tutti degni di essere letti e meditati; è difficile scegliere quali dovrebbero essere trattati con più minuziosità. Ho letto con profitto per es. 'L'Adriatico tra VIII e inizio V secolo a.C. con particolare riguardo al ruolo di Adria' (pp. 155–182), in cui si presentano documenti vascolari che testimoniano le rotte tra le opposte rive del mare Adriatico; si parla della qualificazione urbana di Adria che si data, secondo Colonna, probabilmente a partire dall'ultimo quarto del VI secolo, e di altri interessanti aspetti. Un altro contributo che vorrei menzionare è lo studio 'Un monumento romano dell'inizio della Repubblica' del 2010 (pp. 545–577), nel quale l'a. data la Lupa Capitolina all'inizio della Repubblica e critica vigorosamente la datazione all'età carolingia (il bronzista potrebbe essere di origine sarda, da qualche tempo immigrato a Roma). Finisco con 'A proposito del primo trattato romano-cartaginese (e della donazione pyrgense ad Astarte' del 2010 (pp. 579–601) che mette in rapporto il trattato (da egli considerato, con la maggioranza degli studiosi, autentico) e le famose laminette bilingui etrusco-fenicie di Pyrgi, sottolineando l'evidente significato politico dell'introduzione del culto della fenicia Astarte, avvenuta per personale iniziativa del "re" di Caere, Thefarie Velianas.

Il secondo volume è costituito da tre sezioni: *Tra arte e archeologia; Epigrafia; Storia della ricerca*. Mi soffermo un po' sulla parte epigrafica, particolarmente interessante per i lettori di questa rivista. Alcuni contributi riguardano l'etrusco ('Epigrafi etrusche e latine a confronto' [ma tratta sostanzialmente soltanto di iscrizioni etrusche]; 'Cerveteri. La tomba delle iscrizioni graffite'; 'Il cippo di Tagliatella (e questioni connesse)'; 'Un etrusco a Perachora. A proposito della gemma iscritta già Evans col suicidio di Aiace'); aggiungo ancora l'importante studio 'L'uso epigrafico dell'etrusco nella Roma dei Tarquini', *RPAA* 89 (2016–7) 689–703. Al greco (e un po' all'etrusco) è dedicato 'I greci di Caere', in cui l'a. presenta, tra l'altro, interessanti iscrizioni greche scoperte a Caere. Delle lingue italiche si occupano i contributi 'L'iscrizione del biconico di Uppsala: un documento del paleoumbro' e 'Presentazione di M. Russo, Sorrento. Una nuova iscrizione paleoitalica in alfabeto 'nucerino' e altre iscrizioni arcaiche dalla collezione Fluss' (ma una delle iscrizioni sembrerebbe, secondo l'a., piuttosto etrusca). Infine, il latino è oggetto di due studi: 'Dolio con iscrizioni latine arcaiche da Satricum' del 2003, nel quale Colonna tratta di due iscrizioni latine del VI secolo, scritte forse sullo stesso dolio, di cui la prima viene letta [*e]ia Mamarc/om placiom* (ma cfr. le proposte di G. Rocca in *Priscis libentius e liberius novis* (2018) 146–152, che legge e intende [---]+*a Mamarc/om Placiom* [---?], propendendo per una formula onomastica bimembre, il che resta un po' problematico, soprattutto per un nome [che poi dovrebbe essere un gentilizio] *Placius*, del tutto ignoto nell'onomastica antica), la seconda [---] *Loucios* +. Il secondo studio è 'L'iscrizione di Osteria dell'Osa', nel quale l'a. propone di vedere nel famoso reperto scoperto nel territorio di Gabii, databile alla prima metà dell'VIII secolo, non un'iscrizione greca, come supposto dalla maggioranza degli studiosi, bensì una latina, ma la deci-

sione non è facile: finora era stato letto εὐλιν in scrittura destrorsa (da ultimo vedi *SEG XLVI* 1316), mentre Colonna vorrebbe leggere, in scrittura sinistrorsa, *nilue* in latino; ma né l'una né l'altra interpretazione soddisfano pienamente: non si capisce bene che cosa potrebbe significare εὐλιν, almeno non esistono nomi di persona che comincino Εὐλιν-; d'altra parte, anche *nilue*, vale a dire *ni lue*, che corrisponderebbe, per Colonna, in latino classico a **ne luas*, resta di difficile comprensione. Chi sa se si tratti di una terza lingua, diciamo fenicia?

Va espressa una sincera gratitudine non solo al Comitato di redazione dei volumi, ma anche all'editore, il Prof. Fabrizio Serra che con la sua lungimiranza ha reso possibile la loro pubblicazione. Auguriamo (nonostante l'alto prezzo di copertina) all'opera un'ampia diffusione tra i dotti che si occupano delle antichità dell'Italia preromana e romana.

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The Gods of Greek Hexameter Poetry: From the Archaic Age to Late Antiquity and Beyond. Edited by JAMES J. CLAUSS – MARTINE CUYPERS – AHUVIA KAHANE. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 56. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016. ISBN 978-3-515-11523-0. 472 pp. EUR 69.

This collection consists of a great variety of papers on Greek hexameter poetry from the Archaic period down to late antiquity; it also explores the role of the Greek gods in Latin poetry and modern literature.

It is perhaps difficult to thematically classify all the papers of this volume since the most important element of this collection is the variety of the issues discussed, as they focus on various aspects of the topic of divinity and its depiction in Greek and Roman literature. Some of them include the succession of power and the conflict among the gods, the features that distinguish deities from humans, the role of fate in human lives, and the relation of divine performance with contemporary religion. These themes are treated from three main aspects: narrative analysis of characters; intertextual dialogues among poets such as Homer, Hesiod, Callimachus, and Apollonius Rhodius; plus a few papers that are preoccupied with the general role of cult in ancient literature.

More precisely, the book is divided into four main parts. After a brief introduction from the editors, the first is entitled 'Archaic Poetry'. It includes papers about the role of divinity in the *Theogony* (Jenny Strauss Clay), the Homeric Hymns (Andrew Faulkner), the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (Kirk Ormand), the *Iliad* (Jim Marks), the *Odyssey* (Richard P. Martin), the Cyclic Epic (Christos Tsagalos) and the Hesiodic *Shield* (Timothy Heckenlively).

Going one step further, the second part focuses on Hellenistic poetry and the participation of gods in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (James J. Clauss), in Aratus' *Phaenomena* (John Ryan), in Callimachus' Hymns (Ivana Petrovic) and *Hecale* (Massimo Giuseppetti). The last paper is about Moschus' *Europa* and *Eros on the Run*, written by A.D. Morrison.

Next, the third part describes the divine action in imperial and late antique poetry. It consists of papers on texts that research has recently begun to examine thoroughly: from Smyrna's *Post-homerica* (Silvio Bar), Triphiodorus' *Sack of Troy* (Laura Miguelez-Cavero), *Cynegetica*, Nonnus'

Dionysiaca (Domenico Accorinti, Anna Lefteratou) to Colluthus' *Rape of Helen* (Enrico Magnelli). Last but not least, the last two papers are the most interesting and complex of the chapter as they examine the role of divinity both in late philosophy and poetry in general (Oliver Schelske) and the presence of polytheism in the Sibylline oracles (J.L. Lightfoot).

Likewise, the last part, entitled 'Beyond the Greeks', takes still another step forward, as it sheds light on the role of Greek gods in Latin poetry (Virgil: Ward Briggs; Ovid: Fritz Graf) and contemporary literary production (Tennyson: Edward Adams; Walcott and Oswald: Ahuvia Kahane).

Furthermore, the bibliography (both monographs and secondary literature) is sufficient and enlightened with all the recent studies concerning divinity in the ancient world. The volume also includes a general *Index*. Nonetheless, it appears that perhaps the addition of an *Index locorum* would make the references more easily accessible to readers.

In retrospect, in this reviewer's opinion, this collective volume is truly ground-breaking and a must-read for graduate/postgraduate students, researchers and scholars interested in the depiction of fate and divinity in ancient Greek and Roman literature. It also manages to present the intertextual dialogue between many different types of poetry or writers (e.g., Homer and Vergil) as far as the role of gods is concerned. Although a paper examining religion in the Roman literature of late antiquity is absent in the last part – so that the evolution of the divine element might not be presented just on poets of the Augustan age (Virgil and Ovid) – it is a useful tool for all readers and a totally remarkable accomplishment that all sorts of classicists, both philologists and historians interested in religious issues, will use with benefit.

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Polybios und seine Historien. Herausgegeben von VOLKER GRIEB – CLEMENS KOEHN. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2013. ISBN 978-3-515-10477-7. 359 pp. EUR 62.

This collection of articles is the result of the conference with the same title held at the Helmut-Schmidt-University in Hamburg in April 2010. Articles presented in German (14) and English (1) shed light on different aspects of Polybios' work and how it can be compared with the works of Thucydides/Xenophon and Livy. The year 2013 was a very good one for Polybios enthusiasts; see *Polybios and his World: Essays in Memory of F.W. Walbank*, eds. Bruce Gibson and Thomas Harrison (Oxford University Press).

In the introduction, the editors offer a summary of research on Polybios conducted so far and the many new lines in the study of the Hellenistic period, making the point that despite the new discoveries of papyri and inscriptions, it is still the work of Polybios that enables us to understand the historical events of this period in larger perspective.

Hans Kloft, "Polybios und die Universalgeschichte", discusses the famous inaugural speech given by the history professor Friedrich Schiller in Jena in 1789 on the point of studying universal history; many of the main points of that speech reflect the ideas of Polybios. Kloft analyses the nature of Polybios' general history and what his standards are to do it properly. Those standards are high

and it still makes sense to use them. It is the war with all its participants, its political and military ramifications that for Polybios works as the universal demiurge that creates world history.

Andreas Mehl, “Geschichte in Fortsetzung: Wie, warum und wozu haben Autoren wie Polybios und Thukydides/Xenophon auf ein Ziel hin geschriebene Geschichtswerke fortgesetzt?“, studies the history of ancient historiography: histories were often written with a clearly defined goal and purpose to the work, however, the historians also included several introductions in their works which can be seen as rethinking the goal of their work. Moreover, historians continued the narrative of their fellow historians. Mehl discusses these situations and the problems that arise in continuing a contemporary history.

Helmut Halfmann, “Livius und Polybios”, gives an overview of the *Quellenforschung* of Livy’s work and to what extent Livy used Polybios as a source. Halfmann makes the point that Polybios would probably not have esteemed Livy’s way of working and putting together his histories highly, and certainly Livy’s work would not function as a good guide to politics as it could only be written by someone drawing from their own experience. Livy as a representative of Roman history writing had another goal, however: he did not see Rome as the aggressor but as a defender of its allies in its many wars. Consequently, Livy has used Polybios only to that extent where the content of his work did not collide with the Roman doctrine of its wars.

Josef Wiesehöfer, “Polybios und die Entstehung des römischen Weltreichtums”, deals with Rome’s rise to world power and how Polybios compares this process with that of the rise of the Persian empire, Sparta, and the reign of Alexander and the Successors. Wiesehöfer discusses how this sequence of empires came about, starting with Herodotus (the Assyrians, Medians and Persians) and going on to the late republican Roman and Augustan period when the list already comprised the Assyrians, Medians, Persians, Macedonians and Rome.

Jürgen Deininger writes on “Die Tyche in der pragmatischen Geschichtsschreibung des Polybios”. This lengthy article states that there is no satisfactory and clear equivalent in other old or modern languages for the Greek expression Tyche as Polybios uses it. In modern terms the work of Polybios can be best seen as political history and military history and Polybios is keen to look for reasons (*aitiai*) for why something happened. What, then, is the relationship between the human causes effecting things and the superhuman Tyche? Deininger discusses the spectrum of meanings of Tyche, taking examples concerning the Achaean League, Macedon, Rome and other states. There is also an overview of the recent research on this topic.

Frank Daubner, “Zur Rolle der Geographischen Schilderungen bei Polybios”, discusses the many and also contradictory readings of Polybios as a geographer: Was he the “new” Herodotus in his interest in the topic and did he not contribute to the development of geography as a science? Daubner states Polybios cannot be included as actually developing geography; however, knowledge of geography and topography was an integral part of Polybios’ concept of teaching his readers.

Burkhard Meißner, “Polybios als Militärhistoriker”, refers to E. W. Marsden’s study “Polybios as a Military Historian” in 1974 and how modern ideas of strategy and warfare influenced his views. Meißner focuses on how Polybios writes about his role as a historian, narrating on the armies and war. To mention an interesting detail, Meißner offers comparative data on the frequency with which words connected to war, *-polem-* and *-strat-* occur compared to the word *polit-* meaning civic activities in the texts of Polybios, Xenophon, Diodorus, Thucydides, Herodotus, etc.

Clemens Koehn addresses the topic “Polybios und die Inschriften: Zum Sprachgebrauch des Historikers”. The question of to what extent Polybios used information from inscriptions derived through other authors and to what extent he saw the inscriptions himself has already drawn the attention of many Polybian scholars. As is known, Polybios only mentions seeing inscriptions himself in two matters: the Roman-Carthaginian treaties and the Carthaginian troop numbers in Spain and Africa at the beginning of the Second Punic War. Koehn investigates whether there was an Achaean official language that has often been connected with Polybios and what the many possible interpretations for Polybios’ use of the word *stele* are.

Volker Grieb, “Polybios’ *Wahre* Demokratie und die *politeia* von Poleis und Koina in den Historien”, deals with Polybios’ constitutional theory, which is the issue in book 6. Grieb discusses the wide meaning and the depth of Polybios’ concept of *demokratia* and what Polybios had to say of the domestic political conditions of Athens and Rhodes.

Linda-Marie Günther, “Innergriechische Diplomatie und zwischenstaatliche Beziehungen in den Historien des Polybios”, discusses how Polybios portrayed the form and content of diplomatic activities in the third and second century Hellenistic world so full of wars and conflicts. Günther takes examples from the Illyrian wars and the campaigns of Aratos commanding the army of the Achaean League as well as the foreign policy of Ptolemy IV. Günther asks the important question of how Polybios chose his sources and also presents the alternatives that he did not use.

Boris Dreyer, “Polybios und die hellenistischen Monarchien”, investigates how Polybios writes about Philip, Antiochus and Perseus, and what criteria he used in assessing their work as rulers. Polybios had a special interest in the personality of each king and how it developed over the years. For this, he used court sources to make a close assessment.

Martin Tombrägel discusses “Der Zugang des Polybios zur Kunst seiner Zeit”. As much as Polybios makes digressions to give details about geography, military technology and technical questions in general, one cannot spot any detailed discussions about art as such in his work. Nevertheless, the destruction and damage to art works as well as art thefts caught his interest, and Tombrägel discusses this with many examples. Also interesting are the results from the excavations at the sanctuary of Zeus-Homarios in Polybios’ hometown, Megalopolis, where 50 roof tiles exhibiting the names of those dedicating them have been unearthed, and where we have a brick stamp with the text “Polybios dedicated this”, giving us concrete archaeological evidence of our historian being involved in salvaging a building damaged by war.

Alain Bresson, “Polybios and the Economy”, presents two approaches to the topic: First, he examines why Polybios was not an ancient economic historian, for unlike Thucydides he did not give a systematic comparison of the forces of the two sides. (Yet this could be due to the structure of Polybios’ work, giving generally very little space to the First Punic War.) Second, Polybios nevertheless discusses many economic issues like greed for booty in many campaigns and the depopulation of Greece with its consequences. Polybios perhaps knew more about economics than he chose to write about, as his work was in any case about political history.

Peter Scholz investigates the topic of “*Philomathia* statt *philosophia*: Polybios, die Philosophie und die Idee der *paideia*”. Passages where Polybios makes reference to philosophical works or philosophers are just a few. In book 12, Polybios criticizes the philosophers for inventing useless paradoxes; however, this comment is not directed at all philosophers and philosophy in general but

to that of the Athenian Academy under Carneades. The 19th century idea of Polybios as a stoic has already been rejected; now Scholz reopens the question to see how far or close Polybios was to that school of thought.

Wolfgang Spickermann looks into “Kultisches und Religiöses bei Polybios”. Ritual and religion make another so far little discussed area in Polybios research. The topic is not as obvious as we find it in Livy. Nevertheless, Spickermann discusses *deisidaimonia*, for which there are examples in Polybios for the fear of gods and superstitious acts alike. Also, *asebeia*, impiety, is discussed with many examples: for instance, the unnecessary destruction of colonnades, statues and votive offerings by Philip of which Polybios disapproves. Polybios sees the Roman religion as the basis for the superiority of the Roman state in the way in which the performance of the state religion is used to discipline the unenlightened masses. Finally, Polybios’ involvement in the rebuilding of the abovementioned Zeus-Homarios sanctuary actually makes him a participant in a religious act.

This collection of articles provides many new and interesting insights. It is followed by a bibliography and an index of names and *loci*.

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MATTHIAS GELZER: *Cicero. Ein biographischer Versuch*. 2., erweiterte Auflage mit einer forschungsgeschichtlichen Einleitung und einer Ergänzungsbibliographie von WERNER RIESS. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2014. ISBN 978-3-515-09903-5. 405 pp. EUR 39.

I cannot say I have read all modern biographies of Cicero, but I have seen a number of them, and Gelzer’s biography has always struck me as being one of the most useful, and it is thus very good to have now a second edition of the book originally published in 1969, itself based on the author’s *Realencyclopädie* article of 1939, “Cicero als Politiker”. But before I get to Gelzer, let me start with the material added to this edition by W. Riess, at places with the help of assistants (cf. below). The subtitle of the book, mentioning the presence of an “introduction to the history of the research” (I hope this might be an adequate rendering of the apparently untranslatable expression “forschungsgeschichtlich”) and of an additional bibliography, does not seem to tell the whole story, for from the preface to the second edition (p. VII) one learns that this edition was augmented by an overview of the research since 1969 (“Forschungsüberblick ab 1969”; this is perhaps an error, as this particular overview – for which see below – is only part II of the “forschungsgeschichtliche Einleitung” not mentioned as a whole at this point); a list of the literature used by Gelzer; a supplementary bibliography of works which could not “any more” be used by Gelzer or which appeared after 1969 (p. 387); a chronological table (cf. below). But there is even more, for we read further below on the same page VII that a number of assistants compiled the two indexes of persons and places and the bibliography, collected from the book’s footnotes, of the works cited by Gelzer (missing in the first edition).

As for the “forschungsgeschichtliche Einleitung” (pp. IX–XXVII), it consists of four parts: I Matthias Gelzer and his *Cicero*; II Research tendencies since 1969 (this must be the (“Forschungsüberblick ab 1969” mentioned above); III Gelzer in context and desiderata regarding his research

(“Forschungsdesiderata”); IV Conclusion. The first section (pp. IX–XV) is on Gelzer himself, on his oeuvre and on its influence. In an early phase, Gelzer was a pupil of (among others) the famous prosopographer Friedrich Münzer, and this may have influenced Gelzer’s choice of a subject for his *Habilitation* of 1912 on the nobility of the Roman Republic, although one cannot really call this book a prosopographical study. This is a groundbreaking book, but Riess seems to go a bit too far when he says (p. X) that “the study of the social history of the ancient world after 1968 would not be conceivable without this work” (“die althistorische Sozialgeschichte nach 1968 wäre ohne diese Schrift nicht denkbar”; I am not sure about the exact point of the mention of the year 1968). In any case, apparently at about the time of Gelzer’s *Habilitation*, Münzer offered him the opportunity to write some entries on some mainly late Republican persons for the *Realencyclopädie* (p. XI; cited as “RE” in what follows); clearly Gelzer accepted taking over only a few persons of especial interest, for according to https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Paulys_Realencyclopädie_der_classischen_Altertumswissenschaft/Register/Autorenübersicht, the *RE* contains 11 biographies written by Gelzer, whereas Münzer wrote no less than 4,655 of them. On the other hand, the biographies written by Gelzer do include some important ones, e.g., on Cato the Elder and M. Brutus, apparently the earliest biography by Gelzer in the *RE*, published in 1918 (for a sample of Gelzer’s biographical articles in the *RE*, see p. 375); and this occupation may well have given Gelzer the idea of writing a monograph-length biography of Caesar. Section I, although also dealing with Gelzer’s other publications, in fact contains information especially on the book on Caesar (originally published in 1921) and on Gelzer’s interpretation of the man (with interesting observations on the contrasting views of H. Strasburger, a pupil of Gelzer).

Section II (pp. XV–XXII) deals with scholarly tendencies after 1969 (a more suitable collocation for this section could perhaps have been at the end of the introduction). Having mentioned some books worthy of especial attention (e.g., A. Lintott on *Cicero as Evidence* of 2008), Riess goes on to identify five partly overlapping subject areas (“Themenbereiche”) which have in the last years been in the focus of scholars dealing with Cicero, these being Cicero’s perception of crisis (“Krisenwahrnehmung”), Cicero’s “Memorialkultur” (i.e., his way of referring to historical *exempla* and to the past in general), the political aspects of Cicero’s philosophical works, Cicero’s activities as attorney, and, finally, the role of rhetoric both in Cicero’s literary and his political activities. An interesting discussion, illustrated by references to some important works, of these subject areas follows.

In section III (pp. XXIII–XXVII), Riess returns to Gelzer and provides us with an interesting list of passages where he criticizes Cicero, but also with remarks on Cicero’s relevance in the late phase of the Republic and the suggestion that a network analysis (“Netzwerkanalyse”) of Cicero’s connections using digital methods could produce significant results. The final section IV also contains some ideas of what could still be done about Cicero and a general evaluation of Gelzer’s biography, where Riess stresses Gelzer’s “masterly penetration of the enormous wealth of material at the same time keeping close to the sources”; of course one could argue about a detail or two (cf., e.g., p. XIIIf. on Gelzer’s views of Caesar).

Indeed, the fact that Gelzer not only uses all possible sources but also cites them, is one of the virtues of the book, for there must be many persons interested in knowing not only that something happened at some point, but also on which sources our knowledge of that particular fact is based, and Gelzer, by always citing all the sources, gives us the possibility of checking the evidence.

This, and the fact that the book covers all aspects of Cicero's life, renders it a rich source of knowledge for those who need to be informed about a particular phase of Cicero's activities, say the background of a certain trial. That is not saying that the book could not be read as a whole, for it is written in a pleasant German style and is in fact eminently readable.

Transforming a *RE* article published in 1939 on Cicero as a politician into a biography of Cicero in 1969 is not an easy task, and this is reflected in Gelzer's Preface (p. 3), where he says he is worried about Cicero the *author*, especially the author of philosophical works, possibly not coming into his own as the result of the transformation. Interestingly, the only book which he mentions there is W. Süss, *Cicero. Eine Einführung in seine philosophischen Schriften* (1966), which he clearly likes and which he says has been of "help" ("eine willkommene Hilfe"). In any case, in my view Gelzer's references to Cicero's philosophical oeuvre seem very much to the point (cf., e.g., p. 320ff. on *Laelius*).

In the same preface, Gelzer suggests that he may have missed some books and articles which could have been "worth reading and instructive" ("Lesenswertes und Lehrreiches") and asks to be pardoned on account of his age. However, a look at the interesting list of almost 14 pages of the literature used by Gelzer (for its compilation see above) does not leave the impression that Gelzer has missed a lot, for the list is full of works, covering all aspects of Cicero, published in 1939 or later up till (as far as I can see) 1968 (thus at least the book on Caesar by H. Gesche, p. 376); e.g., on the first page of the list there are 14 works published after the *RE* article and 10 books and articles, mainly those in earlier *RE* volumes, which Gelzer could have used in 1939. The list also includes items mentioned, but not used by Gelzer (cf. p. 321 n. 57 and the list on p. 384).

The book is concluded by the two bibliographies; the chronological table with some important dates (but not, e.g., those of Cicero's speeches); indexes of persons and places (an index of Cicero's works would also have been nice); and two maps. The indexes and the maps are identical with those in the first edition except for the page numbers in the indexes and for the fact that the one-page introduction to the index of persons, with notes on Roman names, on the patrician or plebeian status of some nobles, and some abbreviations used in the index, has for some reason been omitted. But I think we can manage without this introduction and I can thus conclude by once again pointing out that it is very good to have a second edition of this useful book.

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NICHOLAS HORSFALL, *The Epic Distilled. Studies in the Composition of the Aeneid*. Oxford University Press, 2016. ISBN-978-0-19-875887-7. 160 pp. GBP 55.

Horsfall ("H.") is a well-known authority on Virgil and the author of several splendid commentaries on individual books of the *Aeneid* and of other publications on Virgil, notably of *A Companion to the Study of Virgil* (1995), one of the few "companions" that I have found useful and, coming close to the genre of the German-type *Handbuch* (with observations, e.g., on work still to be done), worthy of being called a "companion", unlike many books masquerading as "companions" but in fact just col-

lections of miscellaneous papers of which many could as well have been published, if really in need of being published, in normal scholarly journals.

In 1991, H. published a book in Italian, called *Virgilio: l'epopea in alambicco*, the title of which must have sounded mysterious to many classicists (*alambicco* seems to mean something connected to distillation; cf. the title of the book discussed here); in the introduction, the author says that he is going to deal with the “technique and the methods of composition of the *Aeneid*” (p. 10, cf. p. 11, promising a book “sulle tecniche poetiche, le strutture intellettuali, ed i metodi di composizione”). This new book, published 25 years later, seems to have much in common with *Alambicco* (as H. himself refers to that book), but, as stressed by the author at least twice in the Preface (pp. vii and viii), it is not a translation of it. In *The Epic Distilled* too, H. explains his method (described as “new” on p. 1) and his aims, which essentially consist of applying “an updated form of source-criticism to the twelve books ... only to demonstrate that in the end he was a masterly *bricoleur* [in German that would be ‘Bastler’; there does not seem to be an apposite English translation], that in passage after passage he employed a repeated, recognizable, favoured, complex, distinctive technique ... of cobbling together, of mixing, stitching, blending a striking number of multiple, diverse, identifiable elements, to create a dense and varied effect, in order to challenge the learned reader and to beguile, but also no doubt often enough to confuse, the less expert” (p. 2). The point of the book is, then, to analyze various normally “learned” particulars mentioned by Virgil all over the *Aeneid* (and in some case in the other Virgilian poems) and to try to find out where Virgil had found them.

This aim is illustrated in the beginning of the book by an analysis of various elements of the passage on the Golden Bough in 6.201–211 (pp. 3–10), for instance, of the form of the story, the author stressing that the birds are certainly not augural birds; as for the Golden Bough itself, it is identified as a sort of talisman. This analysis is followed, still in what seems to be an introductory part of the book, by interesting observations on the oracle of Albunea (7.81ff., pp. 11–13) and on the Parade of Heroes (6.756ff., p. 14f.), a passage which is interestingly identified as “an oration designed to persuade Aeneas to proceed into the Trojans’ destined land fully aware of his people’s future”.

The author then moves on (Ch. 2, p. 17ff.) to some observations on Virgil’s sources of information on mythology, geography, various *thaumata*, etc., that is, to libraries and to scholars Virgil may have consulted on certain details (e.g. Aristonicus, an authority on the wanderings of Menelaus, p. 23). In Ch. 3 (p. 31ff.), Horsfall studies Virgil’s learned references and aims to “sketch very roughly a sort of ‘scale of difficulty’ in the poet’s allusions” (p. 33), producing a classification “of some familiar types of Virgilian learning” (p. 34), this classification consisting of (1) cases of “double allusion”, according to the author, an allusion combining a problem and the answer (I found this heading a bit unclear; and note that *matris Acidaliae* in 1.720, noted here, reappears under Mythology on p. 38), (2) Geography, (3) Mythology, (4) History and antiquities; note the observation on p. 40 that Virgil’s departure “from the accepted facts [e.g., when he says that Caesar passed through Monaco – the route taken by Hercules rather than Caesar – on his way to Italy in 49 BC] were meant to be noticed”; (5) “Roman social, legal, and constitutional usage”, i.e., Roman-style behaviour applied to Aeneas (a “proto-Roman”, p. 40; cf. p. 108 and 136 on Trojans as early Romans) and other characters of the *Aeneid*; (6) the anonymous allusion (e.g. G. 4.283, *Arcadii ... magistris; Aen.* 10.470 *tot gnati cecidere deum*); (7) the *insolubilia*, of which there were, according to Servius in 12.74, altogether thirteen.

In the next chapter (Ch. 4, pp. 45ff.), the author studies Virgil's "inventions", i.e., those episodes (e.g., visit to Crete, p. 47) and characters (e.g., 46 n. 6 on Polydorus; 48 and 53ff. on Achaemenides; 56ff. on Camilla), etc. which Virgil has apparently added to the "traditional" accounts; and note the interesting observations (p. 50f.) on the handling, in the description of the Trojans' route, of some stages (Circe, Scylla and Charybdis ...) of Ulysses' travels which Virgil apparently felt he needed to deal with, but did so by using a "narration-by-*prateritio*" technique (51; note the criticism of Virgil, *ibid.*).

Chapter 5 (pp. 61ff.) deals with Virgil's "invention of myth"; the exposition is introduced by remarks on how Virgil may be observed tampering with historical and geographical details. As for Virgil's handling of mythology, once again this is a chapter full of interesting observations, e.g., on Aeneas' wife's name (p. 65f.) or on the Trojans landing not on the *litus Laurens* but near the mouth of the Tiber (p. 69f.). And note (p. 73f.) the "category of myth altered by myth", where we are told, e.g., that the fate of Hippolytus in 7.767 is an echo of the death of Mettus Fufetius as described by Ennius and Livy, or that the death of Troilus in 1.474–8 is "a narrative heir of the Homeric death of Hector". The chapter ends with the assessment that a comprehensive study of the mythological references in the *Aeneid* is needed (p. 75) and with a list of mythological "*insolubilia*" (or "not clearly *solubilia*"; e.g. Evander's connexions with the Atridae, 8.130).

The book goes on with an informative and entertaining chapter 6 on "inconsistencies" and discrepancies (pp. 79ff.). The chapter discusses, or at least enumerates, cases in which the information on a certain detail supplied by Virgil in one place is not consistent with information offered elsewhere, as, e.g., in the case of Latinus, whose grandfather is said to be Picus (himself son of Saturn) in 7.47–9, but the Sun in 12.164; or in the case of Priam, who dies in his palace (2.506ff.) but whose body is then unexpectedly found lying *litore* (2.557). Some of the "inconsistencies" can perhaps be explained; the view of some scholars that Virgil would have corrected everything had he had the time to revise the *Aeneid* is in any case criticized by H.

Chapter 7 (pp. 95ff.) deals with "signposts", a term H. uses of details mentioned by Virgil in order to hint at something about to follow; for instance, Venus wearing the *cothurnus* in 1.337 is meant to suggest (as observed by E. L. Harrison) that the Dido episode will be a tragedy (p. 96). This chapter also includes (p. 101ff.) interesting lists of the ways Virgil is hinting that what follows is going to be in the Homeric or in the tragic mode; the former is indicated, e.g., by the use of epithets of the Homeric type or by lines consisting of names, whereas the tragic mode is indicated, e.g., by messenger speech. The other modes identified by H. are Hellenistic (e.g., aetiologies), "Old Roman" and Antiquarian and Varronian (sometimes overlapping with "Old Roman").

In the next chapter (Ch. 8, pp. 111ff.), the author studies passages in which Virgil, in mentioning a name or a phenomenon (etc.), adds a phrase of the type "as they say", often in order to point out that he is quoting a source which he assumes the learned reader will be able to identify (but the point of *lugentes* in *lugentes campi*; *sic illos nomine dicunt* in 6.441 still remains a mystery, p. 117; for another try at explaining the expression see J. O'Hara, in P. Know & al. [eds.], *They Keep It All Hid: Augustan poetry, its antecedents and reception* [2018], 51ff.), at the same time perhaps hinting at the possibility that he may not agree. But a formula of this type is sometimes also applied to assertions which may be Virgil's inventions (p. 127ff.). The author then goes on in chapter 9 (pp. 135ff.) with anachronisms (e.g., in descriptions of cities and warfare), to conclude with chapter 10 (pp. 145ff., "An

epic of many voices”), a sort of overview of the “spheres of knowledge upon which the poet drew” (p. 145), in addition, that is, to poetic antecedents, etc. In the list on pp. 146ff. we find items such as the animal world, arms and armour, religious rites and language; on the other hand, some topics, e.g., Etruscological knowledge, may have seemed uninteresting to Virgil (p. 150). The chapter ends with an analysis of the various “voices” that one can discern in the passage 6.355–369.

What about this book as a whole? Being a reader and a teacher of Virgil’s writings, rather than a scholar specializing in Virgil, I must say that I found the book most interesting and informative and one which will no doubt be consulted with profit by numerous academics. But as I use the terms “consult” and “academics” rather than “read” and (e.g.) “those interested in Virgil” I am at the same time hinting at the fact that this book is not an easy read and that it cannot really be recommended for, say, students. This is because some features of the author’s style (apparent also in some of his other publications) which is often impressionistic and obscure, for instance, because of the many vague references to other scholars’ work and because of the author’s tendency to extreme conciseness of the exposition; at places one cannot avoid the impression that H. has had to reduce a book of 400 or 500 pages to its present modest size of 160 pages and, moreover, that the book is, because of its compressed style, mainly addressed to a small group of scholars initiated into Virgilian studies of about the same scope as the author’s (this is thus not really a bedside book). As for the references, let me start by saying that the book includes references to so many articles and monographs that it cannot have seemed a good idea to collect them all in a bibliography. But what about mentioning at least work of especial relevance to Virgilian studies in the bibliography? As it is now, the bibliography (p. xiii–xiv) is so meagre that it is only of limited use; one of the scholars most often cited in the book, not always with approval, must be Richard F. Thomas, the author of, e.g., *Virgil and the Augustan Reception*, but the only Thomas in the bibliography is E. Thomas, the author of *Essai sur Servius* of 1880 (cited on p. 80 n. 3 and perhaps elsewhere, but in any case only rarely); and even what is mentioned in the bibliography with an abbreviation is not necessarily cited in the text in the same way (e.g. “Gow-Page HE” in the bibliography becomes “Hell.Epigr. GP” on p. 23 n. 34; differently on p. 6 n. 21; EV becomes *Enc. Virg.* p. 112 n. 5). In the notes to the text, other scholars’ work is often cited in an abbreviated and thus obscure way. I’m sure that “NR” on p. 49 n. 23 and p. 98 n. 17 is the scholar N. Rudd, and that “DS” on the same page n. 17 is the encyclopaedia of Daremberg & Saglio, and I suspect that “Tosi”, cited at least p. 18 n. 7, 61 n. 2 and 80 n. 5, could be the author R. Tosi, *Studi sulla tradizione indiretta dei classici greci* (1988); but I have not yet been able to identify, e.g., the authors Small and Boyd, cited on p. 19 n. 12. Moreover, the use of the book is not made easier by the fact that there is no *index locorum*, but only a shortish index of subjects (p. 157–60; but a *suggestus* is mentioned not only on p. 14 but also on p. 98, and is “source-criticism” really dealt with only on p. 2?). Another distinguishing feature of the book is some striking Italicisms, especially the frequent use of the Italian abbreviations “vd.” and “cit.” and the author’s habit of referring to some colleagues as “friends” (e.g., 32 n. 2; 63 n. 13; 97 n. 12; 119), which would be perfect in Italy but which in my view seems odd in an English-language academic context.

On the other hand, I must admit that this book manages to be charming in many ways; there is a lot of personal touch, and I’m sure a book like this could not have been written by anyone else (note, e.g., p. viii on excellent cigars; p. 61 where H. says he doesn’t remember on which side he was in a debate several decades earlier; p. 148 n. 18, H. being “pleased to be able to leave the details”

of a certain debate to someone else; p. 156 on strong drinks sometimes being helpful to the student of Virgil). There are also many interesting assessments of other scholars' work (but at places also of the author's own, cf. 80 n. 3; 125 n. 64), sometimes positive (e.g., p. 33 n. 8 on Solin; 128 n. 77 on Granger; 138 n. 18 on Polverini; 147 n. 14 on Edwards), but perhaps more often censorious (e.g., p. viii on the *Virgil Encyclopedia*, cf. 47 n. 13; 3 n. 5 on Erren; 47 n. 8 on Vanotti; 63 n. 14 on Zetzel; 77 n. 68 on Clausen; 102 n. 38 on Mazzochini – not “Mazzochini” –, “by no means a good book”; 104 n. 52 on Panoussi; 140 n. 27 on Saunders and Wickert); cf. also, e.g., 24 n. 40 on M. L. West (“below his best”), to be contrasted with p. 25 n. 47 (“much better”). Taking into account this, and the fact that, although there will probably be no one who agrees with everything H. says (I myself am a bit skeptical about a number of H.'s assertions), the book does contain a wealth of information on Virgil and his methods by a scholar who must know about everything about Virgil and Virgilian studies, and will thus be of great use to those interested in one way or another in the *Aeneid*, I must conclude with a positive evaluation of the book.

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ADDENDUM. Dr. Horsfall has unfortunately passed away on January 1, 2019.

Prisciani: De accentibus. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento a cura di CLAUDIO GIAMMONA. *Collectanea grammatica Latina* 12. Weidmann, Hildesheim 2012. ISBN 978-3-515-00404-5. ISSN 0940-2136. 218 pp. EUR 49.80.

The short elementary treatise, entitled *De accentibus* (henceforth *DA*), edited by Claudio Giammona, was highly popular in the Middle Ages, being preserved in some 120 manuscripts from the eleventh to the sixteenth century. Its popularity was based on its false attribution to Priscian (c. 500 AD), and although doubt was cast on its authenticity by several medieval authors, including for instance Alexander Neckam (1157–1217) and Peter Helias (fl. c. 1140), it continued to be attributed to Priscian until the nineteenth century. This short textbook deals with letters, sounds and accents, that is, issues discussed in the first part of Donatus's more advanced grammar, the *Ars maior*. These topics are absent from the *Ars minor*, the most popular elementary textbook in the Middle Ages. Thus, the *DA* would seem to have provided guidelines for pronunciation for elementary grammar teaching based on the *Ars minor*. Focussing on the final syllables, it treats each part of speech in turn, quoting a large number of examples.

Many uncertainties surround this text. The treatise bears the name *De accentibus*, although only the second part deals with prosodic features. This would seem to reflect its composite nature. As regards its authorship, Giammona assumes that it was originally anonymous (p. xxii) and that the attribution to Priscian is based on a false interpretation of a passage in Book XVII of the *Institutiones grammaticae*, where Priscian refers to his *liber de accentibus*. Heinrich Keil (*Grammatici latini III*, 1860) regarded the *DA* as inauthentic, attributing it to the eighth century (p. xxiv). Schoell (*De accentu linguae latinae veterum grammaticorum testimonia*, 1876) and Luscher (*De Prisciani studiis*

Graecis, 1910) continued to regard it as authentic but as being contaminated with other texts. Regarding its place of origin, several scholars have searched its origin in Visigothic Spain, and it was dated as early as the sixth and seventh centuries, that is before Isidore's (560–636) *Etymologiae*, by Fontaine (*Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, 1959). More recently, the discovery of similarities between the *DA* and the *Ars* of Giuliano of Toledo composed between 680 and 685 has reinforced the importance of the Visigothic argument (Passalacqua, *Testo e tradizione*, 2009). According to Gammona's dating, the *DA* was composed after Giuliano's *Ars* and possibly in northern rather than in southern Spain (pp. xxviii–xxix).

Soon after Giuliano had composed his works, the Arabs invaded southern Spain, and many scholars and monks fled to northern Spain or to the Continent, taking books with them. This is reflected in the transmission of Giuliano's *Ars*; no copies survive from contemporary Toledo whereas shortly after the work was available in other parts of Europe (pp. xxx–xxxii). The *DA* follows the same pattern of transmission, Gammona argues, but it is worthy of note that the witnesses of the *DA* are much later than those of Giuliano's *Ars*. The latter was used until the mid-ninth century, whereas the earliest manuscripts of the *DA* are from the eleventh century.

The present critical edition is based on all early manuscripts, that is those datable between the eleventh and the twelfth centuries; the later witnesses are excluded as being more contaminated. All the manuscripts have been collated, and since they share a certain number of errors, it has been possible to establish one archetype, and a comparison of alternative readings has permitted to posit three distinct branches of transmission (pp. xxxviii–xxxix). Significant alternative readings are given in the critical apparatus and less significant in a separate appendix.

Its Visigothic origin is probable. The parallels with Isidore of Seville and Giuliano of Toledo are significant, and a number of place names quoted in the text support this thesis. However, the sources used by the *DA* include two works which were not used by the two Spanish authors, namely the *Ars* of Diomedes and Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*. Moreover, Priscian's work plays an essential role in the *DA*, being often quoted *verbatim*. Priscianic influence can be seen in the order of the parts of speech followed in the *DA*, and it is probably from Diomedes and Priscian that the anonymous compiler adopted the clear distinction between the terms *littera* and *elementum*, which, as is pointed out by Priscian, is often confused in grammatical manuals. Both Diomedes's *Ars* and Priscian's *Institutiones* were among the grammars newly rediscovered in the Carolingian reform. The *Institutiones* was launched into circulation by Alcuin, and a copy of Diomedes's *Ars* was prepared by Adam, abbot of the monastery of Masmünster, at Charlemagne's request in 780 (*MGH, Poetae Aevi Carolini* 1. E. Dümmler (ed.), Berlin, 1881, p. 93). Since the *DA* is generally regarded as being a composite work, it is possible that the Visigothic compilation, supposedly taken to northern Spain by the intellectuals fleeing from the south, was reworked not only in northern Spain but also later on the Continent, after the Carolingian reform.

The large number of manuscripts attests to the importance of this short treatise, which therefore deserved to be edited. Gammona's edition is based on a very sober method, and the commentary is highly professional. The nature of letters, sounds and accents was a popular theme in the early Middle Ages, being discussed both at elementary and advanced levels of education. The nine elementary texts on letters and sounds from the early Middle Ages edited by Luigi Munzi (*Littera legitima. Testi grammaticali latini dell'Alto Medioevo*, 2012) differ from the *DA* in that the latter does

not seek deeper religious meanings in linguistic phenomena. Of all these treatises, the *DA* proved the most successful. One of the keys to its success could be that it had cast the essentials of Priscian's theory of letters, sounds and accents in a more digestible form, which better suited school teaching.

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A Tenth-Century Byzantine Military Manual: The Sylloge Tacticorum. Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies. Translated by GEORGIOS CHATZELIS – JONATHAN HARRIS. Routledge, New York 2017. ISBN 978-1-4724-7028-7 (hbk); 978-1-315-56531-6 (ebk). 170 pp. GBP 120. USD 149.95.

The present work is the first complete English translation of the Byzantine military manual known as *Sylloge Tacticorum*. It is indeed only a translation, based on Alphonse Dain's edition *Sylloge Tacticorum, quae olim "Inedita Leonis Tactica" Dicebatur* (Paris 1938). The Greek text is not included. There can be numerous reasons for this, but it would have been helpful for scholarly purposes if the original text had been running alongside, particularly as the edition of Dain is not the easiest to access. There are, for example, no copies of it in the Finnish university libraries, although there is one at the Finnish Institute in Rome. The present translation nevertheless frequently includes the original terminology in the text, notes, and glossary, which helps to verify the interpretations.

The first translator, Georgios Chatzelis, wrote a PhD dissertation about *Sylloge Tacticorum* at Royal Holloway University of London in 2017. The other, Jonathan Harris, is one of the professors of the institution. Now, Routledge has published the analysis of Chatzelis as a monograph, *Byzantine Military Manuals as Literary Works and Practical Handbooks. The Case of the Tenth-Century Sylloge Tacticorum* (New York 2019), but it was not at my disposal when writing this review. The introductory part of the translation of *Sylloge Tacticorum* summarizes the main issues in it.

The genre of Greek military manuals emerged at the latest in fourth century BC and continued to Byzantine times, and numerous works were produced in the tenth century. This was the era of the so-called Macedonian renaissance when the Byzantine empire underwent a cultural renewal and took back several lost regions. The opening of the surviving text of *Sylloge Tacticorum* gives the date of composition as the year 6412 (903/904) under emperor Leo (VI, r. 886–912). There have, however, been doubts regarding this claim as *Sylloge Tacticorum* differs markedly from Leo's *Taktika*.

The translators adopt Gilbert Dagron's method of determining the dates of military manuals based on military innovations, enemy tactics, and administrative and socio-political context. However, a large part of the information we have about these matters is derived from the manuals themselves and risks circular argument. For example, Ilkka Syväne has defended the view that differences between *Sylloge Tacticorum* and *Taktika* do not justify dismissing the authorship of Leo. ["The New Cavalry Formations of the Sylloge Tacticorum, AD 904", https://www.academia.edu/39251194/The_New_Cavalry_Formations_of_the_Sylloge_Tacticorum_AD_904. The original article was published in *Saga Newsletter* 112, 2008 (p.36ff.) and republished in *Slingshot* (November–December 2013, pp. 7–13). The comments on the translation of Chatzelis (and Harris) are added to the beginning of the version on academia.edu.]

The dating in the translation based on the work of Chatzelis nevertheless sounds reasonable. Among manuals, *Sylloge Tacticorum* fell most likely between Leo's *Taktika* and *Praecepta Militaria* attributed to Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963–969). It would fit to the reign of Romanos I Lekapenos (r. 920–944). He reigned on behalf of the young Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (r. 913–959, alone 944–959). Romanos I suffered *damnatio memoriae* when Constantine VII took power and the authors of the translation suggest that thus *Sylloge Tacticorum*, which probably had something to do with Romanos, was put in the name of the earlier emperor.

Byzantine military manuals are usually divided into those which mainly copy earlier ones, perhaps with slight updates, and those which show more originality and reflect contemporary practices to a greater extent. *Sylloge Tacticorum* includes sections representing both categories. It makes frequent use of ancient authors, but on the other hand presents a detailed description of a new style of battle formation that was evidently introduced at this time and is to be found in a refined form in *Praecepta Militaria*.

According to the authors of the translation, *Sylloge Tacticorum* can be divided into three sections. The first gives instructions on various military matters, the second on “war by other means”, and the third contains stratagems used by the ancient Greeks and Romans. Part of the text seems to have been lost. The first section is the one that includes the most material for which *Sylloge Tacticorum* is the earliest known source. The second is mainly about poisons and the like, which are claimed to be dishonorable and not something to be used by Christians, but a general should guard his troops against the possibility that the enemy employs them. One can nevertheless doubt whether many of these plans would have worked in practice at all. The third section is a version from the second century CE *Stratagems* of Polyaeus but is claimed to represent an independent textual tradition.

Numerous loans from ancient authors and the idea that *Sylloge Tacticorum* was a continuation of Leo's *Taktika* are plausible reasons why the text has not previously received attention to the extent it deserves. The significance of military manuals for warfare and their value as sources can be debated, but they offer information which is not in other sources. Besides, they represent cultural tradition interesting for its own sake. Providing a complete English translation is a valuable contribution to the study of Byzantine history, military history, classical tradition, and numerous other fields. Unfortunately, many persons and even institutions interested in the subject may find the price of the book painful.

As always, some issues concerning the translation and occasionally the complex syntax or terminology, require a heavy amount of interpretation. In particular, the translation of chapter 53.5 is problematic. It deals with siege technology, a field in which vocabulary is indeed notoriously tricky. It is nevertheless a mystery to me why βύρσας νεωδόρων βοῶν, which protect the walls against siege-engines, are translated as “newly stripped-off buffalo hides”. Why buffaloes and not oxen which would be the simplest translation? This is not explained in the notes, where John Haldon's commentary on Leo's *Taktika* pp. 264–265 is cited, although these are the lines of the commented work and the information is on pp. 302–303 (J. Haldon, *A Critical Commentary on The Taktika of Leo VI*. Washington D.C., 2014). Haldon actually cites this sentence from *Sylloge Tacticorum* and translates it as hides of newly flayed oxen. In general, I find this translation trustworthy and accurate.

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Supplementa Italica. Nuova serie 30: *Perusia – Ager Perusinus*. MARIA CARLA SPADONI – LUANA CENCIAIOLI – LUCIO BENEDETTI. Unione Accademica Nazionale. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2018. ISBN 978-88-7140-931-3. 331 pp. EUR 46.

As is well known at least in the epigraphical community, most of the volumes of the invaluable *Supplementa Italica* series cover several cities, but there are also some volumes dedicated to a single city, normally a more important one. Unless I am mistaken, there have been volumes covering just one city, namely Ateste (vol. 15), Venusia (20) and Patavium (28); this volume on Perusia, i.e. modern Perugia, is, then, the fourth volume of this type. Perusia was an important city which was able to produce a Roman emperor in the third century and thus certainly deserves a volume of its own. The interest of the epigraphical material from Perusia lies in its variety rather than in the number of important inscriptions, for the number of public inscriptions of a more general interest is not really spectacular (there are for instance no inscriptions in honour of senators). On the other hand, there is much of interest in the many funerary inscriptions which at least in the early period in many ways reflect the Etruscan past of the city and thus require some special skills. Having just mentioned the early period, I might add that the epigraphy of Perusia in general seems earlyish. There are of course inscriptions of the imperial period including some inscriptions in honour of emperors, but I do not recall having seen inscriptions which would clearly be later than that honouring the great son of the city, the emperor (in AD 251–3) Trebonianus Gallus, *CIL* XI 1928. This could perhaps have something to do with the “fasi di abbandono di III–IV sec.” observable in archaeological finds, p. 67.

Taking into account the variety of the inscriptions of Perusia, it is little wonder that the volume is the result of the collaboration of three scholars. All three are said to be the authors of the historical introduction (section C; cf. below), whereas section D with the addenda to the inscriptions published in *CIL* is contributed by M. C. Spadoni only. In the section on the “new” inscriptions (E), the individual contributions are signed with the initials of their authors, of which there seem in fact to have been more than just those mentioned in the title of the book. Hence, in section E, the inscriptions 32–37 are ascribed to “A.E.F.”, who must be identical with A. E. Feruglio, well represented in the bibliography. On the other hand, the signature “P.B.” in no. 30 is perhaps a mistake for “L.B.”. As for the structure of the book, it is of course identical with that of the previous volumes. In addition to section C, D and E, already mentioned, there is a note on the earlier editions which are being updated (A), the bibliography (B, once again with a “+” or “-” added to each item the meaning of which escapes me) and, at the end of the book, a six-page index. This is followed on p. [331] by S. Evangelisti’s statement that the *Repertorio bibliografico*, attached to some earlier volumes, is now published online.

This book is obviously most welcome from the point of view of Latin epigraphical studies in general and from that of studies regarding Perusia in particular. The addenda to the texts published earlier (some of them republished in section E) are extremely useful, and the same goes for all commentaries on individual texts. There are also many inscriptions whose readings have been corrected (e.g. *CIL* XI 1991, 2004, 2007, 2040, 2044a, 2052). In the section of “new” inscriptions, of which there are 95 (but no. 79ff. are just fragments), there are very many either unpublished (at least nos. 27. 40. 41. 44. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 55. 57. 61. 66. 67. 72. 73. 74. 75. 78. 79. 81) or published (often in publications of a more local nature) but practically unknown texts as they have

not been reproduced in the *Année épigraphique* (at least nos. 28. 32ff. 42. 43. 52. 59. 64. 65. 69. 70. 71. 82. 83). This is, then, a worthy addition to the *Supplementa Italica* series, and warm thanks are due to the editors.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that there are some things I am not altogether pleased with and I hope the editors do not mind if I point some of them out. Let me start with the introductory items. First, the “Sommario”. It says basically that the volume contains, besides a “Presentazione” and, in the end, the “Repertorio epigrafico” (cf. above), on pp. 9–328 a *Supplementum* on Perugia by the three authors. As mentioned above, the supplement is in fact divided into five sections or chapters ABCDE, and I wonder whether this could not have been revealed on the contents page, possibly with the addition of the page number of each section (A and B p. 9, C p. 33, D p. 130, E p. 214, index p. 323). I also think there should be subsections in the case of section C (cf. below). In addition, the bibliography (section B), although more than 25 pages long, does not include all items that are cited in the book. I know what is meant by “Salomies, Vornamen”, cited several times (a more detailed bibliographical reference is given on p. 283 no. 68), and I also know “Schulze, Eigennamen”, “Solin – Salomies, Repertorium”, “Solin, Sklavennamen” and “Solin, Personennamen”, but the point of omitting these, and other (e.g. “SIRIS” p. 130 on 1916; “ET²”) publications from the bibliography is not clear to me. In the case of “Lebel 2004”, cited p. 82 and elsewhere and clearly an interesting publication, this is a real problem, for the author cannot be identified with the help of the *Année philologique*.

Section C is said to be just an update of the “notizie storiche” in earlier publications, but will in practice be regarded and quoted as the standard publication on the archaeology and history (in the broadest of senses) of Perugia. As in earlier *Supplementa Italica* volumes, this chapter of almost 100 pages that deals with very many topics is not divided into subsections. This makes it difficult to use at least to those who wish to consult it on a detail rather than to read it from beginning to end. The problem of the absence of subsections is well illustrated by those cases in which when dealing a detail (often a name) the editors refer the reader to “supra C”, i.e. to pp. 33–130. Thus e.g. on p. 142 on no. 1940, the reader in need of information on the *gens Annia* in Perugia is directed to C (similarly e.g. in 1953. 1957. 2008. 2048. 2061. 2065; E no. 89). Likewise, on p. 147, no. 1946 is said to be “non pertinente” and the reader is directed to “supra C”, but who will have the time to read almost 100 pages in order to find out what is wrong with this inscription? (A hint: see p. 120!). Dividing this chapter into subsections would, then, have been very good idea, especially as the contents are so varied, as the following overview may show. Beginning with the origins of Perugia, the chapter goes on with later historical events up till around AD 600 (p. 45). We then have a bit on administrative matters followed (p. 46ff.) by a description of the territory of Perugia (cf. maps on p. 79f.), with notes on archaeological finds etc. (the city of Perugia itself is discussed on p. 53ff.). Names, especially those of Etruscan origin, are treated on p. 82ff., followed by an overview of prominent Perugian families on p. 87ff. (e.g. Vibii, including the consul of 43 BC and the emperor Gallus, on p. 88ff.; Volcacii Tulli on p. 92ff., Afinii on p. 97f., ending in a curious passage, where the “antica nobiltà senatoria” of the Afinii is illustrated with the observation, in my view not really pertinent, “infatti, in territorio catanese sono noti praedia Afiniana sin dal I–II sec. d. C.”). A quick alternation of short sections of varying content follows on p. 98–103: Perugians with a career outside the city; nomina in inscriptions not yet in *CIL*; gods mentioned in local inscriptions; equestrian notables from Perugia; soldiers and veterans attested in

Perusia (with the pretty vague reference, p. 100, “di cui si è già detto” to observations 60 pages earlier, on p. 41f., on soldiers attested *outside* Perusia); priests and similar persons; and the society of Perusia between the fourth and the first century BC and after the Perusine war of 41–40 BC (p. 101ff.). A section on the epigraphy of Perusia, with notes on scholars active in this field, follows (p. 103ff.), and this chapter is rounded off by a section on the findspots and the collections of the inscriptions which can be attributed to Perusia.

As for individual inscriptions, some interpretations or commentaries could, and in some cases perhaps should, be modified. I begin with the inscriptions already in *CIL*. 1921: “nonno o zio”: but the normal meaning of *nepos* before late Antiquity is ‘grandson’, not ‘nephew’. 1941: I’m not sure this man should be identified as an adoptee; the additional names could come from his mother’s family. I would date this inscription to the second century (the date suggested by Torelli, the early first century, can surely not be taken seriously). 1942: in the commentary it is said that L. Norb(anus) A. lib. (*CIL* XI 6715, 7; the reading seems more than suspect) could be the freedman of C. Norbanus, consul in 83 BC, but how could someone apparently saying that he is the freedman of a certain Aulus be the freedman of a Gaius? 1952: according to the commentary, the name *Nomicus* is “non registrato nei Repertori” (the rather vague reference to “Repertori” also appears in other commentaries); but this particular name is in fact cited by H. Solin in *Die griechischen Personennamen*² – I think this book could be called a «Repertorio» – on p. 1089f. As for *Postimius*, it is certainly (and not only “forse”) a variant of *Postumius* (cf. e.g. *Septimius* ~ *Septumius*, etc.). 2000: in the Latin quotation “a more Etruscorum abhorreat, non dubito”, *quin* seems to be missing. 2033: “Felicla (= Felicia)”. *Felicla* is in fact a common syncopated form of *Felicula* (the Clauss-Slabby database registers 164 instances), whereas *Felicia* is a different name altogether. 2049: it is not altogether correct to say that there is another attestation of the nomen *Iatrinia* in *AE* 1926, 81, for in this latter inscription *Iatrina* (perhaps corrupt) is the *cognomen* of Clodia Iatrina, the wife of a legate of Galatia. And Schulze (p. 134) does not say that *Iatrinia* would be a “variant” of *Catrinia* or *Latrinia* (not “Latrina”) but that it should perhaps be corrected, these names being possible corrections. 2073: although *Publicius* is sometimes used as the nomen of manumitted public slaves, it was also the nomen of senatorial *gentes*, and A. Publicius Iustus should thus not automatically be seen as a “servo pubblico e poi liberto”. As for Iustus’ wife’s nomen *Citronia*, it is said to be “sconosciuto ai Repertori”, but it is registered in Solin’s and my *Repertorium* p. 56. I would not myself see the name as a variant of *Caetronius*. 7092: *Festius* should be interpreted as *Festivus* (with *V* having been inscribed instead of *VV*; cf. *Iu(v)entius* in 1958). 7108: this inscription begins as follows: *Gaetulicae / have! / D. M / Cn. Postumi / Gaetulici* etc. In the commentary it is said that we have here a “schiava, di nome Getulica” and the boy Gaetulicus (no explanation being given for the use of the genitive or the dative in combination with *have*). To me it seems more than obvious that *Gaetulicae* is an incorrect form of the vocative *Gaetulice* and that the addressed person is the boy himself. I cannot see a significant difference between the palaeography of the first two lines and the rest. 7 (among the new inscriptions, = *AE* 1991, 666): according to the new reading presented here, the *C* n line 4 should stand for *c[onditoribus]*, the result being *Imp. Cae[sari] divi f. Augusto / Perusini [municipes Augustani] / Ti. Claud[io] Ti. f. Neroni / c[onditoribus]*, but to me it does not seem permissible to assume that the name of the *Perusini* could have been placed *between* the names of the two *conditores*. 16: instead of *a[u]ru(s)pex* I suggest reading *aurufex*; the photo seems to permit the reading *FEX* rather than *PEX*.

The commentaries on the individual texts are normally substantial and informative, but sometimes I missed a comment or two. Considering that comments on names are common and that the reader is often directed to H. Solin's and my *Repertorium* for information on a certain name, a practice which seems pretty pointless as we normally just register the existence of a name, it is striking that in the commentary on 2060 (where we are offered information about the nomen *Magius*) there is nothing on the remarkable cognomen *Verona* of the other son. And the editors could have said a word or two about a curious phenomenon in connection with the expression *gnatus*, used to indicate the mother, namely that the mother's name is sometimes, as expected, in the ablative (e.g. 32. 33. 35. 36), but sometimes in what looks like a genitive (e.g. 2084; 23. 25 *Esq[ui]lniae gnatus*). This phenomenon might merit further study, possibly combined with a study of indications of someone's *domus*, in which the genitive is often used instead of the ablative (e.g. *domo Brixiae CIL III 14946*). However, that will have to happen in the future. For the time being I wish to repeat my thanks and my congratulations to the editors for the appearance of this book.

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Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum VI 8,1. Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Tituli numeris notati a 39341 ad 39800. Inscriptiones sacrae deorum quorum nomina litt. A-F incipiunt. Edidit SILVIO PANCIERA. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2018. ISBN 978-3-11-062659-9. XXXVII, 155 pp. EUR 159.95.

Silvio Panciera, de studiis epigraphicis Romanis optime meritus, mense Augusto a. 2016 diem supremum obiit. Per multa decennia operam dederat, ut novi supplementi inscriptionum urbis Romae volumine sexto Corporis inscriptionum Berolinensis comprehensarum fundamenta iaceret. Nunc demum eius ultimum opus, supplementi inscriptionum sacrarum urbis Romae libellus primus cura collegarum et discipulorum publici iuris factus est.

Sed iam videamus de conspectu operis. Incipit W. Eck paucis verbis de ratione, quam Panciera cum Academia Berolinensi de hoc supplemento edendo sustinuit; deinde habemus praefationem generalem (quae igitur ad totum novum supplementum pertinet), praefationem huius primi fasciculi vel libelli, compendia operum laudatorum, explicationem diacriticarum q. d. notarum (a H. Krummrey compilatam). In fine praefationis ad praesentem fasciculum pertinentis A. Ferraro, S. Meloni, S. Orlandi breviter de schedis a Panciera retractatis referunt. Sequitur ipsa editio titulorum, quam praecedunt tituli numeris notati a 39341 ad 39800, sed a M. Bang in supplemento suo a. 1933 publici iuris non facti, q. d. *Geisternummern*, arduo labore a Panciera praecipue ex indice nominum a Bang a. 1925 edito congesti (haec pars titulos uniuscuiusque generis complectitur, non solum sacros; omnes Panciera in animo erat posterius loco suo inter titulos eiusdem generis edendos esse). Editio inscriptionum huius libelli, quae continet titulos sacros deorum quorum nomina litt. A-F incipiunt, in duas partes divisa est. Primum praebentur addenda et corrigenda ad titulos in fasciculis prioribus huius voluminis editos, additis notitiis variis, ut de origine inscriptionis, de monumenti descriptione (quae praesertim accurata est, si monumentum adhuc extat), addendis bibliographicis

amplissimis (interdum fortasse nimis); semper fere datum est inscriptionis exemplum, ita ut potius de nova editione, non solum de supplemento agi videatur! Deinde sequuntur tituli novi, ordine alphabetico secundum nomen dei deaeve dispositi; initio editionis titulorum cuiusque dei mentiones in aliis titulis urbanis sive Latinis sive Graecis collectae sunt. Editio ipsa nos copiose certiores facit de ipso monumento, de inscriptionis apparatu critico, de textu explicando. In summam, Panciera maius spatium monumentis titulisque describendis, explanandis eorumque temporibus definiendis tribuit quam Corporis conditores Mommsen Henzen alii. Concluditur libellus indicibus non ita amplis (editione inscriptionum sacrarum ad finem perducta indices omnia scitu digna continentes confectum iri putaverim) necnon notis de formis locorum urbis (scriptis a. 1994).

Iam selectas quaestiones ad propositum editionis consilii perficiendi adtinentes examine-mus. Primum breviter dicam quales inscriptiones editori in novo supplemento comprehendae sint, cuius rei p. XI rationem reddit. Consilium cepit, ut iam fecerunt qui eum editores inscriptionum urbis antecesserunt, refutandorum titulorum christianorum, exceptis iis qui non religionis causa positi sunt quales operum publicorum, honorarii, magistratum publicorum, militum, officialium. In hoc bene fecit: tituli enim christiani in opus, quod *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae* inscribitur, colliguntur, in quo opere nulla distinctio inter titulos Latinos et Graecos facta est; quam ob rem non video, cur in Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum tituli catacubarum Latine scripti addi debeant, cum in eodem Corpore nullo modo possit esse locus titulis Graece scriptis in iisdem catacumbis earumque loculis repertis. Contra editor intendit includere inscriptiones Iudaicas Latinas Romae repertas, “quippe quae haud tam numerosae sint, ut probetur ad collectionem propriam eas reicere”. Eandem autem ob causam ac christianas, scilicet quod tituli Latinorum et Graeci in catacumbis Iudaicis promiscue positi sunt, Iudaicos quoque excluderim, eo magis quod praesto est corpus inscriptionum Iudaicarum recens a Noy a. 1995 editum. Idem valet in defixionum tabellas, quarum editionem supplemento inscriptionum sacrarum inserere ultimum munus amico defuncto promisso stare in animo habeo; earum editione conficienda autem tituli Latini et Graeci non semper aegre separari possunt, ut colligi potest e. g. ex Sethianorum q. d. tabellis; hic compromissum faciendum esse credo, ita ut tabellarum Graecarum argumenta summam breviterque dentur. Quod denique ad inscriptiones graphio vel penicillo inscriptas attinet, potissimum eas parietarias fasciculo proprio comprehendendas putat editor, in qua re omnino cum eo consentire licet (aliae ad Corporis volumen XV spectant).

Ut iam supra dixi, Panciera, aliter ac Corporis conditores, monumentis titulisque describendis, explanandis et eorundem temporibus definiendis magnopere animum attendit, “quo novis auctisque studiorum epigraphicorum necessitatibus faveatur” (sic). Porro rationem titulos litteris minusculis describendi observat, solutis omnibus vocabulis commpense scriptis, observata interpunctione nostrorum temporum, ideoque neglectis punctis quae in ipso lapide in medio versu incisa sunt ita, ut in exemplo non repetantur, ut interdum in Corporis recentibus voluminibus fit. In summa seriem signorum diacriticorum q. d. secundum regulas iam statutas sequitur (vide *Tituli* 2 [1980] 205–215; *Suppl. It.* 8, 10–21). Imagines denique delineatas vel photographicas, si inscriptiones etiam nunc extant, exemplo addidit. Hos omnes usus et consuetudines in rem nostram convertamus exoptamusque futuros editores inscriptiones suas eadem ratione edituros esse.

Nunc de novis inscriptionibus singillatim dicam. Incipiam Aesculapio.

39802. Editor ingeniose v. 1 [*Aesculapio*] supplet, ex imagine serpentis et ex loco ubi lapis repertus est (in alveo Tiberis, prope pontem Cestium in insulam ducentem, ubi cultus dei antiquis-

simus florebat). Ut omnibus patet, serpens in cultu Aesculapii inde a temporibus remotis partes magni momenti agebat. Cur autem is qui titulum dedicavit libertinae condicionis esse debeat, ut editor putat, non video; nota cultum huius dei et in ordine senatorio et apud homines infimi ordinis propagatum esse. Augustini Augustiani al. cognomina (potuit fuisse et *Augusti[o]*, in qua re nomen perscriptum esse praesumere possumus) non praecipue servilia fuerunt, immo *Augustinus* perraro servis impositum. – 39803 editori mirum videtur a. 63 a.Chr.n. forma *Aesculapii* pro *Aiscolapii* adhibita; scribendi ratio *ae* autem inde a saec. II in inscriptionibus saepius redit.

Anna Perenna: 39806. Editor hic mentionem Annae Perennae videt, mihi quidem prorsus incertum, utrum de titulo Etrusco an Latino agatur atque, etsi Latinus esset, an de Annae dedicatione.

Dedicationes Bonae Deae 39817–39824 magnam copiam rerum memorandarum praebent, quas editor luculenter illuminat. Hic solum breviter lectionem tituli 39824 tangam, quem ego a. 1997 vidi et [*Bon]ae Deae* legi; editor ex im. phot. [*B]onae Deae* legendum praetulerit: in lectione mea perseverarim: fieri enim non potest, ut novus editor ex imagine photographica, et eadem mala, plus viderit quam ego ex lapide ipso.

Diana: 39848. Editor v. 7 *Eytuch[es]* supplet, *Eytuch[ianus]* supplementum nimis longum reiciens, recte quidem. Nomen praeter *Eutyches* autem et *Eutyclus* esse potuit. – 39849. Ex imagine photographica, valde haesitans quidem, timidam quaestionem posuerim, an fortasse *Bona(e) Deae* loco *Bonadiae* (BONA DLÆ tit. VI 30854 traditum) legi possit; notandum autem est litterae a fine tertiae lineam transversam mediam non bene in imagine cerni, ne alias duas lineas transversas quidem plane certas esse. Rursus nomen compositum *Bonadea Bonadeae* singulare est, quam ob rem, si litt. *e* loco *i* admittere non vis, *Bona(e) Diae* intellegere potes, vestigiis insistens Ghislanzoni, qui *Bona Diae* intellegendum statuit.

Fortuna: 39859. Editor in exemplo non diiudicat, C. Genucius utrum ingenuus an libertus fuerit, in commentario autem ingenuum fuisse praefert. Facile est ei assentiri, quia cognomine caret (titulum saeculo II a.Chr.n. medio vel posteriori tribuit, fortasse potius saec. I ineuntis est, quo tempore cognomen in libertorum nominibus iam constanter fere apparet).

Fulgur: 39868 (= 29834*b*). Tituli 28834*b* editorem Henzen, non Huelsen esse patet, si comparas quod scriptum est *descripsimus/contulimus ego et Huelsen* in lemmate plurium titularum velut 24465, 25264, 25491, 27093, 27660, 29855, 30133, aut *descripsi ego, contulit Huelsen* in 26451, 27693, 27991, 29681, 29818*a*, 29771, 29965, 30123, aut *descripsit/contulit/vidit Huelsen* (saepe cum aliis) in 24917, 24993, 25291, 25426, 26281, 26529, 27603, 27738, 27749, 28227*a*, 28348, 28384, 28424, 28664, 28815, 29384, 29387, 29457, 29531, 29609, 29670, 29676, 29682*b*, 29702, 29749, 29777, 29815, 29823, 29827, 29828, 29841, 29844–29847*a*, 29848*b*, 29849*b*, 29850, 29910, 29955, 29963, 29968, 29981, 29982, 30025, 30106, 30129, 30132, 30134, 30135, 30145, 30148, 30203, 30212, 30217, 30221, 30235, 30237*a*, 30244 n. 4–5, 30249 n. 1, 30258, 30275, 30278, 30292 n. 2. 5. 6, 30293, 30294, 30297, 30300 n. 1, 30302 n. 6–30304, 30306, 30310, 30311 n. 2, 30313 n. 1–3, 30315, 30322, 30331, 30342, 30344, 30392, 30414, 30428 n. 3, 30450, 30466, 30468, 30469, 30486, 30497, 30557, 30559–30562, 30565 partim, 30567 partim, 30569–30573, 30582 n. 1. 3. 5–8. 10. 12. 13, 30590 n. 2, 30594, 30601, 30625, cum saepissime nude *descripsi/contuli* appareat, quod solum ad Henzen spectare potest. Sequitur ut Henzeno sit tribuenda editio tit. 29834*b* eiusdemque collocatio. Corporis voluminis sexti partis quartae fasciculum priorem, ubi omnes tituli supra scripti comprehensi sunt, edidit Christianus

Huelsen, ut legitur in fasciculi fronte; postquam Henzen a. 1887 mortem obiit, editionem fasciculi a. 1894 e prelo missi Huelsen curavit, quapropter in fronte libri ut solus editor apparet.

Liber scriptus est lingua Latina (exceptis verbis volumine ineunte a W. Eck Germanice et brevi nota ab A. Ferraro, S. Meloni, S. Orlandi Italice scriptis), sermone volubili et eleganti, qui a lectoribus facile intellegitur. Quaedam tamen observavi, quae melius aliter dici possint: 39851 (item p. 4121 in comm. tit. 148) formam ‘recenter’ (pro ‘recens’) improbant grammatici ut Charisius Beda, et re vera rarissime in Latinitate antiqua, et numquam apud auctores bonos redit; ‘sectio’, quo editor hic illic utitur sensu ‘partis’ (e.g. p. 4067), neologismus est (it. ‘sezione’). Minores lapsus observavi hos: p. XVI, in capite, quod ‘MARINA BERTINETTI’ incipit, scribe ‘musea’ pro ‘museos’; in proximo capite scribe ‘auctarium’ pro ‘auctario’; p. 4067 in capite quinto scribe ‘possunt’ pro ‘potest’; p. 4098 in comm. tit. 44 loco “cum litt. L et I prior supra versum ascendentes” debuit “cum litt. L et I priore supra versum ascendentibus”; p. 4107 in tit. 85 apparatu critico (post exemplum posito) aut loco ‘tantum’ scribe ‘solum’ aut ‘tantum’ pone ‘in scripturae compendiis’ colloca; p. 4113 in comm. tit. 111 scribe ‘versuum’; p. 4116 in lemmate tit. 125 scribe ‘Velitris’ pro ‘Velitrae’; p. 4144 in comm. tit. 30871a loco ‘ante’ voluit credo ‘anterioris’; 39804 (p. 4152) scribe ‘sociato’ pro ‘sociatus’; 39827 scribe ‘quorum’ pro ‘cuius’.

Alias denique observationes minoris momenti mihi adiungere liceat: p. 4109 in lemmate tit. 96 lapidem Tiburtinum descripsit non Metellus, sed Petrus Varondellus Sancti-claudianus Sequanus in codice Metelliano *Vat. Lat.* 6039 f. 54v = 261v. – p. 4110 de tit. 97 = 3673, qui Antias X 6647 est, egi *Epigraphica* 65 (2003) 80–89 n. 1. – p. 4112 in comm. tit. 105 scribe θεοῦς. – 39826: editor “ex litt. forma necnon ex sermone, ex imaginibus et ex dea inde ab aetate Severiana Romae maxime venerata” titulum saec. fortasse medio vel posteriori saec. III tribuit, de quo aliquantum dubitaverim; neque ex litterarum formis neque ex sermone inscriptionis tempus statuere periclitari ausim, et quomodo imagines (quales?) ad hanc rem iudicandam conferre possint, non video; rursus praenomen nondum abiectum M. Antoni Onesimi potius saec. II vel priorem partem saec. III indicat (hoc argumento editor ipse alibi ad titulum a se tractatum saec. II attribuendum utitur). – In indice p. 4217 addi potest Zmaragdus ex 39862 *Fortune Zmaragdianae* necnon gens Plotia ex 39860 *Fortunae Plotianae*.

Neglectis autem observationibus minoris momenti de quibus supra scripsi in summa dicendum est de opere praecipuae artis et omni laude digno agi; editor munus suum sagacissime splendidissimeque perfecit. Editione sua monumentum aere perennius exegit, ultimum munus amici defuncti, quod collegas et discipulos suos Romanos adiuvantibus sodalibus Corporis Berolinensis temporis non nimis longi decursu ad finem perducturos esse omnes ex imo corde exoptamus.

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Athletics in the Hellenistic World. Edited by CHRISTIAN MANN – SOFIE REMIJSSEN – SEBASTIAN SCHARFF. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016. ISBN 978-3-515-11571-1. 366 pp. EUR 62.

The volume has its origins in the research project ‘The self-presentation of athletes in the Hellenistic period: social identities, political identities, ethnic identities’ running from 2013 to 2016 with fund-

ing from the German Research Council. The associated international conference titled ‘Sport in der Epoche des Hellenismus’ was held from the 25th to the 27th June 2015 at the University of Mannheim. The blurb rightly boasts the work as being the “first book on athletics in the Hellenistic era”, as the focus of previous research of ancient athletics has been on the classical period or the later Roman imperial period. In his handbook on *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, published over a century ago, E. N. Gardiner claimed that there was “little change to record in the history of athletics” during this period, labelled by him as the “decline of athletics”, when “all the evils attendant on professionalism became rampant” (E. N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, London 1910, 146). The change in scholarly attitudes since Gardiner’s time may be exemplified by the following notion related by Zinon Papakonstantinou in the present volume: “In recent years it has been fashionable, with good reason, to consider the Hellenistic and Roman eras as the golden age of Greek sport” (p. 95).

The abstracts (pp. 9–16) are written in the same language as the articles themselves, nine in English, seven in German, and they provide a clear overview of the contents from the outset. Each paper has its own extensive bibliography, which is useful for the purposes of reviewing the literature of the individual topics covered. Unfortunately, there is no *index rerum*, but only an *index locorum* at the end of the volume (pp. 355–366). This apparent problem is, however, perhaps somewhat alleviated by the fact that the scope of each individual paper makes finding relevant passages a simple affair. Clear and useful black-and-white photographs, maps, charts, and tables are provided, though regrettably not reproduced in fully satisfactory printing quality. Formatting is uniform and consistent throughout, a fact which is somewhat blemished by a number of typographical issues, which might have been avoided through a round of proof-reading.

The editors – Christian Mann, Sofie Remijnsen, and Sebastian Scharff – have published widely in the field of ancient athletics. In addition to their editorial work, Mann and Scharff have also contributed papers to the present volume. Mann’s contribution on the state of the art and perspectives for research is tantamount to an introduction to the entire volume, even though it is not written in English, the language used in the majority of the more salient paratexts of the book. The five perspectives for research enumerated are source material, reorganization of agonistics, social structure, ethnicity, and political developments and their effect on agonistics. These five perspectives – some expounded upon in the volume more than others – are undoubtedly the framework through which a reader not inclined to read the volume in its entirety will find it useful to approach the individual papers.

The sense of ethnicity is discussed by Scharff in his very readable and logically proceeding paper, where he makes use of Posidippus’ epigrams on equestrian victories (*Hippika*, discovered in 2001) to argue for a regional ethnic identity overriding that of the *polis* in the self-representation of Thessalian victors in equestrian games. Related to this, an interesting strain emerging from the various contributions is the ‘globalization’ of the Hellen identity and the role played by athletics. Based on various evidence, Thomas Heine Nielsen estimates the minimum number of athletic festivals existing before the Hellenistic period as 155; the interconnectedness of the various festivals is then discussed by Onno M. van Nijf and Christina G. Williamson, who use Social Network Analysis based on the mobility of the victors of athletic events to suggest that the Amphiararaia celebrated at Oropos were part of a ‘global’ network of festivals. Frank Daubner argues that the northern Greek cities were indeed part of a very real community through participation in festivals and games. Zinon Papakonstantinou notes that the institution of private funding of athletics festivals was not primarily

driven by the financial problems of the cities, but by a striving for political capital through patronage of sports. Antiopi Argyriou-Casmeridis adds that the athletics-related honorific decrees were indeed issued to such benefactors for their contributions in the education of the young in Hellenistic ideals.

As a positive surprise, the concrete technical side of athletics receives not insignificant attention: in addition to a few sporadic references to the nature of wrestling, Barbara Dimde's paper discusses not only the relevant architecture, but also the innovations in starting devices used in foot races, and Stephen Sanson expounds upon papyri that give testimony regarding clothing worn by the competitors. Dimde even takes into account the bodily position assumed by runners at the start of a race. The general tendency towards silence regarding the technique employed by the athletes and their interaction with material objects may be attributed to the scarcity of source material on one hand (one source group, namely grave monuments of athletes, is discussed by Scharff, but from a different point of view), and to the lack of scholarly interest in such particularities on the other, as the social importance and cultural impact of sports undoubtedly offer the potential for results with more obviously far-reaching implications. It is, however, in exactly such details where an even greater understanding of the primary sources may be gained, as has been exemplified by Michael B. Poliakoff's work on the ancient combat sports and the Greek terminology thereof (M. B. Poliakoff, *Studies in the Terminology of the Greek Combat Sports*, Frankfurt am Main, 1982; idem, *Competition, Violence, and Culture: Combat Sports in the Ancient World*, New Haven & London, 1987).

To conclude, the volume achieves what it sets out to do, offering an intriguing overview of a neglected aspect of ancient athletic history, which should also provide a good vantage point for anyone interested in pursuing further results on the topic. In addition, it is worth mentioning that Mannheim University hosts a Database of Hellenistic Athletes, covering all known participants of hippic and gymnastic competitions during the Hellenistic period, available at <http://mafag.geschichte.uni-mannheim.de/athletes/> (accessed 31 Oct 2019). The free availability of such databases deserves unconditional praise and will surely contribute to future progress.

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The Polis in the Hellenistic World. Edited by HENNING BÖRM – NINO LURAGHI. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2018. ISBN 978-3-515-12020-3. 264 pp. EUR 54.

It can be difficult to think about the Greek city state outside the Classical era. There is still a tendency to view the city states that come after as lesser forms of civic identity. The traditional image is one that emphasises above all else conflict between the rich and poor, mitigated partly by euergetism and public spending. Various battles and wars have been used at endpoints (such as Chaironeia in 338, Crannon in 321 or Corinth in 146) to mark the decline of the classical *polis* and its replacement with something inferior. This perspective has been challenged, with recent scholarship recognising both continuity with the classical model, and development of the *polis* in light of new challenges and changes. It is an important emergent field, and this book edited by Henning Börm and Nino Luraghi is not just most welcome, but a necessary endeavour.

It is worth beginning with what this book is not seeking to do. It is not a textbook on the topic, or an introduction to the Hellenistic *polis*. The editors admit to this in the foreword, itself not an extensive introduction as might be expected, but instead a short rationale and defence before they let the chapters speak for themselves. This is a refreshing opening, and one that signals the confidence the editors have in the quality of each contribution, and the prospective development in each area under discussion. It is a subtle and understated route into the topic; and all the stronger for it. This book is best interpreted as a highly complex and nuanced exploration of various attitudes and approaches, and one that when read together allows for a much deeper level of understanding regarding the Hellenistic period and the place of the *polis*.

The chapters in the main body are thought-provoking and well-written, and while greater engagement with archaeological remains would have added value at certain moments (the *polis* as a lived and experiential city space), each and every one of them forces us to reconsider the image we have of the post-Classical *polis*. The question over political realities is particularly well discussed, and this encourages a reassessment of democracy, oligarchy and political identity (as well as the discourse that shapes it). Clifford Ando tackles the question of wealth and power in relation to democracy ('The Political Economy of the Hellenistic Polis: Comparative and Modern Perspectives', 9–26). He writes that 'polis-talk was the principal means employed by Hellenistic democratic elites to rule the Hellenistic city' (24), recognising that specific language, and the actions resulting from it, could be used by those aristocrats in charge of these cities. This is an important observation. Christel Müller's chapter works very well alongside this, in once sense building upon Ando's perspective, but taking it in a rather different direction ('Oligarchy and the Hellenistic City', 27–52). Müller begins with definitions of *oligarchia* and *demokratia*, looking first to Aristotle (e.g. *penia* and *ploutos*), Polybius (e.g. *pleonexia* and *philargyria*) and epigraphy. When read together, the chapters paint a compelling picture of elite interaction and behaviour.

Henning Börm's discussion of *stasis* is one of the strongest chapters in the volume ('*Stasis* in Post-Classical Greece: The Discourse of Civil Strife in the Hellenistic World', 53–84). The traditional view (based on Lycurgus and Pausanias) is exposed immediately, and this allows Börm to look at the 'discursive construction of discord within the citizen community' (58). The discussion shines an important light on the permanence of this fear in the Hellenistic *polis*, and through the greater epigraphic record, the ways in which it could be avoided. Anna Magnetto's consideration of law and arbitration follows well, in looking to an important aspect of *polis* life and identity ('Interstate Arbitrations as a Feature of the Hellenistic Polis: Between Ideology, International Law and Civic Memory', 85–108). The thoughts on civic memory are excellent (100–103) and demonstrate how useful the ancient sources can be to scholars, but also how they were interpreted by contemporaries: '[t]he documents resulting from an arbitration, both the verdicts and decrees that celebrate success of one party or praise the advocates, became veritable monuments of civic memory' (100). Peter Funke writes with a sharp analytical focus, providing an excellent and nuanced exploration of *symmachiiai*, *poleis* and *koina*. By using the Aitolian League as a case study, Funke is able to demonstrate the growing strength of federal councils ('*Poleis* and *Koina*: Reshaping the World of the Greek States in Hellenistic Times', 109–130). Each of these chapters provide close analysis of the ancient evidence and ask important, and in one sense, new questions of familiar material.

In contrast to the preceding chapters, Frank Daubner presents a more localised approach ('Peer Polity Interaction in Hellenistic Northern Greece: *Theoroi* going to Epirus and Macedonia', 131–158). The analysis offered of Northern Greece is useful in highlighting how there exist different ways of looking at, and thinking about, the Hellenistic *polis*, and localised studies have great merit in testing wider structural patterns and individual differences. Northern Greece can appear separate, and there still exists the enduring image of it as somehow incompletely Hellenised (and thus distinctive from the south). Daubner shows however that when looking at the north '[t]he central element [...] is the peer polity interaction, the functioning of a network of equals, which counterbalanced and complemented the power of the big states' (149). This is explored through the *theorodokoi* lists, which in themselves can carry interpretative issues, but are highly important sources. Graham Oliver's chapter is fiscal in nature, drawing upon numismatic and shipwreck evidence to think about economic relationships ('People and Cities: Economic Horizons beyond the Hellenistic Polis', 159–180). Although the historiographical sketch on the opening pages could have been developed a little further, the discussion of the evidence is particularly strong, and paints a compelling perspective, forcing us to look beyond the 'institutions of the polis to explain the polis economies' (176).

The final three chapters provide rather different styles. Angelos Chaniotis discusses the night, and thus at first it appears rather out of place alongside the other chapters ('The Polis after Sunset: What is Hellenistic in Hellenistic Nights?', 181–208). However, the points made are useful, and the chapter begins with the famous speech by Lysias *On the Murder of Eratosthenes*. The questions asked of this source are persuasive because the focus shifts from adultery to the rhythm of the Athenian night. This forms a rather compelling cultural exploration. The night can mean different things depending who we are looking at across society (183), and across the Greek world (e.g. the *nykstostrategos* in Ptolemaic Alexandria). Nino Luraghi provides a detailed and careful study of political ideology that reflects the shifts in wider scholarship ('Documentary Evidence and Political Ideology in Early Hellenistic Athens, 209–228). The focus rests on Kallias, and on what is said and not said: 'the biography of Kallias posed a challenge to the inner logic of Athenian political ideology' (215). He importantly recognises how Athenian political discourse struggled to reflect the political transformations of the Hellenistic age (e.g. Macedonian dominance). The final chapter by Hans-Ulrich Wiemer looks to Panaitos' *Peri tou kathekontos*, reinterpreting this famous Hellenistic stoic writer and placing him and his work in different context ('A Stoic Ethic for Roman Aristocrats? Panaitios' Doctrine of Behavior, its Context and its Addressees', 229–258). This work served as an important source for Cicero's *De officiis*, and Cicero writes favourably of Panaitos, drawing upon his work with a few amendments: '*quem [...] correptione quadam adhibita potissimum secuti sumus*' (235; Cicero, *De officiis*, 3.7). This chapter forces us to reconsider Panaitos as a Hellenistic figure, more than someone that found himself in the Roman world of the elites.

In conclusion, the editors should be commended for producing what is a valuable and informative contribution to the scholarly field. In drawing together such an excellent array of different perspectives, they shine a light not only on the political realities of the *polis* in the Hellenistic age, but provide an excellent and articulate defence of the *polis* in this later age. No longer can we, or should we, view these as inferior city states. Different they may be, but they are just as complex, and

as compelling, as their classical forebears. Henning Börm and Nino Luraghi have done scholarship a service.

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ALICE BORGNA: *Ripensare la storia universale. Giustino e l'Epitome delle Storie Filippiche di Pompeo Trogo*. Spudasmata 176. Olms, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2018. ISBN: 978-3-487-15660-6. 294 pp. EUR 54.

Sometime in the Roman imperial era, a certain Justin wrote his work *Epitoma historiarum Pompei Trogi*, and his source was the now lost work, probably named *Historiae Philippicae*, of an Augustan historian Pompeius Trogus. For most of the last two centuries scholars have not had a high regard for Justin's *Epitoma*. Justin was accused of having mutilated the original work, which had been praised by the ancients, and his text was deemed to have no historical value. In the last two decades, however, Justin's epitome has finally become a subject of numerous systematic studies from new viewpoints. To mention only the newest publications that are not included in the reviewed volume, we also have a new translation and commentary in Italian (L. Santi Amantini, *Giustino. Storie Filippiche. Epitome da Pompeo Trogo*, 2 volumi, Tivoli 2017), two volumes and one upcoming volume of the new edition with translation and commentary in French (B. Mineo – G. Zecchini, *Justin. Abrégé des Histoires Philippiques de Trogue Pompée*. Tome I. Livres I–X, Paris 2016; idem, Tome II. Livres XI–XXIII, Paris 2018), and a monograph by D. Hofmann (*Griechische Weltgeschichte auf Latein. Iustins "Epitoma historiarum Pompei Trogi" und die Geschichtskonzeption des Pompeius Trogus*, Stuttgart 2018).

Despite the sudden profusion of new studies, Borgna's book is a long-awaited and necessary contribution to our understanding of Pompeius Trogus and Justin. Together with Hofmann's book, which was published at the same time, it is the first full-length monograph dedicated to the question of what the purpose and methodology of Justin's *Epitoma* and, respectively, Pompeius Trogus' *Historiae Philippicae* were.

In the introductory chapters Borgna summarizes the earlier studies on the subject and meticulously provides every piece of information we have on Justin or Trogus. Justin's *Epitoma* has often been studied as a historiographical work because of the assumption that Justin was merely abbreviating Trogus' vast text. For this reason, modern scholars have often accused Justin of enormous carelessness and a complete lack of historiographical skills. Borgna justly suggests that we should not make such assumptions but start by considering the only certain information we have about Justin's goals, that is, his *praefatio* in which he wrote about his methodology and the circumstances of his work. Only on these terms may we judge if *Epitoma* is a "successful" work and how it was supposed to be read. Furthermore, the only way to reach even partial understanding about Trogus' original lost work is to first understand Justin's work.

Borgna proceeds to analyse the relationship between Justin's *Epitoma* and the surviving prologues of Trogus' text in order to reveal what kind of material Justin selected from Trogus' work

and what he left out. It is well known that the origin of the prologues is uncertain: they were created neither by Trogus nor Justin (F. Lucidi, *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale* 17 [1975]: 173–180). In any case, Borgna works on the reasonable assumption that the prologues are a trustworthy enough indication of the original content of Trogus' work. The author does not provide detailed tables of this comparison of the prologues to Justin's text (provided, e.g. by Hofmann, whose abovementioned work concentrates on the linguistic analysis in more depth) but, rather, she focuses on the longest and therefore most informative prologues. The conclusion is that Justin was absolutely not trying to preserve the original structure, chronology, or themes of Trogus' work. Instead, he was selecting the anecdotes that best met his own criteria specified in his *praefatio*: he was looking for curious tales and moral *exempla* that were *cognitione dignissima excerpsti*. Justin was interested in the curiosity of human nature, psychology, individuals, and dialogues, whereas he was not interested in military matters, geography, or politics.

Based on this conclusion, Borgna proceeds to analyse Justin's relationship with history. She shows that Justin's *Epitoma* does not contain any clear references to time. The events are ordered vaguely in relation to each other, and sometimes several separate events are condensed into a single event. Justin did not provide any background or reasons for historical events either. All this makes it extremely frustrating to read Justin's text as a historical work that it was clearly not intended to be. Justin is indeed following a completely different type of methodology, explained in the previous chapter. It becomes clear that *Epitoma* was a product of Justin's own genius, not a mere abbreviation, even though he used Trogus' work as a source.

Having reached this understanding of the content and methodology of Justin's *Epitoma*, Borgna enters the discussion of the identity of Justin and the purpose of his work. Based on the style of the work, the quantity of moral *exempla*, and the *praefatio*, Borgna concludes that the target audience of *Epitoma* most probably were rhetors and students of rhetorical schools that produced and used such short collections of *exempla* and anecdotes. Borgna's conclusion, founded *not* on hypotheses or *Epitoma's* later use, but purely on what we effectively know of the work's own context and content seems rational and strongly contests those who would still think that Justin's *Epitoma* was intended to be a historiographical work (e.g. the review by F. Landucci in *Plekos* 20 [2018]: 507–510).

The theories of the dating of Justin range from the end of the second century AD to the end of the fourth century AD. Based on the assumptions listed above and on the possibility that Nazarius cited Justin in his panegyrics in AD 321, Borgna favours the theory that Justin wrote before AD 321 and opposes some recent arguments in favour of the late fourth century dating (G. Zecchini, "Per la datazione di Giustino", in A. Galimberti – G. Zecchini [eds.], *Studi sull'Epitome di Giustino. III. Il tardo ellenismo. I Parti e i Romani*, Milano 2016, 221–231; Hofmann 2018, 63–98).

Borgna moves on to analyse the historiographical style of Pompeius Trogus. Trogus has suffered from the bad reputation of Justin, and maybe for this reason some earlier scholars have thought that Trogus was merely copying or translating the Greek historian Timagenes. Borgna argues convincingly that this was not the case and that Trogus' *Historiae Philippicae* and other (also lost) works on natural history were original and highly esteemed in antiquity.

Mostly because of several anti-Roman speeches preserved by Justin, because of the praise of the Parthian power, and because of the very marginal position of Rome in *Epitoma* and Trogus' pro-

logues, Trogus has been called “anti-Roman”. Borgna sets out to dismantle the last remaining doubts about the falsity of this statement. The most famous “anti-Roman” speech is the one of Mithridates VI Eupator to his troops, claimed by Justin to be exceptionally preserved in his text *verbatim*. Borgna notes that such criticizing speeches were very common in historiography and several other historians include them in their works. Therefore Mithridates’ speech is in no way exceptional in this sense and can not be seen as a sign of the anti-Romanism of its writer.

Borgna argues that Trogus considered the history of the Hellenistic east as an excellent case study of the danger of *ambitio*, *discordia* and *cupiditas imperii*. The common thread running through Trogus’ work seemed to be *translatio imperii*, caused by these moral vices and the lack of an enlightened leader. Borgna thinks that even though the focus is in the East, the moral discourse of Trogus’ work was evidently in line with the Augustan ideology that celebrated Rome and its *princeps* as the bringers of peace and stability. We should not forget that Justin’s text contains an explicit statement that Trogus was a Roman citizen and gratefully considered Rome as his native land (Iust. 43.1.1). Also, *Epitoma* ends with the praise of Augustus (Iust. 44.5.8) who ends the infinite and vicious circle of *translatio imperii*.

To conclude with Trogus, Borgna touches upon the subject of Trogus’ cultural identity. Trogus seemed to be proud of his Gallic origins and wrote positively about the history of Massalia, founded by Greeks. Borgna justly emphasises that this pride did not mean that Trogus could not have been proud of his Romaness at the same time. In fact, Borgna writes that it perhaps was the *tria corda* of Trogus that explained his unique universal view of history: “Un patriotismo in cui cittadinanza romana, origine gallica e radici elleniche trovano un perfetto amalgama” (p. 203).

Lastly, Borgna dedicates a few pages to the discussion of the relationship between Trogus and his contemporary Livy. Borgna argues that the works of Trogus and Livy seem to have much in common, even though Trogus supposedly criticized Livy’s historiographical style (Iust. 38.3.11): both historians took part in the moral discourse typical of the Augustan era. Another reason why Trogus did not write the history of Rome might have been that Livy had already done this.

Borgna’s work is commendably rational, clear, and compact. She writes in a very clear Italian devoid of excessive formality. Borgna provides translations for numerous citations in Latin and Greek, which many readers will find helpful. The author’s philological skills are outstanding and allow her to analyse the literary technique of Justin efficiently. The bibliography is excellent, and the footnotes are comprehensive throughout the work. This reviewer did not detect any important publications missing from the bibliography apart from a few very recent works mentioned above. It would have been especially interesting to see a conversation between Borgna and Hofmann that reaches different conclusions on a few points. I recommend this book as a part of the obligatory bibliography for anyone wanting to study Justin or Pompeius Trogus in depth.

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State Power in Ancient China and Rome. Edited by WALTER SCHEIDEL. Oxford Studies in Early Empires. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2015. ISBN 978-0-19-02022-48. XVII, 303 pp. GBP 65.

We live in a post-imperial world, where the legacies of the great empires still dominate the political and social landscape. Our relationship to the concept of imperialism has changed dramatically in recent years, and where once empires were praised and admired, now nations are becoming distinctly embarrassed or uneasy with their own imperial heritage. Yet they have shaped our own modern political landscapes, as well as those of the ancient, medieval and early modern periods. The study of empire, and the structures that belong to it, are as essential now as they ever were. The historical past can be a dangerous thing when used by politicians of any political stance, and the word and image of empire needs to be examined in as many different ways as possible, not to glorify it, nor to demean it, but instead to recognise the historical realities that govern and guide imperial growth, maintenance and decline. There are many ways of doing this, but comparative history offers many advantages. In dissecting empires and divorcing them from individualistic study, it is possible to strip away meaningless impressions of 'good' or 'bad' and instead think about the complex political and social frameworks created and maintained within imperial structures. It is a door that has been opened by Walter Scheidel and others before, and this volume is a welcome addition to the field of comparative imperial history. Scheidel notes in the introduction '[t]he dramatic expansion of the scale of human cooperation has been the most important development in social evolution' (3), and this wide-ranging scope motivates much of the work.

The opening chapter by Peter Fibiger Bang and Karen Turner is one of the strongest in the volume ('Kingship and Elite Formation', 11–38). Here the two historians demonstrate not just how useful a blended writing process can be to undertake historical research, but also the many benefits looking at the two empires can bring to both sides of the equation. Although notably different in certain respects, the two empires both sought to place their own definitions of imperial rule in opposition to dictatorial or tyrannical power: '[b]oth the Han Dynasty and the Roman principate of Augustus were presented as alternatives to the rule of a self-serving despot' (11). The evidence drawn upon is discussed with great care and precision, and throughout the audience is reminded of just what can be achieved by thinking about the two empires in unison. T. Corey Brennan's chapter ('Toward a Comparative Understanding of the Executive Decision-Making Process in China and Rome', 56–89) follows on well, in looking at decision making, and demonstrating important structural parallels regarding debate, consensus and the role of the court. Again there are important differences but these two chapters present an excellent opening up of comparative analysis and reach entirely persuasive and careful conclusions.

The next two chapters are best read alongside one another, to gain a sense of similarity and difference between East and West. Dingxin Zhao ('The Han Bureaucracy: Its Origin, Nature, and Development', 56–89) provides a fascinating discussion of the Western Han Empire, demonstrating not just how the system created a sense of the past, but how it could alter and change in response to wider influences. The Han bureaucracy appears as a highly organised and sophisticated in parts but one with issues and concerns, certainly true of overlapping jurisdictional areas between the various bureaus (which Zhao notes may have been about checks and balances, 66). This is a very well-structured chapter, that works through rankings, recruitment and promotion, performance checks, Confucianism

as an ideology and the issues within the system. The comparisons with Rome are fleeting, but useful, such as when he writes: [w]hile a Roman emperor was above all a military leader and was expected to rule the state actively, the Han emperor was expected to act as a ritual head and to reign in a passive manner' (64) and '[i]t was the installation of Confucianism as an ethos of bureaucracy that set the imperial China bureaucracy apart from the Roman bureaucracy and patterned the dynamics of Chinese history' (75). The chapter by Peter Eich ('The Common Denominator: Late Roman Imperial Bureaucracy from a Comparative Perspective', 90–149) is much longer and more extensive. There is a little bit too much focus on Weber in the beginning, which distracts from what otherwise is an admirable and authoritative survey of Roman bureaucracy. Recognizing that Rome can appear non-bureaucratic, there still existed 'spheres of responsibility', hierarchy, and record keeping (94). The great strength to this chapter is how carefully Eich builds his argument, and how precise and astute the analysis offered, when looking to Egypt (118–128) and later Roman administration (133–140). The chapter by Walter Scheidel ('State Revenue and Expenditure in the Han and Roman Empires', 150–180) provides an excellent counterpoint to the perspectives of Zhao and Eich, by thinking about fiscal realities. Although recognising that some aspects of this may appear somewhat conjectural, the conclusions reached are compelling. Scheidel is able to demonstrate that both appear as 'low-tax regimes' (178), with substantial differences that illuminate the variances in imperial practice. The Roman Empire for instance appears to spend rather more on the military, and those at the top of the Roman career ladder earned considerably more than their equivalents in the Han government.

The final three chapters look to urban areas (Carlos F. Noreña, 'Urban Systems in the Han and Roman Empires: State Power and Social Control', 181–203; Mark Edward Lewis, 'Public Spaces in Cities in the Roman and Han Empires, 204–229) and religious practice (Michael Puett, 'Ghosts, Gods, and the Coming Apocalypse: Empire and Religion in Early China and Ancient Rome, 230–259). The chapter by Puett appears a touch out of place, and although the points made are promising regarding religious infrastructure, it would have benefitted either from being coupled with one or more other investigations into religion and empire; or more comparison within the chapter itself. Noreña tackles the extent to which cities were parts of Han and Roman power, and how they could serve as tools of domination. He argues that for the Han Empire 'state power was mostly direct and interventionist in its impact on urbanization' while in Rome it was the opposite, if 'still very intrusive' (183). By looking at Chang'an and the city of Rome he paints an excellent perspective on how the capital cities were so different, and this is born out too in the discussion of artificial cities. Lewis provides a convincing exploration of public space, exposing once again fundamental differences between Han and Roman Empires, reflecting differences in control of the space, as well as the dissimilar audiences and their expectations.

To close, this is a fascinating and persuasive depiction of two of the most important empires of the ancient world. In providing such a detailed analysis of both, this book allows not just for an implicit defence of comparative history but demands that we as scholars ask new questions about familiar topics and subjects. The different approaches to comparative history here, by scholars writing together, or leaning is important, but so too is the wider concern, that the language and practice of empire must be reclaimed by historians.

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Die Außenbeziehungen pontischer und kleinasiatischer Städte in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit. Akten einer deutsch-rumänischen Tagung in Constanța, 20.–24. September 2010. Herausgegeben von VICTOR COJOCARU – CHRISTOF SCHULER. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2014. ISBN 978-3-515-10737-2. 311 S. EUR 54.

In diesem Tagungsband findet man ein breites Repertoire an Methoden zur und Gesichtspunkten bei der Untersuchung auswärtiger Beziehungen in der Antike. Der Schwerpunkt der Beiträge liegt auf dem Schwarzmeerraum und dementsprechend auf im Ganzen gesehen weniger bedeutenden politischen Akteuren, was im übrigen auch für die Beiträge gilt, die Poleis außerhalb des pontischen Raums behandeln (Ursula Kunnert & Christian Marek: Samothrake und Kaunos; Christof Schuler: Arykanda und Tragalassos in Lykien).

Die meisten Artikel befassen sich mit den Beziehungen zwischen einzelnen politischen Einheiten, einerseits im pontischen Raum zwischen pontischen Poleis bzw. Königsreichen, andererseits pontischer Poleis bzw. Königsreiche mit politischen Einheiten im Mittelmeerraum, auch mit Rom. Aber auch andere Arten von Außenbeziehungen werden behandelt, etwa die Mobilität von einzelner Personen (Ligia Ruscu; Mădălina Dana), aber auch Lokalidentitäten, die sich auf die Mythologie bezogen und mit denen sich Kleinorte auch vor den Augen der umliegenden Welt präsentierten (Johannes Nollé mit dem Beispiel Deultum). Diachronische und geographische Überblicke findet der Leser in den Aufsätzen von Victor Cojocaru und Ligia Ruscu, in denen die Verfasser nicht nur eine breite epigraphische Quellenbasis verwenden, sondern auch Probleme und Aussagekraft unterschiedlicher Quellen erörtern. Die römischen Interessen im Schwarzmeerraum werden besonders in zwei Artikeln behandelt: die außenpolitischen Beziehungen im früheren 2. Jh. v. Chr. (R. Malcolm Errington) und die militärische Anwesenheit bzw. Tätigkeit der Römer im westlichen Pontos bis zum 3. Jh. n. Chr. (Florian Matei-Popescu). Bemerkenswert ist, dass Hinweise auf Beziehungen zu Rom bzw. zu einzelnen Römern außerhalb des römischen Militärs und der römischen Verwaltung und außer den römischen Bürgern lokaler Herkunft nur selten im Material von Cojocaru (S. 80, 86) und Ruscu (S. 104) anzutreffen sind.

Der Tagungsband stellt eine thematische Einheit dar, was bei anderen Veröffentlichungen dieser Art nicht immer der Fall ist. Die meisten Aufsätze haben natürlich ein fokussiertes Thema, aber in ihrer Gesamtheit dienen sie dem Ziel des Werkes, nämlich einen breiteren Blick auf verschiedene Mittel bzw. Erscheinungsformen der verschiedenen Außenbeziehungen besonders im pontischen Raum zu werfen. Auch wenn die Quellenbasis sich zumeist auf Inschriften beschränkt, kann das kaum Anlass für Kritik sein, denn eben durch Inschriften – und ganz besonders durch Neufunde – kann etwas Neues zu dieser Thematik beigetragen werden. Klar ist jedoch, dass dieses Werk nicht für eine Gesamtdarstellung der Außenbeziehungen politischer Akteure im antiken Schwarzmeerraum gehalten werden kann, aber es ist ein bedeutsamer Schritt in diese Richtung.

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Burial Rituals, Ideas of Afterlife, and the Individual in the Hellenistic World and the Roman Empire. Edited by KATHARINA WALDNER – RICHARD GORDON – WOLFGANG SPICKERMANN. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 57. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016. ISBN 978-3-515-11546-9. 264 pp. EUR 52.

Attitudes towards death can tell us much about ancient societies. They paint an image not just of religious discourse and the depth of religious understanding, but also touch upon cultural differences and attitudes towards public and private grief. They allow for insights into political culture, ritual practice and architectural design.. Recent approaches have encouraged scholars to recognise individual religion. In attempting to recognise individuality in religious experience and attitudes towards death across a significant time span and geographical area, the editors of this volume allow for a remarkable array of different voices and approaches. This allows for timely discussions both of the familiar and the unfamiliar, and ties into recent scholarly approaches towards ancient religion (*Religious individuation in historical perspective* and *Lived Ancient Religion*). The overall approach then is commendable, for religion must be placed firmly in its direct setting, and effort should be made to look for localised and individual responses to religious and eschatological ideas.

The book opens with a concise and succinct introduction by Waldner, Gordon and Spickermann (7–14). This sets the volume up rather well, and although a wider engagement with the dominant scholarly perspectives would have been useful, there are some excellent points made here, in particular (echoing the approach taken by Emma-Jayne Graham in her article ‘Becoming persons, becoming ancestors. Personhood, memory and the corpse in Roman rituals of social remembrance’, published in *Archaeological Dialogues* in 2009) that we must be cautious in looking to funerary monuments as representing ‘just one fixed identity;’ (9). This is an important and powerful reminder for each of us when we look at anything attributed to death, for not only is this marking the final stage of life, it is also choosing to engage in a particular discourse at a particular moment, for purposes that may be difficult for us to see.

The book is divided between three sections, and this division does not quite work, in part because of the variety of different approaches taken. Part 1 ‘From Homer to Lucian – Poetics of the Afterlife’ presents poetic engagement and exploration of death, and although each chapter offers useful observations, each of them appear a touch embryonic, and this limits the depth of analysis and strength of argument. Matijević (‘The Evolution of the Afterlife in Archaic Greece’, 15–30) challenges the notion of linear development, Bremmer (‘The construction of an individual eschatology: The case of the Orphic gold leaves’, 31–52) focusses on individual eschatological attitudes and the influence of religious practices and thoughts beyond the polis religion, Obryk (‘Prote im Land der Negationen: Per negationem definiertes Nachleben in einer griechischen Grabinschrift’, 53–66) considers metrical grave inscription, and Spickermann (‘Tod und Jenseits bei Lukian von Samosata und Tatian’, 67–81) discusses Lucian of Samosata’s satire. Of these chapters Obryk’s is the strongest. In looking in detail at the source she creates a compelling sense of individual practice and response, engaging with diessseitig and *Jenseits*.

Part 2 ‘Individual Elaborations in the Roman Empire’ demonstrates differences across the Roman world and draws upon some excellent evidence. Höpken’s chapter (‘Gefangene zwischen Diesseits und Jenseits: Außergewöhnliche Bestattungen im römischen Gräberfeld um St. Gereon in

Köln, 83–108) provides a compelling discussion of burial practice, suggesting a possible fear of the dead returning to haunt the living. This does not reflect cultural norms but appears focussed on those who may have died suddenly and unexpectedly. It also may reflect the fears of those involved for their own future: ‘[d]iese Sorge galt vermutlich aber nicht nur den Toten, die man auf ihrem letzten Weg zum Grab begleite, sondern auch dem eigenen Tod – man wollte nicht zwischen dem Diesseits und Jenseits gefangen sein’ (97). Although difficult to fully prove, the evidence is well analysed here. Rosenberger (‘Coping with Death: Private Deification in the Roman Empire’, 109–124) asks important questions concerning private deification in Roman funerary inscriptions (e.g. *mater sanctissima et dea*; Callicla Pyrras at 115), but is difficult in so short a space to fully explore these isolated incidents of deification. It strikes me that they may simply be personal familial devotion, rather than anything religious or imitative of the imperial household. The gender and age must have some bearing on this. The chapters by Gasparini and Stadler complement each other well in looking to Egyptian influence and sources, but the arguments in both can be challenged, in part because of the nature of the evidence used (‘“I will not be thirsty. My lips will not be dry: Individual Strategies of Re-constructing the Afterlife in the Isiac Cults’, 125–150; ‘Dioskourides, Tanaweruw, Titus Flavius Demetrius et al. Or: How Appealing was an Egyptian Afterlife?’, 151–166). The Isiac inscriptions are highly complex artefacts, and although Gasparini engages well with each of them, the different circumstances and periods limit their use in framing a comprehensive argument. The *Papyrus Harkness* is rightly famed, and Stadler is an accomplished guide to both the source and the world it belongs to, presenting an excellent examination of the source and other instances where individuals sought to place themselves in an Egyptian afterlife. However, each source chosen needed to be set up more fully, in particular by examining the context(s) in greater detail.

Part 3 ‘Making a Difference: Groups and their Claims’ characterises the diverse approaches seen throughout the book, with discussion of Jewish eschatology by Bergmann (‘Identity on the Menu: Imaginary Meals and Ideas of the World to Come in Jewish Apocalyptic Writings’, 167–188), early Christianity by Merkt (‘“A Place for My Body”: Aspects of Individualisation in Early Christian Funerary Culture and Eschatological Thought’, 189–206) and the cult of Mithras by Gordon (‘“Den Jungstier auf den goldenen Schultern tragen”: Mythos, Ritual und Jenseitsvorstellungen im Mithraskult’, 207–250). Each of these provide useful questions and insightful observations, but each of them could have been twice as long to fully explore all the relevant points and factors. The three do work well together in thinking about commonality and shared identity, but rather more could have been made of the evidence selected. Of the three Gordon’s exploration of Mithras is the most persuasive.

To close, the approach to the study of ancient religion showcased here is both necessary and important. However, it needs to be supported by close and focussed analysis, with an awareness of the wider contexts to which each piece is responding and engaging. There are chapters here that are strong, and others that contain some excellent and compelling observations. There are also moments that appear speculative and descriptive. The ambition is commendable, but this volume needed to be much longer, to give the necessary space to fully develop the arguments being made.

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CHRISTOPHER DEGELMANN: *Squalor. Symbolisches Trauern in der Politischen Kommunikation der Römischen Republik und Frühen Kaiserzeit*, Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 61. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2018. ISBN 978-3-515-11784-5. 361 S. EUR 60.

Die römische Gesellschaft der Antike stellt ein Sammelsurium von Normen und Werten, symbolischen Akten und mannigfaltigen Möglichkeiten der Kommunikation dar, was den Althistoriker immer wieder vor Herausforderungen bei dem Versuch stellt, einzelne Themenschwerpunkte konkreter zu betrachten. Insbesondere das Feld der politischen Kommunikation bietet ein reiches Betätigungsfeld, was zahlreiche Arbeiten vergangener Jahre und Jahrzehnte verdeutlichen. In diesem Bereich bewegt sich auch die Arbeit von Christopher Degelmann zum Squalor als Akt symbolischen Trauerns in der politischen Kommunikation der Römischen Republik und Frühen Kaiserzeit.

Trauer ist für das antike Rom ein vielbezeugter Akt und konnte in verschiedenen Formen auftreten, wobei der Squalor einen Sonderfall darstellte, da dieser, trotz typischer Bestandteile römischer Trauerkultur wie verdeckter Kleidung und unrasiertem Bart, eben nicht im Rahmen einer Trauerfeier oder ähnlichem dargeboten, sondern gezielt als Mittel in politischen Auseinandersetzungen eingesetzt wurde. Dieses Phänomen ist in der Forschung durchaus bekannt und kam in verschiedenen Studien zur Sprache, wobei man sich zumeist auf einzelne Aspekte und eine beschränkte Quellenauswahl konzentrierte. Eine Studie, die das Phänomen in seiner Gesamtheit erfasst, fehlte bis heute. Diese Lücke wurde nun durch Christopher Degelmann geschlossen.

Anknüpfend an die Arbeit von Egon Flaig zur symbolischen Kommunikation (u.a. Flaig, Egon: *Ritualisierte Politik. Zeichen, Gesten und Herrschaft im Alten Rom*, Göttingen 2003) fasst der Autor den dort beschriebenen Squalor weiter, indem er ihn als Trauerakt und Trauerszene interpretiert, um dabei „seine Performanz sowohl in politischer Praxis als auch Historiographie aufzuzeigen.“ (S. 25) Im Fokus stehen dabei die Interaktionen bzw. das „Kommunikative“ zwischen den verschiedenen Protagonisten, die versuchten, sich durch die Verwendung von Symbolen und Gesten gegenseitig zu beeinflussen.

Die Studie ist systematisch in fünf Teile und diverse Unterkapitel gegliedert, wobei im ersten zunächst einige Vorbetrachtungen erfolgen, in denen der Squalor u.a. als performativer Akt vorgestellt wird (S. 31–43). Anschließend wendet sich Degelmann den Voraussetzungen zu, die gegeben sein müssen, um einen Squalor zu ermöglichen, sowie den Kontexten, in welchen ein solcher zu erwarten war (S. 44–67). Im Anschluss wird in einem zweiten Teil die klare Unterscheidung zwischen Trauerakten und solchen vorgenommen, deren Historizität eher zweifelhaft ist und die vielmehr von antiken Autoren gezielt genutzt wurden, um Leerstellen zu füllen. Oft ließ man Darbietungen instrumentell und symbolisch misslingen, um als Teil der narrativen Struktur die Geschichte voranzubringen (S. 71–111). Interessant ist in diesem Zusammenhang auch die Beobachtung, dass Trauerszenen von einigen Autoren ganz bewusst größeren Konflikten vorgeschaltet sind, da vor allem bei einem Scheitern eine neue Eskalationsstufe erreicht werden konnte.

Im dritten Abschnitt widmet sich Degelmann den zahlreichen Elementen, auf die im Squalor zurückgegriffen wurde. Deren Ursprungskontexte, die aus Trauer- und Bestattungsriten, aber auch Bittgesten und traditionellen Elementen der römischen Klientelbeziehungen entlehnt worden sind, werden neu sequenziert und einem neuen Kontext zugeführt (S. 115–211). Eine damit verbundene Grundannahme besteht darin, dass durch das Verwenden von aus anderen Kontexten bekannt-

ten Symbolen und Gesten ein Wiedererkennungswert beim Publikum erzeugt wird, womit zusätzlich Aufmerksamkeit generiert werden kann. Im vierten Abschnitt geht es vor allem um die Wirkung des Squalor und um die Reaktionen der Adressaten. Hinzu kommen die Reaktionen, die man einem derartigen Trauerakt entgegenzusetzen konnte (S. 221–261).

Zum Schluss erfolgt eine umfangreiche Zusammenfassung, in der die Entwicklung des Squalor von seinen Anfängen bis zum Ende rekapituliert wird. Dieser unterlag im Laufe seiner Zeit einigem Wandel bis zu seinem schrittweisen Verschwinden im Laufe des frühen Prinzipats. Eine zunehmende Abnutzung, aber auch die neue Rolle des *princeps* als alleinigen Entscheider in wichtigen Konflikten, machten Trauerszenen außerhalb von Gerichtssälen für die römische Nobilität obsolet. Auch wenn vereinzelt Akteure wie die kaiserliche Familie dieses Mittel noch nachweislich nutzten, wird deutlich, dass der Squalor seine Wirkmächtigkeit mit der Zeit verloren hatte und somit als Kampfmittel im politischen Alltag verschwand.

Der Squalor, der oft als *ultima ratio* der Ausführenden diente, konnte in sehr unterschiedlichen Situationen zur Anwendung kommen, in welchen versucht wurde, eine teils ausweglose Lage zum Besseren zu wenden – so die Aufhebung einer Verbannung, das Abwenden einer Verurteilung oder die Sühne für einen Mord. Der Ursprung des Phänomens ist dabei zu Beginn des 2. Jh. v. Chr. und damit in einer Phase zu suchen, in welcher Rom im Begriff war, zur dominierenden Macht im Mittelmeer aufzusteigen, was aber zur Folge hatte, dass innenpolitische Systemfehler nun offen zu Tage traten. Der Senat war nicht mehr in der Lage, die Ambitionen einzelner seiner Mitglieder im Streben nach Macht und Anerkennung zu erfüllen, sodass sich deren Fokus verstärkt auf die Innenpolitik richtete. Die Konkurrenz der *nobiles* untereinander trat offen zu Tage und mündete oft in Konflikte – eine entscheidende Voraussetzung für den Squalor, der nun oft genutzt wurde, um den Konflikt kommunikativ und performativ zu lösen.

Im Verlaufe der Arbeit gelingt es dem Autor die verschiedenen Eigenheiten und Ausprägungen des Phänomens herauszuarbeiten, wobei insbesondere immer wieder die Frage gestellt wurde, welche Mechanismen zum Gelingen, aber auch zum Scheitern eines Squalor beitragen konnten. Der trauertragende Protagonist musste dabei ein feines Gespür für die Anwendung verschiedener Symbole und Gesten haben und vor allem dafür, wie diese auf sein Publikum wirken mussten. Letzteres musste in die Lage versetzt werden, die Szenerie einordnen und die verschiedenen Zeichen miteinander verknüpfen zu können. Ein Squalor hatte keine Chance, wenn dieser vom Publikum nicht als solcher wahrgenommen oder in der jeweiligen Situation nicht für angemessen erachtet wurde. Das dargebotene Zeichenrepertoire bediente sich bei zahlreichen Elementen, die aus dem Trauerkontext bekannt waren. Dies reichte von der *mutatio vestis*, dem *planctus*, über verschiedene Elemente der Bestattungskultur (*pompa funebris*), bis zu Praktiken aus dem Kontext von Nahverhältnissen und Bittgesten. Nie kamen alle Elemente gemeinsam zum Einsatz, sondern es erfolgte eine wohl gewählte, der Situation angemessene Auswahl, die für den entsprechenden Anlass neu interpretiert wurde. Als ein wichtiges Ergebnis der Arbeit wird dabei die Flexibilität und Anpassungsfähigkeit der politischen Kultur in Rom verdeutlicht, die sich dadurch auszeichnete, dass einzelne Handlungen und Verhaltensweisen sehr variabel und kreativ handhabbar waren. Das Imitieren bestimmter Verhaltensweisen und deren Übertragung in einen anderen Kontext sollte Aufmerksamkeit erregen. Ob die Darbietung dann auch vom jeweiligen Publikum verstanden wurde, blieb unsicher und war von weiteren Faktoren abhängig.

Die zahlreichen Beispiele, die der Autor im Laufe der Studie vorstellt, unterstreichen die Vielseitigkeit des Squalors, sowohl in der Art seiner Darbietung, als auch in seinem oft komplizierten Wechselspiel mit dem Zielpublikum bzw. der Zielperson. So konnte deren Reaktion ebenfalls sehr unterschiedlich ausfallen – angefangen von kollektiver Missachtung, zu Sympathiebekundung, bis hin zu offener Gewalt. Das Risiko, das der Protagonist bei der Ausführung eines Squalor einging, war dabei immens, doch auch die Missachtung eines Traueraktes durch die Person, auf die der Akt abzielte, konnte schwerwiegende Folgen haben, wie Degelmann ebenfalls anschaulich beschreibt. Zuletzt war es sogar möglich, aktiv auf einen dargebotenen Trauerakt zu reagieren und dessen Stoßrichtung und Wirkmächtigkeit zu untergraben, wobei man sich ebenfalls eines umfangreichen Zeichenrepertoires bedienen konnte (S. 261). Es stellt sich hier aber auch die Frage, ob die Reaktionen immer so gut planbar waren, wie der Squalor selbst, da die Trauerakte vermutlich selten angekündigt waren und somit überraschend kamen. Reaktionen könnten daher also oft auch spontan erfolgt sein, um schnellstmöglich zu reagieren, da zu langes Warten wiederum als Schwäche ausgelegt werden konnte. Zumindest könnte man überlegen, ob man zwischen spontanen Reaktionen und durchgeplanten Gegenmaßnahmen unterscheiden kann.

Das benutzte Quellenmaterial umfasst vor allem die schriftliche Überlieferung, aber auch einzelne gut ausgewählte Gemmen und Münzen. Die akribisch zusammengetragenen Zeugnisse spiegeln die Thematik nicht nur adäquat wider, sondern bieten einen umfangreichen Einblick in die politische Streitkultur der römischen Republik und Frühen Kaiserzeit. Auffällig ist allerdings das Fehlen des maßgeblichen Livius-Kommentars von John Briscoe, der bei der ein oder anderen Stelle des in dieser Studie vielgenutzten Autors eine gewinnbringende Ergänzung darstellen dürfte. Der ansonsten vorbildlich und umfangreich zusammengetragene Forschungsstand rundet das Bild schließlich ab und belegt deutlich, dass Degelmann auf dem Gebiet der politischen Kommunikation absolut auf der Höhe der Zeit ist.

Die Studie von Christopher Degelmann fügt sich ausgezeichnet in das Forschungsfeld der politischen Kultur Roms ein und setzt gerade auf dem Gebiet der politischen Kommunikation neue Impulse. Die in dieser Form bisher noch nicht vorliegende Systematisierung des Phänomens Squalor füllt zudem eine wichtige Leerstelle und bietet zahlreiche Anknüpfungspunkte für weiterführende Studien. Das Werk kann also jedem Interessenten der politischen Streitkultur in Rom und politischer Kultur im Allgemeinen nur empfohlen werden.

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SONJA NADOLNY: *Die severischen Kaiserfrauen*. Palingenesia 104. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016. ISBN 978-3-515-11311-3. 257 S. EUR 52.

The female members of the Severan dynasty were some of the most influential and powerful women of the Roman Empire. Even so, they have generally received less attention in modern scholarship than the female members of other imperial dynasties. Scholars have also predominately focused on the representation of these women in literary sources, which only offers a limited and biased repre-

sensation of their lives. The work reviewed here aims to update modern understanding of the lives of these Severan women and their impact upon contemporary society. An interdisciplinary approach is taken for this examination, looking at the representation of these women in literary sources, on coins, and in inscriptions, focusing in particular on the four Julias of the dynasty, namely Domna, Mammaea, Maesa, and Soemias. Less attention is given to the wives of the Severan emperors, as these women were often quickly divorced and did not have enough time to establish their own representations. The book consists of five chapters, an introduction, bibliography, and appendixes. It argues that the female members of the Severan dynasty enjoyed a central political role as guarantors of dynastic legitimacy, something which, in part, argues against what is believed in current scholarship.

The introduction places this book within current scholarship and comments on some of the issues with the modern discussion of these women. Nadolny notes that while the roles of the Julias as mothers, grandmothers, and wives have previously been examined, none of these works have defined the position of these women within imperial rulership. Their position of power was in no way formally sanctioned and they have mainly been regarded in a negative light, as these women were viewed as ambitious and power-hungry. The negative image of these women is connected to the belief that their powerful position was a sign of the degeneration and 'Orientalization' of the Severan era, a notion which was successfully argued against in the 1970s by Kettenhofen (*Die syrischen Augustae in der historischen Überlieferung: ein Beitrag zum Problem der Orientalisierung*. Habelt, Bonn 1979).

This book, in particular, examines the self-representation of these women as a way of understanding their political and social position. Nadolny notes the importance of numismatic sources for this exploration as there are roughly 3000 coin types which were struck during this period. These coins illustrate the ways in which the emperor and members of his family wished to be seen and highlight personal traits and characteristics which they thought were the most important. How people in the provinces reacted to this imperial imagery is shown through an examination of provincial coinage and inscriptions. Imperial coinage is looked at in the second chapter while provincial inscriptions and coins are examined in the third. The chapters are richly illustrated with diagrams which show, among other things, the number of coins minted for each member of the imperial household, the distribution of mints, the occurrence of titles such as *mater castrorum* as well as the number of coins listed in certain corpora, for example SNG von Aulock.

The second chapter explores how imperial coinage was used by the members of the Severan dynasty as tools of self-representation as well as who precisely their intended audience was. Nadolny argues that these coins were mainly aimed at imperial and provincial elites as well as soldiers and, therefore, traditionally female attributes do not commonly occur on these coins. The Severan women are represented here as fully-fledged members of the dynasty and were depicted as guarantors of dynastic stability. Nadolny's examination of the *Mater* titles examines the connections between their role as mothers, the concept of family unity, and the fortune of Rome, also illustrating the social importance of these women.

The author examines provincial coins and inscriptions in the third chapter and looks at local reactions to imperial expressions of identity. The source material is approached with a methodology similar to the one applied in the previous chapter and special attention is again given to titles such as *Mater Augusti*. The epigraphic and numismatic sources are examined for whether the political and

social position of the women, represented as being a core part of the dynasty, was accepted by people in the provinces, and Nadolny's analysis shows that this was indeed the case.

The fourth chapter examines whether the literary sources, namely Cassius Dio, Herodian, and the *Historia Augusta*, present an alternative view to what is shown in numismatic and epigraphic sources. While this literary analysis is very comprehensive, little new is offered here and it is the chapters focusing on the representation of the Severan women in other types of sources which are the most important in understanding their societal impact and political role. Nadolny's systematic analysis of the available source material is especially commendable.

The strength of this work, thus, lies in its methodology and its focus on numismatic and epigraphic sources as well the analysis of the ways in which the Severan women were represented in these. While some of its conclusions are perhaps already familiar to people acquainted with this time period, this work presents an important updated understanding of the political and social representation of these women and will provide scholars a firm basis from which to undertake future research.

Ghislaine van der Ploeg

MARCEL DANNER: *Wohnkultur im spätantiken Ostia*. Kölner Schriften zur Archäologie 1. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017. ISBN 978-3-95490-128-9. X, 323 pp. EUR 78.

This richly illustrated book is the first in a new series of monographs, the *Kölner Schriften zur Archäologie*. This series aims to publish research which was undertaken at the Archaeological Institute at Cologne or that fits into the Institute's research themes. As such, the work presented in this book was undertaken as a doctoral dissertation at Cologne, completed in 2012.

This volume focuses on the presentation and discussion of Late Antique houses, dating to between the third and fifth centuries AD, that were located in the ancient city of Ostia. In undertaking this analysis, Danner aims to improve the current understanding of the urban development of Late Antique Ostia. The work consists of 15 chapters and an extensive catalogue which discusses the visible remains of 18 Late Antique houses located in Ostia. This extensive catalogue takes up about a third of this volume (pp. 189–295). Each catalogue entry lists the precise measurements of the building in question, excavation and restoration history, state of preservation, building techniques used, building history (including individual phases), inscriptions found, sculptures present in the house, detailed bibliography. One of the most important aspects of this catalogue is that it provides new and updated plans of the discussed *domus*. Permalinks to the ARACHNE archive are also given where scholars can access more detailed and colour-coded plans of these houses. The goal of the catalogue is to provide the reader with as transparent and comprehensive an overview as possible of the available evidence (p. 189).

The Introduction (Ch. 1) broadly lays out the aims of this work, mentioning that the publication history of these Late Antique houses has often been unsatisfactory in the past. This is something this work aims to rectify as well as to place these archaeological remains in their socio-historical context (p. 1). In undertaking a discussion of these *domus*, Danner wishes to create a pathway

for an examination into the 'Wohnkultur' of Late Antique Ostia, looking at the functional aspect of these houses as workplaces as well as spaces for social interaction. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the excavation and scholarly history of Ostia generally and also specifically of its building-history.

Chapter 3 introduces the methodology used here, especially highlighting the importance of the dating of the buildings in question. It also lays out the main research questions for this book. The next two chapters examine the second century AD urban development of Ostia (Ch. 4) but also the renewal which took place in the city during the Severan period (Ch. 5). Chapter 6 offers an overview of the urban development of Ostia from the third to the fifth century AD. The next three chapters (Ch. 7–9) each focus on individual aspects of these *domus*: their specific characteristics. The goal is not to follow or create a strict typology for these houses, but to examine which elements commonly occur and what this can reveal about how these houses were used. The outer walls and the differences between main and side entrances are discussed in Chapter 7 while Chapter 8 looks, among other things, at *tabernae*, porticoes, access to the rooms, and upper floors, systematically examining each of these elements. The decoration of these houses and how they were furnished is explored in Chapter 9, with attention given to floors, wall decorations, water-installations, kitchens and heating apparatus, and sculptural decorations.

With Chapter 10, Danner wants to address the question of how representative these Ostian houses were for the general 'Wohnkultur' of Late Antiquity, or if these developments were strictly regional in nature. He looks at the Late Antique houses in their context, comparing those in Ostia with the senatorial houses located in Rome, Northern Italy, Roman North Africa, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and with small villages in the western part of the empire. This comparative analysis reveals that, barring some smaller regional variations, the changes to domestic space were an empire-wide phenomenon, affecting houses all over the Mediterranean.

How these houses were used and the movements which took place within these *domus* is examined in Chapter 11, while Chapter 12 looks at the connections between the decoration of these houses and aristocratic ideals. Sub-chapters explore the importance of water installations (their placement in prominent positions within the house but also the location of these houses close to external water sources) as well as how marble was used as a way to display wealth and status. Chapter 13 examines who the people living in these houses were and also looks more generally at the inhabitants of Late Antique Ostia. Special attention is given to the senators who lived here and those who imitated them. This is followed by a chapter of conclusions (Ch. 14), a short summary of conclusions in English and Italian (Ch. 15), an extensive bibliography, alphabetical index, and list of illustrations.

The strength of this volume is two-fold. First, the extensive catalogue and detailed maps will prove to be an invaluable resource for future scholars examining Late Antique Ostia and its houses. The second is the analysis provided here, looking at the Ostian 'Wohnkultur', the wider urban developments which were taking place in the empire at this time, and how emblematic these Ostian *domus* were of these changes. Danner notes how the older peristyle tradition was maintained in the 3rd-century *domus* and how these luxurious dwellings were commonly located in the southern part of the city. The buildings located in the north of Ostia were not rebuilt after they fell into decay and ruin, but walls were constructed around these in order to hide them from view by the senatorial inhabitants of the city. The discussion of the significance of these houses as markers of urban change, and how they were used as markers of wealth and status, i.e., their social aspects, will attract a wide

audience. The dual approach provided here broadens the use of this work and make it highly valuable to scholars of Ostia and those looking at domestic space and living cultures more widely.

Ghislaine van der Ploeg

FEDERICA IURESCIA: *Credo iam ut solet iurgabit: Pragmatica della lite a Roma*. Studia Comica 9. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2019. ISBN 978-3-3946317-38-8. 267 pp. EUR 74.99.

The book begins by calling on the reader's personal experience, presuming that everyone will have been involved in a quarrel (It. *lite*) at least once in their life, either as a participant or a spectator, and will therefore know from direct experience that it is "a communicative exchange in which the participants use words explicitly as weapons to attack, offend, injure" (p. 9). This is the first definition of quarrel given in this book – it is in fact included in the very first paragraph – the first of many, since this is precisely what the author's method consists of: resolving case after case of quarrels in Roman theatre and novel, constantly refining its definition. And this is how the author, Federica Iurescia (hereafter F. I.), does it.

The introduction presents key concepts from the metalinguistic dictionary of pragmatics such as "face", "politeness" and "impoliteness". The author's is an extremely compact, economical and – so to speak – pragmatic approach: she reviews the recent studies of pragmatics while constantly and contemporarily updating the definition of a quarrel. The introduction concludes with examples of how to apply methods of linguistic pragmatics to material from dead languages: the author names her predecessors in historical pragmatics, noting that their number is constantly growing, meaning this book is also part of this movement. For a layman in linguistic pragmatics – such as the reviewer – a few examples of arguments could revive this very theoretical presentation. From the introduction it is especially clear that the book is a doctoral dissertation by the author: a very neat, exemplary one which is undoubtedly worthy of the highest quality evaluation and vast publication.

However, very soon the choice of deliberately dispensing with the examples in the introduction becomes particularly justified: the entire second chapter, the most extensive of the whole book (more than 80 pages out of 265), is devoted exclusively to examples. In fact, the number of pages allotted to the second chapter is even larger, as a further 60 pages of addenda are necessary to include the texts under discussion: Latin originals with a minimal key apparatus and the elegant translation thereof into Italian.

And here is how the author presents examples of quarrels in her work: first, grouping them by genre, the *palliata* (2.2) and the novel (2.5). Inside the first group, F. I. distinguishes quarrels between representatives of equally high origin, and therein between two *senes* (Ter. *An.* 144–149), or between wife and husband (Plaut. *Cas.* 228–278): this last kind has a variation when a husband has a double (Plaut. *Amph.* 675–854; *Men.* 707–752). The author continues further by analysing quarrels between characters of unequal status (2.2.2) and then proceeds with numerous examples of arguments between various representatives of the so-called *demi-monde* of Plautus: slaves, pimps, prostitutes, soldiers, merchants and usurers (2.2.3). Here, predictably, the material manifests a greater variety, a real treasure trove for an enthusiastic classifier. So, for example, in quarrels between slaves in Plautus's *Persa*,

F. I. individualizes, on one hand, a pure example of ‘impoliteness’ (a key concept of the theoretical frameworks of this book), and on the other, elements of a ritual repetitiveness: the *flagitatio*.

Similarly, the seven examples of quarrels taken from the novel are divided up in terms of the equality or inequality of the participants according to their status, and just like before – during the analysis of particular cases – new details are constantly added in addition to those seen earlier. For example, in the novel, quarrels, while maintaining the main, comical tonality, can be further developed from verbal fights to physical action. Finally, after extremely careful consideration of particular examples of quarrels in the *palliata* and novel, the author proceeds to the third and last chapter of her book which is completely devoted to the vocabulary of quarrels, and more precisely to four Latin terms: *iurgium*, *rixa*, *lis* and *altercatio*.

Until now, one other example has so far remained unmentioned: included in a separate sub-chapter (2.1), it deals with a quarrel between two old men in Terence’s *Adelphoe* (78–140), with which the demonstrative part of the book opens. This scene does not belong to either the *palliata* or the novel, but is chosen to initiate the presentation; it has a special status in terms of the structure of the whole book since Donatus – a native speaker from the fourth century – commented on it, giving us fairly direct access to the perception of the quarrel from within the culture itself. An analysis of this quarrel by Terence along with Donatus’s remarks sets the tone for the whole book.

Still, it would be more accurate to describe the author’s operations through a metaphor that comes from the world of biological sciences, rather than one from the world of music. Like botanists, anatomists, zoologists and other practitioners of natural history of the 19th century, F. I. goes through particular examples of quarrels to determine a type specimen. Just as they did, she is trying to look over random modifications in search of a prototype, a composite image that summarizes many individual features. Actually, this metaphor becomes most clear at the end, in the Conclusions, when the constant updating of the definitions of quarrel is graphically concluded in a series of tables. Each table summarizes the quarrel examples of one Roman author and the presence of quarrel elements is marked with ticks in it. What these tables show is how polythetic, in fact, are the classifications of quarrels extracted by F. I. from Roman authors. As is known, ‘polythetic’ means a classificatory approach based on traits that are common to many, but not necessarily all members of a group; in other words, the principle of “family resemblance” made famous by Ludwig Wittgenstein.

To sum up: due to the studied matter and approaches, this monograph – while without a doubt being a significant contribution to the field of historical pragmatics – will also be appreciated by those involved in the study of classifications in the ancient world.

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CHRISTINA WAWRZINEK: *Tore zur Welt. Häfen in der Antike*. Philipp von Zabern Verlag, Darmstadt 2016. ISBN 978-3-8053-4925-3. 224 pp. EUR 29.95.

One gets a good idea of the wide range of ports and motivations for ancient seafaring just by looking at the rich collection of illustrations included in this publication: ports in frescoes, on coins, mosa-

ics, oil lamps and columns. Moreover, the everyday work is depicted: shipbuilders with their tools, porters carrying amphorae, warships being kept in shipsheds.

The history of ancient seafaring and ship building is narrated from the point of view of ports and their development. For a long period of time, no special port constructions were needed, as natural bays with shallow water were used to simply beach the ships in order to get drinking water. The presentation is sometimes somewhat contradictory. The author states that it was first the Greeks and then the Romans who started building ports according to their needs and that the role of the Phoenicians in developing ports is so far unclear. The author does not mention that besides the Greeks, the Phoenicians are also credited with creating the triremes, which required a proper shipshed into which ships were hauled to allow the timber to dry out, and therefore, the Phoenicians too must have had some solutions for shipsheds. The author then gives details about the nature of the Phoenician coastline with few natural bays available and the structure of port constructions in Sidon and Tyros, where a sophisticated system was built of harbour basins connected to each other by canals. At Tyros and Atlit, there were also breakwaters built on underwater reefs. These ports were important as, among other things, they also served as ports for the Persian kings.

Generally, ports were built according to the need, and each port had different phases of development in terms of its size, capacity, the cargo it dealt with, etc. Dating the ports is tricky. The Roman invention, water concrete that enabled the building of port facilities in places where no natural prerequisites existed, makes an exception in that it is easier to date. To the discussion of Egyptian long-distance trade and inland navigation, one should add the seafaring and port constructions on the Red Sea.

The port of Carthage, built in the aftermath of the Second Punic War was one of the most sophisticated ports in the ancient world. However, it was built at the time when Carthage had already been made subordinate to Rome, losing its overseas territories, its war fleet and the right to independent foreign policy. It would be interesting to read more about how the Carthaginians kept ships previously and whether the places of natural anchorage really were sufficient for keeping and maintaining their fleets during the wars with Syracuse, Pyrrhus and the Romans, when fleets of 100 to 200 ships were often used on an annual basis, and exceptionally in the First Punic War when fleets with 200 to 300 ships were launched. After the destruction of the Punic state in 146, Carthage became the capital of the province *Africa proconsularis*, and naturally, the port was still used. It was an important city in the Vandal kingdom until the Byzantine infantry and fleet took the city in 533.

Representations of important ports and their archaeology continue with Alexandria, Elaia, Rhodos, Ostia, Portus and Sebastos in Caesarea in Israel for which there is the rare description by Josephus.

The chapter on the technology used in ports sheds light on mooring rings of stone; the ships were attached to these by rope directly, with no metal rings or wooden pillars needed as was previously thought. Moreover, the development in the building techniques of piers and breakwaters is discussed, taking examples from Knidos, Piraeus, Delos and Puteoli. Besides rocks and concrete, timber was used; for this, the best-preserved examples come from Xanten on the Lower Rhine and London, where the different phases of the construction can be observed.

The original depth of the harbour basins is hard to determine. The basin at Ephesos seems to have been 4 metres deep, but ports were able to operate with the depth of just two metres or less in the basins. The form of the basins depended on the natural circumstances but became more regulated

as the ports became part of the general city plan. Cranes were used to load and unload goods. As to the supply of fresh drinking water, wells, aqueducts, and tanks for collecting water have been discovered. Entrance to ports was regulated, keeping off pirates and other unwanted intruders. The author discusses the concept of *kleistos limen*, a fortified and closed port in which was included the chain, the *kleithron*, that was placed at the mouth of the port. Here, besides the archaeological evidence, one could also mention Philo's *Poliorketika* (90–104) that contains instructions about how to defend against attacks from the sea and how to lay siege and attack a city from the sea. Lighthouses are discussed, starting with the Pharos in Alexandria, its funding and its advanced technical construction with concave mirrors and how it was the forerunner of many other lighthouses in antiquity.

The question of the location of shipyards is tricky: were they located close to the ports or kept separately? The great risk of losing vessels and timber by fire accidentally or by enemy action speaks for a separate location. The author makes the point that archaeological findings with tools and timber supplies close to a known port are easily interpreted as a shipyard, whereas a similar discovery far from a maritime context can be interpreted to be something else. Archaeological excavations have nevertheless uncovered some verified shipyards by the sea and on rivers; however, we cannot always know whether it was a question of taking a ship apart to salvage the usable parts and destroy the rest, or of improving an existing vessel or whether it was about building brand new ships. All these functions took place in antiquity. For instance, in Athens, we have inscriptions recording ships, their condition and usable parts in store, and in Rome, Livy narrates tales of many military campaigns that were started by checking the condition of the existing ships in shipsheds and repairing them and then, if needed, building new ships to reach the number required for the fleet.

The chapter about the system and network deals with a wide number of issues concerning cargo and its transport: what kind of jobs there were in the ports, how goods were packed and transported in amphorae and sacks, how the ancient customs system worked and who funded the building of ports. A large section deals with the port area in Rome with the history of the excavations.

The chapter about naval ports contains observations about various issues; how the ports got a place in the city plan as we know from examples at Naxos, Rhodes and Alexandria, and how cities such as Knidos, Athens and Thasos developed new defence strategies to protect the ports from the developing artillery and other threats. This discussion repeats what has already been dealt with when speaking about the technology in ports. A lengthy discussion follows about Piraeus. It is mistaken to say that the Romans had never been involved in a sea battle before the First Punic War, or that a more permanent fleet only came about in the first century B.C. The fleet played a crucial role in Rome's overseas expansion, forcing first the Carthaginians, and then Philip and Antiochus to build fleets in an arms race which Rome won, forbidding the defeated enemies from keeping proper fleets.

Ancient ports make a constantly growing topic in research; this book presents research questions and gives copious information about the archaeological discoveries in a wide geographical area. Perhaps a different structure would have served better; now the presentation at some points repeats what has already been said. A list of ancient texts in German translation is included as well as a bibliography and an index of places.

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