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SUMMAE AUCTORUM GRAECORUM LATINORUMQUE

FENNICE INTERPRETIS

(27 VIII 1935 – 9 II 2021)

TRANSFER OF PROPERTY
IN AN OSTIAN PROFESSIONAL *CORPUS*
**Sexti Sextilii and Lucii Iulii among the *lenuncularii* in *CIL* XIV
251, and a Possible Effect of the ‘Antonine Plague’***

CHRISTER BRUUN

The membership registers (*alba*) of the *lenuncularii tabularii auxiliarii Ostienses*

Rome’s harbour town Ostia is famous among Roman social and economic historians because of its rich evidence for professional associations. The many inscriptions which originated in the context of these *collegia* and *corpora* allow modern scholars to investigate certain questions pertaining to Roman trade and commerce that other sources are silent about.

Practically unique to Ostia are the many *alba*, or membership registers inscribed on marble plaques, which seem to reflect the success or failure of individuals and families in various trades and professions. The present study looks at *CIL* XIV 250 and 251, two *alba* of the *corporati lenuncularii tabularii auxiliarii Ostienses*, an association of ship owners, shippers, and perhaps captains who operated *lenunculi* in the harbours of Ostia and Portus and on the lowest course of the Tiber.¹ Table 1 below charts the presence of the most common family names among the members of the association. Not all members joined or held their membership at the same time, since it appears that the two tables

* I am grateful to the two anonymous referees for helpful comments, and I also wish to thank Nicolas Tran for kindly supplying me with texts published and still in proofs, and Olli Salomies for wise counsel.

¹ It is often thought that the *lenunculi* were tugboats or ferries; see Casson 1965, 34; Le Gall 2005, 262–83. Tran 2014, 136–37 preferred to consider *lenunculi* as lighters assisting in loading and unloading.

received additions over time, while the names of members who died or left were not removed.² The second of these *album* was begun in 192 CE, forty years after the first one, which obviously will have registered new members only up to a certain point. To judge from three preserved inscribed fragments, it appears that in the four decades between *CIL* XIV 250 and 251 the *corporati lenuncularii tabularii auxiliarii Ostienses* may have commissioned three other membership *alba*.³

It is similarly clear that in *CIL* XIV 251, names continued to be added after the initial year 192, possibly until 213 CE, which is the date of a third clearly identifiable *album* of the same association.⁴ After the general picture has thus been outlined, this study will focus on what arguably are traces of the transfer of property between some members of the association.

² Royden 1988, 38–41; Herz 1994, 295–96. For a general overview of the *corpus* of *lenuncularii tabularii auxiliarii Ostienses* and its leadership, see Royden 1988, 38–50.

³ The inscriptions which may be evidence of other *alba* are *CIL* XIV 4567, 4568, and 4589. They both contain a section from the fourth and last column of *CIL* XIV 250 from 152 CE with only very few changes: *CIL* XIV 4567 lists nine of the ten names in col. IV.1–10, while *CIL* XIV 4568 lists fourteen of the eighteen names in col. IV.2–20. It is not possible to determine which of these fragmentary lists is earlier. The existence of additional intermediate *alba* between those of 152 and 192 CE was stressed by Tran 2012, 335 n. 44; while Tran 2020, 95 n. 49 inadvertently wrote that *CIL* XIV 4567, 4668, and 4589 belonged to a single *album*. *CIL* XIV 4589 contains short and very fragmentary remains of two columns, and to judge from the endings of the *cognomina*, the names in col. I.2–10 seem to agree completely with the nine names in col. IV.1–9 of *CIL* XIV 250.

⁴ The third *album* was published by Bloch 1953, 279–82 no. 42 in the *Notizie degli Scavi*.

<i>CIL XIV 250 (begun in 152 CE)</i> ⁵ Most common combinations of <i>praenomen</i> + <i>gentilicium</i> among 131 men, both members and the leadership (including non-senatorial <i>patroni</i>)	<i>CIL XIV 251 (begun in 192 CE)</i> Most common combinations of <i>praenomen</i> + <i>gentilicium</i> among 260 men (<i>plebs</i> and <i>quinquennales</i>)
M. Cornelius 11 T. Cornelius 11 L. Iulius 8 M. Antistius 6 M. Cippius 6 M. Lollius 5 M. Publicius 5 C. Vatronius 5	M. Publicius 31 M. Cornelius 22 M. Cippius 14 L. Furius 13 T. Flavius 7 A. Herenuleius 6 Sex. Sextilius 6 P. Aelius 5 D. Otacilius 5

Table 1: *Conspicuous presence of individuals with the same praenomen + gentilicium among the corporati lenuncularii tabularii auxiliarii Ostienses – change over time.*⁶

Table 1 permits us to study how the membership of the association developed over a period of several decades. Remarkable changes occurred. Some family alliances (“Familienverbände” is the term introduced for this phenomenon by Peter Herz)⁷ have a much stronger presence in the later *album*,

⁵ For a photo of the inscription, see Tran 2012, 336 Fig. 4.

⁶ Somewhat annoyingly, there is no agreement among recent scholars about the frequencies attributed to the various *gentilicia*, probably because men who were registered both as members and as *quinquennales* are sometimes counted twice, and sometimes not; cf. Royden 1988, 96 “the M. Publicii (twenty-eight in all)” on *CIL XIV 251*; Herz 1994; Tran 2006, 438. Cf. Tran 2020, 95: “There are 127 *corporati* on the first list and 261 on the second”. In theory, no discrepancies should occur since the count can be verified by carefully studying the pages of *CIL XIV*.

⁷ Herz 1994. There is no proof that ties of any kind existed between the men who shared *praenomen* + *gentilicium*, like the eleven Marci Cornelii did, but what we know about Roman economic life in general makes it very likely (unless we are dealing with the most common name combinations that ultimately could be traced back to the various emperors, such as *Gaius Iulius*, *Tiberius Iulius*, *Titus Flavius*, and so on). A successful Roman businessman operated in close contact with his freed slaves (who bore his *praenomen* + *gentilicium*), and it stands to reason that he might also involve his descendants, who bore the same *gentilicium* and often shared his *praenomen*, like some of his close kinsmen might have done as well.

while in contrast some names are much rarer or disappear completely in the later register. This disappearance would seem to mean that within some family alliances the business did not continue into the next generation. There is no obvious reason for why some families should have disappeared or been seriously weakened, but some conjectures present themselves naturally: there may have been no surviving son and no interested freedman to continue the business at the death of the family head, or the business may no longer have been viable.

Those who thrived were the Marci Cornelii, who went from eleven to twenty-two presences in the later *album*, and more than any the Marci Publicii, who increased more than six-fold and registered thirty-one individuals in the *album* which was begun in 192 CE. The Titi Flavii, present with one man in *CIL* XIV 250, increased to seven. Among the newcomers there were six Sexti Sextilii, while the Publii Aelii and the Decimi Otacilii, who likewise were not present in the earlier *album*, both register five members. Strong changes in the other direction are registered for the eleven Titi Cornelii, the eight Lucii Iulii, the six Marci Antistii, and the five Gaii Vatronii. These “Familienverbände”, by all appearances involved in successful business enterprises during the earlier period, had disappeared by 192 but for one single T. Cornelius and one M. Antistius.

Part of the picture is, as the *CIL* XIV editor Dessau pointed out, that several men who were registered in the earlier *album* appear again when the register was drawn up anew in 192.⁸ It is noteworthy but also expected that the “survivors” all appear in the fourth and last column of *CIL* XIV 250, which contained the most recent entries. These men were presumably the youngest of those registered in the earlier *album* and most likely to be around when a later *album* was commissioned. There are, nevertheless, some odd features in this pattern. Of the forty-six names in col. IV (of which one was marked as deceased), it is nos. 3, 8 10, 12–14, 28, 34, and 44 which were recorded in the *album* from 192 CE. As can be seen, almost all belong to the first third of that column, while the vast majority of the last entries, presumably the youngest members, were no longer around in 192. Whether we should look for an especially dramatic cause

⁸ See H. Dessau, *ad CIL* XIV 251, where eleven men who appeared also in *CIL* XIV 250 are listed (their location in the earlier *album* are registered in parentheses): M. Publicius Ianuarius (col. IV.12), M Publicius Ostiensis (IV.13), P. Cornelius Phoebus (III.17), A. Mucius Malus (III.28), A. Herenuleius Philetianus (IV.3), A. Herenuleius Vettianus (IV.8), T. Manlius Manlianus (IV.10), M. Furius Primitivus (IV.14), Q. Marcius Rufinus (IV.28), M. Cippius Natalianus (IV.34), M. Cornelius Fortunatus (IV.44).

for this situation, a cause other than regular economic mechanisms, will be asked at the end of this article.

The “Familienverbände” of the Lucii Iulii and the Sexti Sextilii

It becomes meaningful to ask why these changes in the names recorded in the two *alba* took place only when we focus on “Familienverbände”. On the contrary, if a family name which is borne by only one or two individuals in *CIL* XIV 250 is no longer found in *CIL* XIV 251, this event is not worth much attention: it is a law of nature that individuals pass away, that some have no descendants, and that some enterprises will fail. Similarly, if a new family name appears in the later *album*, borne by one or two individuals, this is merely a sign of a naturally occurring enterprising spirit. But when the changes involve more individuals, so that we can talk about family alliances or “Familienverbände”, a closer study may tell us something about the economic or other mechanisms that influenced Ostian society.

All we currently have is the list of names in *CIL* XIV 250 and 251, but precisely this onomastic material may in one particular case deliver a hint of how the change came about.⁹ In *CIL* XIV 251, initiated in 192 CE, the name *Iulianus* is borne by six different members:

- the equestrian Sex. Sextilius Iulianus *f(i)lius* (mentioned among the *patroni* of equestrian rank in column I, line 9)¹⁰
- Sex. Sextilius Iulianus *pater* (one of the *patroni* at I.11; mentioned among the *plebs* at III.19)
- Sex. Sextilius Iulianus *iunior* (IV.8)
- Sex. Sextilius Verus Iulianus (VIII.16)

⁹ This matter has not been commented upon in previous scholarship; neither Herz 1994, 323–24 nor Tran 2006, 430–40, Tran 2012, nor Tran 2020 refer to the question which will be discussed here.

¹⁰ It is clear that in *CIL* XIV 251 there are three different men called Sex. Sextilius Iulianus. Third among the equestrian *patroni* is a man with the epithet *f(i)lius*. His name must have been entered at the inception, in 192 CE, and he cannot be Sex. Sextilius Iulianus *iunior* at IV.8, who likely was his son. This was also the conclusion of Hermann Dessau in his commentary in *CIL* XIV, *ad loc.* Dessau also pointed to a similar situation regarding the second of the equestrian *patroni*, L. Furius Publicius Marcellinus; a homonym appears at VIII.1, who clearly is not the same man.

- Sex. Sextilius Florus Iulianus (VIII.24),
- M. Faenius Iulianus (VIII.32).

A first onomastic observation to make concerns the name combination Sex. Sextilius, which is extremely rare. All the Ostian Sexti Sextilii known to us are mentioned in *CIL* XIV 251,¹¹ and in the Roman world as a whole this name combination appears in only ten other inscriptions, about half of which are from Italy.¹² The *gentilicium* *Sextilius* is more common, but it is usually accompanied by the *praenomina* *Publius* or *Gaius*. In light of this, it is clear that all seven Sexti Sextilii in *CIL* XIV 251 have a mutual bond and constitute a true “Familienverband” which also includes Sex. Sextilius Victorinus (at VI.2) and Sex. Sextilius Alexander (at VII.1), even if these men do not bear the *cognomen* *Iulianus*.

Second, it is remarkable to see the name *Iulianus*, which to be sure is a very common Latin *cognomen*, appearing with such a frequency among men named Sex. Sextilius. A search in the epigraphic database Claus Slaby shows that among the many thousands of persons found in Ostian inscriptions, the name *Iulianus* turns up a total of twenty-eight times (when government officials and soldiers, who were not of local origin, are excluded).¹³ That six of these instances occur in *CIL* XIV 251 seems like more than a coincidence.

Here, one cannot help but thinking of the many Lucii Iulii who belonged to the same association in 152 CE and in subsequent years and were registered in *CIL* XIV 250. When this fact is combined with the frequency of the *cognomen* *Iulianus* in 192 and after, while the Lucii Iulii have disappeared, the suspicion

¹¹ There is also the fragmentary inscription *AE* 2001, 622, belonging to the *album* of an association, which lists the names of some ten men, *patroni* and *quinquennales*. The inscription is to be dated to the early third century (thus, e.g., Tran 2012, 340–43), and the man called Sex. Sextilius Iulianus in the inscription is undoubtedly one of the two men by that name who are cited in *CIL* XVI 251.

¹² The number is based on the Latin inscriptions in the EDCS, see *CIL* III 11662, V 6121, V 6431 (= *ILS* 6743), VI 26506, XI 7400 = I²3356, XIII 5919; *AE* 1912, 8; *AE* 1993, 475. I doubt that an inventory of Greek inscriptions would change the picture.

¹³ Besides the five in *CIL* XIV 251, men named Iulianus are found in *CIL* XIV 246, 250, 256 (four, of which three notably enough are called Ulpius Iulianus), 518, 661, 763, 900, 934, 1329, 1456, 1540, 4563, 4855, 5357; *IPO* A 179, 184; *EpOst* 446, 565; *NSc* 1953, 280. There are also seven women called Iuliana. One of the anonymous referees reports that the Epigraphic Database Roma registers 48 instances of *Iulianus* from Ostia. I stand by what I wrote: outsiders (officials and soldiers) are not included, nor is any individual counted more than once.

arises that a transition in ownership had taken place. Could it be that, somehow, what had belonged to the Lucii Iulii had become property of a number of Sexti Sextilii (and perhaps of one Faenius), while the *cognomen Iulianus* stood as a testimony to this process?

If this is what happened, how should we imagine the situation to have evolved? In the case of the elder Sextilius in columns I.11 and III.19 (*CIL* XIV 251), there is, as mentioned, nothing particular in itself about his *cognomen Iulianus*. We can note that it was so significant a name that it was given to his son to bear as well, but again, it is not uncommon to find sons who inherit a *cognomen*, as was the case with Titus the son of the emperor Vespasian (his original *tria nomina* were T. Flavius Vespasianus), or with the emperor Trajan, whose father also was named M. Ulpius Traianus.

Could the *cognomen Iulianus* be the result of a testamentary adoption?

If one wanted to derive the *cognomen Iulianus* from the Lucii Iulii, two explanations are possible.

(1) *Cognomina* in *-anus* (or *-ianus*, as they are categorized by some scholars) are sometimes a sign of adoption, as when in the second century BCE the younger Scipio Africanus, born as the son of Aemilius Paullus, became P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus through adoption.¹⁴ More to the point, such cases can be found also during the Principate in the epigraphic evidence, as stated in Olli Salomies's authoritative study of adoptive nomenclature. Among the many variations that occur, there is one, by Salomies called model B, in which the man adopted by testament bears a name in which the two first elements belong to the adoptive father while his new *cognomen*, ending in *-anus*, is derived from the adoptee's own *gentilicium*. Thus, if a Sex. Sextilius had adopted someone named L. Iulius in his testament, the adoptee had the option of being called Sex. Sextilius Iulianus.¹⁵

¹⁴ On *cognomina* in *-anus* derived from *gentilicia*, see Kajanto 1965, 32–35, with p. 33 on such names originating through an adoption.

¹⁵ See Salomies 1992, 23.

To be sure, Salomies considered it quite rare that during the Principate such an onomastic formula would result from an adoption,¹⁶ but it is in any case worth considering what such a scenario would entail. First of all, we must assume that some kind of relationship existed between a boat owner, a *lenuncularius*, named L. Iulius, and a man of some financial means named Sex. Sextilius, who as far as we know was not a member of the *lenuncularii*. Nor would he ever be one, because he died, and out of friendship or for some other reason he left a bequest to L. Iulius. This is a testamentary adoption or a *condicio nominis ferendi*, and therefore the man who inherited from Sex. Sextilius as a consequence took over his *praenomen* + *gentilicium* and added Iulianus as an indication, possibly important for his own identity, that he was the “Iulian” Sex. Sextilius. This was a win-win situation: the adoptee grew richer while Sex. Sextilius on his death bed knew that his name would live on; he likely had no offspring.¹⁷

However, the *cognomen Iulianus* is found in three other instances (besides those of Sextilus Iulianus *pater*, *filius*, and *iunior*). Also the names of Sex. Sextilius Verus Iulianus, Sex. Sextilius Florus Iulianus, and M. Faenius Iulianus (at VIII.32 in the *album*) need to be explained. If the latter case is not an unrelated phenomenon but part of the same story, one has to imagine that one M. Faenius was in a similar situation as old Sex. Sextilius: he too had been charmed by someone among the Lucii Iulii who owned a *lenunculus* so that he decided to leave him a bequest on the condition that the survivor lived the rest of his life as “M. Faenius Iulianus”. This is not impossible, but the *cognomen Iulianus* could obviously have other explanations.¹⁸

In this scenario, the way in which the two other Sexti Sextilii, Verus Iulianus and Florus Iulianus, acquired their *cognomen Iulianus* must have been different. In Salomies’s study from 1992, the name formula labelled “A” consists of *praenomen* of the adoptee + *gentilicium* of the adoptee + *cognomen* of the

¹⁶ Salomies 1992, 23; Salomies 2014, 512, 526.

¹⁷ As noted above, there are no known Sexti Sextilii in Ostia besides those cited in *CIL* XIV 251 (since *AE* 2001 622 names a previously known individual), and only two in Rome (*CIL* VI 26506).

¹⁸ For what it is worth, Faenius Iulianus is the only one among the Iuliani who appears in the later and quite incompletely preserved *album* of the *lenuncularii* which is dated to 213 (see *NSc* 1953, 280 no. 42).

adoptee OR *cognomen* of the adopted + *cognomen* in -anus.¹⁹ This opens up another possibility: The same old Sex. Sextilius may have included more than one L. Iulius among the men to whom he left a bequest in his testament, namely two men called L. Iulius Florus and L. Iulius Verus. They both kept their *cognomen*, added *Iulianus* as a second *cognomen*, and continued the Iulian family tradition among the *lenuncularii* under a new *gentilicium*.

A glance at the *cognomina* which were used by the eight Lucii Iulii in *CIL* XIV 250, the earlier *album*, reveals that Latin *cognomina* indeed are common with six (Memor twice, Iulianus, Victor, Florentinus, Felicianus) against two Greek ones (Anatellon, Democritus). Therefore, two younger Lucii Iulii, heirs to any of these eight men, may well have been given the Latin *cognomina* *Florus* and *Verus*. Once adopted by testament by the same old Sex. Sextilius, each would have kept his distinct *cognomen* while adding Iulianus as a tribute to their original *gens*.

Another possibility is that Sex. Sextilius Florus Iulianus and Sex. Sextilius Verus Iulianus are sons either of Sex. Sextilius Iulianus *pater* or, more probably, of Sex. Sextilius Iulianus *filius*. Florus and Verus are registered so late in *CIL* XIV 251, half-way down in the eighth and last column, at numbers 16 and 24, that many years must have passed after in 192 CE, at the very outset of the *album*. Sex. Sextilius Iulianus *filius* was included among the *patroni* of equestrian rank. We can assume that at the time he was an adult man and sons of his could become *corporati* some fifteen years later.

Before discussing the plausibility of this scenario and whether any general conclusions can be drawn from it, there is another possible explanation for the *cognomen Iulianus* to consider.

***Iulianus* as a *cognomen* derived from the mother's family name**

(2) Alternatively, one might suggest that a female member of a family of Lucii Iulii, a family active as *lenuncularii*, a woman who evidently was called Iulia, married a Sex. Sextilius. Their son was given the *cognomen Iulianus*, which harked back to the mother's family, surely as a form of *homage*. One again the Flavian dynasty provides an example of how this played out in a senatorial family,

¹⁹ Salomies 1992, 20–22.

in that the mother of the first emperor was called Vespasia Polla; this gave origin to the *cognomen* Vespasianus.²⁰

This model can explain the names of Sex. Sextilius Iulianus, father, son, and probable grandson, but there are two other Sextilii who need to be accommodated in this scenario, Sex. Sextilius Verus Iulianus and Sex. Sextilius Florus Iulianus. If we believe that the naming pattern in *CIL* XIV 251 is best explained by assuming the existence of only one married couple consisting of a Sextilius and a Iulia, these two men ought to be younger brothers of Sex. Sextilius Iulianus *iunior*. Their place in the *album*, where they were added several columns after the youngest Sextilius Iulianus, indicates that they reached their positions at a later time. The interest in referring to the “House of the Iulii” persisted.

For the history of the “Familienverbände” among the *lenuncularii* this scenario would mean that of the eight Lucii Iulii registered as members in the *album* which covered the period from 152 CE to a moment in time when the next *album* of the *corporati* was incised, all died without offspring (or without sons interested in operating *lenunculi*) and with no freedmen capable of continuing the business. Instead, a considerable portion of the family’s wealth evolved unto one female member, who brought it with her into her marriage with a man named Sex. Sextilius. Her wealth probably in part consisted of *lenunculi*, and this opened up a path for a family of Sextilii to engage in this sector of Ostia’s economic life.

In this scenario, it is important to consider the evidence, presented and discussed above in note 3, for additional *alba* of this professional association which have to be inserted between *CIL* XIV 250 from 152 CE and *CIL* XIV 251 from 192. If there were indeed three further such membership registers and if we assume that they were drawn up with a certain regularity, there would be ten years between them (a pattern which obviously agrees well with the five-year periods to which the office of *quinquennalis* among the *lenuncularii* refers). This again would mean that all the Lucii Iulii among the *lenuncularii* belong to a period which ended in the early 160s. Later, they are not found in this particular context.

It may be noted that one L. Iulius Romulus, *eques Romanus*, was a *decurio* at Ostia, perhaps in the late second or early third century, as shown by the

²⁰ In general, for this way of acquiring a *cognomen* ending in -anus and derived from a *gentilicium*, see Kajanto 1965, 33.

epitaph he and a relative (his sister?) erected to his two parents, both bearing the family name Iulius. It is obviously possible that his branch of the Lucii Iulii thrived, while all the men bearing such names among the *lenuncularii* did not. In any case, the apparent existence of several *alba* of the *lenuncularii* within the forty-year period 152–192 means that the concentration of Lucii Iulii in a first phase, in *CIL* XIV 250, is even more noteworthy, as is their later disappearance. Whether it is plausible that all the wealth of the Lucii Iulii had evolved onto a single woman will be further discussed below, within a somewhat larger context.

Did testamentary adoption lead to identical name formulas among senators and sub-elite Romans?

When discussing further whether either of these two scenarios is convincing (or possibly both), and whether any wider conclusions can be drawn from the above arguments, there is first an onomastic observation by Olli Salomies to consider. As mentioned above, Salomies has emphasized that during the Principate it became very rare indeed that testamentary adoptions were characterized by the creation of *cognomina* in -ianus (note 16 above). This habit was replaced by a name formula in which one finds “*praenomen* of adopter + *nomen* of adopter + *nomen* of adopted + *cognomen* of adopted” (PNNC), or by the slightly longer “*praenomen* of adopter + *nomen* of adopter + *cognomen* of adopter + *nomen* of adopted + *cognomen* of adopted” (PNCNC). This practice gave origin to polyonymous nomenclature.²¹

However, Salomies noted that his study primarily concerned the “upper social classes”,²² and indeed the examples that he cited overwhelmingly belong to the senatorial order. The reason is simple: the additional personal information which is required for any biographical-onomastic conclusions is usually only available for senators and *equites Romani*. The question now becomes if testamentary adoption was also practiced among other layers of the Roman population. Obviously, the issue can only have been of real interest to that part of the population which had property to bequeath, but this group surely included precisely the professionally active *corporati* and *collegiati* of Ostia.

²¹ For the change to names of the type PNNC or PNCNC, see Salomies 2014, 512.

²² Salomies 2014, 511.

Salomies cited a few cases of testamentary adoption resulting in names in -ianus from outside the the senatorial and equestrian orders,²³ and another example is found in *CIL* XI 4815 = *ILS* 6638 (from Spoletium), in which the *quattuorvir* C. Torasius C. f. Hor(atia tribu) Severus has a son called P. Meclanius Proculus Torasianus. Clearly, the son had been adopted by a man called P. Meclanius, without becoming estranged from his real father. Whether the *cognomen* Proculus was the son's original name or the *cognomen* of the adopter is unclear.

It is well-known that the development of the Roman naming system throughout its history was tightly intertwined with social status.²⁴ In my view it is worth asking if we must assume that the onomastic practice among the “professional middle class” during the Principate necessarily in every way mirrored the development among the elite. Salomies has unquestionably shown that as we move into the imperial period, the old way of marking testamentary adoption is replaced by polyonymy, a much more extensive and also impressive way of flaunting the social connections of a senator or *equus Romanus*. But is this development not intended precisely to create a new onomastic and social distinction, in a situation when the sub-elite Romans are beginning to imitate the old practice? Professionally active Romans were growing wealthier during the Principate and there were legacies to distribute to friends and relatives. This demographic group was arguably keen to copy an onomastic habit which by then was well-established in the senatorial order, and so the creation of *cognomina* ending in -ianus to mark testamentary adoption in the “professional middle class” gained momentum. All this while the senatorial order was already moving on to an extensive polyonymous nomenclature.

The scenario presented in the previous paragraph is obviously nothing more than a tentative hypothesis. In the following, an analysis of the onomastic practice in several Ostian professional associations and, for comparative purposes, in one large contemporary group of men from Rome, will show whether any support for the proposal can be found.

²³ Salomies 1992, 20–23.

²⁴ For a recent authoritative account, see Solin 2013, 744–72.

***Cognomina* in -anus among Ostian professional associations**

The first hypothesis presented above assumed that a certain Sex. Sextilius in his testament included three or four Lucii Iulii, men who (we must assume) either were active as *lenuncularii* or were about to enter the business. In itself such a series of events would, however, only be one episode among many business transactions and transfers of property that surely every year took place among the *lenuncularii* of Ostia. An important question is if we are dealing with a more frequently encountered pattern, one that would warrant a more general explanation.

As seen below in Table 2, it turns out that *cognomina* like *Iulianus*, ending in -anus and formed from *gentilicia*, are conspicuously common in *CIL* XIV 251, the *album* of the *lenuncularii* begun in 192 CE. In total, twenty-seven *cognomina* of this type appear in the inscription, for a total of over ten per cent.²⁵ Names in -anus which were derived from *cognomina* (like *Euprepetianus* in *CIL* XIV 251 or *Zosimianus* in *CIL* XIV 246) are naturally not relevant here, since they cannot reveal a testamentary adoption.

A comparison with other fairly large groups of men from the same historical period shows that this proportion of -anus names in *CIL* XIV 251 is unusually high. Table 2 presents the results for the five other Ostian inscriptions in which large numbers of men are listed with their *cognomina* intact. As a control group, a well-known and contemporary inscription from Rome is included, a so-called *laterculus* registering *vigiles* (firefighters) from 205 CE. These men were not involved in business enterprises like the Ostian *corporati* and *collegiati*, and they are unlikely to belong to wealthy sub-elite families. *A priori*, Roman *vigiles* cannot be expected to have been parties to a testamentary adoption particularly often. If the above hypothesis holds some truth, the *cognomina* of the *vigiles* should be different in form.

²⁵ The names among the *plebs* are, in the order in which they appear: Vettianus, Manlianus, Decianus, Veturianus, Titianus, Marcianus, Valerianus, Iulianus, Iulianus (2), Aelianus, Statilianus, Musidianus, Lucilianus, Cornelianus, Hedianus, Marcianus (2), Marcianus (3), Herennianus, Annianus, Arrianus, Iulianus (3), Arrianus (2), Iulianus (4), Valerianus (2), Iulianus (5), Quintilianus. Among the *quinquennales* there is the *cognomen* Valerianus borne by a man who is not otherwise listed; this brings the total to twenty-seven.

1. Text	2. Nature of group; size	3. Date	4. Number of relevant <i>cognomina</i> ending in <i>-anus</i>	5. Percentage of all <i>cognomina</i>	6. Percentage of Latin <i>cognomina</i>
CIL XIV 251	the <i>corpus lenunculariorum tabulariorum auxiliarensium Ostiensium</i> ; 260 <i>cognomina</i> (including the <i>quinquennales</i>)	192 CE and later	27 (see n. 25)	10.4 %	16 % (of 169 names)
<i>CIL XIV 246</i>	a group of men who <i>pecuniam ad ampliandum templum contulerunt</i> ; ²⁶ 179 <i>cognomina</i>	between 140 and c. 172 CE	7 ²⁷	3.8 %	5.8 % (of 121 names)
<i>CIL XIV 250</i>	the <i>corpus lenunculariorum tabulariorum auxiliarensium Ostiensium</i> ; 125 <i>cognomina</i> (including the <i>patroni</i> from within the <i>corpus</i>)	152 until c. 190 CE	12 ²⁸	9.6 %	13.8 % (of 87 names)

²⁶ The group was closely linked to the *corpus (scaphariorum et) lenunculariorum* traiectus Luculli; for a survey of opinions see Bruun 2016A, 362 n. 6; that the two groups were identical is stressed by Tran 2012, 327–32; Tran 2020, 100 n. 65.

²⁷ The names are, in the order in which they are listed: Sossianus, Cincianus, Nasennianus, Iulianus, Geminianus, Volusianus, Terentianus.

²⁸ The names are, in the order in which they are listed: Marcianus, Iunianus, Caecilianus, Iulianus, Atinianus, Aurelianus, Pompeianus, Iunianus, Hedianus, Vettianus, Manlianus, Cornelianus.

<i>CIL</i> XIV 256	the <i>corpus fabrum navalium</i> of Portus; 345 <i>cognomina</i>	early III c. CE ²⁹	19 ³⁰	5.5 %	7.8 % (of 243 names)
<i>CIL</i> XIV 4569	the <i>numerus caligato-rum decuriarum XVI</i> (= the <i>fabri tignuarii</i>); 328 men	198 CE	19 ³¹	5.8 %	8.1 % (of 233 names)
<i>NSc</i> 1953, 283 no. 43	<i>fabri navales</i> of Ostia; ³² 81 <i>cognomina</i>	late II / early III c. CE	2 ³³	2.5 %	3.8 % (of 52 names)
<i>CIL</i> VI 1056	the <i>cohors I vigilum</i> in Rome; 490 men	205 CE	22 ³⁴	4.5 %	5.5 % (of 401 names)

Table 2: *Cognomina* ending in -anus which are derived from *gentilicia*.

Based on this evidence, which shows that the percentage of -anus *cognomina* derived from *gentilicia* usually is between *c.* four and six per cent among all the *cognomina*, it is clear that the frequency of such names among the *lenuncularii* in 192 CE with over ten per cent is almost twice as high as expected. The statistical table in Kajanto's classic study of Latin *cognomina* shows, for what

²⁹ For the date, see Bloch 1953, 285.

³⁰ The names are, in the order in which they are listed: Cornelianus, Marcianus, Arrianus, Iulianus, Maevianus, Arrianus (2), Antonianus, Iulianus (2), Iulianus (3), Venerianus, Marianus, Porcianus, Marcianus (2), Valerianus, Iulianus (4), Marcianus (3), Marcianus (4), Marcianus (5), Valerianus (2).

³¹ The names are, in the order in which they are listed: Marcianus, Annianus, Lorianus, Iunianus, Valerianus, Marcianus (2), Fulcinianus, Calpurnianus, Pompeianus, Mucianus, Licinianus, Autronianus, Aterianus, Licinianus, Cassianus, Gabinianus, Titianus, Cassianus (2), Cassianus (3).

³² This identification was suggested by Bloch 1953, 284–85 and was confirmed by C ebillac-Gervasoni and Zevi 2010, 163–66.

³³ The names are, in the order in which they are listed: Otacilianus, [---]tillianus.

³⁴ The names are, in the order in which they are listed: Quintilianus, Licinianus, Paccianus, Horatianus, Atelianus, Tatianus, Iulianus, Atilianus, Salvianus, Proculianus, Quintilianus (2), Pompeianus, Lollianus, Cornelianus, Venerianus, Tisinianus, Pollianus, Maecilianus, Firmidianus, Valerianus, Titianus, Hortensianus.

it is worth, that empire-wide during the Principate such names account for 7.6 % of all Latin *cognomina*.³⁵ However, Kajanto only studied the Latin *cognomina*, and in Table 2 column 5 also the Greek ones are included. As seen in column 6, if the Greek names are excluded in the Ostian material, all the frequencies increase. Among the Latin *cognomina*, the proportion of names in -anus in *CIL* XIV 251 reaches sixteen per cent, which means that more than one man in seven carried such a *cognomen*.

When attempting to explain this by all appearances exceptional feature, there are several aspects to consider, not only economic ones (as suggested above), but also questions of onomastics, chronology, and social status need to be taken into account.

Explaining the pattern in Table 2

(1) Initially, it ought to be said that neither a testamentary adoption nor the transmission of a mother's family name is always the reason behind a name in -anus derived from a *gentilicium*. There are, for instance, several instances among the cases listed in Table 2 and notes 25–34 which show an alternative pattern in which the *cognomen* is derived from a person's own *gentilicium*, as in Fulcinus Fulcinianus and Gabinius Gabinianus, both in *CIL* XIV 4569, or Atinius Atinianus and Manlius Manlianus (*CIL* XIV 250). Here, the *cognomen* merely seems to reinforce the belonging to a specific family.³⁶

(2) One explanation sets out from the fact that most of the inscriptions in Table 2 are later than *CIL* XIV 251. An almost similarly high percentage of *cognomina* in -anus occurs in *CIL* XIV 250, which is even earlier. Therefore, we may be dealing with something as simple as an onomastic trend: it could be that during the second century CE names in -anus were much more popular than they were after c. 200 CE.³⁷

³⁵ Kajanto 1965, 131.

³⁶ Could it be that in such cases we are dealing with a testamentary adoption of a somewhat distant relative (someone who was not in himself entitled to an inheritance) who carried the same *gentilicium* as the testator?

³⁷ However, one may note that in *CIL* XIV 246, which gathered names during the period 140 to 172 CE, the frequency of *cognomina* is much lower than in *CIL* XIV 250–251. If we are dealing with an

(3) There is also the question of social status to take into account. The two inscriptions which show exceptionally high frequencies of *cognomina* in -anus both register *lenuncularii*, while the other texts concern men active in the shipyards (*fabri navales*), in the building industry (*fabri tignuarii*), in the Roman semi-military units of the *vigiles*, and gathered around a temple-building project. Is it possible that the social status and wealth of the *lenuncularii* on average was higher than that of the membership of the other associations and among the *vigiles*? If this was the case, it could well be that a regular member of, say, the Ostian *fabri tignuarii* or the Roman *vigiles* was much less likely than a *lenuncularius* to become the beneficiary of a testamentary adoption.

For quite some time scholars have debated how we should understand the membership of Ostia's professional associations. To give an example, today the majority of scholars consider the members of the *fabri tignuarii* to be "master builders" and not regular construction workers.³⁸ Similarly, one may imagine that the *fabri navales* were mainly independent contractors, the owners of small firms who carried out the necessary tasks in the shipyards by employing free labour and their own slaves. However, what if the situation varied from profession to profession, so that in the guild of the *lenuncularii* in fact only owners of boats and perhaps the wealthier captains were welcome, while certain other professional associations admitted also men of lesser means and lower social rank? Such associations would then have a membership which at least partly resembled the *vigiles* in Rome, a group which could hardly reach the same social and economic level as the professional sub-elite class of Ostia.

If such social differences existed within the *corpora* and *collegia* at Ostia, and the *lenuncularii* included a wealthier layer of members, this may explain why some members benefited from testamentary adoption: they moved in circles where money and possessions were available and where it made sense to carry out testamentary adoptions. This is why -anus *cognomina* derived from *gentilicia* are more common in both *CIL* XIV 250 and 251, one could argue.

onomastic trend, it was not universal.

³⁸ See DeLaine 2003, 727 on the *fabri tignuarii*; similarly Rougé 1966, 296–97 on the *fabri navales*; Meiggs 1973, 313 on the *lenuncularii*, *codicarii*, and fullers; Herz 1994, 296 on the *lenuncularii*; and Zevi 2008, 483–84 in general. Differently Wilson 1935, 66: "both employer and employee could become members of the same college"; and Rohde 2012, 139, who unconvincingly held that the *corpus fabrum navalium* included both entrepreneurs and "einfache Arbeiter".

Extraordinary events, the “Antonine plague”, and *cognomina* inherited from the mother

To return to explanation (2) presented in the previous section, simply referring to “onomastic trends” in order to explain the frequent -ianus *cognomina* in *CIL* XIV 251 may be too facile an explanation. But what if behind the pattern among the *lenuncularii* is instead some rather more clearly defined social phenomenon, a phenomenon which is not reflected in the other inscriptions in Table 2 because they are from a later date? One issue which unavoidably presents itself to many modern social and economic historians is the “Antonine plague”.³⁹ *CIL* XIV 251, which was begun in 192 CE, most likely registered some effects of this pandemic, which reached Rome in the fall of 166 CE and must have touched Ostia at the same time (although *a priori* we do not know if these effects were mild or severe). Less likely to show any effects of the pandemic is the earlier text *CIL* XIV 250, since due to the fact that fragments of other *alba* have been found (see above note 3), it now seems probable that no new members were registered in this particular inscription after the early 160s.⁴⁰

Is it possible that an exceptionally high mortality caused by the Antonine plague would have led to an increase in testamentary adoptions and to a measurable change in the type of *cognomina* used by the *lenuncularii*? We can be sure that the owners of Ostian *lenunculi*, like all Romans, were eager for their names to live on and wished to make sure that their gentilician *manes* would be venerated by posterity. Is it not plausible that if the *lenuncularii* found their close relatives and freedmen decimated by the pandemic, they would in particularly large numbers have decided to adopt non-agnatic survivors of the plague in their testaments?

³⁹ We know that this epidemic, after reaching Rome (presumably via Ostia) in the fall of 166 CE, continued to cause sickness and death for several decades in the Roman West. In my view it is too often used as a blanket explanation for anything that seems out of the ordinary during the half-century or more that followed after the arrival of the disease in Italy. We still need to identify the pathogen that caused the Antonine Plague; this would perhaps also allow us to better judge what its effects might have been. See, for a cautious approach to the issue, Bruun 2012; Bruun 2018, 60; for much more severe consequences, see recently Duncan-Jones 2018.

⁴⁰ It is obviously not a certainty that no new members were added after the early 160s. In any case, the frequency of *cognomina* ending in -ianus in the fourth and last column in *CIL* XIV 250 is only barely higher than in the previous columns.

If the problem is framed in these terms, there are certain similarities with the situation in another Ostian collective, one which I had occasion to discuss a few years ago. Among the Ostian *corporati* who were focused on financing the enlargement of a temple (*qui pecuniam ad ampliandum templum contulerunt*) some conspicuous changes occurred in the membership between an earlier list of members (*CIL XIV 246*) and a later one (*ScO XI, C 46*).⁴¹ In particular, men named Egrilius, a *gentilicium* also borne by many members of the socio-political elite of the town, who dominated in *CIL XIV 246*, were almost completely absent in the later *album*. From forty-six Egrilii in the earlier register, their number was reduced to only one in *ScO XI, C 46*. In between the Antonine plague arrived in Rome (and surely in Ostia too), and it seemed warranted to discuss whether the Egrilii had been wiped out by the plague. However, while not denying that the disease might have had some effect on the membership, I suggested religious and political reasons for why interest in the temple might have changed over time among the inhabitants of Ostia, in particular within the Egrilian “Familienverband”.⁴² It is too early to judge the extent to which the proposal has convinced other scholars.

When it comes to the considerable changes which occurred within the *lenuncularii* of Ostia, during a time period which saw the Antonine plague arrive in Italy, it would be foolish to deny that the disease could have had an effect on the business of Ostian harbour shipping. There may even be a method for detecting some of this effect, if the frequency of *cognomina* ending in -anus and derived from *gentilicia* reflect an increase in testamentary adoptions which was caused by the pandemic. But if this conjecture is correct, we must also pay attention to the proportions: to judge from the onomastic data, it looks as if the effect of the plague, if that is what we are dealing with, was rather mild, since after all only a clear minority of the *cognomina* have the “*gentilicium* + -anus” form which could point to testamentary adoption.

It remains to be dealt with the second explanation for *cognomina* based on *gentilicia* and ending in -anus. As mentioned earlier, Olli Salomies considers it much more likely that during the Principate such a name was derived from

⁴¹ This group of *corporati* clearly shared some members with the *lenuncularii traiectus Luculli*, but I am not convinced that we are dealing with one association only, which used two widely different names; see n. 25 above.

⁴² Bruun 2016B, 62.

the family name of a person's mother. This notion places the appearance of Sexti Sextilii Iuliani among the *lenuncularii tabularii auxiliarii Ostienses*, and the disappearance of the Lucii Iulii, who were frequent in the same professional association about four decades earlier, in a different light. Following this line of argument, one may suggest that a female heir among the Lucii Iulii brought with her substantial wealth into a marriage to a Sex. Sextilius, while at the same time the many Lucii Iulii who were active as *lenuncularii* disappeared and none of their freedmen managed to continue in the same profession. The Lucii Iulii are no longer present among the *lenuncularii* in 192 or in the last known *album* from 213 CE. The name *Iulianus* was given at birth to one or more sons of Sex. Sextilius and Iulia, and it was also passed on to some members of later generations.

This important economic impact attributed to a woman ties in well with a recent argument which sees women at Ostia playing a particularly active role in the economy, certainly when compared to the situation in the city of Rome.⁴³ However, the fate of the Lucii Iulii and the Sex. Sextilii in *CIL XIV 250–251* might look like an individual case which does not allow any more wide-ranging conclusions. But such a stance would be premature. The scenario described in the previous paragraph involves a woman named Iulia who brings considerable wealth with her into a marriage with a Sex. Sextilius, thus allowing him to begin a successful professional career as a *lenuncularius*. It must have been a regular event in the Ostian economy that some enterprises failed and others took their place, but tracing the *cognomen Iulianus* back to the *mater familias* of the Sexti Sextilii assumes that the business of the Lucii Iulii was thriving. Why then was this (admittedly hypothetical) Iulia the sole heir to the wealth that the Lucii Iulii had invested in Ostian shipping? Here, once again, one cannot avoid considering the Antonine plague. The pandemic seems to be a specific and generally valid reason for why a successful family of professionals would be left with only one female survivor.

Conclusion

The *cognomen Iulianus* is uncommonly frequent in the membership register of the *lenuncularii tabularii auxiliarii Ostienses* in 192 CE (*CIL XIV 251*) and it is borne by many men called Sex. Sextilius who are new to the association, while

⁴³ See Bruun 2018.

members called L. Iulius, common in the same professional association forty years earlier (*CIL* XIV 250), have disappeared completely in 192. This article investigates whether an explanation can be found that connects these onomastic observations. Two scenarios are presented which both involve structures of Ostian economic life and also touch on the effect of the Antonine plague.

On two occasions, statistical probabilities play a role: first, when it is argued that the frequency of the *cognomen* Iulianus in *CIL* XIV 251 is noteworthy, and, second, when claiming that the proportion of *cognomina* derived from *gentilicia* and ending in -anus in the same membership *album* is unusually high.

Two alternative (but not mutually exclusive) scenarios are explored as explanations for the relationship between the memberships in *CIL* XIV 250 and in XIV 251. On the one hand, it is suggested that the *cognomen* Iulianus may be the result of testamentary adoption. In his testament a wealthy Sex. Sextilius adopted one or more Lucii Iulii, the result being that when the second surviving full membership *album* was drawn up, forty years after the first, this register shows six Sexti Sextilii but no more Lucii Iulii. It has been pointed out that during the Principate it was exceedingly rare that testamentary adoption led to the creation of names in -ianus, but the evidence is greatly skewed towards the senatorial elite. Here it is asked if it may not be that members of the wealthy sub-elite still employed an onomastic practice which was well-known from past times, even though the sophisticated elite aiming for exclusivity had already created something new for themselves.

On the other hand, *cognomina* in -ianus formed from *gentilicia* may derive from the mother's family name; by authoritative scholars this is considered the more probably scenario during the Principate.

It is impossible to establish to which extent either of these two scenarios apply in the issue at hand, but it should be clear that it is implausible that the numbers in Table 2 can be explained by referring purely to chance. For instance, the proportion of *cognomina* in -ianus in *CIL* XIV 251 is almost three times higher than in *CIL* XIV 246, which lists an earlier and large group of men who are usually considered as a type of *lenuncularii*, like those registered in *CIL* XIV 251 were. To give another example, the frequency of the relevant type of -anus *cognomina* among the *fabri navales* is only one quarter of that in *CIL* XIV 251. The only group which comes even close are the *lenuncularii* in *CIL* XIV 250, the earlier *album* of the association here of interest.

The percentages shown in Table 2 makes one wonder if one of the scenarios involving the Lucii Iulii and the Sexti Sextilii has more general validity. What if precisely in the forty years between 152 and 192 there were events in Ostia which led to an increased tendency to carry out testamentary adoptions?⁴⁴ Having arrived at this point, one cannot avoid giving some consideration to the Antonine plague, and in fact also the hypothesis of one Iulia inheriting the wealth of the *lenuncularii* named L. Iulius hinted at that possibility. But it is also a fact that already the earlier *album*, CIL XIV 250, shows a much larger frequency of -ianus names than do the other groups in Table 2. Perhaps being a member of the *lenuncularii tabularii auxiliarii Ostienses* required more wealth than membership in other professional associations, and with greater wealth came a stronger tendency to carry out testamentary adoptions? Arguably the only thing which is certain is that the fate of the Lucii Iulii and the Sexti Sextilii and the figures in Table 2 deserve a rational explanation; this article has made an attempt at providing one.

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⁴⁴ For the other scenario, in which a female heir brings wealth with her into a marriage, to be more widely applicable, one would need to show that no member of a previously well-represented *gens* appears in a later *album* of the same association while -anus *cognomina* referring to that *gens* are common, and I am not aware of any other such case.

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HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS IN MYCENAEAN GREECE

Human–Environment Interactions in Dialogue¹

ANN BRYLSBAERT, IRENE VIKATOU AND HANNA STÖGER†

1. Introduction

From the later Middle Bronze Age (MBA) until the end of the Late Bronze Age (LBA) prolonged construction in the Greek mainland, on a monumental scale required a sustained human and animal effort (e.g., Shelmerdine 1997; Cavanagh – Mee 1999). Archaeological research in the Argive Plain (Figure 1) has focused intensely on the sites of Mycenae, Tiryns, and Midea, exploring their elite power as expressed through manifestations of monumental architecture such as fortification walls, citadels, roads, and engineering works. Equally, tombs of various sizes and cemeteries that dotted the landscape have been studied extensively (tombs: e.g., Cavanagh – Mee 1999; Fitzsimons 2006; 2011; citadels: Wright 1987; Küpper 1996; Tiryns dam: Balcer 1974). Mycenaean road network research with its bridges and culverts resulted in several more recent studies (beyond Steffen 1884: Lavery 1990; 1995; Jansen 1997; 2002; Iakovidis *et al.* 2003). The Mycenaean highways (M-highways) and the minor interconnecting roads (m-roads) form the core around which this study revolves.

Our paper focuses on the infrastructure required and provided for, for large and long-term construction processes, how and when the infrastructure of M-highways and, to some extent other roads, came into being within the Argive Plain. Several groups of people (farmers, builders, artisans) moved and travelled along paths, roads, and highways, some probably on a daily basis. We, therefore, focus on the interconnection of elite sites with its hinterland in the Argive Plain and surroundings. Find spots and features become static in the

¹ Hanna Stöger's untimely death in Aug. 2018 was a shock to us all and she is sorely missed.

archaeological record, but movement does not and the ephemeral evidence of this has, therefore, gone almost undocumented in the past (Garland 2014, 6–10). Nodal points between areas of supply, such as building materials but also agricultural produce to feed a labouring population, and areas of construction and consumption are of specific interest.

We combined material culture and landscape approaches to help understand (1) how and to what extent the large-scale building and ongoing agricultural activities impacted on the existing ‘manipulated’ landscape, and (2) the types of activities that influenced the development and usability of Mycenaean infrastructure over time. Direct and indirect evidence aids in reconstructing people’s movements along paths, roads and highways and may suggest how and when the resultant road infrastructure was constructed. A holistic study of road trajectories is therefore crucial since the latter formed social and technical exchange hubs for skills, knowledge, and resources. Beyond the built environment of quarry locations, citadels and various tombs, the economic landscape for manufacturing and military activities are discussed. Chronology is of major concern since any unexcavated, undocumented road is notoriously difficult to date (see section 2.4.; Discussion). Finally, the Linear B tablets, often from Mycenaean citadels beyond the Argolid (e.g., Pylos, Knossos), give crucial information because they provide insights in aspects of movement; agriculture and land-use, taxation, food rations as payment and distribution, the use of oxen for agricultural work and animal husbandry, land boundaries and ownership, object production, and chariot construction (Carlier 1987; Hiller 1988; Halstead 1995; Lupack 2008; Kajava 2011; Nakassis 2013). A representative selection of Linear B tablets (section 4.4.) illustrate transport and mobility and are discussed in this paper. In the concluding discussion, the data on human–environment co-dependence at the end of the LBA in the Mycenaean cultural sphere is tied together. Infrastructure as a crucial resource, and how it was used in this region are highlighted.

2. State of Mycenaean road research: trajectories, usage, construction efforts, chronology

Current literature on Mycenaean M-highways and their interconnection with the manipulated landscape is full of confusion, as authors’ opinions on several issues

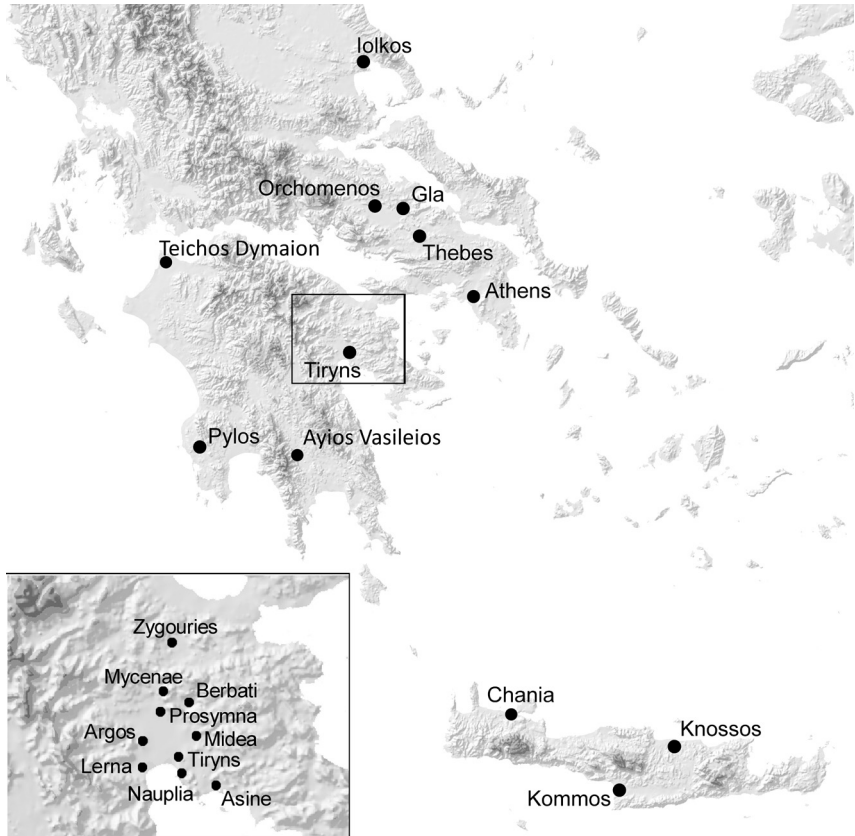


Figure 1: Map of Greece with most important sites mentioned.

vary or even contradict themselves over time. In this section, we highlight the information from these sources: the specific trajectory of each of the highways, their usage, the lack of any information concerning their construction, and especially the chronology of these M-highways.

2.1. M-highways, m-roads, and their trajectories

For Mycenae, Steffen's work provided the best topographical map. This was followed by others with the exception of Tausand (2006). Only Lavery's (1990;

1995) papers go beyond Mycenae but his maps were not topographical. Lavery's 2D sketches were taken over in part by Cherry – Davis (2001) who added some contour lines, and by French (2002), while the Mycenaean Atlas (Iakovidis *et al.* 2003) took Steffen's work as a base map.

Lavery (1990, 165) first categorized the Mycenaean road system in the Argolid as four M-highways likely constructed² through a state-organised workforce, and smaller roads/paths (m-roads). Until then, the main discussion revolved around the four Mycenaean highways, M1 to M4. All appear to start from the city's Lion Gate itself (but see Wace *et al.* 1953, 4–5); M1–M3 leading to the north towards Corinth; M4 south towards Prosymna and to where the later-dated Argive Heraion was built (see Steffen 1884; Mylonas 1966; Lavery 1990, 165; Jansen 2002; Jansen 2003 in Iakovidis *et al.* 2003, 28–31). Later, Lavery (1995, 264) also recognised and connected additional sections of M1–M4 and described m5, M6, M7, M8 and road Rho (trajectories in Table 1, Figure 2). Jansen (1997, 9, n.32) points out that these are based on topographical probability rather than actual remains while Hope Simpson – Hagel (2006) accept them. Mason's (2007, 37, figure 2) location of M7 does not agree with Steffen's indications, relating M7 to the site of Chania. Since Mason's map is more of a sketch, we tend to credit Steffen (1884) with the correct location of remains at Chania, and the trajectory of M7.

The m-roads/paths were often narrower, leading in a direct line to more distant locations. They were less well constructed, if at all, and often just worn into the slope through use. Their tracks could take steeper road gradients and run higher up the hill side (e.g., M4 compared to m4). They have been considered older than the M-highways (Lavery 1995, map 1), and were likely made by individuals who needed them.

² Through the cut-and-terrace technique and, where needed, including stone curbs, water drainage, and multi-layered surfacing (Mylonas 1966).

Nbr	From	To	Via	Joining
M1	Mycenae Lion Gate	Tenea (Corinth)	Stefani, Agionori, Klenia, Chiliomodi (Tenea), Solomos	M3 (near Solomos) M2 (at Kastraki)
M2	Mycenae Lion Gate	Zygouries-Kleonai (Corinth)	Ag. Vasileios, Kephalaria plateau	M3 (at Kleonai) M1 (1.5 km from Lion Gate at Kastraki)
M3 M3W	Mycenae Lion Gate	Corinth	Nemea-Tzoungiza, Kleonai	M1, M2
M4	Mycenae conglomerate quarries	Tiryns	Monastiraki, Heraion	m5 (at Tiryns), M6 (Ag. Georgios bridge), M7
m4E	Mycenae	Heraion	West of Zara	
m4W	Mycenae	Heraion	Chavos/Chonia ravine	M4 (Ag. Georghios bridge)
m5*	M1	Tiryns	Berbat, Mastos, Dendra-Midea-Kastro	M4 (at Tiryns)
M6*	Aidonia	Heraion	Phlious, Ag. Georghios bridge	M4, M7
M7*	Mycenae Lion Gate	Argos (and Lerna)	Epano Pigadi, Chania, Vathyrema W	M4
M8*	Mycenae Lion Gate	Phichtia	-	M7 (at start point)

Table 1: Known Mycenaean M-highways and m-roads reported by various sources (Tsountas 1888; Wace - Stubbings 1962; Mylonas 1966; Lavery 1990; 1995; Jansen 1997; 2002; Iakovidis *et al.* 2003; Hope Simpson - Hagel 2006). *New roads according to Lavery (1995).

Tausand (2006) also refers to the Mycenaean M-highways of the Argolid, mainly to show their link to later roads. He was apparently not familiar with the work by Lavery, Jansen (2002), Iakovidis *et al.* (2003) or Hope Simpson – Hagel

(2006). This also results in Tausand confusing Lavery's original road numbering and other issues. M4 led from Mycenae over the Argive Heraion to Tiryns, after which a track from the Argive Heraion to Tiryns was noted (Lavery 1990), something we could not verify.

2.2. Functions of the M-highways and other roads

Bridges over waterways (e.g., Knauss 1996) with their associated M-highways (also Steffen 1884) have been discussed in terms of having several different but often single purpose(s) (Steffen 1884, 1–5; Mylonas 1966; Crouwel 1981; Lavery 1990, 1995; Jansen 2002; Sjöberg 2004; Tausand 2006). They may have been used by elite charioteers (e.g., Crouwel 1981), by farmers transporting agricultural produce (e.g., Lavery 1990; Kvapil 2012), by troops guarding and patrolling (e.g., Hope Simpson – Hagel 2006), and by builders transporting heavy stones, timber, and other large cargoes (Brysbaert 2020, 2021, in press-b). Mylonas (1966, 86) and Lavery (1990, 165) follow Tsountas' suggestion of using these M-highways for the passing of Heavy Goods Vehicles (HGVs). Lavery writes: 'some HGV is implied by the colossal stones of the citadel and tholoi'. A clay wagon from Palaikastro, east Crete (Crouwel 1981, 147; Jansen 2002, 139–141) illustrates that they were already known in the EBA. Depending on their width and construction, these M-highways may have been compatible with the use of two- or four-wheeled chariots, or of HGVs such as sledges, carts (2 wheels) or wagons (4 wheels) drawn by oxen, or pack animals. Lavery (1995) sees the agricultural needs of the region as the strongest purpose for which these were built. Jansen (1997, 10) does not recognize Lavery's (1995) m5 nor the importance of Berbati to Mycenae, but emphasizes the role of M1–3 going to the Kephalaria valley and on to Corinth. The different uses of these M-highways versus the usually earlier (dated) m-roads seem to reside in the assumption that the latter were limited to pedestrians and pack animals (Mylonas 1966; but see Lavery 1990 on M2). In a different context, Fachard and Pirisino (2015, 141) illustrated that the reasons for travel affected the choice of roads taken; whether the traveller was accompanied by pack animals; whether they travelled with or without (heavy/large) cargo, or simply for speed.

2.3. Construction issues

In prehistoric and subsequent periods, wheeled-vehicle transportation overland amounted to over three quarters of all transportation carried out (one quarter by foot and pack animal, Pikoulas 2007). Well-constructed roads would have been essential for land transport of heavy goods. Heavy goods would otherwise have sunk or been driven into softer and uneven road surfaces (e.g., Raepsaet 2002, 191–200). Before the construction of highways, existing tracks must have been carefully scouted and prepared along their entirety to ensure they were accessible, efficient, well-drained and that they maintained a low gradient. Mental mapping (for definition, see Ingold 2011) and a thorough knowledge of the topography by travellers were essential to be able to efficiently navigate between places. Once these routes were considered convenient, people may have developed and used them for centuries, even millennia. Hope Simpson (1981, 17) mentions the immense labour that would have been needed to finish M-highways from Mycenae to the Corinthia (see also Brysbaert in press-b). Hope Simpson – Hagel (2006) fear that repeated use of the highways by HGVs would have left the roads in a poor state. While they suggest the use of lighter chariots and smaller two wheeled vehicles as more appropriate for the surfaces of the M-highways, they do, however, use “road repair activities” to explain the late date of the sherds as part of a repair fill rather than for road construction (see section 2.4.).

2.4. Chronology issues

The M-highways may have been in use for at least 800 years. They were likely still in use in 468 BCE, the date of the Argive destruction of Mycenae (Lavery 1990, 165). It is, however, much harder to pinpoint exactly when these were built. Excavations would be required to determine this. On architectural grounds and looking at the Cyclopean-style bridge constructions with corbelled vaults (Lykotroupi and Kazarma bridges) some authors date these bridged highways to the mid-13th c. BCE (cf. sally ports and water access at Mycenae and Tiryns, galleries at Tiryns), since there was no major centre constructing in this fashion after LH IIIB in the region (Jansen 1997, 2, n. 7). However, larger, and more daring tholoi were constructed at Mycenae and beyond from the early Mycenaean period onwards using the corbelling technique and large stonework

(esp. Fitzsimons 2011). Midea's excavators used the argument of 'Cyclopean style' for the retaining wall to help date the road leading to the East Gate of the citadel to LH IIIB. This argument was strengthened by pottery finds (Demakopoulou *et al.* 2010, 22–23). Also terracing in agricultural fields may have had an influence on road construction technologies (Brysbaert in press-a). Terracing is known on Crete since at least LM I (Gournia: Watrous 2012) and in the Mycenaean context since LH III (Kvapil 2012; Fallu 2017).

Mylonas (1966, 86–87) mentions a tentative date for M1 as the second half of 13th c. BCE based on two decorated sherds found in his trial trenches (also Crouwel 1981, 30). Hope Simpson (1981, 15) cites the date for M1 as 'late in LH IIIB'. Later, Hope Simpson – Hagel (2006, 149) are no longer convinced by the context of the excavated sherds and suggest that they could have belonged to a supplementary fill from a later road surface repair. For them, there are good reasons to believe that the construction of M1 can be dated within the period of LH IIIA2 to LH IIIB1 when the Berbati valley was exploited by Mycenae (Schallin 1996, 124, 171–73; contra Jansen 1997, 10).

Located close to the M1 and with wells indicating water presence, Wells *et al.* (1990, 227) and especially Schallin (1996) postulate that the activity site of findspot 14 may have been in part military, as the primary view across the landscape would have allowed control of the valley below. Perhaps the site also doubled as a service station for people travelling to and from Mycenae (Schallin 1996, 123–34). Chamber tomb cemeteries (findspots 16, 18) may have also belonged to this location (Schallin 1996, 138, 140), indicated by the road network connecting nearby cemeteries. Dating of the sherds and a figurine found in findspot 14 coincides with Mylonas' latter half of 13th c. BCE.

Lavery (1990, 168) who summarizes the archaeological evidence for his tracing of the M-highways, is convinced that M2 is older than M1, perhaps even pre-dating the LH period. He considers m5 a continuation of M2 but his maps (Lavery 1990, 171; 1995, map 1) show m5 being linked to the M1 instead. He suggests that m5 may have had two arms, the right-hand track of which may have crossed the later M4. It continued in a direct line to the northern tip of the Tiryns citadel via Platanitis and Argoliko, avoiding all settlements, thus indicating its older age. The m5 (pre-LH IIIB: Lavery 1995, 264) is the shortest link connecting all three citadels (Mycenae, Midea, and Tiryns) to the sea, via the Berbati valley, the Mastos settlement and through the Dendra cemetery

(with tholos) (Lavery 1990, 168–69). Consequently, the larger highways may not be duplicates of smaller roads as some authors believe (Hope Simpson 1981, 17).

Mylonas (1966, 87) mentions a bridge that preceded the Aghios Georgios bridge (date: late 13th BCE). Whilst destroyed, the former bridge is still partly visible. It is connected to two older roads: one to Mycenae heading north and one heading south to Tiryns via Prosymna. These must be the remains of the m4 heading north and the M4 to the south, whereby the m4 coincides and continues with the M4 at the old bridge (also Lavery, 1995, map 1).

Dickinson (2003) argued that some roads predate LH IIIB (see Lavery 1990; 1995, Map 1, legend; Jansen 1997), this was mainly based on the topography. Lavery (1990, 165–66) and Mylonas (1959) suggest that the smaller parallel m-roads to M3 and M4 (m3 and m4), which run higher up the hillside, are likely older than the highways. The m-roads m3 and m4 both ascent from the south and descend to the north and follow the old ramp at Mycenae. They then seem to head towards the tomb of Clytemnestra, circling the west and south edges of Grave Circle A. This supports the hypothesis that they did not originate from the Lion Gate but led to an earlier gate set in the older west wall. The latter wall was rebuilt, changing direction from S–N to N–S during the citadel's greatest remodelling in LH IIIB (Mylonas 1959, 142; 1966, 26–28, figures 1, 3). This suggests these roads were constructed perhaps a century before the Lion Gate itself was erected in the 2nd half of the 13th c. BCE. Furthermore, m4 may also coincide with the route that the later M4 followed over the west bank of the Chavos ravine, just below the modern road since it otherwise would have run over tombs that were in use during LH IIIA–B (Wace 1932, 12–15; Verdelis 1964, 74–81; Jansen 2002, 48).

Mason (2007) elaborates on the dating of the M4 based on the architectural characteristics of the Cyclopean bridge and the Aghios Georgios bridge, that the M4 crossed. If correct, the constructed road network of M-highways around Mycenae is later than the first LH chamber tombs cemeteries and the early tholoi. That, however, does not imply the lack of roads near Mycenae before the LH IIIB; quite the contrary. It could very well be that the existence of the earlier smaller roads helped make areas with water and other resources more accessible, and facilitated communication between farms, crafting and market locations. This dictated the need for less elaborate roads which then formed the physical basis for and evolved into the area's main M-highway network.

3. Combined theoretical and practical methodologies

Roads are one of the oldest, sometimes persistent, landscape features used by both animals and people, especially in landscapes where the local topography restricted passes and crossings to specific locations. People remembered these routes (mental mapping, Ingold 2011) and transmitted this knowledge. Roads and paths are an essential media for the routing of social relationships. They connect spatial impressions with temporally inscribed memories (Tilley 1994, 31). The act of mental mapping, therefore, is crucial for longer distance travel in which water sources, resting places, landmarks, and important passes are essential features. Pikoulas (1995; 2007, 85) showed that some Roman roads followed earlier Greek ones. Mycenaean roads in Arcadia were used in Classical times even when their use was not continuous (Krigas 1987, 79–80), and Tausand (2006, 199–203) discussed Mycenaean roads in the Argolid that at times were seldomly used, at other times in constant use. Memory, practical needs, and the remains of earlier Mycenaean road networks were likely combined when deciding which road to reuse in later periods. This is supported by Lavery's (1990, 165) account of ancient authors (Diod. Sic. 11,65,2; Str. 8,6,19, 8,6,22; Hdt. 9,35; Xen. *Hell.* 4,4,19) on the role of territory, thus implicating the use of existing roads around Mycenae in the destructive events of 468 BCE. Moreover, where other activities were equally persistent over time (e.g., crop rearing and pastoralism, certain crafts related to local resources), communication lines and routes between activity areas and homesteads, made these routes a stable feature in that landscape (see also Schallin 1996, 166). The more a path has been shared by people and their experiences, the more important a path becomes and remains.

From a theoretical perspective, employing Costly Signalling Theory (CST) seems appropriate in this study. Several authors employing CST (Glatz – Plourde 2011; Conolly 2017; O'Driscoll 2017) have pointed out the potential strategies played out between: (1) the social groups (signaller) that initiated, sponsored, and sustained many large-scale works; (2) the actual construction itself (costly signal thus considered honest); and (3) the audience (signal receiver) that was meant to see and understand the signal as the signaller intended it. Of importance here is that not just the physical outcome of the signal itself should mutually impact the signallers and receivers, but *also the acts of producing it*,

the building processes themselves. In these one *could* read the dominant role of the signaller in being able to mobilise the necessary work forces since these people, when not building, are also capable of military combat, raiding, and large-scale agricultural production. In a more nuanced study, Drennan and Kolb (2019, 72–73) noted that more monumental building took place when Egypt was at war with powers beyond its borders, thus signalling to the population their internal strength, stability, and powerful pharaoh. This was, however, not the case when *internal* conflict disrupted Egypt and placed the pharaonic power under duress. Building to such proportions could, thus, also be a sign of waning power which then needed reaffirmation. Moreover, CST shows very clearly human collaboration across social boundaries, thus the co-dependence between elites and any other group. Such human collaborations and co-dependences can also be inferred from investigating the material remains through a cross-craft interaction perspective when combined with studying multiple *chaînes opératoires*, such as seen here in road construction. This is also true for crafting, agricultural production, and monumental building (Brysbart 2020; in press-a).

In practical terms, we collected data from the published literature on Mycenaean roads (e.g., Steffen 1884; Iakovidis *et al.* 2003) and through remote sensing of Google Earth and Google Maps. We tried to verify these data through extensive walks in the Argive Plain and surroundings, over several seasons. A range of published sites were visited: the quarries, M-highway remains, the tholos in the Argive Plain and surroundings and, where accessible, the chamber tomb cemeteries. Our walks also served to get a keen grasp of the local topography in which the visited remains were located and through which the M-highway tracks ran. Topographical variety in the form of contour lines was often lacking on printed maps and sketches, thus is best observed in the field. Understanding this factor helped to see how it would influence the intervisibility of the different natural and built features in the landscape along these roads.

Published sites were recorded with a free GPS application, (GPS Essentials), installed on an Android smartphone. Afterwards, QGIS was used to plot the recorded points in a satellite Google Maps base map to better understand their spatial relationship to the road systems in the area. Later, Least-Cost-Paths (LCPs) between two points of interest were produced. This required a Digital Elevation Model (DEM) to generate a slope and a cumulative cost raster. The larger the resolution of the DEM (12.5×12.5 m, <https://www.asf.alaska>.

[edu/](#)), the more accurate the generated LCPs are. These slope and cumulative cost rasters are subsequently used as base maps to produce LCPs by employing the QGIS integrated GRASS tools, *r.walk* and *r.drain* (<https://grass.osgeo.org/>). Projecting the LCPs on the Google Maps base map provided a visualisation of the created LCP-network that can then be compared to the actual ground-truthed trajectories, in order to assess the usefulness of LCPs in this context.

4. Results

The terrain in the Argive Plain is topographically varied with fertile valleys and large fairly flat agricultural zones, surrounded by mountainous regions. Figures 3 and 4 (discussed below) illustrate how we traced Steffen's (1884), Lavery's (1995), and Iakovidis *et. al* (2003) road remains to the extent that the trajectories were recognisable and still walkable. Based on published tracks and roads, we hypothesized the continuation of some of these, when considering the goal of travel; the essential requirements for movement and transport in the given topography, and contemporary technological possibilities and efficiency. While our work confers with earlier published work on most trajectories, it does provide the first full topographical overview of where the M-highways were constructed and ran. This is depicted in a detailed georeferenced map of all M-highways and the m5 road from the Berbati to Tiryns (Figure 2, see also above). The plotted results (on Google Earth 3D maps) from our ground-truthing work provides the detail for each trajectory including topographical limitations.

We focused specifically on the infrastructure required to transport building materials between quarries and extraction places on the one hand, and building sites on the other (M3W, M4, M7, M8). We also provide evidence that support connections between Mycenae with the Corinthia detailing several routes (M1–3, M6) and with the Berbati valley (M2, m5) for agricultural and other economic purposes. Our results highlight the usage (many and varied) of the Mycenaean Highway and minor road networks. They also show that the use of many M-highway trajectories continued over time (see earlier Lavery 1990; Tausand 2006), some are still in use today.

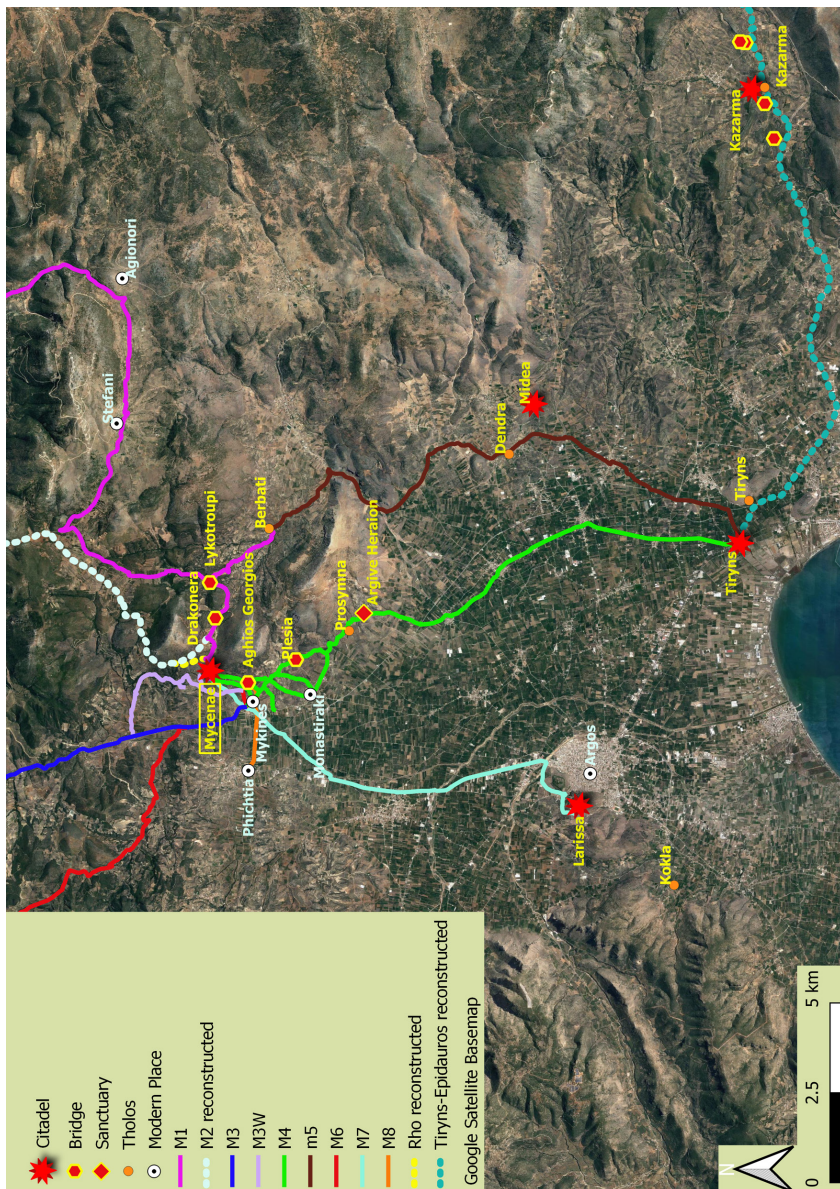


Figure 2: Mycenaean Road Network demonstrating the M-highways and the m5 road in correlation with important published sites.

4.1. Mycenaean Roads in the Argolid/Argive Plain linking material resources to building sites

4.1.1. Quarries and extraction sites

The construction materials employed in Mycenae are conglomerates, limestone and Poros stone, as well as the clay resources of Plesia and Asprochoma (Figure 3). While most stones employed in the construction of citadel fortification walls were of local extraction (100 m to 1 km), some multi-tonne blocks required long-distance transport to reach their final position. Several conglomerate blocks were transported from Mycenae to Tiryns (Maran 2006; Brysbaert 2015; Brysbaert 2021). These likely came from one of the following four locations: 1. the heavily quarried ridge starting at the modern car park running south along the Panagia ridge; or 2. from the Kalkani ridge further west; or 3. from the outcrop on which the Mycenae village at Charvati was constructed (Wace 1949, 27; Cavanagh – Mee 1999, 96; based on Schliemann 1880, 118, figure 191); or 4. from a site a few kilometres north of Mycenae (Santillo Frizell 1997 [1998], 629³). Poros ashlar, used in various tholoi at Mycenae, may have been found in the hills northwest of Mycenae towards Nemea (Wace *et al.* 1921–1923). Poros stone used in the demolished building preceding the Treasury of Atreus may have originated from near Monastiraki (Wace 1949, 130). Limestone was omnipresent. The maps of Iakovidis *et al.* (2003, maps 2–3, 6–8, 11) indicate the quarry sites.

Plesia clay was used as mortar in the Atreus, Clytemnestra and Aigisthos tholoi (Wace 1955, 196; Cavanagh – Mee 1999, 97). It was also applied as a flooring covering and in benches for private housing (Palaiologou 2015, 57). A similar material was recognised as pointing mortar in wall surfaces at Tiryns (Müller 1930, esp. 178–79). Figure 3 illustrates the accessibility to numerous quarries facilitated by M4 which runs down from the modern Mycenae car park, along the Kalkani ridge, to the centre of the modern village of Mykines (Charvati). Other quarries sit along the M7 and the M1.

4.1.2. Construction activity sites

The areas made accessible by M-highways in the Argolid seem to have been considered carefully: our GPS measurements verified Lavery's (1995) observation that the road trajectories ran at convenient and consistent heights, with the roads

³ Not further determined where exactly.

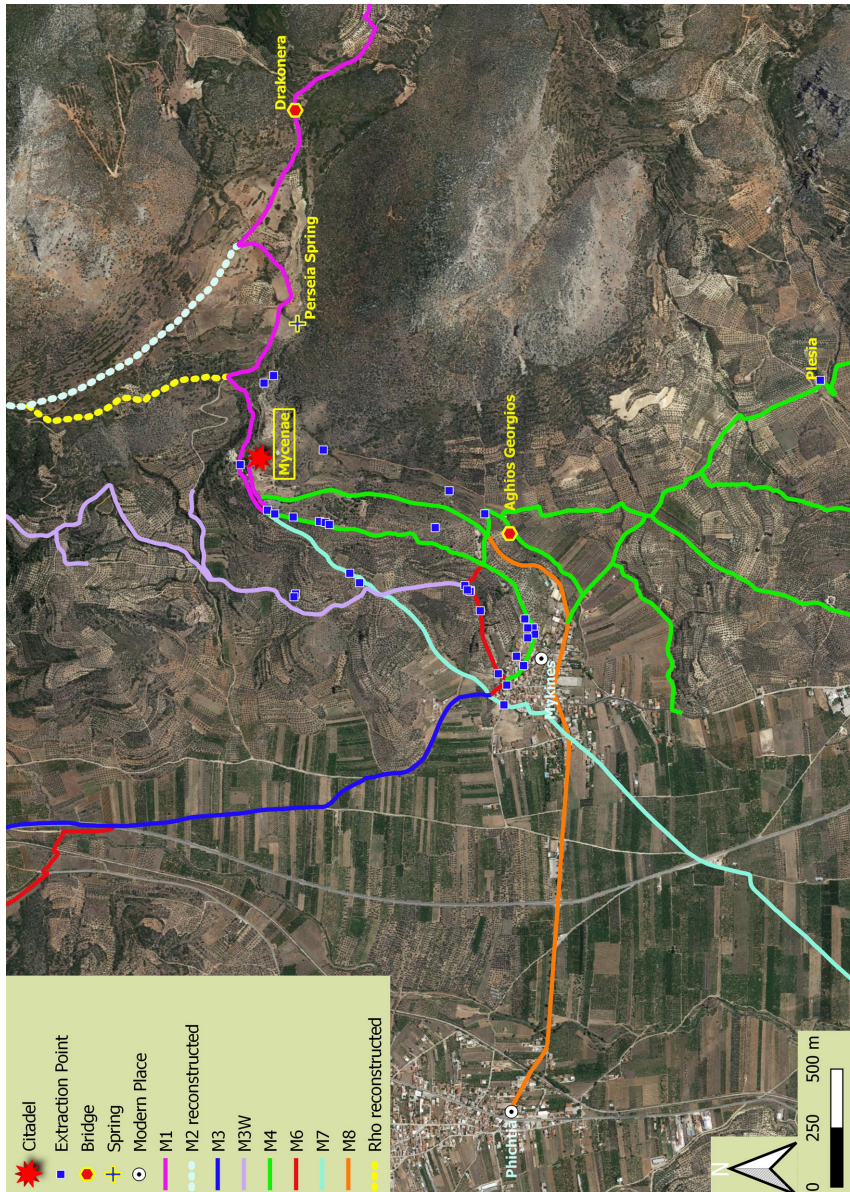


Figure 3: Map of Mycenae with known/published quarries and extraction points, and roads nearby.

built as even as possible in a topographically varied landscape (e.g., M4). The widths of the M-highways have been measured and range between 2.10–2.50 m, based on the road surfaces only. The reported width of 3.5 m included the outer kerbs (Hope Simpson – Hagel 2006, 150, n. 22; Crouwel 1981 quoted a width of 4.8 m). Some bridges have a width of 5.5 m kerbs included (Jansen 2002). Only the so-called cut-and-terraced M-highways (after Jansen 1997; 2002) were constructed beyond simple earth removal in the slope. Entire sections of M1 and M4 received strengthening. Massive unworked boulders were placed along the terraced edges to stop soil erosion and/or collapse. However, the remains of M-highway terracing are clearly related to the substratum on which they were built: only remains built on limestone survive, whilst erosion affected flysch and marl substrate resulting in subsidence or collapse of the cyclopean blocks (Wells et al. 1990, 237; Schallin 1996, 131). Such substratum was difficult to recognise elsewhere along the M-highways. Elsewhere, they were often cut in softer hill sides on soil and bedrock. Heavily reinforced sections only appear to be associated with M1 and M4. M1 had water runoffs to allow rainwater to drain downhill. Other M-highways were constructed over drainable layers that directed water into channels below. The drainage layers were cut into the slopes approximately 30–50 cm below the road surface. Water runoffs were recognized during recent surveys and testify to the efficient drainage of dozens of culverts and weepholes (Schallin 1996, 130–33 for the latter; Hope Simpson – Hagel 2006, 149, n. 20). Terracotta drainage pipes/channels along M1 ensured it remained useable throughout the year. Far less ‘monumental’ were sections of the retaining wall noted near the Prosymna tholos along M4.

The main M4 started at Mycenae and passed over the Aghios Georgios bridge on its way to the later Argive Heraion. This allowed the transport of multi-tonne conglomerate blocks along the route between the Mycenae-based conglomerate quarries and Tiryns (Brysbaert 2021) (Figure 4). We verified that the M4 highway remains between 110–133 masl from the Aghios Georgios bridge to the Argive Heraion, with a maximum road gradient of 2–3% (Brysbaert in press-b). Both the m3 and m4 paths are more exposed to heavy erosion higher up the steeper slopes but M3 and M4 avoid this entirely. M4 also seemed to have been connected where it crossed m5 linking Midea to the sea (Lavery 1990, 168–69, see 2.4. and discussion). We see this confirmed by the Greek–Swedish excavations (Demakopoulou *et al.* 2010, 22–23; Morgan 2010,

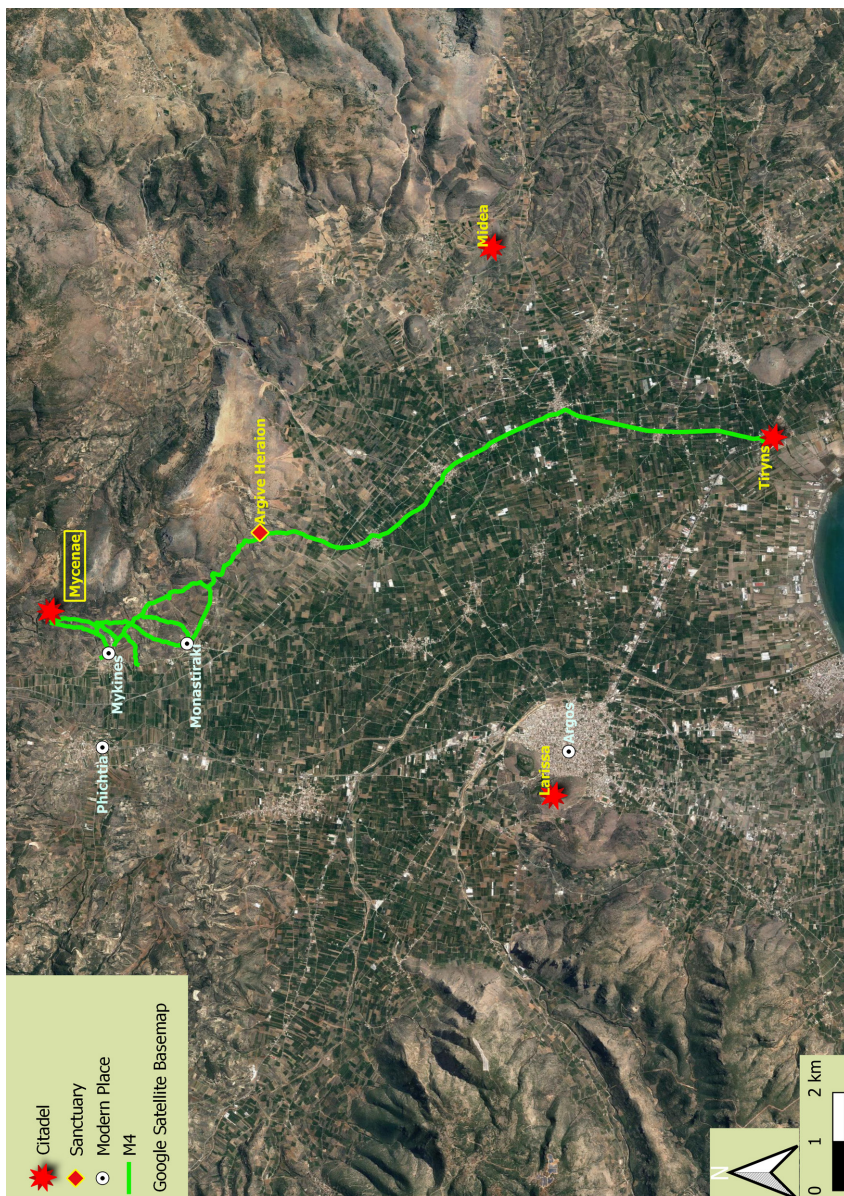


Figure 4: Map showing the M4 trajectory from Mycenae to Tiryns passing by the Prosymna tholos and the Argive Heraion.

35) in which a large retaining wall of a road leading to the east gate of the Midea acropolis has been uncovered. These remains likely led to the northwest of the Midea acropolis in one direction and connected to the Mycenae–Tiryns highway M4 at the other. The excavators suggest that the construction of the road likely coincided with the fortifications of the Midea acropolis, dated to LH IIIB. M7 which ran from Mycenae to Argos may have provided the necessary track to provide conglomerate blocks to the citadel at Larissa (see Crouwel 2008).

4.1.3. Roads and the mortuary landscape

Numerous publications focussed on issues revolving around the construction and chronology of tholos tombs (Stamatakis 1878; Schliemann 1880; Tsountas 1888;⁴ Wace *et al.* 1921–1923; Persson 1931; Blegen 1937; Mylonas 1966; Pelon 1976; Fitzsimons 2006; 2007; 2011; Galanakis 2007). A recent study by Galanakis (2017–2018) presents nearly 1700 discoveries of tholos and chamber tombs from a total of 207 sites. The nine tholos tombs found around Mycenae (Table 3, Figure 5) constitute the most impressive constructions of the necropoleis and indicated the high status of the elites which built and used them (Mee – Cavanagh 1990). These examples of monumental architecture stood out in the landscape for later generations to remember and worship (Boyd 2015). Figure 5, based on our data points and ones provided by Iakovidis *et al.* (2003), mark the locations of the nine tholoi and the chamber tomb cemeteries associated with them (for the remaining chamber tomb cemeteries: Efkleidou 2019). When investigating how burial sites were integrated within the wider landscape, we focussed on how their access was facilitated for internments, subsequent tomb visits, and for *tomb construction*. Therefore, the way heavy stone blocks were moved from extraction points to construction site also concerned us here. Tombs *are* often found along roads and are useful in finding the remains of roads, even when little of them remain (Hope Simpson 1981; see also Young 1956, 95 for later periods). Iakovidis *et al.* (2003, 45; and earlier Tsountas 1888, 123) observed a correlation between quarries, chamber tombs, and the roads. During our walks we noted that most of the cemeteries *with their associated tholoi*, lie close to at least one M-highway,

⁴ The year 1888 refers to the date the *Ephemeris* volume was written and differs from the 1889 publication year, in 1889. To be consistent with publications referring to the former, we preserve the same format.

sometimes two (Figure 5, Table 2). Table 2⁵ also illustrates the chronology of Mycenaean’s (LH) chamber tomb cemeteries and tholoi, excavated by Tsountas (1888) and Wace *et al.* (1921–1923) in the slopes surrounding Mycenae. The chronology of most of the chamber tomb cemeteries predates both the associated tholos tomb and the M-highways. The chamber tombs cemeteries at the 3rd km and Aghios Georgios illustrate this very well along with the associated Treasury of Atreus. This pattern is not only observed near Mycenae: the Prosymna tholos sits along M4, the Kazarma tholos on the road from Tiryns to Epidauros, and several tholoi lined the presumed highway between Pylos and Rizomylo in the region of Messinia (Hope Simpson 1981, 143).

Name	Type	Location/ Vicinity to road	No. of chamber tombs	Date of construction/ range of use
Group I: Early LH IIA				
Cyclopean tomb	Tholos	600 m SW of Citadel/E of M6		Early LH IIA/ Geometric, Hellenistic periods
Epano Pigadi/ Fournodiaselo	ChT cemetery	W of M6 and E of M3W	Ca. 16 ChT, min. 9 unexcavated, uncertain if they belong to that cemetery	LH II-LH IIIB
Epano Fornos	Tholos associated to Epano Pigadi/ Fournodiaselo	150 m E of Cyclopean Tomb/W of M3W		Early LH IIA/ Early Geometric period

⁵ We follow Wace’s (1949, 17) chronology and three-group-system for the tholoi which is accepted by numerous scholars: Pelon 1976, 1990; Cavanagh – Mee 1998, 58; Wright 2006, p 58 n. 57; Fitzsimons 2007, n. 23, 101–02; 2011, 93; Galanakis 2007. For chamber tomb chronology we follow Iakovidis *et al.* 2003.

Tomb of Aigisthos	Tholos	100 m W of Lion Gate/SE of M3W		Early LH IIA/ Hellenistic period Remodelled between LH IIB and LH IIIA
Group II: LH IIA-IIB Late				
Panagia tomb	Tholos	150 m NW of Atrous tomb/E of M7		LH IIA-IIB/ Late-Geometric, Classical periods
Panagia	ChT cemetery	E of M6 and of M3W	Ca. 12 ChT., 1 cist tomb, 4 unexcavated	LH IIA-LH IIIC
Kato Fournos	Tholos	500 m W of Acropolis/E of M6		LH IIA-IIB/ Late-Archaic period
Kato Fournos	ChT cemetery	NE of M6 and W of M3W	10 ChT, min. 2 unexcavated	LH II-LH IIIB
Lion Tomb	Tholos	100 m N of Lion Gate/S of M3W		LH IIA-IIB/ Late-Geometric, Hellenistic periods
Group III: LH IIB-LH IIIB1				
Tomb of Genii	Tholos linked to Epano Pigadi/ Fournodiaselo (see above)	50 m N of Cyclopean Tomb/E of M6		LH IIB- LH IIIA1/ Geometric or Archaic periods

Tomb of Atreus	Tholos also linked to Panagia ChT (see above)	500 m SW of Lion Gate/E of M7, W of M4		LH IIIA2-IIIB1/ Archaic period
3 rd km	ChT cemetery	Along M4	6 ChT.	LH II-LH IIIC
Aghios Georgios	ChT cemetery	E of M6 and M4 (Kalkani branch)	10 ChT.	Early LH II-LH III
Tomb of Clytemnestra	Tholos	100 m W of Lion Gate/SE of M3W		LH IIIA2-IIIB1/ Geometric until Hellenistic periods

Table 2: Mortuary landscape of the tholoi which are linked to a chamber tomb (ChT) cemetery in the vicinity of Mycenae with nearby M-highway indications. Each tholos is linked to the cemetery mentioned in the cell below.

Name	Dromos Orientation	Dromos and Stomion stone	Stomion lintel stone, nbr	Lintel finish	Relieving triangle
Group I: Early LH IIA					
Cyclopean	W – E	Dromos: in the soft rock, not lined with masonry. Stomion: of large, unworked limestone and conglomerate boulders	Conglomerate, 3	Possibly naturally shaped Top walls of doorway levelled with the slope's original inclination	No

Epano Fournos	S – N	Dromos same as Cyclopean tomb. Stomion: undressed conglomerate and limestone,	Conglomerate, 5	Cut along the side to fit, rough flat slabs	No
Aegisthus	S – N	Dromos: semi cut into the earth and into the sidehill soft rock. Lined with rubble masonry held tight with clay served as mortar. Stomion: rubble blocks mortared with Plesia clay.	limestone, 2-out conglomerate, 3 -in	Short and barely overlapping the sidewalls of the doorway	No
Group II: LH IIA-IIB Late					
Panagia	W – E	Dromos: rubble blocks mortared with yellow clay. Stomion: conglomerate blocks regularly laid in courses	Conglomerate, 2	Lintel slightly overlaps conglomerate jams and stomion side walls to a long extent	Yes
Kato Fournos	W – E	Dromos: poros blocks joined with stucco. Stomion: fine-grained conglomerate covered with stucco	Conglomerate, 3	Overlaps the doorway side walls	Yes

Lion	N – S	Dromos: ashlar poros blocks of poor quality. Stomion: large rectangular conglomerate blocks.	Conglomerate, 4	Overlaps the doorway walls.	Yes
Group III: LH IIB-LH IIIB1					
Genii	NW – SE	Dromos: wall constructed of rubble and bound with yellow clay. Crowned with limestones Stomion: conglomerate pointed with stucco	Conglomerate, 2	Inner one large. Good overlap with sidewalls.	Yes
Treasury of Atreus	E – W	Dromos: Conglomerate, rubble wall with plesia clay, poros blocks (with mason marks) at closure dromos entrance and rubble revetment. Stomion: ashlar hard conglomerate	Conglomerate, 2	Cut, sawn, polished, perfect fit between both	Yes

Clytem- nestra	S – N	Dromos: Conglomerate, cut, dressed, clay behind, support wall behind Stomion: conglomerate	Conglomerate, 3	Cut, sawn, polished, perfect fit between both	Yes
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Table 3: Architectural characteristics of the nine tholoi in Mycenae.

Finally, the location of seven⁶ more tholoi; Berbati (1), Prosymna (1), Dendra (1), Kazarma (1), Kokla (1), and Tiryns (2) (Persson 1931; Blegen 1937; Müller 1975; Pelon 1976; Demakopoulou 1990; Galanakis 2012; Demakopoulou – Aulsebrook 2018), and their vicinity to the M-highways and their settlements are illustrated in Figure 2 and Table 4. Apart from the Prosymna cemetery near the later Argive Heraion, all other necropoleis were located some distance from their main settlement. Dendra as the cemetery of Midea lies approximately 1 km away (Persson 1931; Pelon 1976) and, together with Kokla, are the only cemeteries, beyond Mycenae, that contain the tholos and chamber tombs at the same location. However, the Kokla burial site has not yet been associated with a settlement. This will probably be found nearby in an area yet to be surveyed, 300–400 m north of the site (Demakopoulou – Aulsebrook 2018). The chamber tomb cemetery at Tiryns is located 1.5 km east from the citadel on the east slope of Profitis Ilias, whereas the two tholoi⁷ are 1 km away in the foothill west of Profitis Ilias (Müller 1975; Pelon 1976). The Berbati chamber tomb cemetery and its tholos are located about 1.2 km northwest of the settlement at Mastos (Georgiadis – Gallou 2008). Tiryns and Prosymna tholoi sit close to M4. The Dendra cemetery with its tholos is facilitated by m5 and the Berbati tholos lies close to two main roads: M1 and m5. The Kokla necropolis does not appear to be directly linked to any of the M-highways. It seems then that road access (whether M-highway or m-road, see below) to cemeteries and associated tholoi

⁶ Fitzsimons (2006, 145 n. 467) mentions another tholos in Midea under ‘the kafenion’ but to our knowledge it has not been published.

⁷ Here we only refer to the published tholos at Tiryns. The Tiryns tholos construction date is debated because of its complete looting (Müller 1975; but see now Brysbaert *et al.* forthcoming).

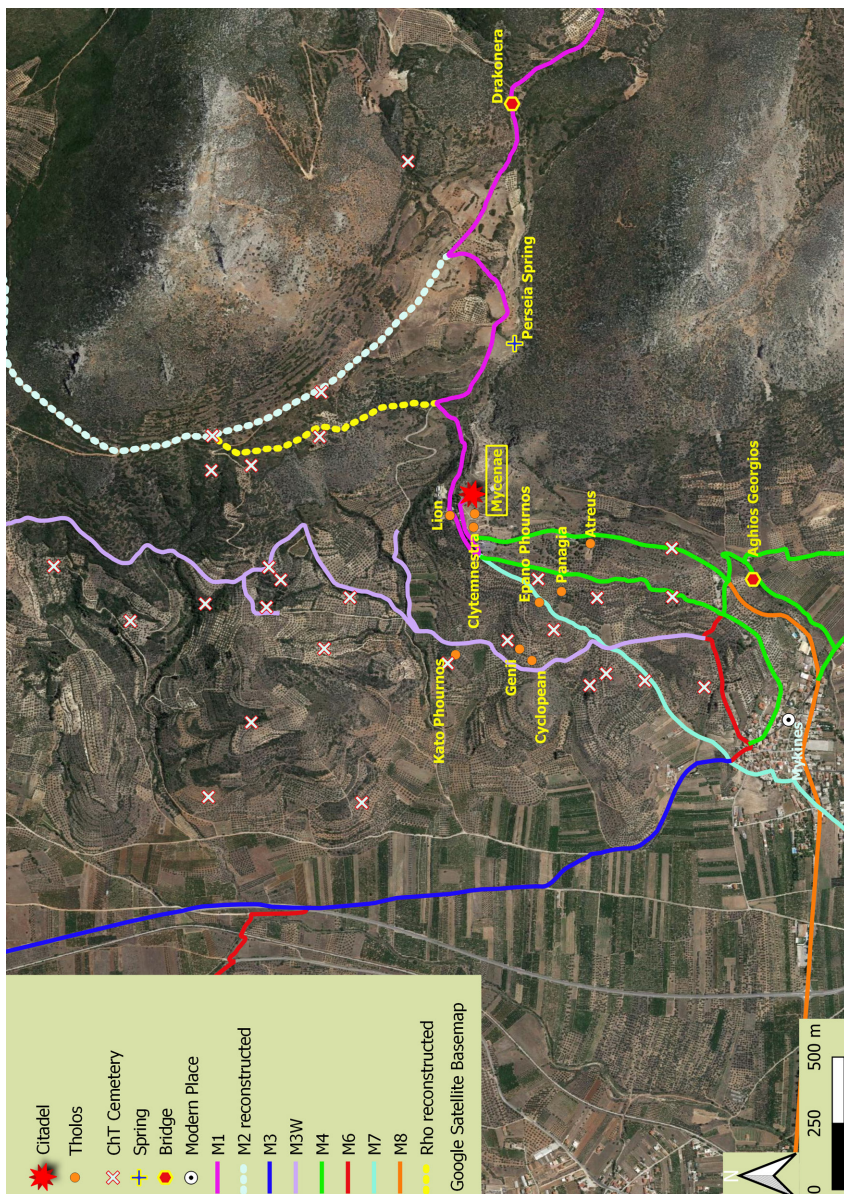


Figure 5: Distribution of the nine tholoi and their associated chamber tomb cemeteries around the Mycenaean citadel, and their nearby M-highways.

also provide relatively good access to known settlements too. The tholoi and necropoleis close to Mycenae are often situated near two M-highways contrary to the cemeteries in the rest of the Argolid which are generally close to a single M-highway. This is mainly due to a higher concentration of M-highways originating from Mycenae. However, it does not exclude the existence of secondary (m-)roads pre-dating the M-highways, which provided access to these locations. The use of (older) secondary roads could be supported by the fact that the chamber tomb cemeteries of Prosymna, Kokla, and Dendra predate the nearby tholos construction. This mirrors the correlation of the Atreus tholos tomb to the 3rd km and the Aghios Georgios chamber tomb cemeteries. The road accessing both chamber cemeteries could have been extended to access the Treasury of Atreus during its construction. Any pre-existing routes, once they were widened, were no longer visible.

To summarise, prior to the monumentalization of the M-highways, smaller pre-existing roads most likely led to the chamber tomb cemeteries. Crews of tomb diggers would have required access to the site, and funerary processions needed easy access for ceremonies (Boyd 2016; also Turner 2020, 78–79). Those older routes facilitated access to these cemeteries and, where possible, to the settlements. Such m-roads were less elaborately built, so much harder to trace, and often, therefore, no longer visible (see Discussion).

Name	Location	Vicinity to Roads	Date of construction, Date of usage
Argive Heraion/ Prosymna	Tholos tomb: 1 km W of sanctuary and chamber tomb cemetery, dromos orientated W. Chamber tomb cemetery: N and NW of the Argive Heraion	Along M4	LH II Chamber tomb cemetery: LH I-LH III

Berbati	Tholos tomb: NW close to Kastraki, 500 m from Mastos Chamber tomb cemetery: 1,2 km NW of Mastos	Near to M1 to the S and N of the m5	LH I-LH IIIA, Geometric period Chamber tomb cemetery: LH IB-LH IIIB
Midea/ Dendra	Tholos tomb at Dendra cemetery: SE of Midea acropolis, dromos orientated W Dendra chamber tomb cemetery: 1 km W of Midea acropolis	Near m5	LH III Early Chamber tomb cemetery: LH I-LH III
Tiryns	Tholos tomb I: 800m E of Tiryns Citadel, dromos orientated to the W Tholos tomb II: SE from the latter, not published Chamber tomb cemetery: E slope of Profitis Ilias hill	M4	Tholos tomb I: LH III* Chamber tomb cemetery: LH I-LH III
Kokla	Tholos tomb at Kokla cemetery: 5 km SW from Argos and 8 km NW from Lerna, dromos orientated to the E Chamber tomb cemetery: 5 km SW from Argos and 8 km NW from Lerna	Not in the vicinity of any M-highway	Tholos tomb: LH IIB-LH IIIA1 Chamber tomb cemetery: LHI-LH IIIB

Table 4: The five chamber tomb cemeteries and their associated tholoi in the Argolid. Dates according to Pelon 1976; 1990. Kokla date: according to Demakopoulou 1990.*

4.3. Roads in the economic and military landscapes

Müller's (1930, 178–79) mention of Plesia clay mortar, used at the Tiryns citadel, suggests its transport from Mycenae along M4 to Tiryns since Varti-Matarangas *et al.* (2002) did not find a source locally. Jansen (1997, 11; 2002, 17–18, 131) and Wace (*et al.* 1953, 17–18) mention roads giving access to the Plesia clay pits along M4, and the quarries of Profitis Ilias and Asprochoma. Experimental work by Mundell (2009, 82–91) and Mundell *et al.* (2009, 205) have indicated that minimally 21% of a well-constructed limestone-based drystone wall can be accounted for as voidage. If we were to consider a minimum of 20% voidage for each wall surface constructed Cyclopean style – solid, strong, with tight joints, including small in-fill stones but still with gaps – a large volume of Plesia clay, used as a lubricant and gap filler (Evely 1993, 210, n. 41), would require transportation. Stones for building had to be moved (see 4.1.1.). Pollen evidence (e.g., Jahns 1993) suggests that also timber was in heavy use in the LBA, in monumental construction activities. Finally, entire ship cargoes with raw materials, agricultural produce (Jansen 1997; 2002 on M1–M3), and crafted goods must have made it across the Argive Plain arriving and leaving from Tiryns, Mycenae, Midea, Argos, the Berbati valley, various locales towards the Corinthia, and other areas of production and consumption. Agricultural produce came from the valleys to the north of Mycenae (Stefani, Kephalaria, Tenea and Kleonai) and to its east (Berbati). Donkeys carrying storage jars were depicted in Phaistos (Jansen 2002, 129), and oxen were used in agricultural work and transport, as documented in the Linear B tablets (tablet PY Ch 897: Chadwick 1987, 38, figure 19; see also section 4.4.). Indirect evidence of HGVs in agriculture includes the need for oxen as draught and plough animals (Lavery 1990; Cavanagh – Mee 1999; Brysbaert 2013). The EH II baked clay model of oxen from Tzoungiza (Pullen 1992) illustrate bovid use early on.

Additional military usage could justify the efforts in building the M-highways but direct evidence for this is scarce (Crouwel 1981, 79; Jansen 2002, 53m n. 66; Tausand 2006, 199). Indirect evidence comes via iconography and Linear B documents mainly from Knossos and Pylos (Crouwel 1981, 30–31). Drews (1993, 82) sees offensive warfare tactics taking place, the chariots being driven by elite archers. This is doubted by Dickinson (1999, 22). Linear B refers both to chariot wheels and parts, and to place names associated with chariots (e.g., Amnissos on Crete), indicating that their use extended beyond the

palaces and citadels. Schallin (1996) discusses some architectural remains along M1 as possible lookout-posts due to their prime location. We can confirm that the view from several places along M1 is excellent, especially along the stone-built stretch that covered the entire Berbati valley. Finally, Wace *et al.* (1953, 4–5, nbrs 12–13, figure 1), mention a road, possibly running from the House of the Oil Merchant towards the Lion Gate, but not following the modern road. It may have run in front of the dromoi of both Clytemnestra and Aigisthos tholoi and then zigzagged up to the citadel using the Mycenaean terrace walls (see Mylonas 1959). As the road ran immediately below the west side of the Gate, prior to the construction of the Lion Gate, it would have been perfectly located and could be used for look-out and defence purposes.

4.4. Roads and the Linear B evidence

Table 5 contains all the known tablets from Tiryns on landownership and oxen. Tablets from Pylos, Knossos and Thebes were selectively chosen for the potential parallels in the Argolid, since large tracts of land and oxen were likely assigned to specific (elite) people. However, regional differences between the Mycenaean polities certainly existed: the Argolid being a special case, as the different palatial centres likely recorded only what was of exclusive interest to them. The tablets from Pylos, Knossos and Thebes, therefore, can only be understood fully within their own context. Any comparison made to the situation in the Argolid, where substantial tablet information is lacking, needs to be treated with caution.

It is unclear who owned which parcel of land in the region of the Argive Plain where three citadels were located. For the Pylian state, land seemed to have been held by religious personnel, by the *dāmos*, as well as by the palace, whose tablets recorded limited details of the land in its kingdom (Carlier 1987, 72). It is even possible that all land was in the hands of the *dāmoi* (Bennet 2013, 247) since they leased it out. Such a scenario may not have worked for the Argive Plain and its surroundings. Similar conclusions were reached for bronze workers and the distribution of bronze in the different Mycenaean regions (Palaima 1989, 94–95; but see Blackwell 2018). What these tablets indirectly illustrate is the need for intense circulation of goods and services (wheels, wheel parts, TI SI) in an environment in which the economy is based on agriculture (TI Ef 2, Ef 3). People, animals and materials travelled and moved (PY Ch series; PY Cn

418a) for different work-related purposes, especially for agriculture (PY An 830, 907a; KN C 902; KN Ce 59), construction (PY An 35, An 18a?; PY Fn 7; PY Vn 46&879), crafts (PY An 1282; KN Sc 223), palatial monitoring and control (PY Nn 831; PY An 656), and taxation (PY An 1). Among the elite, several people, performing various roles, imply an individual's need for travel and movement of their goods and livestock (PY Un 267). Oxen may have been used for the transport of building materials (PY An 852a) and the palace, who owned many, kept them in good health (PY Aq 64). Bovines and ass, as transport aids, also appear on festive menus (Dabney *et al.* 2004). Sacrificial animals sometimes travelled (over 50 km) to their final destination, as did the 'international' collectors who prepared the feasts (Palaima 2004, 226, n. 61). There was a clear level of military presence connected to the palatial sphere for (at least some of) its influence, such as the reuse of bronze, implying weapon production and use (e.g., PY Jn 829), and in the control of military manpower (PY Cn 418a). Chariots certainly were used on the roads when traveling from place to place (KN Sc 223). Finally, many remunerations were recorded, consisting of both agricultural produce that had to be collected and delivered (TH Fq 247; PY Un 1322), as well as land plots that were accessed by third parties (PY En/Eo series; PY Na series).

Tablet name	Topic	Description	Comments	Main refs
TIRYNS				
TI Cb 4		Oxen (with names?)	Named = palatial	Godart - Olivier 1975, 51-52 Kajava 2011; 2012
TI Ef 2	<i>qo-u-ko-ro</i> – GRA 6	Oxherd x large landholding. Land amount in relation to amount of grain to sow	Possibly part of large and survey, see PY Ea & Eb series	Palaima 1989, 98 Shelmerdine 2008, 148 Foster 1981, 105
TI Ef 3	<i>ke-ke-me-no</i>	Communal land	Possibly part of large and survey, see PY Ea & Eb series	Godart - Olivier 1975 Foster 1981, 105

TI S1 8–10		Wheels but not with spokes	From carts?	Godart - Olivier 1975
PYLOS				
PY Ch series		Palatial oxen loans to <i>dāmos</i>	to be kept in good condition	
PY Ep/Eb series	<i>ke-ke-me-na</i> <i>ko-to-no-</i> <i>o-ko</i>	Land administered & owned by <i>dāmos</i> through it council		Lupack 2008
PY En/Eo series	<i>ki-ti-me-na</i>	Land associated with <i>dāmos</i> and granted to local elites (te- re-ta)		Lupack 2008
PY Na series		Military service people with landholdings. Some landholders own oxen, provide workers to palace		Nakassis 2012, 269–72
PY An 1		Taxation through rowing service, rowers connected to land holdings		Nakassis 2012, 269–72
PY An 18a	<i>te-ko-to-</i> <i>na-pe</i> <i>to-ko-do-mo</i>	90 oxherds associated with carpenters, wall builders, service men	Oxen used to transport timber and stone?	Palaima 1989, 100, 115–18
PY An 35	<i>to-ko-do-mo</i>	Building work in both provinces	Builders traveled, being attracted as skilled workers	Duhoux 2008, 296–98

PY An 656	<i>o-ka</i> tablet	<i>di-wi-je-u</i> 's seat of authority near the bay of Navarino	Same person is inspector on PY Cn 3 tablet, highly mobile	Palaima 1989, 114–16
PY An 830 + 907a	<i>ko-re-te-re</i> <i>ke-ke-me-no</i>	Oxherds and ox pasturers (<i>qo-qo-ta</i>) of the <i>dāmos</i> that own communal land	Oxherds located in 3 regions	Palaima 1989, 100
PY An 852a		oxherds associated with carpenters	Oxen used to transport timber?	Palaima 1989, 115–18
PY An 1282		Men brought in to make chariots	Administrators, skilled and unskilled labour from various locations	Schon 2007, 136
PY Aq 64	<i>a-qi-zo-we</i>	Fodder given by palace to landholders who borrowed oxen	Palatial measure to keep oxen in good health	Halstead 1999; 2001, 40 Killen 1992–1993 Nakassis 2013, 209–10
PY Cn 3a	<i>jo-i-je-si</i> <i>di-wi-je-u</i>	Men with military association (<i>o-ka</i> tablets) sent/offered oxen to inspector <i>di-wi-je-u</i>	If sent, distant movement is implied along a main route in Messenia	Palaima 1989, 104, 114, 116–17
PY Cn 418a	<i>a-ko-ro-we-e</i> <i>we-da-ne-u</i>	Fattened oxen <i>we-da-ne-u</i> as important livestock manager located in 7 places, controls military manpower	Needed extra fodder in hard working periods	Palaima 1989, 104–05, 114
PY Ea 781a		Single landplot owned by oxherd		Palaima 1989

PY Ea 270a, 305a, 757a, 802a	<i>ke-ke-me-no</i>	Landholdings possessed by ox pasturers		Palaima 1989
PY Fn 7 (An 7 + Fn 1427)	<i>to-ko-do-mo</i> <i>pi-re-e-te-re/si</i> <i>pa-te-ko-to</i>	Builders and sawyers with food rations Carpenter of all work		Melena 1998; Nakassis 2012, 275
PY Nn 831	<i>po-me-ne</i> <i>qu-o-ko-ro</i>	Oxherd as landholder and with supervisory status, other supervisory artisans as landholders	Landholders pay tax in flax on flax-growing land	Palaima 1989, 101–04 Foster 1981, 106–07, 121
PY Un 267	<i>a-ko-so-ta</i>	Pylian collector, land inspector (PY Eq 213), controls raw materials, distributes male workers (PY An 435)? Owned large flocks spread over both provinces	Involvement with Pylos administration in planning, monitoring, controlling & distributing involves mobility	Nightingale 2008, 576–86 Nakassis 2912, 279 Nakassis 2013, 200, 233–34
PY Un 718, Er 312	<i>te-re-ta</i>	Elites provided service in return to own/manage allocated plots	Service possibly of military nature	Lupack 2008, 44–85, esp. 69–72
PY Un 1322		Large food rations as salary for weavers, net makers	Part-time in palatial service	Chadwick 1964, 20–21, 25
PY Vn 46 & 879	building materials	Repair on megaron	Materials needed moving	Baumbach 1972, 385

KNOSSOS				
KN Ce 59	<i>we-ka-ta(-e)</i>	'working' oxen with names	In pairs for the work, neutered Named oxen likely palatial	Palaima 1989, 89, 91 Killen 1992-1993, 101 n. 2, 102
KN C 902	<i>ko-re-te-re</i>	Oxherds associated with <i>ko-re-te-re</i> and fodder rations <i>Ko-re-te-re</i> associated with sacrificial bull	Pylian kingdom with spread of oxherds over minimum five locations	Palaima 1989, 100
KN L 480	<i>qo-u-qo-ta</i>	Ox pasturers		
KN Sc 223		Bronze used for chariot assemblies	Chariots on roads	Palaima 1989, 93
KN Sd 4401 & Sf 4428	<i>ke-ra-ja-pi</i>	Chariot making involving horn fittings	Horns possibly of bovines?	Palaima 1989, 88
THEBES				
TH Fq 247	<i>te-ka-ta-si</i>	Carpenters	Receiving wine and wheat rations	Montecchi 2011, 171-72, 182, 184

Table 5: Linear B tablet data from Tiryns, Pylos, Knossos and Thebes on oxen, chariots, weapon production, food rations, and other agricultural produce and activities that individually or combined refer directly or indirectly to transport and movement via roads (full details in Palaima 1989; see also Brysbaert 2013, 61-71).

5. Discussion: interactive spheres of life

Due to the suggested functions (often contradictory) of the M-highways and roads, their trajectories, issues of chronology, and their need for maintenance,

as presented in the scattered literature and summarized in section 2, discussion of these factors is given below. It is given in light of our own findings, our explorative walks and the Linear B evidence. The often cross-crafting processes and interactive practices that were played-out in the landscape of the Argive Plain have been reflected by ‘dots on the rural map’ (after Cherry 2003, 147–48). They are meant to narrate the richness of people’s itinerant stories from within an equally varied ecological and cultural landscape. Chronology is a crucial issue as it is linked to all other matters. Next, we discuss the link between tomb orientation and road access, the road trajectories, their use, functions, and finally, but briefly, the use of LCPs in studying these M-highways and m-roads.

5.1. Chronology of road construction

Without proper excavations, further hampered by their state of preservation, it is impossible to determine a very precise chronology for the M-highways and the m-roads, but not all is lost. Considering the cross-craft association between agricultural expansive activities such as terracing and road building it is unlikely that all m-roads and M-highways were built in one go through a central palatial power in LH III. Instead, we believe that road construction formed a gradual process of roads-and-farming development, one growing next to the other. This culminated in a sudden monumentalization of existing roads into M-highways from LH IIIA2/IIIB1 onwards and into LH IIIB. Jansen (2002, 131) postulates that this gradual process of road construction had possibly started in the late MH shaft grave period, just as Mycenae started to profile itself as an important power. As a result, the use of m-roads may have become more frequent. Interestingly, this also coincides with the construction of the first larger tholoi towards the end of this period. The monumental M-highways were constructed during Mycenae’s largest expansion period (LH IIIA) (Schallin 1996; Hope Simpson – Hagel 2006, 149) or in the decades thereafter. It is likely that at around the same time many terrace constructions were established to enlarge land use capacity. Kvapil (2012) and Fallu (2017) could not date the terrace constructions at Korphos–Kalamianos and Mycenae, respectively, closer than LBA or LH IIIB. We cannot be sure, therefore, what came first and how the M-highways and the terraces are linked. In any case, the m-roads that were cut/formed in the steep hill sides, may have needed retainers and well-packed threads along part of their trajectories

suggesting that the technique of cut-and-terrace may have existed prior to the M-highways. Sitjes (2016) showed clearly that techniques of road construction were likely based on terrace construction and usage. Early terraces are known from LM I Crete at Gournia (Watrous 2012). Finally, Pikoulas warns us (2007, 80) that simple footpaths and pack animal pathways were always formed in the same way and, as such, do not permit secure dating, all-the-more, as they remained in use for centuries, or even longer.

5.2. *Links between tombs and road access*

Numerous studies conducted at Mycenae have focused on exploring the orientation of the tombs in relation to the landscape. The consensus reached is that the topography, especially the natural contours of the landscape, the easy access to resources from nearby quarries, and water dictated the location of the cemeteries as well as the orientation of the dromos (Mee – Cavanagh 1990; Maravelia 2002; Mason 2007; Georgiadou and Gallou 2008). It is worth noting that the Genii tholos tomb has a larger inclination to avoid cutting into the ancient road that passed nearby. Mason (2007) elaborates extensively on the location and orientation of the Treasury of Atreus. The site was chosen specifically to constitute an “eye-catching” landmark, a costly signal, visible across much of the land surrounding Mycenae. It was probably not coincidental that it also sat close to both M4 and M7.

As indicated in Tables 2 and 4, and section 4.1.3., most of the tholoi *along with their associated chamber tomb cemeteries* appear to be close to one of the M-highways or m-roads. Tomb construction and site visits happened all year round so access had to be free of obstacles which implies road maintenance. On this basis, we hypothesize that at least m-roads were constructed leading to places such as tombs as soon as the need required. This would also facilitate the tombs’ prolonged use throughout the LH period. Turner (2020, 78–79) came to the same practical conclusion for the Mycenaean chamber tomb cemeteries in Achaia. Equally, when the M-highways were planned in the landscape, community leaders may have spotted a good opportunity to signal their status along the roadside by letting the M-highways pass as near to the tholoi as practically possible. This would also conveniently facilitate processional access to these monuments by large crowds.

The chamber tomb cemeteries around Mycenae often consisted of numerous unaligned tombs, spread out along the hillsides; these were grouped in clusters (Tsountas 1888, 123, figure 1; French 2002, fig. 25). Tsountas was the first to observe the relationship between the cemeteries and routes to them, a theory opposed by Mee – Cavanagh (1990, 228). The latter pointed out that, with few exceptions, none of the major cemeteries around Mycenae appear to be in the vicinity of any of the main Mycenaean routes. They suggest that the clusters of tombs might have been created due to the formation of small-scale political alliances, an opinion we do not reject. They conclude that the Atreus Treasury was built in a significant position, as well as the Prosymna tholos, probably reflecting the important social status of their owners. The Atreus Treasury is situated at an eye-catching location in the vicinity of M4 leading to Mycenae from the south, but also visible from the north-eastern part of the settlement along M1 and M2 (Mason 2007). The literature, along with our own observations highlight that there was indeed a clear relation between the initial use of smaller roads which, when needed, were later widened and monumentalised. This was to facilitate easy access for new constructions but also to impress potential passers-by.

5.3. *Trajectories*

In addition to the four known M-highways, we support Lavery (1995) who recognised m5, M6, M7 and M8 as such, contra to Jansen's view (1997, 9, n.32). These additional trajectories can be substantiated since they ran near to or connected several places of importance. As mentioned, m5 connected with M1 close to the Berbati tholos tomb and ran, via the Mastos settlement in the Berbati valley to Tiryns via the Dendra cemetery and tholos and the citadel of Midea. As such, it could have provided a direct line of transport for Mycenaean pottery from Berbati to Tiryns for the export to c. 350 east Mediterranean destinations during LH IIIA1–LH IIIB, without the need to pass through Mycenae. Cyprus and the Levant saw a sharp rise of Mycenaean imports from LH IIIA2 onwards (van Wijngaarden 2002, 13–21). This was perhaps facilitated by secure transport links along the highways within military-protected cargoes.

Highway M6 from Mycenae to Aidonia showed clear evidence of the importance of the latter LH settlement (the Bronze Age site Ai2, Hachtmann 2015, 405–6, fig. 2). As the builders of the large chamber tomb cemetery, they

were receivers of imports such as Aiginitan and Kean pottery and andesite millstones, not to speak of the imported wealth in the tombs. Earlier roots of the site date to the MH (Hachtmann 2015, 405–7). The Bronze Age site Ai2 also shows evidence of ramps, terraces, Cyclopean-style fortifications, and roads. All are hard to date but the latter two cannot be later than LH III since the settlement sees a sudden end and abandonment in LH IIIA2, even before the cemetery fell out of use (Hachtmann 2015, esp. 412). It seems then that building M6 was Mycenae's strategy to stop Aidonia competing in the region, and so take control.

Highway M7 ran past a large mansion with substantial storage capacity close to the citadel of Mycenae, at Chania (Palaiologou 2014; 2015), and at least one multi-tonne conglomerate lintel block⁸ has been found in the Mycenaean levels of the Larissa at Argos (Crouwel 2008, 267–68). Conglomerate does not exist near Argos and needed to be brought 290 m uphill. Highway M8 connected Mycenae to Phichtia which had a Mycenaean settlement and chamber tombs (Wace 1949).

5.4. Usage and functions

5.4.1. Agricultural

Illustrated by Figure 3, one necessity for building highways from LH IIIA onwards seems to have derived from the need for Mycenae to tie local farming communities economically and politically closer to palatial control because of the importance of their fertile lands (Jansen 2002, 60). The M1 and M3 highways were constructed leading towards the regions of Stefani and the Kephalaria valley (Lavery 1995; Jansen 2002, 133–34), perhaps even connecting Korphos–Kalamianos. This allowed agricultural produce on farm vehicles, pedestrians, animals and other cargoes to travel between fields, citadels and settlements. Oxen owned by the palace were hired for use by non-palatial members of society. Landholders, who could not afford oxen, could borrow from those who could, and share them to plough and collect the harvest, at their own risk (Halstead 1995, 17). The movement of oxen between plots and the collected harvest suggests sturdy, wide roads enough to let a yoked pair pass (c. 1.5–2 m wide, with oxen, excluding cargo). The extent of the M-highways from LH IIIA onwards, indicate the growing opportunistic regional power boundary shift of Mycenae, showing the potential for extending further (Jansen 2002, 130).

⁸ Lintel block dimensions: $(0.85 \times 0.85 \times 3.85) \times 2,400$ as mass of conglomerate = 6,676 tonne in total.

However, we agree with Fotiadis (2011, 282), Dickinson (2003, 245–46) and Hope Simpson – Hagel (2006, 146) that the investment and level of engineering works required for these highways is excessive simply to collect the harvest, especially as this had originally been achieved using smaller roads and since no such roads are known from Boeotia. Boeotia was also a large central node with great engineering works. Dickinson postulates that Boeotian wealth must have been based on agricultural surplus control (with the well-drained Kopais basin as the major region), as was the case with Mycenae. We are also not convinced that all fields, including the terraces which are suggestive of the intensification of cultivation in LH IIIB (Halstead 1992; Kvapil 2012; Fallu 2017), were all served by these M-highways, as the M-highways appear to have been constructed after the terraces. As already stated, harvesting was undertaken long before any M-highway had been constructed. We do not deny that from LH IIIA onwards (Lavery 1990; Schallin 1996) these roads will have facilitated such transports from fields in close proximity. However, as M-highways tended to follow a specific contour to keep the road gradient as low as 2–3% (Brysbart in press-b), terraced fields could only be partially served. Many farmers would have had to transport their harvest up or down to the highways in carts, via smaller roads and pack animals. That seems a lot of extra effort for no additional benefit.

5.4.2. *Military*

Crouwel (1981, 150) and Jansen (1997) express the military usage for the M-highways, whilst linking them with other purposes and vehicle types. They maintain that foot traffic would have used the more direct m-roads (see also Lavery 1995). At first, Jansen (1997, 7–8; 2002, 108–09, 128) sees chariot use predominantly for elite display. Later Jansen (2002, 110, 132) contradicts himself by referring to the *o-ka* tablets (Ventris – Chadwick 1973, 188–93) which mention chariots and followers in units of coastguards enlisting up to 800 men. This then confirms the military use of chariots (Krigas 1987, 78–79; but see Dickinson 1999, 25). Tausand (2006, 199) uses the width of the M-highways and the wheel ruts to argue for chariot use but gives no references for the figures. Jansen (2002, 53, n. 66) refers to wheel ruts of c. 1 m in Boeotia. Crouwel (1981, 79) relates the axle length to the width of M-highways, and that the chariot axles were made of wood. Crouwel (1981, 145, 150) mentions both military and civil uses for chariots: hunting, processions (religious/funerary) and racing.

Knauss (1996) assigns both economic reasons (transport of food stuffs), and defence (allowing mobilization of troops, equipment, controlling access at strategic locations) for M-highway construction. He also suggests that certain bridges may have acted as water dams (e.g., Chavos bridge: Knauss 1996, 9). Lavery (1990, 166–69) called Mycenae the western point of the ‘golden triangle’, a series of fertile upland plateaus now dominated by the modern town of Stefani with the Trikorpho ridge to the northwest, and a long running mountain range (c. 800–1000 masl) between Aghios Vasilios and Agionori to the northeast. These mountains formed a ‘boundary fortification’ that was easily controlled against potential raiders. They protected the fertile rich plateaus below (Figure 6). We suggest that around harvest time, such places could have been further protected with the addition of control measures and patrols provided by the Mycenaean administration. This would deter food thieves, and guarantee transportation of goods to the citadel.

On the one hand, the theory that military requirements did not play a *major* role in the development of M-highways might explain the lack of evidence for more M-highways leading to the south of Mycenae, towards Tiryns and Midea/Nauplio. By c. 1400 BCE both were likely to be under Mycenae’s rule. These would perhaps only require roads to accommodate communication, transport of stone, timber and other resources, and the trade of goods.

On the other hand, in a region modified over time by agricultural activities, especially in the low-lying parts of the Argive Plain, Mycenaean roads of any type would be very hard to trace. The argument can be turned around: Tiryns was so important to Mycenae, as its harbour gave access for goods from both near and far (on its exotica: Rahmstorf 2008), one would expect the roads to be guarded ensuring the precious cargoes would arrive at Mycenae safely. The *o-ka* tablets from Pylos are a reminder of such coastal protection, whether this was purely military – in expectation of invading troops or to protect incoming cargoes, maybe both. The second half of the 13th c. BCE *was* a troubled period (e.g., access to water and artisanal quarters secured within citadel walls, the need to enlarge fortification walls to include archery shooting holes and embrasures, Maran 2010, 728), so excluding military usage of M-highways or any road is not justifiable.



Figure 6: Google earth 3D view of the topography in the region of Mycenae towards the regions it likely accessed for agricultural produce and crafted goods.

5.4.3. *Crafts*

The Linear B tablets suggest that artisans were recruited from their home villages by the Pylian palace to produce prestige items (Voutsaki 2001), implying the use of existing travel infrastructure (Table 5). Both palatial and religious ‘collectors’, but also the local elite and owners of substantial resources (labour, food resources and building materials), were using the roads to generate their income. Local transactions with the *dāmos* (Lupack 2008, 165) and contact with the palatial administration over the latter, ensured that access to these resources could be maintained. Raw flax fibre was collected in many smaller villages, rather than from district centres (Foster 1981, 68).

The tablets suggest that a food surplus was required by the Pylian palace to pay food rations for its artisans’ personnel, as well as for military forces (*o-ka* troops, rowers), members of the administrative bureaucracy, and political and religious officials. Similar groups in the Argolid would need access to roads, but not necessarily only M-highways. Hiller (1988, 61) calculated that 4,000 people on the tablets depended on the Pylos central bureaucracy, of which one third were supported by direct food rations. The remainder supported themselves through assigned landholdings. Additional pressure on the road network was created by the need: (1) to exploit the forests for shipbuilding, chariots and building construction, the firing of pottery and metallurgy work; (2) for foraging land for livestock (wool, meat, hides); (3) to farm lowland for flax and cultivate vines, tree and field crops; (4) to build and extend settlements to house the increasing population during the LH IIIA–B (Palaima 1989, 112–13). Again, access to roads (of different types) was crucial in facilitating all these activities.

5.4.4. *Construction*

The connecting places using routes on an even contour, such as Mycenae and Tiryns suggest the use of HGVs. Before the LH IIIB expansion of the Tiryns citadel, roads such as m-roads and others were likely to have been used for the transport of boat cargoes arriving at Tiryns for Mycenae and beyond (Brysbaert 2021), and for return cargoes requiring shipping from Tiryns elsewhere (e.g., pictorial pottery: Sjöberg 2004, 139). It is possible that a section of the right arm of Lavery’s older m5 (1990, 168; section 2.4.) was the forerunner of M4. But when required in LH IIIB, this arm was perhaps enhanced to allow the transport

of massive blocks from Mycenae to Tiryns (Brysaert 2021) among other larger supplies (timber, clay).

The so-called ‘duplications’ (section 2.4., Hope Simpson 1981, 17), refer to the M-highways that duplicate the m-roads. ‘Duplication’ by itself is, to our understanding, enough evidence that these M-highways were constructed with wheeled HGVs in mind, and perhaps chariots, as well. Hope Simpson – Hagel (2006, 146) also believe that some of these may have run over flat plains with sufficiently raised road surfaces protected by kerbs. Mylonas (1966, 87) calls the duplicating M-highways a sign of great prosperity and strength of Mycenae. This can be doubted, considering their construction in the later part of the 13th c. BCE when Mycenae’s power was already waning although we do question this date for all M-highways (see above). Hope Simpson (1981) explains that the duplicated roads would enhance the deployment of large numbers of troops when required. In a different context, Glatz – Plourde (2011, 62) sees the constant construction upgrading as a potential sign for the socio-political and economic troubles ahead. Seen in such light, ‘duplications’ could be construed as the elite’s signal to assert themselves and reaffirm their dominant role in material expressions, especially in view of the events around 1200 BCE. Also, their use as ‘one-way roads’ is a valid point which is supported in this paper as HGVs would not have been able to pass each other with a maximum road width of only 2.50 m. This is supported by Pikoulas’ work (2007, 82) on later cartwheel road tracks. We do not believe that the M-highways were duplicates of smaller roads (section 2.4.). Instead, M-highways replaced earlier m-roads to allow access for HGVs, since these required shallow gradients and roads durable enough to limit wear and erosion. Smaller roads led to most of the cemeteries many of which were in use by LH I–II (Iakovidis *et al.* 2003).

Vicinity to water was crucial and appears to play a double role in the region: cleansing rituals (Georgiadis – Gallou 2008) in the case of the cemeteries, and that of serving the daily needs of the community at the settlements. It would, therefore, be logical to suggest that roads would serve the settlements and provide easy access to cemeteries for the re-use of tombs, and to perform ceremonies in which water was a need. Chamber tomb cemeteries were in use until the LH III B–C period. Many chamber tomb cemeteries were in use before the tholoi were constructed. Construction of the tholoi demanded a wide and easily accessible road to transport the large stones at least for the stomion area (Table 3). The likely

presence of a forerunner of M7 between the Panagia and Kalkani ridges (see also Lavery 1995, map 1), running west of the Atreus Treasury, could have served the Epano Fournos and Panagitsa tholos tombs. The Kato Fournos, Genii and Cyclopean tombs were likely served by a forerunner of M3W. Such needs will not have led *directly* to the construction of all M-highways but perhaps to the initial widening of existing roads. Moreover, paths and roads leading to cemeteries would have been maintained because of regular access to the tholoi during and after the Bronze Age. These suggestions are supported by the fact that the five tholoi, which are not in the immediate vicinity of Mycenae's citadel, lie close to one of the roads connecting them to conglomerate resources (of the Kalkani and Panagia ridges). Some appear to have been in use up until the Hellenistic period (see Table 2, Figure 4). Both the literature and our own observations relating to the location for all tholoi, confirms Tsountas' (1888, 123–24) initial observation that they lie close to a road, albeit perhaps not an M-highway, based on their date of construction.

5.4.5. *Multiple uses*

The multiple use of most of the M-highways and many of the smaller roads can be asserted given that many different spheres of life (and death) were connected by them; it appears that no road was constructed just for a single use. A similar conclusion was reached by Fachard and Pirisino (2015, 139–41) in their study of the roads within Attica. *If* the M-highway use was mainly agricultural we wonder why then more of them were not constructed to and from Tiryns, especially after 1200 BCE when population substantially increased – or at least nucleated – there. At the same time, several of the day-to-day spheres of life cross over, either regularly or on occasion. For example, the area of Grave Circle A at Mycenae, a former burial ground, was venerated in later periods by the opportunistic elite who embedded the Grave Circle, both symbolically and physically, in their daily life. In doing so they built on the power of ancestry to claim their land. They built a stronghold there and physically enclosed the Circle within the fortification wall during the second half of the 13th century BCE. Ceremonial visits to Grave Circle A will have been carried out on specific occasions, with limited access given to the citadel itself for the select few. As today, roads can temporarily and partially be closed off for special events (e.g., the visit of an important political leader, road repairs, demonstrations). Control (or the lack thereof) of closing and reopening

the roads would then lie, most often, in the hands of authorities, but may also fall to the hands of the people themselves.

Lavery (1995, 265) postulated that the M-highways M1–M3 serviced the landlocked but rich agricultural plains of Phlious, Kleonai, Tenea and Berbati providing access to the sea (at Tiryns, M4) and their markets. All but M4 passed through the storage mansions of Mycenae so he suggested a confederacy of Mycenae (as a clearing house) and Tiryns (as harbour outlet) from perhaps late MH III onwards (similarly by Darcque – Rougemont 2015, 567; also Sjöberg 2004), may be even earlier. We agree with this suggestion as soon afterwards a surge of monumentalization started, which culminated in the construction of tholoi and citadel walls, and the widening and strengthening of existing roads to carry HGVs. This progressed through LH III (e.g., Lavery on M2). Moreover, it also indicates that the roads were not intended *just* to serve Mycenae. This may well have been the major purpose, but they also *connected several other important places*, whether via Mycenae or not. These notions make clear that previous studies over-emphasize the importance of Mycenae at the expense of the surrounding region.

5.5. *The use and meaning of LCPS*

Least Cost Paths (LCPs) indicate the most cost-effective route to traverse a landscape between two points. Recreating the Mycenaean road network based only on LCPs demonstrates in most cases a clear deviation between the LCP and the ground-truthed trajectories (Figure 7, Table 6). The LCPs deviations usually indicate substantially shorter distances than the ground-truthed trajectories. They did not take important architectural remains such as bridges and tholoi into account or height deviations. Moreover, LCPs do not consider intervisible locales. Despite these observations LCPs should still be used when studying archaeological remains of ancient road networks as, even though least-cost was not the main drive for the routing of M-highways, they can still suggest useful trajectories (Table 6). As Fachard and Pirisino observed (2015, 141) LCPs often indicated alternative (perhaps longer) roads (in distance) that were accessible by foot providing speedy travel (in time), and traversable using pack animals carrying small loads. During such travel topographical variety was less a hinder than it would be for larger cargoes. In the case of M2 the generated LCP followed

the route of the actual M2 at the start before it joined M1 and M3. However, routes M1 and M3 clearly demonstrate that the Mycenaean also followed alternative routes to reach Corinth. They invested greatly in infrastructure to make these routes safe and easy to traverse (see the M1 with its numerous culverts and two bridges and the M3 bridges: Steffen 1884).

The human ability to manipulate the landscape to suit their travelling needs and to demonstrate power and status, should not be underestimated either. An excellent example is provided by the M4 which, according to the LCPA should have ran straight to Tiryns from Mycenae, along the flat land of the Argive plain (Brysbaert 2021). However, the architectural remains (e.g., Prosymna Tholos and the Aghios Georgios bridge), suggest otherwise. This trajectory, along the later Argive Heraion, offered the traveller both the opportunity to admire the largest tholos in the Argolid after leaving Mycenae (Hope Simpson – Dickinson 1979) and to pass by the settlement (Hope Simpson – Dickinson 1979). Equally, funerary processions leading to any tomb would defy the LCPs as other, more social factors, drive these routes (Boyd 2016, 66–67). Efkleidou (2019) came to similar conclusions when testing her LCPs for Mycenae itself.

Least Cost Path	Starting Point	Ending Point	LCP Distance	Real Distance
M1	Mycenae	Corinth	30.384	40.378
M2	Mycenae	Corinth	23.466	39.951
M3	Mycenae	Corinth	28.964	37.492 (excluding M3W)
M4	Mycenae	Tiryns	15.353	22.959
M5	Berbati Tholos	Tiryns	14.123	17.689
M6	Argive Heraion	Aidonia	25.151	28.853
M7	Mycenae	Larisa Argos	11.147	13.760
M8	Mycenae	Phictia	3.065	3.890

Table 6: Full distances covered by real trajectories (including overlaps) and their correlated LCPs.

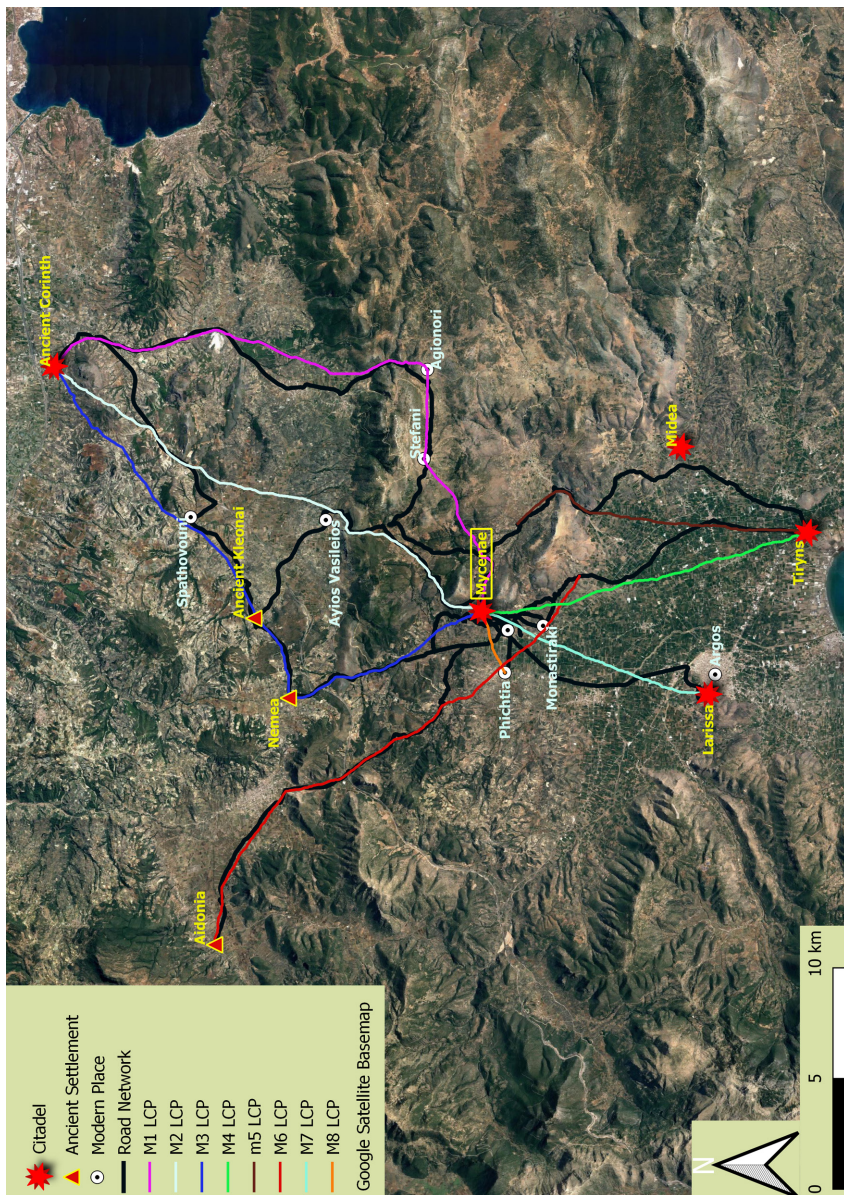


Figure 7: Mycenaean road network (black) with superimposed LCPs (colour-coded).

6. Conclusions

The combination of road construction, developing agricultural terracing, and transporting building materials and agricultural goods from cultivated fields to the consumer seems clear for economically productive and fertile regions known around Mycenae and beyond. It has also been testified in other contexts such as at Choiromandres on Minoan Crete (Chryssoulaki *et al.* 1989). On this basis, Brysbaert (2013; in press-a) argued that farmers could temporarily support or be the builders when they could be spared from their agricultural activities. A farmer's skills, knowledge of terracing techniques and the skills in working efficiently with traction animals (ploughing) and perhaps also sledges (threshing) could easily cross over into the transportation of building blocks and large timbers through the landscape.

Constructed Mycenaean Highways	Distance (km)
M1	40.376
M2	17.940
M3	34.182
M3W	5.810
M4 (including extension of outcrops in Charvati)	25.122
m5	17.689
M6	21.856
M7	13.760
M8	2.688
Rho	0.920 (excluded from calculations)
Total constructed length	179.423

Table 7: Net length of Mycenaean constructed road network based on Iakovidis et al. (2003) and recorded points. Total length includes all alternative routes comprising the M4 at the height of Monastiraki and excludes substantial overlaps between M1-M2-M3, M3-M6, M4-M6, M4-M7, and M4-M8.

Remains of the Mycenaean M-highway network discussed here covers a combined length of approximately 175–180 km of constructed highways. This distance takes into account all possible routes but excludes overlaps that occur between M-highways (Table 7). Jansen (2002, 55–57) refers to the M1 remains not being traceable for more than a maximum of 4 km from the citadel or 2.5 hours walking time from Mycenae into the Kephalaria valley. The three remaining M-highways to south and north, Jansen assigns 1.5 hours to walk their combined length. This way, he supports his ‘circulation model’ rather than a ‘communication model’ showing the sphere of Mycenaean influence that is inferred from the ancient road network remains (beyond the omnipresent dirt tracks and smaller roads). We believe that this is a rather limited view of the highway network since M4 from Mycenae to Tiryns alone covers more than 20 km. Moreover, a road which is only traceable in part is, therefore, not necessarily out of the Mycenaean sphere of influence, especially if important cargoes were transported (and guarded) along it. Protection of cargo shipments may also have taken place along M1, M2 and M3 which can be traced up to Nemea, Phlious and Tzoungiza, which likely still fell under Mycenaean influence. This influence, possibly since the Shaft Grave period (but see the graves at Aidonia), was of specific agricultural importance to Mycenae in LH II–III (Cherry – Davis 2001). In bringing this land under their control, Mycenae could also harness labour for their agricultural and building activities alike and signal this clearly.

Perhaps one thing can be agreed: roads wide enough for HGVs were constructed with effort and thus needed some form of organized labour dispatchment to achieve this *and* in subsequent maintenance requirements. A similar understanding of what it takes to keep roads ‘open for use’ are visible on Crete’s hiking paths, even to this day (Brysaert, personal observation and experience). Maintenance activities were also known in Roman times. When that ceased, in the fourth and fifth c. CE, roads gradually became inaccessible and fell into disrepair (Pikoulas 2007, 84). The large-scale landscape modelling required for construction projects and for the road network layout stopped around 1200 BCE. If Mycenae and the other elite powers in the region had counted on these costly activities signalling their political power in the region, through mobilization of their workforces, then that signal certainly waned and failed to be received as such by the population at that moment in time (after Glatz – Plourde 2011; Connolly 2017).

Based on Linear B information (Nakkasis 2012, Table 5, all with references; Brysbaert 2013; 2020), Krigas (1987, 75) referred to the cartwright of the Pylos palace who also owned a *o-na-ta* of land, and who was able to grow (at least in part) his own crops. Many of the tablets indicate that people, especially those employed by the palace, including artisans and sometimes even elite members, also had a life outside its walls, mostly as farmers, landowners, and land managers. This means that many people may have been using the roads, for different purposes depending on the seasonal demands over the year. Some of the trips people undertook along these roads will also have involved visits to family and friends elsewhere, and remembering the dead with visits to the cemetery. During uncertain times, several of the roads may have been patrolled to safeguard against incoming dangers. Finally, Argos was connected to Lerna (Mason 2007, 36, figure 1). Pritchett (1980, 140) found evidence of one road leading from Lerna towards Sparta crossing the Hellenikon mountains and a second one through Anthana and Neris (also Krigas 1987, 81). Travel to the north, for building materials and other necessities through the Corinthia and beyond, is now in evidence (Brysbaert in press-b). This shows that the local and regional road network and M-highways tied in with a much wider road/M-highways network system beyond the Mycenaean territories (contra Jansen 2002, 27, 132–35; and critiqued by Fotiadis 2011, 282). Such networks would have facilitated people travelling over long distances within and beyond the Peloponnese for a multitude of reasons.

Mycenaean were clearly very mobile and their very existence, viability and survival strategies depended largely on their movement patterns. Free movement meant an economic means of survival, the supply of food, access to resources and work, development of skills and knowledge. It resulted in a higher tolerance during periods of strife, longer-term unstable conditions, and during times of conflict. For Classical Greece, Purcell (1990, 44) even noted that itinerants were very ubiquitous in the Greek world due to the relative scarcity of human resources in the Mediterranean world. This subject has not been explored in this paper but is doubtlessly important in the LBA period as the Amarna tablets (and to some extent the Linear B tablets) testify.

Freedom of movement by the Mycenaean resulted in stability which led to the sustainability of their society as-a-whole. This was strongly influenced by the topographical variability. People from each of the micro-regions had to negotiate

their surroundings and understand how to ‘traverse it’ to capitalize on the opportunities available to them from their environment (Horden – Purcell 2000, 385). In some cases, as we have seen, easy access was not necessarily straightforward.

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STRATEGIES OF RECONCILIATION IN CICERO'S PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIFE*

GABRIEL EVANGELOU

During the last few decades of the late Roman republic, personal ambition and the competition for *imperium* led to constant clashes between Rome's leading men.¹ Thus, war, civil strife, and violence defined the 1st c. BC. These conflicts are well attested in literature and, while Roman and Greek historians chiefly discuss the main events that took place, Cicero's letters constitute a unique source because of the insight that they provide into conversations behind the scenes and into the thought process in his and many of his fellow politicians' decision making. At the same time, his correspondence with men, such as Lentulus Spinther and Atticus, provides information not only about these conflicts, but also about the methods of reconciliation that they employed to reconcile with persons with whom they had quarrelled.² The letters reveal that while some efforts for reconciliation were

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¹ As Sallust has famously noted, *ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit, aliud clausum in pectore aliud in lingua promptum habere, amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re sed ex commodo aestumare, magisque voltum quam ingenium bonum habere* (*Catil.* 10,5).

² Some of the most notable studies of reconciliation in the ancient world include K. A. Raafaub (ed.), *War and Peace in the Ancient World*, Malden – Oxford 2007; E. P. Moloney – M. S. Williams, *Peace and Reconciliation in the Classical World*, London – New York 2017. Nonetheless, the scholarship on reconciliation between individuals in the ancient world has been remarkably limited. Konstan has examined forgiveness and emotions related to reconciliation, including *Pity Transformed*, London 2001; “Pity and power”, in R. Sternberg (ed.), *Pity in Ancient Athenian Life and Letters*, Cambridge 2005, 48–66; “Clemency as a virtue”, *Classical Philology* 100 (2005), 337–46; “War and reconciliation in Greek literature”, in K. A. Raafaub (ed.), *War and Peace in the Ancient World*, Malden – Oxford

genuine and resulted in proper restoration of relations, in some other cases a reconciliation was forced upon them by a third person without an actual desire between the former enemies to restore their relations. This paper will look at Cicero's efforts to reconcile first with his closest friend, Atticus, then with a man from his public life, Crassus, and finally with someone whom he ostensibly regarded as both a friend and an ally, Pompey. Its main aim is to identify and analyse the main rhetorical strategies of reconciliation that Cicero opted to use in all three cases and thus to reevaluate the kind of relationship that the orator developed with each man.

In March 58 Cicero was forced to make an impossible decision. He could either risk his life by remaining in Rome and fighting against Clodius and his men or flee from Rome as an exile, thus also putting himself at risk during his journey to Sicily (and eventually to Thessalonica), after Clodius amended his bill.³ In the end, he decided to follow his friends' advice and leave Rome, being under the impression that the matter could be resolved in three days (*ad Q. fr.* 1,4,4).⁴ In his letters to Quintus, Terentia, and Atticus Cicero appears to be a broken man who is devastated by the turn of events. His exile had cost him everything, not only his *dignitas*⁵ and his prominent position in Roman politics, but, perhaps more importantly, his family, his friends and even himself.⁶ As Tempest rightly points out, Cicero assigns the blame to many persons, including himself, but also to Atticus.⁷

2007, 191–205; “Assuaging rage: remorse, repentance, and forgiveness in the classical world”, *Phoenix* 62 (2008), 243–54; *Before Forgiveness: The Origins of a Moral Idea*, Cambridge 2010, and as a co-editor with C. Griswold, *Ancient Forgiveness*, Cambridge 2012. The study of the attested efforts for reconciliation between non-fictional characters remains largely unexplored.

³ Cicero's exile constitutes one of the most well studied areas of his life, likely because of the impact that it had on his career and even on his emotional and mental state. Studies of his banishment include Smith 1896; Ciaceri 1941, 59–70; Shackleton Bailey 1971, 64–72; Seager 1979, 103–13; Mitchell 1991, 127–43; Fuhrmann 1992, 89–95; Kelly 2006, 110–25; Cohen 2007, 109–28; Bellemore 2008, 100–20; Tempest 2011, 113–24; Williams 2013, 53–72; Marsh 2014, 37–59.

⁴ Bellemore (2008, 104) observes that Cicero was rather optimistic initially when he left Rome (*Att.* 3,7,2).

⁵ Hall (1996, 24–27) provides an excellent discussion of aristocratic *dignitas*.

⁶ Narducci 1997, 56–59.

⁷ Tempest 2011, 122. Shackleton Bailey (1971, 70) and Welch (1996, 458–60) also note that Cicero viewed Atticus as partly responsible for his banishment.

Despite his constant protestations about his calamity and his expressed contemplation of suicide,⁸ his letters to Atticus arguably show a man who has not lost his will to live. From the very first extant letter that he sends to Atticus in March 58, one thing is clear: his life is in danger and there is no one more capable of helping him arrive safely at his destination than Atticus. He states that he needs Atticus to overtake him as soon as he possibly could so that *tuo tuorumque praesidio uteremur* (*Att.* 3,1). His urgent need of Atticus' help is further stressed through the repetition of the request. Cicero not only begs (*oro*) Atticus to join him, but he emphatically notes that he needs to act *statim*. In the next letter, he displays a significantly different tone. He informs Atticus that if he joins him, he will be able to make plans for his entire flight from Rome. What is striking, however, is the way that he phrases his following statement: he claims that *si id non feceris, mirabor; sed confido te esse facturum* (*Att.* 3,3). He implicitly suggests that he knew Atticus well enough to feel certain that he would not refuse to grant his request and, if he were to do so, such a decision would be completely out of character. Cicero's doubt over whether Atticus will in fact join him becomes even more apparent in the following letter that he sends him just a few days later. He reiterates that, if Atticus joins him, he will be able to make a plan, but he also

⁸ Cicero's sincerity in the statements that he makes in his public works and letters to his allies has been heavily questioned in scholarship, whereas the period of his exile and his claims to his loved ones tend to be taken at face value. As a result, a number of assertions can be found in studies of his banishment, especially in regards to his remarks about his condition and his contemplation of suicide. As Cohen (2007, 110) observes, "authors attempt to apply modern psychological terminology based on the letters he wrote during this period". May (2002, 11) sees in Cicero's letters to Atticus "an unseemly yet understandable mood of depression that led him even to contemplate suicide". Treggiari (2007, 57) notes that Cicero considered suicide and afterwards regretted having changed his mind. Grebe (2011, 436) asserts that "Cicero wanted Terentia to be with him in exile and he desired to die in her arms". Dugan (2014, 13, 14) argues that Cicero had "suicidal impulses" and that "he was driven to contemplate self-destruction". However, the fact that Cicero informs Atticus (*Att.* 3,3; 3,7,2), Terentia (*fam.* 14,4,1), and Quintus (*ad Q. fr.* 1,3,5) that he has contemplated suicide does not necessarily mean that he was seriously considering ending his life, since his remarks could have been typical of the exaggeration found in his extant letters from exile. Similar level of exaggeration can be found in Ovid's *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* and have been pointed out repeatedly by scholars, including Lozovan (1959, 364), Goold (1983, 101), Helzle (1989, 190), Richmond (1995, 102, 104 n.17, 120), and Grebe (2010, 495 n. 20). Specifically, on suicide in Cicero and Ovid, see Nagle 1980, 33–35. In contrast, some scholars have exercised greater caution in their analysis of Cicero's letters from exile. Hutchinson (1998, 35) argues that Cicero's claim that Atticus dissuaded him from taking his life should not be taken literally and Robinson (1994, 475 n.1) simply reports that Cicero "expresses the wish that he had committed suicide".

acknowledges that the journey will be *molestum* (*Att.* 3,2). He explicitly states that without Atticus he is not safe to travel to Brundisium. Atticus' presence was thus paramount to Cicero's safety.

Interestingly, Atticus neither agrees to meet him nor does he refuse to comply with Cicero's request (*te non habemus... nec scribis quam ad diem te exspectemus*, *Att.* 3,7,1). He seems to have hedged because he was unwilling to risk his life even for one of his most intimate friends.⁹ The more time passes without Atticus committing to joining him at a certain date, the more Cicero's frustration and disappointment intensify, leading up to his open conflict with Atticus in his letter from 17 August 58. But before sending this letter, Cicero continues his efforts to persuade Atticus to join him, to no avail.¹⁰ A strain in their relationship can be observed from 29 April when Cicero starts making accusations against the persons who were responsible for his banishment (*Att.* 3,7,1,2). He complains not so much about men like Clodius, who were clearly his enemies, but the persons whom he trusted and considered his closest friends. At first, he refrains from naming the persons whom he is referring to, with the exception of Hortensius (*Att.* 3,9,1–2). However, it appears that Atticus suspected that some of Cicero's ire was directed towards Atticus himself and attempted to discover who those envious friends were.

On 17 August Cicero clearly adopts a disgruntled tone in his indignant letter to Atticus,¹¹ which is extremely rare in their surviving correspondence.¹² He

⁹ The sheer number of letters that Cicero exchanged with Atticus suggests a strong bond of personal *amicitia* between them and, according to Miller (1914, 53), "the frequency of letters sometimes constituted a test of a real friendship". The language that Nepos uses in reference to Atticus' friendship with Cicero and with Brutus, at first sight, may give the impression that Atticus considered Brutus a closer friend, since he refers to Atticus' friendship with Cicero as *intima familiaritas* and Brutus as Atticus' *amicissimus* (*Cic.* 9,3). However, later on, Nepos tries to defend Atticus for his relationship with Antony and uses the same terminology to describe Atticus' friendship with Brutus (*propter intimam familiaritatem Ciceronis*, *Cic.* 10,1). Therefore, *familiaritas* and *amicitia* appear to be used interchangeably. Horsfall (1989, 104) following Hellegouarc'h (1963, 68–71) makes a similar observation about *familiaritas*.

¹⁰ For a more extensive discussion of Cicero's efforts to persuade Atticus to join him during his exile, see Evangelou 2019, 155–61.

¹¹ Stockton (1971, 190) criticises Cicero for his remarks during his banishment and argues that he acts like "a petulant and emotionally self-indulgent child".

¹² Another exception can be found in a letter from May 44 in which Cicero seems to have found Atticus' suggestion to follow Epicurus' example and keep away from politics insulting (*Epicuri*

directly confronts Atticus and makes several severe accusations against him (*Att.* 3,15,4). First, he reproaches him for the advice that he gave him to leave Rome. He suggests that Atticus is more responsible for his condition than anyone else, because throughout their friendship there was no other person whom he considered wiser than Atticus, even himself.¹³ Had Atticus not consistently provided valuable counsel, he would not have been so easily persuaded by his friend's words. He reiterates that he would have preferred an honourable death than the current wretchedness of his exile. The second accusation is even more serious. He argues that even though Atticus clearly cared about him -hence the fact that he cried when Cicero was being exiled- he, nonetheless "looked on and remained silent" (*inspectante et tacente te*, *Att.* 3,15,7). He also stresses that, before he left Rome, he felt *proditus* (*Att.* 3,15,7),¹⁴ and Atticus' inaction in his greatest time of need made him realise that he had overestimated the strength of their bond.

Their *amicitia* was evidently in crisis. Atticus had breached Cicero's trust and Cicero seemingly could no longer view Atticus as an astute and reliable friend. Through his inaction, Atticus had managed to damage Cicero's perception of their *amicitia* also by refraining from accompanying him during his perilous journey into exile. Between March and August, Cicero actively concealed his disappointment in Atticus by limiting his disapproval of his stance towards him to mere insinuations.¹⁵ The fact that he finally reveals to Atticus how disappointed

mentionem facis et audes dicere μή πολιτεύεσθαι?, *Att.* 14,20,5). Gilbert (2015, 100) also addresses Cicero's remark, but detects "annoyance" in Cicero's tone rather than offence or indignation over Atticus' advice.

¹³ For a discussion of the information and advice that Atticus consistently provided Cicero, see Citroni Marchetti 2000, 195–204.

¹⁴ Interestingly, Cicero does not directly accuse Atticus of having betrayed him, as he does not appear to have had an intention to clash with his friend, who would understandably take great offence at such an accusation. Nevertheless, he phrases his description of his state of mind before his exile in such a way that Atticus can see on his own how he played a major part in Cicero feeling deserted by his friends, especially considering that the phrase *ego proditus, inductus, coniectus in fraudem omnia mea praesidia neglexi* appears directly after his accusation of Atticus of not offering him wise advice that could have saved him (*Att.* 3,15,7).

¹⁵ *iniuriam et scelus non tam inimicorum meorum quam invidorum* (*Att.* 3,7,2); *cuius enim scelere impulsus et proditi simus iam profecto vides; atque utinam ante vidisses neque totum animum tuum maerori mecum simul dedisses!* (*Att.* 3,8,4), *nos non inimici sed invidi perdidierunt* (*Att.* 3,9,2); *nisi intra parietes meos de mea pernicie consilia inirentur* (*Att.* 3,10,2); *ego iis quibus meam salutem carissimam esse arbitrabar, inimicissimis crudelissimisque usus sum!* (*Att.* 3,10,2).

he was with his conduct and, more importantly, that he held him responsible for his exile because of his advice to leave Rome, means that the dynamics of their friendship immediately changed. Nevertheless, Cicero suggests that there is still hope for reconciliation. Despite the apparent rift between them, Atticus can prove to Cicero that his affection for him was as strong as Cicero always believed. In order to rectify the situation and restore Cicero's faith in him, Atticus needs to follow the instructions that Cicero provides for him in this very letter. With the use of the imperative (*erige, iuva, fac*, *Att.* 3,15,7) he asks Atticus to provide him clear accounts of the events taking place in Rome, to use his influence by communicating with the persons who could aid the efforts for his recall to Rome and to do everything in his power to have him restored. If, through Atticus' efforts, Cicero managed to return to Rome, their relationship would also be properly restored and any doubt over Atticus' devotion to him would be erased. The full restoration of their relationship does not appear to have happened immediately. The letters from September and October 58 indicate that Cicero had still not forgiven Atticus for his counsel (*Att.* 3,19,3; 3,20,1). The last extant letter from his correspondence from exile reveals that in early February 57 Cicero and Atticus had made plans to meet (*Att.* 3,27). Then their correspondence breaks off until 10 September when Cicero has returned to Rome and sends Atticus an exceedingly affectionate letter (*Att.* 3,27). Whether or not they did in fact meet,¹⁶ the language that Cicero uses in his letter suggests that their bond had been fully repaired and Cicero's affection for Atticus was as strong as it had ever been.

While an appeal to *amicitia* appears to have been an effective method to reconcile in private relationships, there were clearly different expectations in the efforts for reconciliation between men with an active public life.¹⁷ Cicero's relationship with Crassus never showed any signs of genuine deference or affection.¹⁸ On the contrary, based on reports found in Sallust (*Catil.* 48,9),

¹⁶ Shackleton Bailey (1999 vol.1, 283 n.2) argues that, despite Cicero's last extant letter to Atticus before his return to Rome giving the impression that they met during his exile, the fact that Cicero expresses a fervent desire to see Atticus and embrace him indicates that, in the end, they failed to meet.

¹⁷ Spielvogel (1993) provides an insightful discussion of the significance of *amicitia* in Cicero's relationship with his fellow-politicians.

¹⁸ In fact, as Shackleton Bailey (1980, 129) points out, their conflicts were often public. This is also attested by Cicero in his attack against Antony (*Phil.* 2,7). On Cicero's opposition to Crassus in 65 and 63, see Ward 1972.

Plutarch (*Cic.* 15,3), Dio Cassius (37,31,1; 39,10), and in Cicero's public works,¹⁹ their association was challenging and based to a great extent on fear.²⁰ Even though they supported and praised one another publicly in the Senate²¹ and Crassus was willing to defend Cicero in a trial before he fled from Rome (Dio Cass. 38,17,3),²² he constantly negatively affected Cicero's relationship with Caesar and Pompey²³ and any positive references to Crassus in Cicero's correspondence with Atticus are extremely rare and not pertinent to his character.²⁴ Crassus' close association with Clodius and the fact that he used bribery to help with Clodius' acquittal in the *Bona Dea* trial (*Att.* 1,16,5–6)²⁵ exacerbated the tensions between them.²⁶

¹⁹ *off.* 1.109; 3,75. Pugh (1981, 243–46) argues that an attack against Crassus can also be observed in Cicero's sixth *Stoic Paradox*.

²⁰ Gruen 1995, 68. A prime example would be his statement to his wife during his exile that *Crassum tamen metuo* (*fam.* 14,2,2). According to Rowland (1966, 222–23), Crassus, along with Clodius, was one of the “real enemies” who posed a threat to Cicero's life. There is also evidence of a book that Cicero was preparing about his consulship, entitled *De consiliis suis*, in which he attacks, among other men, Crassus. For a list of references to the book and a brief discussion of its content, see Lintott 1968, 205 n.3. Further discussions of Cicero's memoirs can be found in Marshall 1974, 806–7 and Pugh 1981, 3, 8, 9, 79, 101, 245–46.

²¹ *Att.* 1,14,3; Plut. *Cic.* 25,2. However, as Marshalls (1976, 134) observes, in his letter to Atticus (*Att.* 1,16,5) it is revealed that he was not flattered by Crassus' public display of reverence, hence his severe censure of him (*Nosti Calvum... o di boni, rem perditam!*).

²² Parrish (1977, 631) notes that Crassus attempted to have a cordial relationship not only with Cicero (*Att.* 1.14.3–4), but also with Quintus (*ad Q. fr.* 1,3,7; 2,7,2). On Crassus' motives behind his public eulogy of Cicero, see Parrish 1973, 370.

²³ e.g. *Att.* 2,22,5.

²⁴ *Att.* 1,14,3; 1,16,5–6; 1,17,9; 1,18,6; 2,3,4; 2,4,2; 2,5,2; 2,21,4; 2,22,5; 3,15,1; 3,23,5; 4,11,1; 4,13,1; 4,16,3; 13,19,4. In October 44 he claims that he did not make personal attacks against Crassus, despite his serious disputes with him on political matters (*Phil.* 2,7).

²⁵ Gruen (1995, 68 n.80) stresses that Crassus used his fortune by offering loans without interest (Plut. *Crass.* 3,1) to men in need as an effective means to oblige them. Marsh (1932, 172–78) explores Crassus' association with Clodius and concludes that Clodius became a tool first for Crassus and then for Pompey between 58–56 and 53–52 respectively. The view of Clodius as Crassus' tool can also be found in Marshall 1974, 805. Conversely, Lintott (1968, 190, 198) notes that Clodius and his mobs aided Crassus' and Pompey's efforts to secure the consulship in the elections of 56, after Pompey's reconciliation with Clodius and Crassus, but argues against the view of Clodius as a mere tool of the triumvirs and sees him as a man with “an independent cast of mind”. Crassus' alliance with Clodius in 58 is also confirmed by Pompey in 56 (*ad Q. fr.* 2,3,4).

²⁶ Marshall (1976, 115, 134) asserts that Crassus was the person who desired the most Cicero's

After the conference at Luca, Pompey put considerable pressure²⁷ on Cicero to reconcile with several prominent persons, including Crassus,²⁸ Gabinius, and Vatinius.²⁹ Cicero's letter to Lentulus Spinther in December 54 (*fam.* 1,9) provides some much-needed context to the letter that he sent to Crassus at the beginning of the year. It suggests that Cicero's relationship with Crassus was at least somewhat cordial³⁰ until Crassus defended Gabinius and then insulted Cicero, even though Cicero was willing to put aside all the times that Crassus had wronged him (*fam.* 1,9,20). Perhaps the most important piece of information that it provides is that the reconciliation between them had already taken place over dinner³¹ that they had at Crassipes' house.³² It follows that the letter that he sent to Crassus – likely in January 54 – was not written to reconcile their differences,³³ but rather so that the news of their reconciliation could reach a wider audience and to ratify their reconciliation.³⁴ This is confirmed towards the end of the letter when Cicero states explicitly that *has litteras ... foederis habituras esse vim, non epistulae*.³⁵

banishment from Rome and the one who set it in motion. Brunt (1965, 9, 18) rejects the assertion found in Plutarch (*Cic.* 33,5) and Dio (39,9) that Cicero had to reconcile with Crassus publicly after his return from exile by arguing that it was unnecessary because the two men had not quarrelled until after the conference at Luca.

²⁷ In his letter to Lentulus Spinther Cicero attempts to justify his decision to reconcile with men like Crassus by stressing his affection for Pompey as well as his inability to oppose his wishes *honeste* (*fam.* 1,8,2–4).

²⁸ Cadoux (1956, 156) sees Crassus as Pompey's main rival between 83 and 53. Their rivalry is also attested in Plutarch (*Pomp.* 22–23) who depicts Crassus as envious of Pompey's success (*Crass.* 6,4–5; 6,7).

²⁹ Marshall (1976, 129) notes the difficult position that Cicero had found himself in, having to defend men whom he had attacked publicly.

³⁰ Parrish (1973, 371) argues against this view by examining Cicero's negative remarks about Crassus.

³¹ Simpson 1938, 533. A brief mention of Cicero's dinner with Crassus can also be found in Plut. *Cic.* 26,1 and of Crassus' departure from Rome in *div.* 1,29.

³² Clark (1991, 28–38) examines whether Tullia was betrothed but never married to Crassipes.

³³ Marshall (1974, 804) rejects the possibility that Cicero was truly interested in reconciling with Crassus or in cultivating a friendship with him.

³⁴ Hall 1996, 21. A similar intention can be found in Cicero's letter to Appius Claudius in which he states that *benevolentior tibi quam fui nilo sum factus, diligentior ad declarandam benevolentiam multo* (*fam.* 3,12,4).

³⁵ Brunt (1965, 6) stresses the significance of *foedus* in Cicero's letter and notes that, even though

Cicero's letter to Crassus (*fam.* 5,8) is well-crafted from beginning to end.³⁶ It encompasses most, though not all, of the main strategies of reconciliation that Cicero and his contemporaries used to restore their relations with men from politics or to make their reconciliation public. The content of the letter indicates that it was written with wide circulation in mind, hence the fact that all of the points that he raises relate to their relationship and to their reconciliation without any references to practical matters. His primary goals seem to be to remove any doubt from the readers' mind over his devotion to Crassus and to stress the strength of their *amicitia*. The repetitions of *studium* and *amicitia* are likely used to serve this purpose, i.e. to showcase his commitment to promoting Crassus' interests and to establish their relationship as a meaningful *amicitia*.

Throughout the letter, Cicero appears to be at pains to rewrite history, while also giving verisimilitude to his version of events. Instead of pretending that there had never been any disagreements between them, he opts to acknowledge repeatedly that they had, in fact, several fallouts throughout their association. However, he gives the impression that they were misunderstandings by attributing them to persons whom he does not name,³⁷ but refers to as *pestes*³⁸ *hominum* (*fam.* 5,8,1–2).³⁹ Through this particularly vague and evasive claim,

a large number of friendships between men in politics were not sincere, "Treaties were ratified by solemn oaths and to break them was perjury". Hall (1996, 21, 31) also discusses the use of *foedus* in *fam.* 8,5 and argues that the distinctive politeness in Cicero's language along with the length of the letter and its emphasis on Cicero's pledge to protect Crassus' *dignitas* elevates this document from a mere letter of reconciliation to a *foedus*. On the use of *foedus* in Roman alliances, see also the extensive discussion of Gladhill (2016, esp. 103, 111–15) as well as Hall (2009, 74–75, 228 n. 139), who compares Cicero's profession of loyalty in the letter to Crassus with a similar statement that he makes in his letter to Brutus (*volo enim testimonium hoc tibi videri potius quam epistulam, ad Brut.* 1,1,1). He notes that Cicero's pledges are even stronger in the letter to Crassus.

³⁶ For further discussions of Cicero's letter of reconciliation with Crassus, see Brunt 1965, 9; Parrish 1973, 371; 1977, 628; Marshall 1976, 114, 134; Hall 1996, 19, 21, 30–32 n.46; Gladhill 2016, 114.

³⁷ Hall (2009, 73) also observes Cicero's diplomacy in his letter to Crassus by noting the lack of reference to specific persons who were supposedly responsible for the frictions between them.

³⁸ Interestingly, the noun *pestis* is used twice in *De amicitia* to refer to flatterers and to those who are interested in the acquisition of wealth (*amic.* 34, 91).

³⁹ Cicero uses similar language in his letters of reconciliation to Appius Claudius. He refers to persons who spread rumours against Appius in an attempt to influence Cicero's opinion of him as *malevoli homines* (*fam.* 3,6,4). The difference between the two claims, however, is that in the case of Appius, they fail to alter Cicero's perception of him because they were *ignari meae constantiae* (*fam.* 3,6,4).

he refrains from attacking anyone specifically, but, more importantly, from admitting that their conflicts were the result of their disapproval of each other's character, actions, and decisions and, at times, of their contempt for one another. He attempts to downplay them even further, since, as Hall points out, "Crassus is politely invited to indulge in the fiction that" these fallouts were *non tam re quam suspicione* and *falsa et inania* (*fam.* 5,8,3).⁴⁰ Remarkably, flattery is mostly absent from the letter, as all the positive comments that he makes about Crassus revolve around their relationship and not around Crassus' character, with the exception of his praise of Crassus' *liberalitas* (*fam.* 5,8,3), which is a distinctive feature of *amicitia*.⁴¹ In contrast, he does not hesitate to praise Crassus' wife and sons with positive remarks about their character (*fam.* 5,8,2, 4).

In his efforts to present their relationship as an *amicitia* that stood the test of time, he resorts to making several even more unsubstantiated claims.⁴² Through a series of remarks about their *amicitia*, he adds a private dimension to it by insisting that it was not a mere political alliance, but a proper, personal friendship, because of Cicero's desire from the very beginning of their association to be close friends. Not only does he consciously refer to it as an *amicitia* three times, but he also uses the superlative form when he refers to Crassus twice as *amicissimus*.⁴³ Perhaps the least believable claim that he makes in his letter is about the existence of *fides* between them.⁴⁴ Cicero's letters to Atticus indubitably attest that he could not possibly have trusted a person who constantly criticised him and whom he admitted to have feared. After all, if *fides* did exist between them, the unnamed persons who led to their fallouts would not have been successful at creating a rift between them. The exaggeration in his remarks is also evident in the use of adverbs, such as *semper* (*fam.* 5,8,3) and *numquam/ne umquam* (*fam.* 5,8,1, 2). By arguing that he never worked more zealously for any cause than

⁴⁰ Hall 2009, 74.

⁴¹ Verboven 2011, 409, 411.

⁴² This is hardly unusual in Cicero's letters to prominent Romans, since, as Powell (1990, 22) observes, "Cicero professes warm personal feelings for those whom he privately distrusts or despises".

⁴³ It is worth stressing, though, that, as Parrish (1973, 371) notes, Cicero does not make specific references to their *amicitia*, as he chooses to use vague language to describe their association over the years.

⁴⁴ *ut florentissimis tuis rebus mea perspici posset et memoria nostrae voluntatis et amicitiae fides* (*fam.* 5,8,2).

Crassus, he implies that Crassus had been his closest ally and someone whom he was willing to help even more than himself. Similarly, by claiming that he never stopped endeavouring to contribute to Crassus' advancement, he arguably presents himself as a magnanimous friend, who, even during their conflicts, had continued to use his influence to benefit Crassus. Likely in an attempt to prevent his critics from accusing him of *inconstantia* (*fam.* 5,8,5) for his sudden and active support of Crassus, he argues that by protecting Crassus' *dignitas* during his absence, he is also securing his own reputation, thus suggesting -once again- a steadfast alliance with him. Despite the clear insincerity in the statements that he makes about the nature of their association throughout the years,⁴⁵ it is important to bear in mind that, as Hall has demonstrated, such remarks were expected between them, since they constituted "regular features of aristocratic correspondence" and "epistolary conventions" that Cicero could not possibly ignore.⁴⁶

The dual nature of their association (*coniunctionem amicitiamque, fam.* 5,8,3) is further illustrated through his references to those who can verify the validity of his claims. These do not only include Crassus' friends, "the Consuls and many of the Consulars" (*fam.* 5,8,3), but also Crassus' sons (*fam.* 5,8,2, 4). He refers to them twice in the letter and emphasises his unwavering support of them and the quasi-familial bond that he has developed especially with Publius.⁴⁷ The reference to Crassus' family reinforces the view of an *amicitia* between them that is not purely political and thus could not easily dissolve, as associations between other political allies did. Notably, he places equal emphasis on the public dimension of their *amicitia*. He begins by stating that Crassus' people are aware of and can confirm the zeal that he has displayed in his efforts to support him (*fam.* 5,8,1). Later on, he also adds the *civitas* as well as "the Senate and the

⁴⁵ Shackleton Bailey (1998, 117) compares Cicero's letter to Crassus with his letter to Antony (*Att.* 14,13B) and argues that it is equally "hypocritically effusive". Similarly, Williams (2012, 236–37) refers to Cicero's letter to Antony as "graciously worded but just as calculating" as Antony's.

⁴⁶ Hall 2009, 74, 75. He (1996, 22–23, 30–31) examines the question of Cicero's sincerity in his letter to Crassus and argues that it is unimportant not only to the reader, but also to Crassus himself. Similarly, Miller (1914, 46) points out that "extravagant flattery" was the result of the politeness that was expected between Roman aristocrats. Williams (2012, 219) suggests that Cicero's letters to his political allies should be examined as a performance rather than be taken at face value.

⁴⁷ On Cicero's relationship with Publius, see also Brunt 1965, 9; Parrish 1973, 371; Marshall 1976, 114; Syme 1980, 405; Wilcox 2012, 33.

People of Rome” (*fam.* 5,8,2). It follows that even though Cicero’s commitment to Crassus is already public knowledge, the letter that he sends him, which will undoubtedly be circulated, can be regarded as an official written confirmation of the claims that he has made publicly (*fam.* 5,8,5). Should Cicero refrain from protecting Crassus’ standing and reputation, he will be criticised and accused of *inconstantia*.⁴⁸ To complete his reconciliation with Crassus, he reiterates the support that he is already providing him, he makes pledges of support, and proves the strength of their bond of *amicitia* by offering his influence, his counsel and his services to Crassus and all of his people, even his friends and his clients (*fam.* 5,8,5). Their reconciliation was evidently superficial, as revealed in his private correspondence with Atticus in November 55,⁴⁹ in which he refers to Crassus as *hominem nequam* (*Att.* 4,13,2.),⁵⁰ thus suggesting that, despite their efforts to reconcile in public, Cicero’s perception of Crassus and his disdain for him remained unchanged in private.⁵¹

Evidently, while in his efforts to reconcile with Atticus Cicero addressed directly his grievances with his friend, in his reconciliation with Crassus he does not appear to have had the same luxury. He was acutely aware that he was not discussing a matter with an equal, but with one of Rome’s most powerful men, whose coalition with Pompey and Caesar made Crassus all the more dangerous to him. As the discussion that follows will demonstrate, his reconciliation with Pompey was equally problematic, as he was unable to speak frankly with him because of the stark difference between the political power that Pompey and Cicero held.

Cicero’s relationship with Pompey over the years⁵² *prima facie* was in accord with the ideal *amicitia*, as found in his philosophical treatise, *De amicitia*,

⁴⁸ Hall (1996, 32 n.46) raises a similar point.

⁴⁹ Marshall (1974, 805) argues that the fact that Cicero makes this remark in private and specifically to Atticus suggests that he was expressing his genuine emotions towards Crassus. Hall (1996, 21) also examines Cicero’s contradictory remarks and the hypocrisy that he displays in the two letters, but also stresses the necessity and the expectation of such effusions between Roman politicians.

⁵⁰ Notably, Cicero uses the same expression in reference to his bitter enemy, Antony, in *Phil.* 2,77.

⁵¹ Pugh (1981, 3) stresses the striking discrepancies between Cicero’s positive references to Crassus in public and his attacks against him in his private correspondence, as well as his public works after his death. He concludes that Cicero “heartily detested him”.

⁵² For an extensive discussion of Cicero’s association with Pompey from 80 to 63 BC, see Ward 1970a; 1970b; Williams 2013, 6–50.

i.e. a relationship that is not formed and maintained simply because it is mutually beneficial, but because of the good will and affection that exist between two persons as well as their common views on all matters (*amic.* 20).⁵³ The fact that he does not praise Pompey only publicly but also in his letters to Atticus, who acted as Cicero's confidant,⁵⁴ gives the impression that, unlike his clearly insincere remarks about Crassus in his letter of reconciliation, his *amicitia* with Pompey was indeed not strictly political.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, his correspondence also reveals that throughout their association, Pompey was not the kind of person on whom he could rely in a time of need. This lack of *fides* between them and Pompey's betrayal in pivotal moments of his life suggest that he could not have genuinely regarded him as a friend. Because of his inability to express his disappointment in Pompey, his attempts to reconcile with him did not involve an honest conversation, similar to the remarks that he makes in his letter to Atticus (*Att.* 3,15). He thus had to sidestep his issues with Pompey and to pretend both publicly and privately that he had not found Pompey's behaviour unacceptable or ever hurtful.

The first indication for Cicero that he had overestimated his ties with Pompey can be traced to 62. After Cicero's controversial decision to have the five Catilinarian conspirators executed without a trial, despite the fact that they were Roman citizens, Cicero's action met with ungenerous scrutiny and was even

⁵³ Even though, as Powell (1990, 22–23) observes, in most extant sources *amicitia* is used in reference to alliances rather than personal friendships, it needs to be stressed that the term was used as a rhetorical ploy in order to portray one's relationship with an ally as a more intimate relationship than it truly was.

⁵⁴ Claassen (1996, 230) states that Atticus had become Cicero's "non-judgemental auditor". On Atticus being Cicero's confidant, see Glucker 1988, 51; Hall 2009, 24; MacGillvray 2012, 158. Williams (2012, 231–32) notes that, based on Cicero's letters to Atticus, the reader is given the impression that Atticus was indeed Cicero's closest friend, but stresses that nowhere in his entire correspondence can a reference to a "best friend" be found. Shackleton Bailey (1998, 107, 118) argues that Atticus was not simply a man with whom Cicero developed a life-long friendship, but also his one and only true friend. While Cicero's extant letters to Atticus do suggest such a unique bond between the two men, it does not necessarily follow, as Fuhrmann (1992, 151) has argued, that Cicero was completely sincere with him. Elder and Mullen (2019, 160–62) rightly point out that the study of Nepos' biography of Atticus suggests that their friendship was not unique for Atticus.

⁵⁵ Williams (2012, 234) argues that Cicero's relationship with Pompey was the kind of *ambitosae fucosaeque amicitiae* that he mentions in a letter to Atticus, i.e. a "political friendship".

condemned by many of his fellow politicians, including Caesar.⁵⁶ Because of his close association with Pompey, he seems to have been under the impression that he could procure his support either in public or even in a pseudo-private letter.⁵⁷ However, Pompey initially refused to make such a public declaration.⁵⁸ Cicero was understandably displeased with Pompey's decision, but even though he clearly desired to express his frustration to Pompey, he knew that he had to be careful not to offend him, as his political career relied heavily on his alliance with Pompey. Thus, in the short letter that he sent Pompey in April 62, he adopts a courteous tone in an attempt to express his disappointment. He begins his letter by praising Pompey as the beacon of hope for peace in the republic while also implicitly attacking Caesar and Crassus.⁵⁹ He then directly addresses the letter that he received from Pompey, in which, to Cicero's surprise, Pompey refrained from displaying his friendly sentiments towards him. Even though Cicero notes that receiving Pompey's letter gave him pleasure, clear signs of reasonable fear over the state of their association can be detected. The fact that Pompey had reconciled with Crassus and Caesar (*tuos veteres hostis, novos amicos, fam. 5,7,1*) seems to have alarmed Cicero who interpreted the lack of affection in Pompey's letter as indication that he was in danger of losing Pompey both as an ally and as a friend (*si te mea summa erga te studia parum mihi adiunxerint, fam. 5,7,1*).

The closer Pompey's association with Caesar and Crassus became, the weaker Cicero's *amicitia* with Pompey was rendered. Cicero was aware that if Pompey had to choose between aligning himself with Cicero or with persons who

⁵⁶ Sall. *Catil.* 51,8,15–43; Plut. *Caes.* 7,7–8,1; *Cic.* 21,1–5; Suet. *Iul.* 14,1; App. *B Civ.* 2,6; Dio Cass. 36,1–2.

⁵⁷ *in tuis litteris... gratulationem expectavi (fam. 5,7,3)*. Miller (1914, 69) rightly observes that Cicero and his contemporaries did not expect complete privacy in their letter exchange, hence Cicero's reaction when he learned that Caesar had revealed to others the content of Cicero's letter to him (*Att.* 8,2,1; 9,9,1). Steel (2005, 59), while discussing Cicero's letter to Pompey, raises a similar point by arguing convincingly that it is inconsequential whether or not the letter would be read solely by Pompey, since it was a "formal and public piece of writing". The "semi-public nature" of the letters between Roman aristocrats is also stressed by Hall (1996, 32; 2009, 25).

⁵⁸ Williams (2013, 56) detects jealousy in Cicero's letter to Pompey and notes that, despite the fact that Pompey eventually praised Cicero in the Senate, Cicero was not pleased, as he reveals to Atticus that he did not consider Pompey's public praise as genuine (*Att.* 1,13,4).

⁵⁹ Shackleton Bailey 2001, 51 n.5.

exerted much greater influence in politics,⁶⁰ he would choose the latter. Since Cicero had clashed with these men, in order to secure his alliance with Pompey, he had to strive to restore his relations with him. This letter, thus, constitutes a conscious effort for Cicero to be – once again – in Pompey's good graces. His attempt to achieve that is twofold: first he reminds him of their common goals vis-à-vis the republic (*res publica nos inter nos conciliatura coniuncturaque sit, fam. 5,7,1*) and then he ends the letter by expressing a desire to be both his ally and his friend. He refers to Pompey as *multo maiori quam Africanus* (*fam. 5,7,3*) and himself as *non multo minorem quam Laelium* (*fam. 5,7,3*).⁶¹ The examples that he provides and his tone betray a clear intention to flatter Pompey⁶² and thus to earn back his *gratia*.⁶³

Nonetheless, a notable difference can be observed between the way that he addresses his issues with Crassus and with Pompey in his letters to them. While he pretends that Crassus himself never offended him, in his letter to Pompey he reveals that he did experience disappointment when he noticed that Pompey had omitted any congratulatory remarks about the achievements of his consulship (*fam. 5,7,3*). One plausible explanation could be found in his own claim that he is comfortable speaking so openly (*aperte*) to Pompey because of their relationship (*sicut... nostra amicitia postulat, fam. 5,7,3*). However, another factor that should be borne in mind is his political standing in each case. In 62, despite the severe censure under which he had come from many of his fellow politicians,⁶⁴ the fact that he reveals to Pompey that he had expected him to congratulate him suggests that he felt confident about everything that he had accomplished as a consul.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Cadoux (1956, 158) considers Crassus the “leading man” of the triumvirate in the beginning of their coalition. On Crassus' prominent position in Roman politics, see also Plut. *Cic.* 15,1. A more detailed discussion can be found in Gruen 1995, 66–73.

⁶¹ Hall (2009, 245 n.51) observes that Cicero pays a similar compliment to Dolabella in 44, when Dolabella was a consul, by imagining him as king Agamemnon and himself as his consultant, Nestor (*Att.* 14,17A,2).

⁶² In his discussion of Cicero's letter to Pompey, Williams (2012, 235) refers to Cicero's comparison between Pompey and himself with Africanus and Laelius respectively as “skilful flattery”.

⁶³ Verboven (2011), provides an excellent discussion of the intricacies of *amicitia* and (pp. 408–9) stresses the sense of obligation that *gratia* tended to entail.

⁶⁴ Steel 2005, 8.

⁶⁵ However, as Tempest (2011, 116) points out, Cicero's need for validation through congratulatory remarks further irritated Pompey who disapproved of his tendency for self-praise.

Conversely, in 54, after having experienced the dangers that opposition to the triumvirs posed to his life when he was exiled in 58⁶⁶ and after the decisions that they made at the conference of Luca in 56, he was powerless to display any resistance to most of their demands. Therefore, he decided to yield and to avoid any direct confrontation with them.

Pompey's trustworthiness was put to the test once again in a significantly more serious matter. When Cicero's political enemy, Clodius, began to threaten him, Pompey reassured Cicero that he had nothing to fear.⁶⁷ In fact, Pompey claimed that if Clodius were to hurt Cicero in any way, such an action would seriously damage Pompey's own reputation for being partly responsible for Clodius' transfer to the plebs (*Att.* 2,22,2). After speaking *vehementer* to Clodius and Appius about their behaviour towards Cicero and stressing his *amicitia* with Cicero, the brothers promised that they would respect Pompey's wishes. Nevertheless, Cicero was not completely convinced that Pompey's efforts to protect him were as successful as Pompey believed, since Cicero was informed that even after his promise to Pompey, Clodius continued making disparaging remarks about him. More importantly, Cicero notes in his letter to Atticus that even though Pompey claimed that he had this conversation with Clodius, there were no witnesses who could confirm Pompey's report. The fact that Cicero does not immediately accept Pompey's claim as fact is indicative of his reservations over Pompey's commitment to Cicero's safety. As the events that followed attest, he had every reason to remain doubtful.

Despite Pompey's assurances, when Clodius' threats materialised and Cicero's life was in immediate danger, Pompey betrayed Cicero by refusing to protect him, thus leaving him no choice but to flee from Rome. Evidently, between the life of a professed *amicus* and his attachment to Caesar and Crassus, Pompey opted for the security and the aggrandizement that his former enemies could provide him. Cicero found himself defenceless and, even when Atticus, Quintus, and Terentia sent him letters with reports of positive developments in

⁶⁶ Usher 2008, 70. It is worth noting that the treatment that Cicero received from the triumvirate differed considerably from one member to another. Rowland (1966, 222 n.25) provides a comprehensive list of references to the efforts that Pompey and Caesar developed to protect Cicero from Clodius.

⁶⁷ Marshall (1976, 113) attributes Cicero's inability to avoid his banishment to his conviction that a prominent man such as himself could not possibly be exiled and to his misplaced trust in Pompey because of his strong bond with him.

the efforts for his restoration to Rome, he repeatedly refused to entertain any hope.⁶⁸ In addition to his remonstrances about his treacherous friends, whom he does not name, he targets Pompey specifically and chastises him in a letter that he sent to Quintus in August 58. He claims that the experience of the sudden desertion of Pompey contributed to his mental state (*ad Q. fr.* 1,4,4). His distrust in Pompey is exemplified in his correspondence with Atticus and Terentia. In July 58, in response to Atticus' letter, in which Atticus informed him about Pompey's interest in helping with his recall to Rome, he remains doubtful and stresses to Atticus that *plenus sum expectatione de Pompeio, quidnam de nobis velit aut ostendat* (*Att.* 3,14,1).⁶⁹ Pompey's words had lost their value for Cicero, since there was no guarantee that he would follow through in this particular occasion and thus endanger his alliance with Caesar and Crassus. Similarly, in October 58 he notes in a letter to Terentia that he is still not convinced that Pompey wishes to support him (*fam.* 14,2,1). Therefore, only if Pompey's actions were to follow his words would he begin to consider him an ally.⁷⁰

On 4 September 57, largely as a result of Pompey's efforts (*p. red. in sen.* 29–30; *p. red. ad Quir.* 16–17; *dom.* 30; *fam.* 3,10,10), Cicero returned triumphant to Rome.⁷¹ He immediately delivered two speeches, both on 5 September, one before the Senate and, shortly after, a second before the People (*ad quirites*). In both speeches he seizes the opportunity to attack many of the persons responsible for his exile and his belated recall to Rome, including the consuls of 58, Gabinius

⁶⁸ For Cicero's references to his lack of hope for restoration to Rome, see Evangelou forthcoming, n.25; *Att.* 9,10,3; 10,1,3; 11,1,1; 11,19,1; *ad Q. fr.* 1,4,5; *fam.* 14,4,5.

⁶⁹ Marsh (1932, 172) asserts that Pompey's personal *amicitia* with Cicero influenced his decision to work on his restoration. Luibheid (1970, 91) makes an equally unconvincing claim by referring to Pompey as "a man whom Cicero counted as a close friend".

⁷⁰ As Sanders (1932, 68) points out, his correspondence from exile reveals that, despite having been betrayed by Pompey, his hopes for restoration to Rome still rested on Pompey (*Att.* 3,8,3; 3,13; 3,15,1; *fam.* 14,1,2; 14,2,2).

⁷¹ *p. red. in sen.* 9,24; 10,25; 11,28; *Sest.* 22; *Att.* 4,1,4–5. Following Cicero's remarks in his letter to Atticus, May (1988, 89) states that Cicero's return to Rome was "glorious" and MacKendrick (1995, 128) that "All the towns en route made holiday in his honour". However, Nicholson (1992, 23) suggests that Cicero's claim in his letter to Atticus (*Att.* 4,1,4–5) is misleading considering that he chose to return at a time when the streets of Rome would already be crowded because of the celebration of the *Ludi Romani*.

and Piso,⁷² as well as to express his gratitude to those who contributed the most to his restoration. While he thanks the senators for supporting him unanimously (*p. red. in sen.* 5–6, 29; *p. red. ad Quir.* 17) and Quintus for committing to his brother's cause to such an extent that he endangered his own life (Plut. *Cic.* 33,3; *Sest.* 76), he focuses chiefly on Pompey as the great ally who faced great risks while championing Cicero's cause and gathering enough support to procure his recall (*dom.* 30). He speaks highly of Pompey in all of his *post reditum* speeches, including *De domo sua*,⁷³ in which he emphatically notes the strength of their *amicitia* with the use of the rhetorical overstatement *quod enim par amicitiae consularis fuit umquam in hac civitate coniunctius quam fuimus inter nos ego et Cn. Pompeius?* (*dom.* 27), thus implicitly suggesting a bond that surpassed even the one that Laelius shared with Africanus. His *amicitia* with Pompey becomes one of the focal points of the speeches,⁷⁴ likely in an effort to establish himself as Pompey's *amicissimus* (*p. red. in sen.* 29–30), i.e. a close ally and a dear friend (*privato amico*, *p. red. ad Quir.* 16). The public dimension of their *amicitia* guaranteed that Cicero's enemies would not dare attack a man whom Pompey publicly referred to as his *alter ego*.⁷⁵

The reconciliation process between Cicero and Pompey had already begun when Pompey succeeded in effecting Cicero's return to Rome. On his part, Cicero had to convince both the public and Pompey himself that the events surrounding his banishment had not damaged their *amicitia*. On the contrary, based on Cicero's claims, they had ostensibly consolidated it. Through his actions Pompey proved to be an invaluable ally and thus Cicero owed him not only gratitude (*possum ego satis in Cn. Pompeium umquam gratus videri?*, *p. red. in sen.* 29) but even an enormous debt that he had to repay (*tantum debeo, quantum hominem homini debere vix fas est*, *p. red. ad Quir.* 17). In order to restore their relationship fully, in addition to bolstering Pompey's prestige by extolling him publicly for his virtues, his great achievements, and the fame that he had earned

⁷² Marshall (1976, 133 n.6) notes that Cicero was unable to speak frankly in his *post reditum* speeches about the role that the triumvirs played in his exile.

⁷³ Stroh (2004, 314) notes that Cicero has been criticised for the excessive self-praise in *De domo sua*. For a more detailed discussion of *De Domo sua*, see Usher 2008, 72–77 and MacKendrick 1995, 157–76.

⁷⁴ *p. red. in sen.* 30; *p. red. ad Quir.* 16; *dom.* 27, 28.

⁷⁵ *me principem nominavit et ad omnia me alterum se fore dixit* (*Att.* 4,1,7).

(*p. red. in sen.* 5; *p. red. ad Quir.* 16; *dom.* 27–28) and supporting his command of the grain supplies for five years (*Att.* 4,1,7), he had to provide a believable explanation as to why Pompey did not prevent his exile in March 58. Instead of attempting to find excuses for Pompey, he opts to follow a strategy also found in his letter to Crassus; he blames for their short fallout other persons, whom he conveniently does not name (*dom.* 28):

Hanc nostram coniunctionem, hanc conspirationem in re publica bene gerenda, hanc iucundissimam vitae atque officiorum omnium societatem certi homines fictis sermonibus et falsis criminibus diremerunt, cum iidem illum, ut me metueret, me caveret, monerent, iidem apud me mihi illum uni esse inimicissimum dicerent, ut neque ego ab illo quae mihi petenda essent satis audaciter petere possem neque ille tot suspicionibus certorum hominum et scelere exulceratus quae meum tempus postularet satis prolixè mihi polliceretur. Data merces est erroris mei magna, pontifices, ut me non solum pigeat stultitiae meae, sed etiam pudeat: qui, cum me non repentinum aliquod tempus meum, sed veteres multo ante suscepti et provisi labores cum viro fortissimo et clarissimo coniunxissent, sim passus a tali amicitia distrahi neque intellexerim quibus aut ut apertis inimicis obsisterem aut ut insidiosis amicis non crederem.

Notably, he refers to the men who caused the frictions in his *amicitia* with Pompey as *certi homines*. Even though in his letter to Crassus he uses equally vague language in reference to those responsible for his several conflicts with Crassus,⁷⁶ the situation in which he found himself in each case is only ostensibly similar. His correspondence with Atticus suggests that in his letter to Crassus he had to pretend that their conflict was caused by the interference of other persons, as his enmity towards Crassus was not the result of a third party, but of their strong disagreements and their incongruous beliefs.⁷⁷ In contrast, his claim about Pompey must have been more genuine, since he does appear to have believed that Crassus and especially Caesar played a decisive role in Pompey's decision to allow Clodius to have him exiled.⁷⁸ Nonetheless, he was fully aware that he could not attack either one of them publicly. By assigning blame to some unnamed persons, whose baseless accusations against Cicero influenced

⁷⁶ Hall 2009, 73.

⁷⁷ Their mutual animosity is further explored in Brunt 1965, 9, 18 n.6 and Marshall 1976, 113–15.

⁷⁸ Bellemore (2008, 102) argues that Clodius did not intend to force Cicero into exile, but to have him tried for the execution of the five conspirators.

Pompey's perception of him, and by assuming some responsibility for the state of their *amicitia* in 58, he absolves Pompey of any blame for his decision to refrain from protecting him for fear of displeasing the other members of the triumvirate (*Att.* 10,4,3). In order to reconcile with Pompey, he is forced to bend the truth and state that it was his own *error* and his lack of trust in Pompey that pushed Pompey away from him, thereby weakening their bond of *amicitia*.

After his return from exile, the dynamics of his *amicitia* with Pompey had irrevocably changed. Cicero could no longer treat Pompey as an equal or to express to Pompey his disappointment in him, only to embrace the support and protection that Pompey was willing to offer him. Pompey was speaking from a position of strength, whereas Cicero needed to recover from the blow that he had suffered as an exile.⁷⁹ On the surface, their reconciliation was indeed successful. After all, they remained allies until 49 when Cicero chose to support him over Caesar instead of granting Caesar's request to remain neutral (*Att.* 10,8b,1).⁸⁰ Almost a decade later, in his letters to Atticus he notes that he has not forgotten his debt to Pompey and claims that his decision to side with him was influenced by their *amicitia* (*Att.* 7,12,3).⁸¹ Based on these remarks alone it would follow that the fact that they never addressed Pompey's betrayal in 58, but chose to support one another and pretend that it never happened, proved to be an efficacious method of reconciliation.

Nevertheless, in 49 Cicero also makes two references to Pompey's reaction to his exile that paint a distinctively different picture. In February, he enumerates the grave mistakes that Pompey made throughout his political career, including the part that he played in Clodius' *translatio ad plebem* by being present as Augur in Clodius' adoption which enabled Clodius to become a tribune and to draft the

⁷⁹ Nisbet 1961, xvi has been amply quoted for arguing that Cicero's "exile was a disaster from which he never recovered, politically or psychologically".

⁸⁰ See also *Att.* 10,1,2; 10,1A.

⁸¹ Because of the ambiguity of the term, it is impossible to state with absolute certainty, when Cicero uses the term *amicitia*, if it refers only to a political alliance or also to a more personal relationship. In this particular instance, considering his disparaging remarks about Pompey in 49 in his letters to Atticus, with whom he felt a sense of security to speak frankly, it would appear that it is used to refer solely to his political alliance with him. Cohen (2007, 113) rejects the possibility that Cicero saw Pompey as "the lesser of two evils" and attributes his decision to side with Pompey to the gratitude that he owed him for his return from exile.

bills of Cicero's exile (*Att.* 8,3,3).⁸² More importantly, he accuses Pompey that he displayed zeal to help him only after he was exiled instead of trying to prevent his banishment in the first place (*ille restituendi mei quam retinendi studiosior*, *Att.* 8,3,3). A similar -and perhaps even more serious- charge against Pompey can be found in a letter from April in which his language appears to be emotionally charged. He reminds Atticus that Pompey was the person *qui nos sibi quondam ad pedes stratos ne sublevabat quidem* (*Att.* 10,4,3). His remark indicates that the indifference that Pompey displayed towards him and the humiliation that he suffered while begging for Pompey's support in supplication was an experience for which he resented Pompey, despite maintaining a seemingly strong alliance with him after his return in 57. In the same letter, he dismisses the excuse that Pompey used to justify his decision, i.e. that he did not fight against Clodius because he was unable to disregard Caesar's wishes (*Att.* 10,4,3).⁸³ Unsurprisingly, when Pompey was vulnerable and required Cicero's support against Caesar, Cicero only half-heartedly agreed to join him, after spending considerable time discussing his options with Atticus and condemning Pompey's past and current actions and decisions. Therefore, the events of 49 brought to the surface Cicero's underlying issue with Pompey that he had decided to sidestep in order to renew his alliance with him. Nevertheless, to a large extent, it did achieve its purpose; it enabled both men to enjoy the benefits of their *amicitia* which, on a superficial level, was restored both publicly and in Pompey's eyes.

Evidently, Cicero's reconciliation with Atticus, Crassus, and Pompey, i.e. persons from his private and public life, differs considerably. In the public sphere, his reconciliation with Crassus was forced by Pompey and, to an extent, by Caesar.⁸⁴ It had already taken place before the composition of the letter and, likely, before their dinner at Crassipes' place. His letter to Crassus constitutes a public declaration that is meant to please the triumvirate and protect him from accusations of *inconstancia*. Therefore, their reconciliation is effected through the

⁸² On Pompey's and Caesar's role in Clodius' adoption that allowed him to be elected a tribune, see also Shackleton Bailey 1991, 1.

⁸³ In 56 he had already hinted at Pompey's inability to be a loyal friend at his greatest time of need in *Pro Sestio*. In his speech he rejects Clodius' claim that he had Pompey's approval to have him exiled, but also refers to Pompey as *nunc et, quoad licuit, amicissimo* (*Sest.* 39). Seager (1979, 104) notes that Pompey's support of Clodius was essentially a decision that Pompey made to sacrifice Cicero for his own political advancement.

⁸⁴ Marshall 1976, 114.

intervention of Pompey who acts as mediator, through mutual public support and praise, and through the composition of a letter in which Cicero uses exaggeration and makes unfounded claims about the existence of a personal *amicitia* between them. Additionally, he pretends that their conflict was never serious, he shifts the blame for their fallout to other persons who remain unnamed, he refers to current provision of services, and he makes pledges of services. Despite the need to argue repeatedly that his relationship with Crassus was more than a political alliance, his entire correspondence reveals that they never formed a personal *amicitia*, neither did they trust each other enough to consider one another a reliable ally. In contrast, the letters that Cicero sent to Atticus appear to have played a vital role in their eventual reconciliation. Unlike his letter to Crassus, in his correspondence with Atticus, he addresses his disappointment in him, he stresses the damage that Atticus' stance towards him had caused to Cicero's perception of their friendship -thus appealing to their mutual love and affection- and he explains to him how he needs to act in order to restore their relationship. Atticus seems to comply with his requests, he regains Cicero's complete trust in him, and their *amicitia* is properly and fully restored to its state before Cicero's banishment.

His efforts to restore his *amicitia* with Pompey display some striking similarities with his methods of reconciliation both with Atticus and Crassus. While in 62 he is able to express his disappointment in Pompey -as he did in 58 in his letter to Atticus- in order to have Pompey's trust in him restored, in 57 he treats him as he would treat any political ally or enemy with whom he desired to resolve their differences. He follows the same strategy that he adopted with Crassus by praising Pompey in his public speeches, by supporting him in his political career, and by shifting the blame of their temporarily damaged *amicitia* to other unnamed persons. His desire to reconcile with Pompey was so intense that he even pretends that it was partly because of his actions that a rift was created between himself and Pompey. These strategies of reconciliation and their efficacy suggest that in Cicero's time they differed based on the type of relationship that existed between the two parties. In private, friends and equals could address their issues and repair their *amicitia* by making up for the harm they had caused each other, whereas in public, pretence and exaggeration were expected and became an integral part of the reconciliation process. Between politicians, such as Cicero, Crassus, and Pompey, a private resolution of a conflict

was insufficient for the reconciliation to be complete. They had to convince the public that their disagreements were caused by others, as they always supported, respected and loved one another, hence why the dual nature of their *amicitia* as a strong alliance and a private friendship is invariably and emphatically stressed. Despite the commonly held belief that Cicero considered Pompey a friend, the way in which he chose to restore his *amicitia* with him and especially the lack of forthrightness between them after his return from exile indicate that he could not have genuinely considered Pompey anything but a powerful ally to whom he was internally indebted.

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ROMOLO E I KATHARMOI PER LA MORTE DI TITO TAZIO presso la “selva” o la “porta” Ferentina? (note di storia e topografia romana)

PAOLO GAROFALO

Le vicende di Romolo, narrate da una consistente messe di fonti nonostante il carattere leggendario di tutta la saga, analizzate in ogni suo più minuto aspetto e considerate da molti studiosi riflesso di istituti religiosi e giuridici reali, offrono ancora motivi di riflessione e di approfondimento. È quanto ci proponiamo di fare appuntando il nostro interesse su una vicenda oscura, dai risvolti romanzeschi, che trova il suo esito definitivo in un contesto topografico non sufficientemente chiarito dalla critica: la vicenda si collega alle sorti di Tito Tazio che le fonti descrivono, sia pur con qualche differenza, in modo sostanzialmente unanime e che sarà bene ripercorrere brevemente.¹

A narrare con grande dovizia di particolari la complessa articolazione dei fatti che determinarono l'uccisione del correggente di Romolo è Dionigi di Alicarnasso (2,51–53), dal quale apprendiamo che alcuni personaggi vicini a Tito Tazio, definiti variamente (amici, servi, parenti), avevano istigato delle bande a perpetrare crimini e saccheggi nel territorio laurentino. A seguito di questi episodi i Laurentini inviarono a Roma un'ambasceria per chiedere giustizia, ovvero la consegna dei criminali; benché Romolo fosse favorevole alla consegna dei malfattori, il monarca sabino si rifiutò di assecondare la richiesta dei Laurentini, proteggendo i suoi e rispedendo indietro gli ambasciatori del centro latino, alquanto indispettiti per l'affronto. Accadde poi che sulla via del ritorno, alcuni personaggi vicini a Tazio raggiunsero la delegazione che stava

¹ Fonti e discussione in A. Carandini – P. Carafa, et al. (a cura di), *La leggenda di Roma. IV. Dalla morte di Tito Tazio alla fine di Romolo: Altri fondatori, re latini e cronologie della fondazione*, Milano 2014, 5–15 (fonti); 291–307 (commento).

tornando a Lavinio e nottetempo, approfittando dell'oscurità, ne trucidò tutti i membri. Questo ulteriore odioso crimine comportò il feroce risentimento dei Laurentini e l'invio di una nuova ambasceria per reclamare giustizia: la nuova richiesta di consegna dei criminali da parte di *Lavinium* ebbe il sostegno di altre città del Lazio, che inviarono a Roma numerose delegazioni per avere chiarimenti sull'accaduto. Romolo, a questo punto, constatato l'orrendo delitto perpetrato dalle bande sabine, consegnò ai Latini i colpevoli, causando così lo sdegno di Tito, che, agendo ormai autonomamente senza il consenso del collega, raggiunse gli ambasciatori lungo la strada per Lavinio con un manipolo di soldati e con un'azione di forza liberò i suoi concittadini, tra cui, a detta di Dionigi, pare ci fosse anche un suo parente.

Fu così che quando Tito Tazio dovette recarsi a Lavinio con Romolo per lo svolgimento dei riti in onore degli dei 'patrii', fu ucciso durante la cerimonia presso l'altare con i medesimi strumenti utilizzati per 'infilzare' le vittime dei sacrifici: i suoi assassini erano una turba capitanata dai parenti degli ambasciatori ingiustamente uccisi in precedenza dagli emissari del monarca sabino.

La tragica vicenda si concluse quindi con l'uccisione del coreggente di Romolo, il quale volle regolare la questione attraverso un'azione giudiziaria: da un lato comminò l'esilio (*aqua et igni interdictio*) agli assassini degli ambasciatori laurentini, dall'altro portò in tribunale coloro che avevano trucidato Tazio; contro questi, tuttavia, non prese alcuna iniziativa, ritenendo che il crimine commesso dai Laurentini avesse, per così dire, pareggiato i conti con quelli precedentemente perpetrati da Tazio e che pertanto alla violenza si era risposto con la violenza.

Dionigi, attento e scrupoloso, non manca di riportare anche un'altra versione dei fatti che leggeva in Licinio Macro,² secondo la quale Tito Tazio si recò a Lavinio non già per svolgere dei sacrifici con Romolo, ma da solo, per tentare di ottenere il perdono dei suoi sodali e riappacificarsi con i Laurentini; a tale assurda e insolente richiesta del monarca, i Lavinati, adirati, avrebbero reagito con violenza, insorgendo, e nel tumulto che ne seguì uccisero Tito Tazio lapidandolo.

Livio,³ dal canto suo, si limita ad accennare all'aggressione degli ambasciatori laurentini da parte di *propinqui* del re Tazio, del mancato rispetto da parte del monarca sabino del *ius gentium* e del conseguente assassinio di Tazio in occasione del *sollemne sacrificium* che si teneva ogni anno a Lavinio; lo storico

² Dion. Hal. 3,52,4 = Licin. Macer fr. 5 Peter = fr. 4 Chassignet.

³ Liv. 1,14,1-3.

afferma, inoltre, che Romolo era tutt'altro che affranto dalla morte di Tazio e che per tale ragione evitò di muovere guerra contro Lavinio; per espiare l'uccisione del re e le offese subite dai Laurentini fece semplicemente rinnovare il trattato tra Roma e Lavinio (*foedus inter Romam Laviniumque urbes renovatum est*).

Nella versione di Plutarco,⁴ anch'essa semplificata rispetto a quella di Dionisio, si narra che 'amici e parenti' di Tito Tazio aggredirono e uccisero per avidità di ricchezze alcuni ambasciatori laurentini che stavano recandosi a Roma; Romolo aveva intenzione di punire i colpevoli, ma Tazio tergiversò e non se ne fece nulla. Quando i due coreggenti si recarono a Lavinio per celebrare un sacrificio, i parenti delle vittime si vendicarono e uccisero il re sabino. Come nella versione di Dionigi, Romolo rimandò liberi i Laurentini, che gli erano stati consegnati, persuaso che 'un omicidio era stato espiato con un omicidio'. Anche Plutarco raccoglie i *rumores* secondo i quali Romolo non sarebbe stato affatto dispiaciuto della morte del collega.⁵

⁴ Plut. *Rom.* 23. Da Plutarco dipende Zonara (7,4) che narra i fatti in modo sostanzialmente identico, con la sola variante che Tazio sarebbe stato ucciso mentre sacrificava sul monte Albano, per evidente confusione con i riti di Lavinio, cf. A. Dubourdieu, *Les origines et le développement du culte des Pénates à Rome* (CEFR, 118), Rome 1989, 344; Carandini (supra n. 1) 298.

⁵ Sulla morte di Tito Tazio, che peraltro ha suscitato in genere scarso interesse, cf. M. Gelsler, s.v. *Tatius*, in *RE IV/A2*, 1932, 2471–77; Carandini (supra n. 1), 303 con bibl.; fondamentali le ricerche di J. Poucet, *Recherches sur la légende sabine des origines de Rome*, Kinshasa 1967, 287–320; J. Poucet, *Les origines de Rome. Tradition et histoire*, Bruxelles 1985 e delle acute osservazioni di A. Frascchetti, *Romolo il fondatore*, Roma – Bari 2002, 84–89, sarebbe fondato sulla necessità di dare spessore storico, o meglio, di far risalire nel tempo istituzioni vigenti in epoca storica dando loro il crisma dell'antichità. Tali istituzioni sarebbero nell'ordine le relazioni religiose e politiche tra Roma e Lavinio (cioè in pratica il *nomen Latinum*) e le norme giuridiche che regolavano il *ius gentium*. Il *sacrificium sollemne*, celebrato per sancire annualmente il trattato simbolo tra Roma e il Lazio in ragione dei *sacra principia* comuni ai due *populi*, come testimonia una famosa iscrizione (*CIL X 797 = ILS 5004*), a cui presero parte Romolo e Tito Tazio e durante il quale questi trovò la morte, è ben documentato, cf. Dubourdieu (supra n. 4) *passim*. Alcuni dettagli della vicenda come "i coltelli da macellaio e gli spiedi usati per i buoi", che furono usati per scannare Tito Tazio sull'altare del sacrificio (Dion. Hal. 2,52,3), collimano con le movenze canoniche della morte del tiranno, un evento spesso ritualizzato come è emerso da importanti ricerche, cf. J. Scheid, "La mort du tyran. Chronique de quelques morts programmées", in *Du châtement dans la cité. Supplices corporels et peine de mort dans le monde antique* (CEFR, 79), Rome 1984, 177–93; Frascchetti (supra) 88. Che Tazio fosse considerato un tiranno si evince anche dal famoso verso di Ennio (I fr. 109 Vahlen = I fr. 60 Skutsch) «*O Tite, tute, Tati, tibi tanta, tyranne, tulisti*». Coltelli e spiedi rimandano ai caducei di bronzo, rappresentazione aniconica dei Penati, cf. J. Gagé "Comment Énée est devenu l'ancêtre des Silvii Albains?", *MEFRA* 88 (1976)

A questo punto occorre approfondire una notizia isolata, fornita dal solo Plutarco nella vita di Romolo, secondo la quale su Roma (e su Lavinio) si abbatté una grave pestilenza, che causò l'improvvisa morte di molti cittadini; allo stesso tempo i campi erano inferti e le bestie sterili. A tutto ciò si aggiunse il nefasto prodigio di una pioggia di sangue. Per ristabilire la *pax deorum*, Romolo, convintosi che l'ira degli dei fosse scaturita dall'impunità concessa agli artefici dei crimini, tanto da parte romana che da quella latina, mise subito a morte gli autori del delitto degli ambasciatori laurentini, mentre parimenti a Lavinio (che come Roma aveva subito le medesime disgrazie) furono uccisi gli assassini di Tito Tazio. Solo in seguito a queste esecuzioni le sventure cessarono in entrambe le città. Infine, Romolo, per purificare l'Urbe e Lavinio e per ristabilire definitivamente la *pax deorum*, ordinò di svolgere καθαρμοί presso un sito (porta?)⁶ che reca l'epiteto di Ferentina:

(...) καὶ καθαρμοῖς ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἤγνισε τὰς πόλεις, οὓς ἔτι νῦν ἱστοροῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Φερεντίνης πύλης συντελεῖσθαι.⁷

Ora, lo scopo di questa nota è di riesaminare la questione relativa al luogo presso il quale, secondo la tradizione, si sarebbero tenuti i riti di purificazione attribuiti a Romolo, e, quindi, in buona sostanza, stabilire se sia preferibile accettare la lezione Φερεντίνης πύλης, data dai codici di Plutarco, oppure seguire l'emendamento Φερεντίνης ὕλης (o, in alternativa, πηγῆς, cf. n. 11) proposto da autorevoli studiosi.

29; J. Gagé, "Les primitives ordalies tibérines et les recherches ostiennes de Jérôme Carcopino", in *Hommage à la mémoire de Jérôme Carcopino*, Paris 1977, 125–50. I caducei di Lavinio sarebbero, in realtà, secondo F. Zevi, "Il mito di Enea nella documentazione archeologica: nuove considerazioni", in *Lespos greco in Occidente*, Atti del XIX convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto, 7–12 ottobre 1979), Taranto 1980 [1989], 285–88, spiedi di bronzo, come quelli rinvenuti nel cd. *Heroon* di Enea. La morte di Tazio per lapidazione (supra n. 2) non ha riscontri con il diritto criminale romano; essa si configura come atto popolare spontaneo, volto a punire un'ingiustizia: cf. E. Cantarella, "La lapidazione tra rito, vendetta e diritto", in *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque. 1. Religion*, M.-M. Mactoux – E. Geny (éd.), Paris 1988, 83–95; E. Cantarella, *I supplizi capitali in Grecia e a Roma: origini e funzioni delle pene di morte nell'antichità classica*, Milano 1991, 326–50, Quanto all'*aqua et igni interdictio* è istituto troppo noto per parlarne in questa sede.

⁶ Cf. *infra* e n. 11, 18, 26.

⁷ Plut. *Rom.* 24,1: «Romolo purificò le città con riti espiatori, che ancora oggi, a quanto riferiscono, vengono celebrati alla porta Ferentina».

Sarà bene precisare subito che di una ‘porta’ Ferentina si parla esclusivamente nel citato passo di Plutarco: di essa infatti non vi sono altre tracce nelle fonti. Per tale ragione, come ora vedremo, la sua esistenza è stata presto messa in dubbio e addirittura negata dalla maggioranza degli studiosi, tanto da scomparire precocemente dal dibattito scientifico in materia.⁸

A sancire la definitiva scomparsa della “Ferentina” dal novero delle porte urbane⁹ si è aggiunto l’autorevole parere di Carmine Ampolo, secondo il quale essa non sarebbe mai esistita;¹⁰ lo studioso, infatti, propose di emendare il testo del biografo di Cheronea, secondo una correzione già suggerita in verità dagli umanisti¹¹

⁸ Basti pensare che la porta Ferentina sin dai primi decenni del Novecento non figura più neppure nei repertori topografici: da S.B. Platner – Th. Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford 1929, al successivo L. Richardson, *A new Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore 1992; non ve n’è menzione, neppure fugace, tra le voci del più aggiornato *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*; non si comprendono le ragioni di tale scelta poiché sarebbe utile, quantomeno, ricordare una ‘porta’ Ferentina, comunque menzionata in un testo classico, se non altro per escluderne l’esistenza, come del resto è stato fatto nel caso della porta *Piacularis* (cf. n. 42).

⁹ In merito alle numerose problematiche inerenti al tema delle Porte Urbiche di Roma si veda per i distinti periodi: N. Terrenato, *Murus Romuli*, *LTUR* 3, 1996, 315–18; Plin. *nat.* 3,66 ci informa che erano tre o quattro le porte attribuite all’età romulea, mentre secondo Dion Hal. 2,37,1, già Romolo avrebbe fortificato l’Aventino e Campidoglio. Per le mura repubblicane v. M. Andreussi, *Murus Servii Tullii. Mura repubblicane*, *LTUR* 3, 1996, 319 e le singole voci relative alle porte di Filippo Coarelli. Anche sul numero complessivo e la denominazione delle mura serviane vi sono numerose problematiche per cui si rinvia alla bibliografia specifica. Per le mura aureliane cf. G. Pisani Sartorio, *Muri Aureliani: portae*, *LTUR* 3, 1996, 297; Plin. *nat.* 3,66, ricorda per la Roma del suo tempo 37 porte (un numero analogo si desume anche nei Cataloghi Regionali); solo della metà di queste porte conosciamo il nome.

¹⁰ C. Ampolo, “Ricerche sulla lega latina, I. *Caput aquae Ferentinae* e *lacus Turni*”, *PP* 36 (1981) 220 e Ampolo in C. Ampolo – M. Manfredini, *La vita di Romolo. Introduzione, commento e traduzione di Plutarco*, Milano 1988, 332, n. 11: «poiché a Roma non esiste una porta Ferentina, il testo va certamente corretto come indicato (...)».

¹¹ I fondatori della geografia storica, Cluverio e Holste, si sono occupati entrambi del passo plutarco. Partendo dal presupposto che nessuna fonte menzionava una ‘porta’ Ferentina, emendarono il passo in questione con diverse soluzioni: *Philippus Cluverius (Italia Antiqua*, II, 1559, 720–21) sostituì πύλης con πηγῆς (fonte): «*ut habet Livius, Capvt Ferentinvm; & Capvt Aqvae Ferentinae : item Lvcvs Ferentinae; scilicet deae: cuius haud dubie apud fontem etiam fuit templum, Apud Plutarchum in Romulo, ubi de homicidis loquitur, quorum alii, Tatii propinqui, Laurentium legatos occiderant; alii Laurentes, ipsum Tatium Lavinii interfecerant: ...deditis homicidiis et supplicio utrimque adfectis, perspicue malum est mitigatum. Iustravitque Romulus urbeis expiationibus: quas hodiéque ad portam Ferentinam tradunt celebrari. Nullam umquàm Romae fuisse portam Ferentinam, satis constat. proinde*

e accettata da eminenti topografi di Roma quali Canina e Lanciani,¹² sostituendo πύλη (porta) con ὕλη (bosco), nonostante tutti i codici di Plutarco riportino concordemente ἐπὶ τῆς Φερεντίνης πύλης.¹³ Secondo tale correzione, quindi, i καθαρμοί riferiti da Plutarco si sarebbero svolti non già presso la ‘porta’ Ferentina, bensì «presso la ‘selva’ Ferentina».¹⁴

Ora, se l'emendamento è in linea teorica del tutto ammissibile, permangono però talune incertezze: *in primis* l'omogeneità dei differenti codici che riportano **tutti** ἐπὶ τῆς Φερεντίνης πύλης (porta Ferentina),¹⁵ ma non solo: vi sono anche elementi interni al testo plutarco che inducono a essere prudenti; il più cogente è contenuto nella stessa biografia romulea: Plutarco, infatti, pochi paragrafi prima del brano in esame, afferma chiaramente che i Romani traducono il termine ἄλσος (ossia “bosco sacro”) con *lucus*.¹⁶ A rigor di logica,

nihil certius, quàm scripsisse Plutarchum ἐπὶ Φερεντίνης πηγῆς id est, ad Ferentinum fontem. Luca Olstenio, (Annotationes in Italiam antiquam Cluveri, Roma 1666, 133), che correggeva il maestro, annotò: «p. 721. lin. 2. Ad Portam Ferentinam: potius legendum Φερεντίνης ὕλης in silva vel lucu Ferentino una litera demta».

¹² L. Canina *Esposizione topografica della prima parte dell'antica Via Appia dalla Porta Capena alla stazione dell'Aricia*, Roma 1852, 254–300; R. Lanciani, “Sulle mura e porte di Servio”, *Ann.Inst.* 43 (1871) 76.

¹³ Cf. l'apparato critico in R. Flacelière – É. Chambry – M. Juneaux (éds), *Plutarque. Vies. I. Thésée-Romulus, Lycurgue-Numa* (Collection des Universités de France), Paris 1957; K. Ziegler (ed.), *Plutarchus. Vitae Parallelae*, I,1 Leipzig, 1969⁴. 67 e nello stesso Ampolo – Manfredini (supra n. 10) 150, (in cui si afferma [347 s.] che l'apparato è il «più completo ed esatto che non nelle precedenti edizioni»).

¹⁴ *Plut. Rom.* 24,1, trad. di Ampolo in Ampolo – Manfredini (supra n. 10) 151 e 332 (commento). L'emendamento già proposto in Gelser (supra n. 5), 2476 e accolto da Poucet 1967 (supra n. 5) 288, fu sostenuto anche da Fraschetti (supra n. 5) 154, n. 20. Nel più recente e dettagliatissimo commento sulle fonti relative alla morte di Tito Tazio e sulle sue conseguenze [Carandini (supra n. 1) 309 n. 1], non si fa però alcun accenno al luogo dei «sacrifici espiatori», ma nella traduzione del brano di Plutarco (p. 25) si accoglie la correzione in ‘selva’ Ferentina.

¹⁵ Sulla complessa tradizione manoscritta delle vite di Plutarco: vd. K. Ziegler, *Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der vergleichenden Lebensbeschreibungen Plutarchs*, Leipzig 1907, 205–7; M. Manfredini, “La tradizione manoscritta della ‘vita Solonis’ di Plutarco”, *ASNP*, s. III, 7,3 (1977) 945–98; M. Manfredini, “Nuovo contributo allo studio della tradizione manoscritta di Plutarco: le *vitae Lycurgi et Numae*”, *ASNP*, s. III, 11, 1 (1981) 33–68 e soprattutto, per il tema in esame: M. Manfredini, “Note Sulla Tradizione Manoscritta delle ‘Vitae Thesei-Romuli’ e ‘Themistoclis-Camilli’ di Plutarco”, *Civiltà Classica e Cristiana* 4 (1983) 401–7.

¹⁶ *Plut. Rom.* 20,1–2. φυλάς δὲ τρεῖς καταστήσαντες, ὠνόμασαν τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου Ῥαμνήνησης,

quindi, ci saremmo aspettati che il biografo, così attento alla resa dei vocaboli tanto da permettersi digressioni esegetiche, se davvero avesse voluto indicare il *lucus Ferentinae* e dunque il “bosco sacro” di Ferentina avrebbe utilizzato per coerenza il termine secondo lui più appropriato ad indicare il *lucus*, ossia ἄλσος (e non ὕλη).¹⁷ Ma c'è dell'altro: a scoraggiare la ricezione di questo emendamento, sempre se ci affidiamo alle parole di Plutarco (*Rom.* 24, 2), si pone l'ulteriore puntualizzazione dell'autore, secondo il quale i sacrifici presso la presunta “selva” Ferentina si svolgevano “ancora al suo tempo” (ovvero intorno agli inizi del II secolo d.C.): la notizia fornitaci da Plutarco potrebbe essere genuina e, tuttavia, essa non è di prima mano, poiché egli aggiunge che alcuni ‘raccontano’ (ἱστοροῦσιν) che i “sacrifici espiatori si compiono ancor oggi”. Sembra dunque che egli ne sia venuto a conoscenza da terzi.

Plutarco, dunque, non assistette a tali riti, di cui gli riferirono estranei, e non è affatto certo che egli nel menzionare la ‘porta’ Ferentina, volesse far riferimento al *caput aquae Ferentinae* (o al limitrofo – e forse coincidente – *lucus*, menzionato peraltro solo da Livio¹⁸); ma c'è di più: nel noto lemma di Festo, *praetor ad portas* (tratto da Cincio),¹⁹ leggiamo che il vetusto luogo di riunione

τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ Τατίου Τατίησης, τρίτους δὲ Λουκερήνησης διὰ τὸ ἄλσος εἰς ὃ πολλοὶ καταφυγόντες ἀσυλίας δεδομένης τοῦ πολιτεύματος μετέσχον: τὰ δ' ἄλλα λούκουσ ὀνομάζουσιν.

¹⁷ Questa incongruenza fu segnalata da A. Barzanò, “La morte di Turno Erdonio e il problema della localizzazione del *lucus* e del *caput aquae Ferentinae*”, *Aevum* 15 (1991) 45–49, il quale aveva confutato in modo convincente talune conclusioni di Carmine Ampolo; egli, tuttavia, avanzò poi una proposta di collocazione del *caput Aquae Ferentinae* in territorio etrusco (presso Ferento), ipotesi che non può essere in alcun modo condivisa e che ha finito per oscurare le puntuali osservazioni poste nelle premesse del suo contributo.

¹⁸ Liv. 1,50,1; 1,51,9; 1,52,5; 2,38,1; 7,25,5.

¹⁹ Fest. 276 L: *Praetor ad portam nunc salatur is qui in prouinciam pro praetore aut pro consule exit. Cuius rei morem ait fuisse Cincius in libro de consulum potestate talem: Albanos rerum potitos usque ad Tullum regem; Alba deinde diruta usque ad P. Decium Murem consulem populos Latinos ad caput Ferentinae, quod est sub monte Albano, consulere solitos, et imperium communi consilio administrare; itaque quo anno Romanos imp<erato>r<e>s ad exercitum mittere oporteret iussu nominis Latini, complures nostros in Capitolio a sole oriente auspiciis operam dare solitos. Vbi aues addixissent, militem illum, qui a communi Latio missus esset, illum quem aues addixerant, praetorem salutare solitum, qui eam prouinciam optineret praetoris nomine.* «Ora si saluta col nome di “*praetor ad portam*” chi esce (dalla città) per andare in una provincia come propretore o proconsole. Cincio nel suo libro “Sul potere dei consoli” dice che il costume di tale rito è il seguente: Gli Albani dominarono fino al regno del re Tullo Ostilio; poi, dopo che Alba fu distrutta e fino al consolato di *P. Decius Mus* (340

dei Latini era stato definitivamente abbandonato nel 340 a.C., in un momento di crisi profonda della Lega, tanto che appena due anni più tardi, nel 338 a.C., i Latini furono definitivamente sconfitti e il Lazio fu assoggettato a Roma con il conseguente scioglimento della Lega stessa. È assai probabile, perciò, che il luogo ove si tenevano i *concilia* dei popoli latini non fosse più frequentato e, infatti, non se ne trova altra traccia nelle fonti.²⁰

Pertanto, non si vede la ragione per la quale Plutarco (o meglio coloro che gli riferirono la notizia) avrebbe fatto riferimento a non meglio precisati riti che si sarebbero tenuti nella selva Ferentina, ormai “dismissa” e dove, neppure negli anni del suo pieno utilizzo da parte dei *populi Latini*, sono testimoniate cerimonie religiose,²¹ anche se è *sempre possibile che* nella ‘selva’ fosse stato ricavato un *lucus* (secondo la nomenclatura liviana) dedicato Ferentina²² ove, eventualmente, fare sacrifici o prendere auspici.

Inoltre, dobbiamo tenere conto del fatto che nessun autore di lingua greca menziona questo sito come *lucus Ferentinae*, la cui locuzione compare, come s’è detto, esclusivamente in Livio. Poiché, come è noto, Plutarco aveva scarsa dimestichezza con la lingua latina,²³ è naturale che egli si affidasse, per

a.C.), i popoli Latini erano soliti riunirsi al *Caput Ferentinae*, che si trova sotto il Monte Albano, ed esercitare il comando di comune accordo; pertanto nell’anno in cui sarà necessario inviare generali romani a comandare l’esercito, per ordine del *nomen Latinum*, molti dei nostri sono soliti prendere gli auspici in Campidoglio al sorgere del sole. Non appena gli uccelli segnalavano il soldato che era stato mandato dall’assemblea dei Latini, quel soldato, che era stato segnalato dagli uccelli, secondo l’usanza veniva salutato pretore e costui avrebbe ottenuto quella provincia con il titolo di pretore». (trad. dell’a.). Per un commento al lemma e relativa traduzione si veda da ultimo P. Sánchez, “Le fragment de L. Cincius (Fest. 276 L) et le commandement des armées du Latium”, *CCG* 25 (2014) 7–48.

²⁰ Persino la collocazione topografica del sito è incerta, nonostante le numerose ipotesi sinora avanzate, cf. n. 43.

²¹ Sottolinea questo aspetto Dubourdieu (supra n. 4) 343–44.

²² A. Grandazzi, “Identification d’une déesse: Ferentina et la ligue latine archaïque”, *CRAI* 1 (1996) 273–94.

²³ Per sua stessa ammissione Plutarco aveva appreso il latino solo in tarda età (Plut. *Dem.* 2,2); è noto, pertanto, che egli utilizzasse di preferenza fonti in lingua greca, pur non ignorando gli storici latini: nella *vita Romuli* sono espressamente citati: C. Acilio (Plut. *Rom.* 21,9), Valerio Anziate (Plut. *Rom.* 14,7), Varrone (Plut. *Rom.* 12,3–4; 16,6), mentre non è menzionato Livio (certamente noto al biografo). Sulle fonti della *vita Romuli* ancora utile C.A.A. Schmidt, *De fontibus Plutarchi in vitis Romuli et Numae*, Halle 1863, 6–34 e H. Peter, *Die Quellen Plutarchs in den Biographien der*

narrare i primordi di Roma, preferibilmente a fonti di lingua greca, peraltro espressamente citate nella *vita Romuli* (Diocle di Pepareto, Fabio Pittore, Dionigi d'Alicarnasso e altri²⁴). Tra le fonti più autorevoli da cui Plutarco attinse le sue informazioni, quindi, vi è sicuramente il retore di Alicarnasso, profondo conoscitore del Lazio,²⁵ il quale definisce il sito delle riunioni dei *concilia Latinorum* semplicemente Φερεντίων (*Ferentinum*),²⁶ come fosse un semplice agro, non specificando affatto se il toponimo fosse in relazione o meno con una selva, un bosco sacro o una sorgente.

A questo punto, tornando alla lezione unanime dei codici, non sarebbe inverosimile supporre che il biografo abbia inteso collocare quei riti purificatori attribuiti a Romolo nei pressi di una porta urbana di Roma, da cui si dipartiva la viabilità in direzione di Φερεντίων e da cui essa avrebbe tratto il nome, com'era d'uso, tanto era importante per Roma e per i Latini il punto di arrivo del tracciato.²⁷

Del resto, i *katharmoi* romulei presso la 'porta' hanno importanti riscontri; le porte in effetti erano punti molto delicati in tema di tutela; esse interrompevano il *circulus* delle mura a protezione della città, e pertanto erano soggette a contaminazione;²⁸ per tale ragione la loro sicurezza (e quella della città

Römer, Halle 1865, 146–62; R. Flacelière, “Sur quelques passages des Vies de Plutarque. I Thésée-Romulus”, *REG* 61 (1948) 85–89; si veda anche B. Scardigli, *Die Römerbiographien Plutarchs: ein Forschungsbericht*, Munich 1979, 17–21. In generale sulle fonti delle vite di Plutarco, oltre alle edizioni sopra citate (cf. n. 13), cf. *Plutarco, vite parallele*, a cura di C. Carena, Milano 1974³, 16: secondo questo studioso il biografo nelle vite fa esplicito riferimento circa cinquecento volte a centoundici storici di lingua greca e per centotrenta volte a quaranta storici di lingua latina; sul tema da ultimo cf. N. Criniti “Plutarco, le vite romane e loro fortuna”, *Ager Veleias* 8, 1 (2013) 12–16.

²⁴ Diocle di Pepareto e Fabio Pittore (che da questi avrebbe attinto secondo Plutarco) sono espressamente citati insieme in *Plut. Rom.* 3,1 e 8,2 (il solo Fabio Pittore in *Plut. Rom.* 14,1); mentre Dionigi è menzionato in *Plut. Rom.* 16,7; nella *vita Romuli* sono citati anche Giuba II (*Plut. Rom.* 14,7; 15,4; 17,5) e Zenodoto di Trezene (*Plut. Rom.* 14,8).

²⁵ Sempre utile A. Andrén, “Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Roman Monuments”, in *Hommages a Léon Herrmann*, (“Coll. Latomus”, 44), Bruxelles 1960, 88–104.

²⁶ *Dion. Hal.* 3,34,3; 3,51,3; 4,45,3; 5,61,2.

²⁷ L'uso si riscontra soprattutto nella nomenclatura delle strade: vie Anagnina, Ardeatina, Collatina, Labicana, Latina, Laurentina, Nomentana, Ostiense, Portuense, Prenestina, Satricana, alle quali corrispondono le relative porte.

²⁸ G. Camporeale, in *ThesCRA*, 2, 2004, 46. Sulla persistenza di tali riti in età medievale cf. A. Benvenuti, “Draghi e confini. Rogazioni e litanie nelle consuetudini liturgiche”, in *Annali Aretini*,

intera) era affidata a varie divinità e a riti con valenza liminare.²⁹ Non mancano esempi in tal senso: a Gubbio tali cerimonie sono attestate espressamente nelle *Tabulae Iguvinae*;³⁰ anche a Roma la tradizione ricorda analoghi sacrifici presso la Porta *Mugonia*, la *Catularia*³¹ e, forse, anche presso la *Carmentalis* se, come afferma Festo, si tratta della stessa porta poi detta *Scelerata*;³² possiamo ricordare anche il caso del *Tigillum Sororium* presso il quale si svolgevano riti di passaggio e cerimonie di purificazione³³ e, parimenti, quelle azioni liturgiche menzionate da Ovidio,³⁴ che i *mercatores* alle idi di maggio compivano all'*aqua Mercurii* presso la porta Capena, tra Celio e Aventino.³⁵

E proprio a proposito del Celio e dei suoi accessi,³⁶ non sarà inutile riprendere le osservazioni di due grandi conoscitori della topografia romana, Antonio Nibby e William Gell, che conviene riportare per esteso; afferma Nibby:³⁷

L'altro accesso del monte Celio, ossia quello, che oggi ancora serve di strada pubblica dietro S. Stefano Rotondo, ebbe la porta Ferentina citata da Plutarco. Noi vi poniamo questa piuttosto, che qualunque altra, avuto

XIII. Atti del convegno internazionale Simboli e rituali nelle città toscane tra Medioevo e prima Età moderna (2004), Arezzo 2005, 54–56.

²⁹ Si veda da ultimo E. Cruccas, "Tutores finium. Divinità dei confini, tra porte urbane ed incroci", *OTIVM. Archeologia e Cultura del Mondo Antico* 1 (2016) 2–17 (<http://www.otium.unipg.it/otium>).

³⁰ Sintesi in Camporeale (supra n. 28) 61, con altra bibliografia.

³¹ Paul. Fest. 39 L; F. Coarelli, *Porta Catularia*, *LTUR* 4, 1999, 113–14.

³² Fest. 358 L, *Scelerata porta*; F. Coarelli, *Porta Carmentalis*, *LTUR* 3, 1996, 324–25.

³³ F. Coarelli, *Tigillum Sororium*, *LTUR* 5 1999, 74–75; F. Marcattili, *ThesCRA* 4, 2005, 296–97.

³⁴ Ov. *Fasti*, 6,669–692.

³⁵ Richardson (supra n. 8) 18; D. Palombi, *Aqua Mercurii*, *LTUR* 1, 1993, 69. *La fonte dell'aqua Mercurii si trovava forse nei pressi di Villa Mattei al Celio: così R. Schilling*, "Der römische Hercules und die Religionsreform des Augustus", in G. Binder (hrsg.), *Saeculum Augustum, II. Religion und Literatur*, Darmstadt 1988, 108–42. Interessante sottolineare come ai *mercatores*, che facevano sacrifici a Mercurio affinché la divinità condonasse la loro disonesta condotta, siano in qualche modo assimilabili i *Titini latrones* di Fest. 496 L: furono proprio i saccheggi e le ruberie di costoro ai danni dei Laurentini a innescare la serie di eventi che portò alla morte di Tito Tazio.

³⁶ Andreussi (supra n. 9) 322, in prossimità del Celio non vi sono evidenze delle mura serviane forse smantellate quando persero la loro importanza strategica.

³⁷ A. Nibby – W. Gell, *Le mura di Roma disegnatte e illustrate con testo e note*, Roma 1820, 179–81.

riguardo al suo nome, che si dee dedurre dal *Lucus Ferentinae*, e dal *Caput Aquae Ferentinae* sotto a Marino, dove si tenevano le diete nazionali de' popoli Latini, come dimostrano Livio e Dionisio: e questa porta si trova più di ogni altra in direzione verso quel luogo. La celebrità e l'importanza di quelle adunanze tenute dalla confederazione Latina non ci deve recare meraviglia, che una porta di Roma volta verso quella parte, ne portasse il nome; e l'antichità di quelle stesse adunanze, che si trovano menzionate da' tempi di Tullo Ostilio, ci mostra la porta Ferentina tra le più antiche di Roma e con ogni probabilità fu d'istituzione di Servio.

Anche Rodolfo Lanciani, pur dissentendo dall'ipotesi del Nibby, ammetteva l'esistenza di una porta nel segmento delle mura serviane presso il Celio:³⁸

Il Nibby fondandosi sopra un errore manifesto del testo di Plutarco (*Rom.* 24) ha immaginato una porta Ferentina che colloca presso S. Stefano rotondo: ora il biografo non parla di una πύλη, ma dell'ὄλη Φερεντινίη, ossia del caput acque, famoso pei convegni della dieta latina, ove eseguivansi le lustrazioni delle città confederate. Però se v'è errore del nome io non oserei dubitare del fatto. L'esistenza di una porta nel luogo indicata dal Nibby è confermata (...).

In conclusione, se lasciamo immutato il testo plutarco, così come tradito da tutti i codici, non possiamo escludere a priori che la tradizione, confluita in Plutarco, conoscesse una 'porta Ferentina'; del resto, considerate le scarse notizie che abbiamo in materia di numero e nomenclatura delle porte urliche,³⁹ non sembra azzardato ipotizzare che essa sia realmente esistita, magari come nomenclatura alternativa o obliterata, di un'altra porta nota. In tal senso, si è ritenuto in passato che la porta Ferentina costituisse il nome più antico della porta Latina;⁴⁰ tale ipotesi, nient'affatto peregrina, è stata respinta,

³⁸ Lanciani (supra n. 12) 76.

³⁹ Cf. n. 9.

⁴⁰ Così R. Flacelière (supra n. 13) 91, n. 2; della stessa opinione Antonio Traglia nell'edizione UTET delle *Vite parallele*, I, Torino 1992, 200, n. 59.

invero senza prove sostanziali.⁴¹ In altri casi si è sostenuto che la porta Ferentina potesse coincidere con la cd. *Porta Piacularis*: ipotesi che sarebbe stata senz'altro suggestiva alla luce di quanto sin qui trattato, se non fosse che l'attestazione della porta *Piacularis*, come è stato dimostrato, è frutto di una erronea lettura di Paolo Diacono del lemma di Festo che menzionerebbe, invece, una *porca piacularis*.⁴²

Il tema della possibile esistenza di una via Ferentina si incrocia inevitabilmente con un altro grande problema, ossia quello della collocazione topografica del *lucus/caput aquae Ferentinae*, variamente individuato nel quadrante sud-orientale del suburbio.⁴³

⁴¹ Ampolo (supra n. 10) 220.

⁴² Cf. D. Palombi, *Porta Piacularis*, *LTUR* 4, 1999, 115.

⁴³ Non è possibile in questa sede affrontare in dettaglio il tema assai dibattuto della collocazione del *Caput aquae* e/o del *lucus Ferentinae*, dibattito recentemente ripreso dallo scrivente, "Quale suburbio? Il territorio tra Roma e i Colli Albani alla luce delle fonti", in A.L. Fischetti – P. Attema (eds.), *Alle pendici dei Colli Albani. Dinamiche insediamenti e cultura materiale ai confini con Roma (On the slopes of the Alban Hills. Settlement dynamics and material culture on the confines of Rome. International Workshop, Rome, KNIR, 2 febbraio 2017)* (Groningen Archaeological Studies, 35) Groningen, 91–104; è appena il caso di ricordare che nel lemma sopra menzionato di Festo/Cincio (supra n. 19) si trova l'unico, benché vago, riferimento topografico circa la collocazione di questo sito che sarebbe posto: "sub Monte Albano" e per tale ragione Antonio Nibby (*Viaggio antiquario ne' contorni di Roma*, I, Roma 1819, 76 e Id., *Analisi storico-topografico-antiquaria della carta de' dintorni di Roma*, Roma 1848, II, 319–20) propose di identificare il *caput aquae Ferentinae* nel territorio dell'odierna Marino (RM). L'ipotesi fu accolta, tra gli altri, dallo studioso romeno Constantin Daicovici ["*Castrimoenium* e la così detta Via Castrimeniense", *Ephemeris Dacoromana* 4 (1930) 41–45], il quale fu il primo a supporre l'esistenza di una via "Ferentina", ossia di un tracciato arcaico poi ricalcato dalla cd. via Castrimeniense; molto utili in proposito anche le osservazioni di Giuseppe Lugli ["La Via Trionfale a Monte Cave e il gruppo stradale dei colli Albani", *MPARA*, I (1923) 251–72] in merito all'antichità della via che denominò come "Castrimeniense-Setina"; in proposito v. da ultimo P. Garofalo, "Tra Pometia e Ulubrae: la via Setina nel territorio di Cisterna (LT)", in D. Quadri (a cura di), *A sud di Roma: Itinerari per la conoscenza, la conservazione, la valorizzazione e la fruizione dei siti archeologici e monumenti del Lazio* (Atti del Convegno, Roma Tor Vergata 26–27 Ottobre 2017), *in press*. Le reazioni all'articolo del Daicovici furono piuttosto fredde: A.M. Colini, *BCAR* 58 (1938) 187, si mostrò alquanto scettico rispetto alla proposta di riconoscere l'esistenza di una via Ferentina. Tuttavia le intuizioni del Daicovici sembrano trovare sorprendenti conferme nell'ambito delle ricerche archeologiche condotte a più riprese nel quadrante sud-orientale del *suburbium*: v. da ultima A.L. Fischetti, "La via Castrimeniense, lo stato della ricerca", in A.L. Fischetti – P. Attema, (eds.), *Alle pendici dei Colli Albani* (supra) 57–76, con bibliografia precedente, che hanno mostrato chiaramente l'esistenza di percorsi di antichissima concezione, che collegavano Roma con l'area albana, alternativi al tracciato della successiva via Latina. Una simile ricostruzione è

A prescindere dalla definizione del contesto topografico che fa da sfondo al racconto, difficilmente ricostruibile e sul quale non vi è accordo tra gli studiosi, possiamo almeno ammettere, come leggiamo nella versione dei fatti confluita in Plutarco, che i *katharmoi* di Romolo fossero stati ambientati presso una 'porta' Ferentina con un preciso intento simbolico: un varco verso il *lucus/caput aquae Ferentinae* o *Ferentinum* (ovunque si ritenga di poter collocare questi siti) poteva essere, ben a ragione, considerato il luogo più appropriato dove svolgere riti di purificazione volti a ristabilire la *pax deorum*, nell'ottica di una politica distensiva nei confronti non solo di Lavinio, ma di tutti i *populi* del *nomen Latinum*.

Abbiamo visto (supra, n. 2), del resto, che Dionigi, nel resoconto dei fatti relativi ai crimini subiti dai Laurentini ad opera degli amici/parenti di Tito Tazio, afferma espressamente che dopo l'omicidio degli ambasciatori, non solo Laurentini ma anche di altri *populi Latini*, si erano recati a Roma per sostenere la causa dei Lavinati, chiedendo giustizia a gran voce. Non fa difficoltà dunque pensare che tali riti di purificazione o sacrifici, di cui nulla sappiamo, fossero collocati presso una porta (Ferentina), in collegamento ideale con quel sito che identificava la latinità tutta, poiché gli illeciti commessi a danno dei Laurentini avevano leso non solo i diritti di quel popolo, ma la dignità di tutti i centri latini.

La vicenda, leggendaria ovviamente, assume una valenza 'internazionale' dove i Latini sono vittime di una capillare aggressione da parte di Roma, una vicenda che l'affabulazione storica rielaborò, proiettandola in un passato mitico; annalisti compiacenti, in ultima analisi, non fecero che scagionare Roma dalle sue responsabilità, facendo risalire il conflitto con i Laurentini (Latini) allo spregiudicato comportamento dei sodali di Tito Tazio, dalla cui condotta, secondo quanto asserito dal racconto canonico, Romolo si era sempre dissociato.

in contrasto con la collocazione del *caput aquae/lucus Ferentinae* nei pressi di Castel Savelli, località "Laghetto" (*lacus Turni*), che ha trovato in genere seguito tra gli studiosi: v. Ampolo (supra n. 10) 221-25. secondo tale ipotesi il sito sarebbe stato raggiungibile attraverso antichi percorsi esistenti lungo la direttrice in seguito ricalcata dalla via Appia; su questa viabilità v. F. Coarelli, *Cluilia Fossa*, *LTUR*, Suburbium, II, 2004, 121-23.

In realtà il *vulnus* era esistito e i Romani ne erano coscienti⁴⁴ e ciò spiega perché questi καθαρμοί continuarono ad essere celebrati.⁴⁵

Quanto di vero si nasconda dietro tutto questo è davvero impossibile da stabilire:⁴⁶ tuttavia, nel quadro della ricostruzione storica di episodi così risalenti, la notizia di rituali svolti presso una presunta ‘porta’ Ferentina, non può essere scartata *tout court* ed anzi essa parrebbe conservare immutata quella valenza di tipo politico volta a ristabilire i delicati rapporti tra Romani e Latini, a cui il biografo certamente intendeva alludere.

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⁴⁴ I rapporti conflittuali con i Latini non furono mai dimenticati, tanto che ancora in età severiana nella *praecatio* dei ludi secolari si imploravano gli dèi *ut semper Latinus optemperassit*. Cf. F. Coarelli, “Note sui *Ludi Saeculares*”, in *Spectacles sportifs et scéniques dans le monde étrusco-italique*, Rome 1993, 219–26.

⁴⁵ La figura di Tito Tazio è stata, in modo molto suggestivo, collegata al motivo della purificazione attraverso la collocazione della sua tomba, nel *Lauretum* sull’Aventino, presso l’*Armilustrium*, cf. F. Marcattili, “La tomba di Tito Tazio e l’*Armilustrium*”, *Ostraka* 18 (2009) 431–38. L’ubicazione della tomba, un bosco di alloro, rimanda a pratiche purificatorie e può costituire un ulteriore aggancio alla presunta aggressione ai danni dei Laurentini, da cui può aver tratto motivo di ispirazione.

⁴⁶ Lo stesso Plutarco (*Thes.* 1,2) nell’introdurre le vite di Teseo e Romolo ammetteva la difficoltà di distinguere la verità dalle notizie fantastiche.

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GREEK POPYRI OF PRAGMATIC LITERATURE ON COMBAT TECHNIQUE (P. OXY. III 466 AND LXXIX 5204)

ANTTI IJÄS*

1. Introduction

The scholarly interest in Greek sports tends to gravitate towards interpreting its cultural significance and role in the society, not so much the exact characteristics of the kinds of sports themselves. The understanding of the significance and relationships of any given activity, however, should be complemented by the understanding of the nature of the activity itself. To gain such understanding, a philologist will naturally turn to written sources, especially pragmatic literature about the activity. Ovid reveals that books were written about games (*Trist.* 2,471–84), showing that no topic was too banal or pragmatic to be discussed and distributed in writing. Unfortunately, works detailing the technique and training for sports are poorly attested in the extant corpus of literature. Accordingly, athletic training has not received its due attention in the study of ancient sports.

Greeks had not only skills in sports, but also knowledge on how to pass along their skills, as implied in Pl. *Lach.* 185b. Learnt skills may be contrasted with bodily strength and size, and there was no full agreement of opinion regarding their respective importance. In an epigram dated to the early fourth century BCE, Aristodamos of Elis ascribes his wrestling victories not to the ‘breadth of his frame’ but his ‘art’;¹ conversely, a Spartan boy wrestler boasts not being

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¹ ‘οὐ πλάτει νικῶν σώματος ἀλλὰ τέχνα’, J. Ebert (ed.), *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen*, Berlin 1972, 113–14. For the aristocratic anxiety regarding non-inherited, teachable (fighting) skills, see N. Nicholson, “Representations of Sport in Greek

skilled like the others but winning through strength (*Anth. Pal.* 16,1). Plutarch alludes to the Spartan aversion to the art of wrestling, stating that Spartans employed no wrestling instructors, so that victory would be earned through valour instead of skill (‘μη τέχνης ἀλλ’ ἀρετῆς’, *Mor.* 233e; cf. *Mor.* 236e & 639f). Sports instructors are only attested in the literary sources for combat sports, though they are depicted in vase paintings for other sports as well.² Even though sports belong to activities where “doing” takes precedence over “knowing”, the knowledge on *how* to “do” is nevertheless a valid object of study. Such knowledge can be communicated visually and through hands-on instruction, but there is no reason why it could not be written down as well, though such attempts may fail to communicate some of the more tacit facets of the relevant know-how.

In this article, I present the first examination of the pragmatic sources for Greek combat sports within their generic context of pragmatic literature on fighting technique. The two Oxyrhynchus papyri discussed are *P. Oxy.* III 466 (I/II CE) and *P. Oxy.* LXXIX 5204 (II CE), with the editorial titles ‘Directions for Wrestling’ and ‘Directions for Pankration (?)’, respectively.³ A third source, *P. Oxy.* VI 887 (III CE) was tentatively titled ‘Directions for Wrestling (?)’ by Grenfell and Hunt.⁴ Since then, however, the text has been convincingly identified as a magical text.⁵ Though a connection between (protective) magic and fighting would not be unheard of, this source will not be subjected to further speculation in this article.

My primary purpose is not to (re)attempt an exact decipherment of the technical terminology of the sources, but rather to illuminate the structures of

Literature”, in P. Christesen – D. G. Kyle (eds.), *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Chichester 2014, 68–80, particularly 76–77.

² M. Golden, *Greek Sport and Social Status*, Austin 2008, 26.

³ Images of the two papyri were acquired from <http://papyri.info/apis/columbia.apis.p356/> and <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.oxy;79;5204>, respectively (last accessed 31 August 2020).

⁴ B. P. Grenfell – A. S. Hunt (eds.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Part VI*, London 1908, 201–2.

⁵ The text is similar to passages from the Paris Magical Papyrus (BNE, Suppl. grec 574, LDAB 5564), as noted by A. Abt, “Nucularum hexas”, *Philologus* 69 (1910), 141–52, particularly 147–50. In *PGM* (XXIVb), the papyrus is described as instructions for writing magical words on a human figure, possibly to ward off physical attacks; E. Diehl (ed.), *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, volume 2, Leipzig 1931, 152. R. D. Kotansky’s English translation titled ‘love spell’ is found in H. D. Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells, volume one: texts*, Chicago – London 1992, xviii, 264.

communicating technique. This is arguably the only object of study for which these papyri provide unique source material: in order to decipher the rules and exact methods of Greek combat sports, far more evidence can be gathered from other literary and iconographic sources.⁶ Such evidence, when available, can be employed to make sense of the technical content of the sources, consequently making it possible to examine the linguistic form of how the technical content is communicated, which can then be oriented in the diachronic context of European literature detailing combat technique.

I will start by offering relevant background on the Greek combat sports and pragmatic writing on combat technique, followed by a summary of the relevant scholarship on the papyrus sources mentioned above. The discussion proper starts with an outline of the structural features of the tentative Greek ‘combat (sports) manual’ genre, followed by an examination of the composition of a unit of technical knowledge, and finishes with a consideration of how these relate to what is known of the instruction given in combat sports, and how all of this relates to the larger context of the history of subsequent European literature on fighting technique.

2. Greek combat sports and fighting skills

Within athletics, combat sports occupy a special place, as they are inherently based on a regulated form of interpersonal violence.⁷ From *pankration* to Roman gladiatorial games and the mediaeval tournament, the kinds of combat sports enjoyed by the people have been used as a measurement of the perceived

⁶ Literary sources: G. Doblhofer – P. Mauritsch, *Boxen. Texte, Übersetzungen, Kommentar*, Vienna 1995; G. Doblhofer – P. Mauritsch, *Pankration. Texte, Übersetzungen, Kommentar*, Vienna 1996; G. Doblhofer – W. Petermandl – U. Schachinger, *Ringeln. Texte, Übersetzungen, Kommentar*, Vienna 1998.

⁷ The standard work, not limited to Greek athletics, is M. B. Poliakoff, *Combat Sports in the Ancient World: Competition, Violence, and Culture*, New Haven – London 1987. Poliakoff, however, excludes gladiatorial combat from his definition of sport, considering it a form of warfare (7); for detailed discussion, see G. Horsmann, “Sklavendienst, Strafvollzug oder Sport? Überlegungen zum Charakter der römischen Gladiatur”, in H. Bellen – H. Heinen (eds.), *Fünfzig Jahre Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei an der Mainzer Akademie 1950–2000: Miscellanea zum Jubiläum*, Stuttgart 2001, 225–41; for an opposing view, see Golden (above n. 2) 97–104.

brutality of the ancient times. When discussing violence and fighting in general, a distinction may be made between *agonistic* and *antagonistic* activity, where the former covers, as expected, activity typically pertaining to the *agones* or competitions, and the latter the kind of activity that occurs in war, illicit violence, and lethal single combat. The distinction may be a matter of degree. There is not necessarily a significant difference between the motor skills for agonistic and antagonistic violence, or play and serious fighting; arguably, practice for the latter would necessarily take the form of the former.

In Greek athletics, three kinds of combat sports ('heavy events') were distinguished: boxing (πυγμαίη), wrestling (πάλη), and *pankration* (παγκράτιον).⁸ There is an important conceptual distinction between types of fighting activity on the one hand, and how such types are organised into specific kinds of sports or sporting events, on the other. In the context of Greek combat sports, it is useful to distinguish striking, kicking, grappling, tripping, and choking, enacted either in the standing (stand-up fighting) or non-standing (ground fighting) position; the kneeling position is something in between. The three combat sports are defined by what types of actions are allowed and what constitutes victory.

Boxing entailed stand-up fighting with punches (striking with the fist) for a knockout or submission. In wrestling, the objective was to force the opponent to the ground three times (whence, apparently, τριάζειν 'to conquer, vanquish') through the use of grappling and tripping; apparently being secured in a controlling hold counted as a fall as well. In *pankration*, both striking and grappling grips and throws were allowed, with the addition of kicking and grappling on the ground (i.e., both stand-up and ground fighting); victory was determined by submission.⁹ A famous quote from Philostratus (*Imag.* 2,6)

⁸ For selections of primary sources in English translation on each of the three combat sports events, see W. E. Sweet, *Sport and Recreation in Ancient Greece: A Sourcebook with Translations*, New York – Oxford 1987, 60–88 and S. G. Miller, *Arete: Greek Sports from Ancient Sources*, third edition, Berkeley, Los Angeles – London 2004 (reprinted 2012), 27–39 (passages 32–46).

⁹ There is evidence for a kind of *pankration* where grappling was not allowed: a second-century inscription found in Fassiller in Pisidia (SEG 6,449, Sterrett, WE 167,275) sets down the rule that the pancratiasts must not make use of sand to sprinkle themselves with (ἀφι εἰς τὸ πάσσειν) or grappling moves (παλαίσμασι) but only compete in stand-up striking (ὀρθοπαίει ἀγωνίζεσθαι). For an analysis, see E. N. Gardiner, "Regulations for a local sports meeting", *CR* 43 (1929) 210–12. Interestingly, Suidas' entry for Παγκρατιασταίς gives the definition 'πύκταις τοῖς χερσὶ καὶ ποσὶ πυκτομαχοῦσι', or

mentions two fouls, biting and gouging.¹⁰

A fourth combat sport, (poorly) attested in late antiquity, was called *pammachon* (πάμμαχον). In earlier sources, the word is used as a poetic synonym of *pankration*, but the event so named is explicitly distinguished from *pankration* in *SB* III 6222 and *CIL* VI 10154 = *ILS* 5164.¹¹ Hesychius' entry for Κυπρία πάλη ('Cypriot wrestling'), for which he supplies the alternate name πάμμαχον, indicates that it is a kind of untechnical wrestling, perhaps a parallel phenomenon to the similarly 'untechnical' boxing of the Roman *catervarii*.¹²

Though *pankration* is typically seen as the most dangerous and thus the most 'realistic' combat sport, Plato (*Leg.* 796a) was of the opinion that stand-up wrestling was a more suitable exercise for fighting skills relevant for military purposes. This is understandable considering that purposely engaging in ground-fighting in a situation involving multiple adversaries is dangerous. Moreover, contrary to what might be intuitively apparent, *pankration* was considered less dangerous than boxing by the Greeks.¹³ Boxing, where gripping the opponent's arms was not allowed (Plut. *Mor.* 638e), offers fewer possibilities for defence against blows, and protection for the benefit of the opponent was only used in training. Fighting by using only the clenched fist necessitates the use of support

'boxers who box with hands and feet'.

¹⁰ The latter, ὀρύττειν, seems to cover not only gouging the eyes, but also anal insertion; cf. *Ar. Av.* 441–43 and *Pax* 896–98.

¹¹ S. Remijsen, "'Pammachon', a New Sport", *BASP* 47 (2010), 185–204, particularly 199–204; S. Remijsen, *The End of Greek Athletics in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2015, 86, 168, and 336. For synonymy with *pankration*, see M. B. Poliakoff, *Studies in the Terminology of the Greek Combat Sports*, 2. ed., Frankfurt am Main 1986, 64–71.

¹² For the *catervarii*, see C. Mann, "Greek Sport and Roman Identity: The *Certamina Athletarum* at Rome", in T. F. Scanlon (ed.), *Sport in the Greek and Roman Worlds* vol. 2, 2014, 151–79.

¹³ Poliakoff (above n. 7) 63. According to Paus. 6,15,5, it was preferable to compete in *pankration* before boxing to avoid competing with injuries in the former, and, according to Artemidorus 1,62, dreaming of *pankration* was not harmful like dreaming of boxing. – In addition to the deaths of Arrachion in *pankration* and Creugas in boxing (Paus. 8,40), three other fatalities in boxing, two in wrestling, and only one in *pankration* are reported in R. Brophy – M. Brophy, "Deaths in the Pan-Hellenic Games II: All Combative Sports", *AJPh* 106 (1985) 171–98, and M. B. Poliakoff, "Deaths in the Pan-Hellenic Games: Addenda et Corrigenda", *AJPh* 107 (1986) 400–2. For the role of death in general, see T. F. Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics*, Oxford 2002, 299–322.

to protect the fist from injury,¹⁴ as punching with the fist is not a natural method of employing the human hand for offence.¹⁵

Conceptualizing grappling as a type of fighting action used in both wrestling and *pankration* has some useful implications. Saying that *pankration* is a combination of wrestling and boxing is somewhat inaccurate, since *pankration* allows kicking and ground-fighting as well.¹⁶ Even though it is a useful shorthand to refer to fighting skills by the names of the corresponding sporting events, it is not exactly precise.¹⁷ Heracles provides an illustrative, albeit mythological case study.

Being the divine patron of athletics, Heracles' association with athletics goes beyond any single event, as he is credited with instituting the games at Olympia (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2,7,2; Paus. 5,7,9; Pind. *Ol.* 10). In the field of combat sports, he is referred to both as a pancratiast and Παλαίμων, 'a wrestler'. According to Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 2,4,9), Heracles was taught driving the chariot, wrestling, shooting with the bow, fighting in heavy armour, and playing the lyre, which all correspond to events in various games.¹⁸ Heracles' encounters with the serpents as an infant and with Antaeus, Nereus, and the Nemean lion during his labours are not sporting events but more properly "real fights" of antagonistic violence. The antagonistic nature of the so-called wrestling matches is corroborated by Heracles killing not only Antaeus, but also Polygonus, Telegonus, and Eryx

¹⁴ For the leather straps (ἰμάντες) used in Greek boxing, see T. F. Scanlon, "Greek boxing gloves: terminology and evolution", *Stadion* 8/9 (1982/3) 31–45; for an alternate view of their later development, see H. M. Lee, "The Later Greek Boxing Glove and the "Roman" Caestus: A Centennial Reevaluation of Jüthner's 'Über Antike Turngeräthe'", *Nikephoros* 10 (1997) 161–78.

¹⁵ For the contrary idea, see M. H. Morgan – D. R. Carrier, "Protective buttressing of the human fist and the evolution of hominin hands", *Journal of Experimental Biology* 216 (2013) 236–44. For criticism, see D. C. Nickle – L. M. Goncharoff, "Human fist evolution: a critique", *Journal of Experimental Biology* 216 (2013) 2359–60 and R. King, "Fists of furry: at what point did human fists part company with the rest of the hominid lineage?", *Journal of Experimental Biology* 216 (2013), 2161.

¹⁶ For a review of the evidence for kicking in Greek boxing, see N. B. Crowther, "The Evidence for Kicking in Greek Boxing", *AJPh* 111 (1990) 176–81.

¹⁷ Cf. Philostr. *Gymn.* 11, where the author does exactly this. Gal. *san. tuend.* 6,133–34K distinguishes between exercises (γυμνάσια) and activities (ἔργα) that may be performed independently.

¹⁸ Playing the lyre may seem unrelated to the other skills, which all have combative applications, but Apollodorus adds that Heracles killed his teacher by hitting him with the instrument.

(2,5,9–10).¹⁹ Menoetes has his ribs crushed by Heracles and is only saved due to the intervention of Persephone (2,5,12). Thus, Heracles' skill lies in grappling, a fighting skill applicable in both wrestling and *pankration*, the two events Heracles is said to have won on the same day, becoming the namesake for the honour bestowed upon those who duplicated the feat.²⁰

More importantly for the present article, the titles 'Directions for Wrestling' and 'Directions for Pankration (?)' given to the two papyrus sources may be brought under the umbrella of 'Directions for Grappling', thus removing the necessarily tentative commitment to specific sporting events while still staying true to their attested content.²¹

¹⁹ Apollodorus' wording τρις περιγεγόμενος does seem to refer to a proper wrestling match with Eryx, who in Verg. *Aen.* 5,400–13 appears to have been a boxer. Fatal results are also ascribed to the mythical boxing matches (πυγμαχίη) of Amycus, King of the Bebryces (*Ap. Rhod. Argon.* 2,1–7). The most graphic result of Heracles' grappling moves may be found in *Soph. Trach.* 777–82.

²⁰ C. A. Forbes, "Οἱ ἄφ' Ἡηρακλέους in Epictetus and Lucian", *AJPh* 60 (1939) 473–74.

²¹ It is not always practical to maintain a linguistic distinction between sporting events, kinds of sports, and the associated types of activity. There is, nevertheless, a clear conceptual distinction between jumping (high) and *the* high jump. Further, sports typically centre around activities that exist independently of the sporting event, like jumping, running, and swimming, whereas games, such as ball games and board games, involve goal-oriented activity that only exists in the context of the game. In the former case, the activity is governed by *regulative* rules, whereas in the latter, the activity is created by *constitutive* rules, using the terminology of J. Searle, *Speech acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*, Cambridge 1969, 33–35. Both kinds of rules intermingle: the constitutive rules of a board game are the rules in the context of which moving a piece becomes meaningful (most importantly what kinds of arrangements of the pieces constitute victory), but how moving the piece is to be performed may be governed by additional regulative rules (e.g., the obligation to move the first piece touched in chess). Of course, any given competition is created by constitutive rules: running is an independent, meaningful activity the distinctive feature of which is speed of movement, but a competition in running requires defining the conditions for winning. Similarly, the motor skills employed in games (kicking things, manipulating small objects) exist independently of games, but the goals and the actions performed to reach them (passing the ball, making a move) are defined by the game. Combat sports are a special case in the sense that they 'simulate' hand-to-hand fighting, as formulated by Sweet (above n. 8) 60, whereas no one would argue that the high jump 'simulates' jumping high. (Cf. the use of μίμημα in *Plut. Mor.* 640a.) The inherent antagonistic violence associated with combative behaviour necessitates not only regulatory rules but also constitutive rules to determine the winner. In running, being faster than the other party involved constitutes a natural triumph whereas falling to the ground in a fight does not necessarily mean losing. Imposing such conditions on victory makes a combat sport necessarily more 'game-like'; coupled with regulatory rules for safety, the connection between the independent activity and the

As already noted, the skill set of grappling may have had uses outside of sports, but its connection to military training is not direct. In addition to pointing out the usefulness of upright grappling already mentioned, Plato (*Leg.* 833d–34a) suggests some changes in the games of his idealized society to encourage military prowess: there should be a mock hoplite battle (ὀπλομαχία) with experts in the subject giving instruction in the handling of weapons and devising a system for determining victory, and a contest in the use of projectile weapons of the peltasts.²² In the curriculum of ephebes established in Athens in ca. 335 BCE, military training included hoplite and peltast technique (ὀπλομαχεῖν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν καὶ καταπάλην ἀφιέναι, *Arist. [Ath. Pol.]*, 42,3), though wrestling was certainly part of the sports programme.²³ *Plut. Mor.* 640a is explicit about the connection between grappling and warfare, though his testimony should be taken *cum grano salis*, as he simply tries to come up with an explanation for why Homer always has boxing, wrestling, and running in that order: the reason, says Plutarch, is that this is the natural order of encountering the enemy in striking distance, proceeding to grappling, and then either running away or chasing the enemy.²⁴

In any case, wrestling and its associated special language enjoyed wide penetration and reception, illustrated by the abundance of related metaphors in literature.²⁵ Detecting allusions of special language necessitates rigorous

sport derived from it becomes gradually more obscure: contrast, for example, duelling with small swords or sabres with Olympic fencing.

²² As the craft of hoplite combat (*Xen. Anab.* 2,1,7), ὀπλομαχία should not be equated with the armed funeral contests of *Hom. Il.* 23,802–25.

²³ Cf. D. Kah, “Militärische Ausbildung im hellenistischen Gymnasion”, in D. Kah – P. Scholz (eds.), *Das hellenistische Gymnasion*, Berlin 2004, 47–90, particularly 53–54.

²⁴ Boxing is explicitly contrasted with skills relevant to warfare in *Tac. Ann.* 14,20, as part of opposition to Nero’s *Neronia* festival, for which see Z. Newby, *Greek Athletics in the Roman World*, Oxford 2005, 28–31, 40. *Plut. Cat. Mai.* 20,4–5 reports that Cato the Elder taught his son to box, to endure hot and cold, and to swim in addition (and in contrast?) to the military skills of javelin-throwing, fighting in armour, and riding. In *Lucian Anach.* 24, 27–8 the character Solon states that boxing and *pankration* teach one not to turn away in fear of injuries, whereas the direct applicability of wrestling moves on the battlefield is implied; applying wrestling skills to pick up and evacuate wounded friends is also mentioned.

²⁵ For examples, see Poliakoff (above n. 11), Doblhofer et. al 1998 (above n. 6) 379–81, and M. R. Lefkowitz, “The poet as athlete”, *Journal of Sport History* 11 (1984) 18–24.

philological work. Technical literature is the native domain of technical language, and, especially if it were represented by more extant sources, of major importance for the study of the technicalities of Greek sports. Greek technical literature, often dubbed “subliterary”,²⁶ is of interest not only in the context of Greek literature and culture, but for the study of pragmatic literature from diachronic perspective as well.

3. Pragmatic literature on fighting technique

As already noted, in addition to being skilled in fighting, one can have knowledge regarding how such skills can be developed. The skill to throw a punch is achieved through the practice of punching, and practicing requires knowledge (accurate or not) on what to practice. Following B. Spatz’ definition of technique as knowledge that governs practice, I term such knowledge on how to prepare for fighting as *fighting technique*.²⁷ Individual units of fighting technique, or *techniques* as a countable noun, are typically made up of various types of grips, throws, trips, punches, and kicks. As is the case of other *artes*, technical knowledge can be made explicit in the form of rules, which, of course, are distinct from the rules governing a competition. Consequently, a collection of such rules is an *ars* or τέχνη, suggesting the designation *martial art* for an art (in the aforementioned sense) pertaining to fighting.²⁸

European literature on fighting technique is attested only from the early fourteenth century onwards.²⁹ This genre, termed *fight books* (German

²⁶ T. Renner, “Papyrology and Ancient Literature”, in R. S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, Oxford 2009, 281–302, particularly 283.

²⁷ B. Spatz, *What a Body Can Do*, London – New York 2015, 26–44.

²⁸ The Latin word *ars* is used in connection with fighting technique in Suet. *Aug.* 45,2 and Val. Max. 2,3,2. The English expression *martial art*, a fairly recent loan translation from Japanese, is often distinguished from what is considered ‘mere’ sports and carries connotations of personal growth and training to be a ‘true’ warrior instead of simply learning to fight. For an argument regarding the use of the term in research in the general context of transferrable fighting skills (i.e., knowledge on how to fight), see S. Wetzler, “Martial Arts Studies as Kulturwissenschaft: A Possible Theoretical Framework”, *Martial Arts Studies* 1, 20–30.

²⁹ The standard work on the topic is S. Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe*, New Haven – London 2000. For sources, see S. Boffa, *Les manuels de combat* (Fechtbücher et Ringbücher),

Fecht- und Ringbücher), has no precedents or models in antiquity. Describing and conveying fighting technique is the defining feature of fight books, but this feature may be present in literature properly belonging to other genres as well. For example, the anonymous *Speculum regale* written in the thirteenth century in Old Norwegian, belongs to *speculum* or “mirror” literature, but includes a passage on how to train fencing with sword and buckler (or shield), coupled with several hints for the mounted knight and various combat situations.³⁰ A classic example is Vegetius’ treatise on military matters, which is mainly concerned with the tactical level, but includes, among others, a passage advocating the use of the Roman *gladius* for thrusting instead of cutting (*Veg. Mil.* 1,12).

Exposition of technique may take the form of a mere technical allusion, as in *Taktika* of Leo VI (20,124), where the author states that a good general should be like a good wrestler, feinting one action (δεικνύειν μὲν ἕτερα) but performing another.³¹ Here the subject is not the technique itself (feinting) but it is used to illustrate something else. A more concrete example can be found in Xen. *Cyn.* 10,12, where the stance of a spear-wielding hunter is likened to that of a wrestler. In the passage already cited, Plato (*Leg.* 796a) briefly describes stand-up wrestling as ‘keeping free the neck, the arms, and the sides.’³² Incidentally, these three ‘target areas’ of grips are also featured in *P. Oxy.* III 466. For an example involving *pankration*, Galen, when discussing the muscles and tendons of the arm, illustrates the result of bending the four fingers by referring to the shape of the hand used to strike with the base of the palm.³³ For the purposes of this article, a topic more pertinent than fighting technique itself is how fighting technique was passed on. Relevant texts will be discussed further below.

Turnhout 2014, particularly 38 for *P. Oxy.* III 466.

³⁰ L. Holm-Olsen (ed.), *Konungs skuggsjá*, Oslo 1983, 58–61. For an English translation, see L. M. Larson, *The King’s Mirror (Speculum Regale–Konungs Skuggsjá)*, New York 1917, 212–20.

³¹ G. T. Dennis, *The Taktika of Leo VI: Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Washington 2014, 578.

³² ‘...τὰ δὲ ἀπ’ ὀρθῆς πάλης, ἀπ’ αὐχένων καὶ χειρῶν καὶ πλευρῶν ἐξειλήσεως’. This, of course, defines the offensive side only by implication.

³³ ‘εἰ δ’ ἕκαστος τῶν δακτύλων καμφθεῖη, τὸ σχῆμα τῆς χειρὸς γένοιτ’ ἄν μάλιστα τοῖς ἐν παγκρατίῳ προτετακόσιν αὐτὴν ὁμοίον’, *Gal. mot. musc.* 4,395K.

4. Previous discussions

Since the two sources have received relatively little scholarly attention, it is feasible to give a more or less complete account of previous research. Accordingly, the following literature review serves to meet the bibliographical needs of future research.

P. Oxy. III 466 was published in 1903 and was made use of in a few publications in the same decade.³⁴ E. N. Gardiner discusses Greek wrestling, using the papyrus as one of his sources; in his follow-up article on *pankration*, the author reproduces the second column in its entirety, hoping that someone 'more experienced may be tempted to suggest a solution.'³⁵ Gardiner's articles were followed by the posthumously published dissertation by K. J. Freeman, where the author discusses the papyrus as an example of the physical education of the Greeks, offering a free translation of one of the better preserved sections of the second column.³⁶ J. Jüthner's introduction to his edition, translation, and commentary of Philostratus' *Gymnasticus* includes a discussion and a translation of the second column, disagreeing on some details with Gardiner.³⁷ Gardiner, meanwhile, authored his handbook *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* published in 1910, building on top of his earlier articles on the combat sports, but taking Jüthner's criticism into account.³⁸ A further iteration of Gardiner's was published in 1930 (reprinted in 1955), basically a popularized abridgement

³⁴ B. P. Grenfell – A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Part III*, London 1903, 137–38.

³⁵ E. N. Gardiner, "Wrestling", *JHS* 25 (1905) 14–31 & 263–93, specifically 15–16, 29, 265, 280, and 287; "The Pankration and Wrestling", *JHS* 26 (1906) 4–22, particularly 22. For the sake of completeness, it may be noted that the latter volume also includes an article on Greek boxing, in which the author draws some rather biased conclusions regarding the technicalities: K. T. Frost, "Greek Boxing", *JHS* 26 (1906) 213–25.

³⁶ K. J. Freeman, *Schools of Hellas*, London 1908, 131. Freeman's translation and Gardiner's interpretations of the 'drill-book' are referred to in R. S. Robinson, *Sources for the History of Greek Athletics in English Translation*, Cincinnati 1955, 274.

³⁷ J. Jüthner, *Philostratos über Gymnastik*, Leipzig – Berlin 1909, 26–30. For criticism on Philostratus as a source, see Poliakoff (above n. 11) 143–48 and M. Golden, *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge 1998, 48–50.

³⁸ E. N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, London 1910; for *P. Oxy.* III 466, see 374, 381 note 1, 388 note 3, 392–93. The chapter on boxing (402–34) corrects some of the views expressed earlier by Frost (above n. 35).

of his handbook, with an English translation of one section of the second column of *P. Oxy.* III 466.³⁹

A new edition was built on top of Grenfell and Hunt's by I. Cazzaniga, without access to a photograph of the papyrus. The author provides supplements based on the number of missing letters but is apparently unaware of any previous scholarship on the text.⁴⁰

An important contribution is the dissertation of M. B. Poliakoff on the terminology of Greek combat sports, originally published in 1982, where the first two columns of the papyrus are edited with a translation and a commentary.⁴¹ This was followed by a more general work on ancient combat sports, in which the same translation is reproduced with no indication of lacunae but supplemented by a photograph of the papyrus.⁴² Another (partial) translation into English appeared in the third edition of S. G. Miller's *Arete* in 2004.⁴³

Palaeographical insights of G. Cavallo, who dates the papyrus to the first century CE, were published in 1996, illustrated with a black-and-white photograph of the papyrus.⁴⁴ Cavallo contrasts the professional book hand of the papyrus with the crude writing of *P. Fay.* 313 (on hunting) and suggests it is an

³⁹ E. N. Gardiner, *Athletics in the Ancient World*, second edition, Oxford 1955, 91–2. For an overview of later criticism of Gardiner's idealizing tendencies, see D. G. Kyle, "E. Norman Gardiner and the Decline of Greek Sport", in D. G. Kyle – G. D. Stark (eds.), *Essays on Sport History and Sport Mythology*, Texas 1990, 7–44, reprinted in J. König (ed.), *Greek Athletics*, Edinburgh 2010, 284–311.

⁴⁰ I. Cazzaniga, "Osservazioni critiche intorno ai P. Oxy. 466 e P. Oxy. 2221, 1, 26" *Athenaeum* 42 (1964) 373–98, particularly 373–80. The edition was republished and translated into German in Doblhofer et al. 1998 (above n. 6) 201.

⁴¹ Poliakoff (above n. 11), particularly 33, 41, 50, 83, 111–13, 115, 120–21, 157, 161–63, 165–71. The edition of the text, based on a photograph of the papyrus, includes suggested supplements by L. Koenen and R. Brophy in the apparatus, to my knowledge not published elsewhere. Poliakoff's translation is cited in Golden (above n. 2) 37.

⁴² Poliakoff (above n. 7) 51–53.

⁴³ Miller (above n. 8) 32.

⁴⁴ G. Cavallo, "Veicoli materiali della letteratura di consumo. Maniere di scrivere e maniere di leggere", in O. Pecere – A. Stramaglia (eds.), *La letteratura di consumo nel mondo Greco-Latino: atti del convegno internazionale Cassino, 14–17 settembre 1994*, Cassino 1996, 13–46, 39; reprinted as part of G. Cavallo, *Il calamo e il papiro. La scrittura greca dall'età ellenistica ai primi secoli di Bisanzio* (Papyrologica florentina 36), Florence 2005, 228–29. The black-and-white photograph has also been published in Golden (above n. 37) 56, but the source is not discussed further in the text.

example of the literature related to leisure activities circulating in the educated circles of the Greco-Roman world.

P. Oxy. LXXIX 5204 was published in 2014, discussed by W. B. Henry in comparison with *P. Oxy.* III 466.⁴⁵ The volume includes an appendix by S. Remijsen, who tentatively identifies the text as a “handbook for demonstration matches of combat sports”.⁴⁶ There is, however, no compelling reason to assume such use for the text.

5. Layout and structure

Layout may be independent from text proper, but pragmatic literature nevertheless develops genre-specific ways of arranging and even composing texts for the benefit of the user. Layout may, for example, make the units of knowledge easily discernible, like entries in an encyclopedia or individual exercises in a grappling manual. Due to the exceedingly fragmentary nature of *P. Oxy.* LXXIX 5204, the following discussion will take *P. Oxy.* III 466 as its starting point, of which the second, best-preserved column (lines 17–31) is reproduced below from the *editio princeps*:

	παράθες τὸ μέσον καὶ ἐκ κε-
	φαλῆς τῆ δεξιᾷ πλέξον
	–
20	σὺ περίθες· σὺ ὑπ’ αὐτὴν ὑπό-
	λαβε· σὺ διαβάς πλέξον
	–
	σὺ ὑπόβαλε τὴν δεξιάν[· σ]ὺ
	εἰς ὃ ὑποβάλλει περι[θεῖ]ς
	κατὰ πλευροῦ τὸν εὐ[ώ]γυ-
	μον βάλε· σὺ ἀπόβαλε τῆ εὐ-
25	ωνύμφ· σὺ αὐτὸν μεταβάς
	πλέξον· σὺ μεταβαλοῦ· σὺ κα-

⁴⁵ W. B. Henry – P. J. Parsons (eds.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Volume LXXIX*, London 2014, 143–49.

⁴⁶ S. Remijsen, “Games, Competitors, and Performers in Roman Egypt”, in Henry – Parsons (eds.) (above n. 45) 190–206, 196.

τὰ τῶν δύο πλέξον
 –
 σὺ βάλε πόδα· σὺ διάλαβ[ε· σὺ ἐ-
 πιβὰς ἀνάκλα· σὺ προστ[ᾶς
 30 ἀνάνευε καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ[v...
 λου καὶ αὐτὸν ἀντιβλ[....
 ...⁴⁷

In the papyrus, a diaeresis occurs above *upsilon* in ὑπολαβε (lines 19–20) and ὑποβαλλει (line 22); the word *ὅ* (line 22) has a breathing mark.⁴⁸ The division into sections is indicated by the reverse-indented word *σύ* with a straight *paragraphos* above it (lines 19, 21, and 28).⁴⁹ Line breaks at the ends of the sections, with varying amounts of empty space, can be observed in lines 18, 20, and 27. In the first column, the left side of which is missing, the line breaks at the end of the individual sections can be inferred from the apparently empty lines 3, 7, and 12.

The third column, not published by any of the editors, seems to include traces of one additional section.⁵⁰ The column has traces of ten lines (lines 32–41), the first of which begins with σὺ τῆ δεξιᾶ, but there is no *paragraphos* above the *σύ*, and it is aligned with the line that follows, so the phrase would appear to be a continuation of the preceding column.⁵¹ However, there seems to be a σ[ύ]

⁴⁷ Lines 17–18: ‘...put your waist against him and, with the right [arm], tangle from the head.’ Lines 19–20: ‘You, put [your arm] around; you, grab under it; you, step across and tangle.’ Lines 21–7: ‘You, hook under with the right [arm]; you, as he hooks under, put [your arm] around and throw your left [foot] down his side; you, throw off with the left [hand]; you, advance and tangle him; you, turn; you, tangle by the two [testicles?].’ Lines 28–31: ‘You, throw the foot; you, take a hold around him; [you,] press against him and bend him back; you, face him and keep the head up and [turn] against him and...’

⁴⁸ The diaeresis over a word-initial *iota* or *upsilon*, a feature introduced in the early Roman era, was apparently intended as a help for word division, W. A. Johnson, “The Ancient Book”, in R. S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, Oxford 2009, 256–81, 262.

⁴⁹ The reverse indentation is used in literary papyri to indicate verse groups or change in meter, Johnson (above n. 48) 262.

⁵⁰ Poliakoff (above n. 11) 166 indicates that the third column was to be edited by R. Brophy, but to my knowledge no such edition has appeared.

⁵¹ As noted by Poliakoff (above n. 11) 166–67.

aligned left of the rest of the extant column on the last line, which would indicate the beginning of another section.

In *P. Oxy.* LXXIX 5204, no single line is completely preserved, but the beginning of a section can be seen in the second column of fragment 2, where the beginning of the seventh line projects to the left with a forked paragraphos above it. Unlike in *P. Oxy.* III 466, however, the section starts with the command *δὸς παρεμβολήν* without the preceding pronoun *σύ*, which is not necessary at the beginning of a section, considering its function discussed below.

6. The technical units

Having established that there are explicitly marked sections, the next step is to investigate the composition of the sections and their relationship to the subject matter.

A section is made up of a sequence of instructions. A single instruction may be a single imperative, e.g. *σύ περίθες*, or a combination of an aorist participle and an imperative, e.g. *σύ διαβάς πλέξον*; further specifications may be given by indicating which limb should be used in the action and where the action should be directed, e.g. [*σύ ...*] *ἐκ κεφαλῆς τῆ δεξιᾶ πλέξον* and *σύ κατὰ τῶν δύο πλέξον*. There may be a distinction between two movements being connected through the participial construction and using a conjunction, e.g. [*σύ*] *παράθες τὸ μέσον καὶ ἐκ κεφαλῆς τῆ δεξιᾶ πλέξον*. Further, there is one instance where the action is explicitly indicated to be performed in coordination with that of the opponent (lines 21–22): the *ὑπόβαλε τὴν δεξιάν* ('hook under with the right [arm]') is countered by a move to be performed *εἰς ὃ ὑποβάλλει* ('as he hooks under').⁵² This is a clear indication that the instructions are given to a pair of wrestlers; the change of addressee is marked by the pronoun *σύ*.

The ends of three sections in the second column all end with the command *πλέξον*, which may be restored to the ends of the first two sections in the first column (*πλέ|[ξον]* in lines 2–3 and 6–7). Because the command marks the end of a sequence, it has been of special interest for interpreting not only the technical content but the very structure of instruction. The various readings of

⁵² Poliakoff translates the phrase *εἰς ὃ ὑποβάλλει* as 'where he has taken the underhook'; Cazzaniga (above n. 40) 377 translates *εἰς ὃ* as *ipso tempore quo*.

πλέξον found in literature represent two distinct interpretations. The first one is that of Jüthner ('vollführe die Umschlingung'),⁵³ early Gardiner ('complete the grip'),⁵⁴ and Doblhofer et al. ('führe den Griff aus'),⁵⁵ which sees the command as indicating the execution of the attacking move achieved through the previous phases; the second interpretation, Freeman's 'engage',⁵⁶ Poliakoff's 'fight it out',⁵⁷ and Miller's 'mix it up',⁵⁸ is that the preceding commands establish a position from which the students are then commanded to engage in free wrestling. Even though this could be a plausible form of wrestling exercise, the imperative πλέξον is in singular and, consequently, directed to one addressee only.⁵⁹ Moreover, the command is in each case determined by another movement or a part of the opponent's body, so it seems highly unlikely that the command would have been intended to mark the start of a mutual free exercise. No particular analogy with the constraint-bound partner exercises described by Galen (*san. tuend.* 6,141–43K) is necessary, as they are aimed at developing strength of the body instead of teaching grappling-specific motor skills.

Poliakoff discusses the derivatives of the verb πλέκειν in various contexts related to fighting, noting that it must have been a technical term though its application is rather wide, as it is used to refer to struggling and erotic encounters as well.⁶⁰ In several cases, it seems reasonable that the primary sense of πλέκειν and its derivatives cover specifically offensive grappling actions. Plutarch (*Mor.* 640a) refers to such actions as συμπλοκή and the corresponding defensive action ὤθισμός, assuming analogy with the opposing pairs πλῆγή–φυλακή of boxing and φεύγειν–διώκειν of running, the other two of his three phases of hand-to-

⁵³ Jüthner (above n. 37), 26. The full phrase *σὺ διαβάς πλέξον* is translated 'du grätsche und vollführe die Umschlingung' ['you straddle and execute the grip'].

⁵⁴ Gardiner (above n. 38), 374. Here Gardiner suggests a distinction between the sections of the first column, which deal with throws, and the sections that deal with grips of the second column.

⁵⁵ Doblhofer et al. 1998 (above n. 6) 201.

⁵⁶ Freeman (above n. 36) 131, followed by Gardiner (above n. 39) 91.

⁵⁷ Poliakoff 1986 (above n. 11), 162–63 and 1987 (above n. 7), 52–53.

⁵⁸ Miller (above n. 8) 32

⁵⁹ Maurice's *Strategikon* (3,2; 3; 4; 5; 9; 14; 15; 12,16) shows that military commands in Latin could be given in singular as well, but this hardly seems like an appropriate parallel.

⁶⁰ Poliakoff (above n. 11) 75–85.

hand fighting.⁶¹ This interpretation does not appear to conflict with his use of the corresponding verb συμπλέκεσθαι in *Mor.* 638e (contrasted with boxing) and *Per.* 11,1. Similarly, Lucian *Anach.* 24 lists ὠθισμός and περιπλοκή after falling (καταπίπτειν) and standing up (ἀνίστασθαι), though the language is not exactly technical but a comical representation of how the sport may be viewed by an outsider.⁶² Another derived verb, ἐμπλέκειν, is used in *Anth. Pal.* 12,222 in the sense of grabbing the opponent's throat with the hand. In Philostr. *Imag.* 2,6, 'δεῖ ... συμπλοκῶν, ἐν αἷς περιγίνεσθαι χρῆ οἷον πίπτοντα' could be understood as referring to attacks (i.e., not 'struggles') which are completed through falling (i.e., sacrifice throws). It would not be unexpected for the root word πλέκειν and its derivatives denoting actions performed against another person to come to be used metonymically of the reciprocal activity.⁶³

If each sequence of instructions is concluded by a command indicating a general offensive action, it would seem logical that the action in question should directly denote the ultimate goal of the wrestling bout, making the opponent fall. It is the tendency in later literature of such sequences to end in a touch (in fencing) or a throw (in grappling).⁶⁴ Of course, the known senses of πλέκειν make this unlikely.⁶⁵ There is, however, evidence that taking a controlling hold of the opponent would count as a fall: Lucian *Anach.* 1 and Nonnus *Dion.* 37,576–609 describe a victory in wrestling through a hold, though both examples involve ground-fighting; later, Ambrose, the fourth-century archbishop of Milan, alludes

⁶¹ Mentioning offence and defence together when discussing fighting technique occurs also in Xen. *Cyr.* 2,3,9 (παίειν, φυλάττεσθαι), Pl. *Leg.* 830b (αἱ πηγαί, αἱ τῶν πηγῶν εὐλάβειαι), *Rep.* 333e (πατάξαι, φυλάξασθαι), Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1116b (τὸ ποιῆσαι, τὸ μὴ παθεῖν, in his idiosyncratic terminology), Cic. *Orat.* 68,228 (*vitando, petendo*), Val. Max. 2,3,2 (*vitare, inferre ictus*), and, much later, in Hans Lecküchner's 1478 manuscript book Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. germ. 430, fol. 115r (*non modo dimicandi verum etiam tuendi puncta*).

⁶² R. B. Branham, *Unruly Eloquence: Lucian and the Comedy of Traditions*, London 1989, 88–89.

⁶³ Cf. Poliakoff (above n. 11) 83.

⁶⁴ In Leeds, Royal Armouries, RAR.0033 olim MS I.33, the oldest fencing manual extant dated to the early fourteenth century, practically each sequence ends with a successful cut or a thrust of the sword.

⁶⁵ Regarding the sense, perhaps πλέξον should be read πλῆξον 'strike'. The interchange of η and ε is attested in the accented position after a liquid in the papyri (F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, Volume 1: Phonology*, Milan 1976, 244), but without corroborating evidence, this must remain speculation (πλήξαι is, however, used in the context of boxing in Philostr. *Gymn.* 20).

to being *distentus vinculo lacertorum* (*Enarratio in psalmum xxxvii* 51, *PL XIV* 991–92) as having lost in wrestling. If this was legal way of winning in Greek wrestling, as suggested by Poliakoff,⁶⁶ then πλέξον might refer to establishing a hold equivalent to making the opponent fall, which can be performed in several variations and, for whatever reason, happens to conclude all the sections of *P. Oxy.* III 466. Perhaps the extant fragment is from a chapter dealing exclusively with variations of τὸ πλέκειν. There is one item of positive evidence of other commands completing a section, namely β]αλε in *P. Oxy.* LXXIX 5204 (fr. 2 ii 6), but there is not enough context for further interpretation; in *P. Oxy.* III 466, the derivatives of the verb (ὑποβάλλειν, ἀποβάλλειν, μεταβάλλεσθαι) are not used in the sense of throwing the opponent but performing moves with one's own limbs.

In *P. Oxy.* LXXIX 5204, there are two possible instances of the command, σὺ πλ[έξον near the end of a line (fr. 1.10) and σὺ πλ[έξον without any remaining context on one of the smaller fragments (fr. 7.4). There is no line break to be observed after the former, though there seems to be one on the line above the only preserved start of a section (fr. 2 ii 6, discussed above). Thus, the command πλέξον does not appear to hold a special position in this source.⁶⁷ If the text is assumed to discuss *pankration*, the difference could be attributed to the different conditions for winning (i.e., submission of the opponent), even if the possibility of winning with a hold in wrestling, as discussed above, would muddle up the distinction here. There is, however, no compelling reason to assume that the text is about *pankration*. The only evidence is the use of the formula (σὺ) κόψας διάσυρον (fr. 1.9, 10) occurring twice, and the single κόψον (fr. 1.12). The verb κόπτειν, however, is used not only of boxing (striking), but in connection with wrestling as well: in *Hom. Il.* 23,726 Odysseus κόψ' ὀπιθεν κώληπα τυχών, 'struck (kicked) from behind hitting the hollow of the knee'; the move reappears in Nonnus, *Dion.* 10,354.⁶⁸ Therefore, the verb may very well be used not only of tripping actions, but of any other beating move used to achieve results in grappling, noting also the metaphorical sense of 'tire out, weary'.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of *P. Oxy.* LXXIX 5204 makes a more detailed definition difficult, but there seems

⁶⁶ Poliakoff (above n. 11) 8–10.

⁶⁷ There is also the prefixed word ἀπ[ό]πλεξαι, corrected from the active form ἀπ[ό]πλεξον, in line 16 of the same fragment, but the lack of context gives no clues as to its significance.

⁶⁸ Poliakoff (above n. 11) 106.

⁶⁹ LSJ *s.v.* κόπτω A 13.

to be no persuasive reason to equate κόπτειν with the *verberare* prohibited in wrestling (Ambrose, *Enarratio in psalmum xxxvi* 55, *PL* XIV 993).

The composition of the sections themselves is best examined through the two fully preserved examples in the second column of *P. Oxy.* 466. The first one (lines 19–20):

σὺ περὶθεες·
 σὺ ὑπ' αὐτήν ὑπό|λαβε·
 σὺ διαβὰς πλέξον⁷⁰

The technical unit described here is made up of three distinct phases. In the first phase, the addressee is instructed to take a hold around the opponent (περιτιθέναι); the subsequent instruction addresses the opponent, who takes a hold underneath the first one (ὑπολαμβάνειν); the third and last instruction is again addressed to the original agent, who should step across and perform the action the verb πλέκειν is intended to mean in this context.

Having established that two agents take turns to take actions, it remains to consider how the different actions following each other actually relate to each other.⁷¹ Making exact sense of the technical terms is nearly impossible, but on the general level the series of instructions can be understood in at least three different ways. Excluding the idea of setting up a position for free wrestling already discussed above, there remain two distinct possibilities. The first alternative is that the instructions describe the component parts of a single hold, with the opponent's assumed activity inserted in the middle. The second alternative is that the first command in itself refers to a hold which might be used to subdue the opponent but is, instead, countered by the opponent's hold; the last movement, performed by the original agent and denoted by the verb διαβαίνειν, is a counter to the (expected) reaction of the opponent. In this case the sequence, perhaps an example of αἰόλα κέρδεα τέχνης (Oppian, *Halieutica* 2,280), could be termed 'polymorphic', finishing at different points of execution, depending on the actions of the opponent. This would be significant in the sense that the appearance of technical-tactical level in wrestling texts is even in the late

⁷⁰ See above n. 47.

⁷¹ Doblhofer et al. 1998 (above n. 6) 201 do not make the change of addressee apparent in their translation.

mediaeval period more the exception than the rule.⁷² The sections with *ῥεῖψον* (*ῥίψον*) ‘throw’ near the beginning in the first column of *P. Oxy.* III 466 (lines 5 and 8) would indicate that the component parts of a section may constitute a winning move, as a fall would certainly result from a successful throw.

The section following the previous one is twice as long, and seems to incorporate a clear example of a polymorphic sequence (lines 21–27):

σὺ ὑπόβαλε τὴν δεξιάν[·
 σ]ὺ | εἰς ὃ ὑποβάλλει περι[θει]ς | κατὰ πλευροῦ τὸν εὐ[ώ]νυ|μον βάλε·
 σὺ ἀπόβαλε τῆ εὐ|ωνύμω·
 σὺ αὐτὸν μεταβάς | πλέξον·
 σὺ μεταβαλοῦ·
 σὺ κα|τὰ τῶν δύο πλέξον⁷³

What attracts attention in the above section is the occurrence of *πλέξον* not only at the end but in the middle as well. One possibility is that the section above should be split into two, and their running one after the other was simply a scribal error. There is, unfortunately, little in the technical vocabulary itself that would point to one or the other. Unlike in the previous example, here the winner of the exchange is not acting on the first instruction, whether the section is split into two or not. As there are only two fully attested sections, it cannot be said which would be the norm; apparently a section can be either offensive (the first agent wins) or defensive (the second agent wins). The simplest interpretation is that there are two sections running into each other due to the fact that the first movement of the second one counters the last movement of the first one. Thus, *μεταβαλοῦ* would counter the *μεταβάς* part of the opponent’s action, who then goes for the *κατὰ τῶν δύο* variation instead. The sections with *ῥεῖψον* mentioned above should perhaps be similarly divided.

The sections discussed above may be what is meant by the *σχήματα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀγωνίαν εὐρημένα*, ‘the figures invented for exercise’ discussed in Isoc. *Antid.* 183–4. According to Isocrates, what is taught first are the figures

⁷² R. Welle, “...und wisse das alle höbischeit kompt von deme ringen”. *Der Ringkampf als adelige Kunst im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Pfaffenweiler 1993, 313–14; R. Welle, “...vnd mit der rechten faust ein mordstück. *Baumanns Fecht- und Ringkampfhandschrift*, Munich 2014, 121–26.

⁷³ See above n. 47.

(σχήματα), which are then practiced so that they may be applied when the situation calls for them. This is not unlike contemporary teaching: individual moves are drilled formally and then applied in free sparring. Isocrates reveals no other details of the teaching situation, but luckily other sources are available.

7. Instruction face-to-face

The teaching environment comprised of commands given by an instructor is attested elsewhere in literature as well, as already noted by Grenfell and Hunt.⁷⁴ The two texts cited are a homoerotic epigram ascribed to Strato of Sardis (*Anth. Pal.* 12,206) and an erotic passage in Pseudo-Lucian's *Asinus* (8–11). What follows here is a review of both sources and an evaluation of their relevance for the significance of the papyri.

In its extant form, Strato's epigram is comprised of three distichs. The setting of the epigram is a dialogue between a wrestling instructor and a student, but the attribution of the individual lines, or their parts, to the speakers is a matter of debate. Luckily, this is not relevant for the argument at hand, which necessitates no commitment to any of the more debatable points. Below is the epigram, reproduced from Beckby but without quotation marks:

Ἦν τούτῳ φωνῆς, τὸ μέσον λάβε, καὶ κατακλίνας
 ζεύγνυε καὶ πρῶσας πρόσπεσε καὶ κάτεχε.
 Οὐ φρονέεις, Διόφαντε· μόλις δύναμαι γὰρ ἔγωγε
 ταῦτα ποιεῖν· παίδων δ' ἡ πάλη ἔσθ' ἑτέρα.
 Ὅχλου καὶ μένε, Κύρι, καὶ ἐμβάλλοντος ἀνάσχου·
 πρῶτον συμμαλετᾶν ἢ μελετᾶν μαθέτω.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ 'That instructions in the palaestra were given in this way is shown by two curious passages [...]', Grenfell – Hunt (above n. 34) 137.

⁷⁵ Poliakoff's translation (above n. 11, 128) in slightly edited form: '[...] grab his waist and bending him over, / hold him tight; pushing forward, fall on him and get it on. / You've lost your senses, Diophantes. I can hardly / execute these tactics. Boys' wrestling is something different. / Let yourself be troubled and stay still, Cyris, and allow the attack. / First let him learn to do it with cooperation before he does his own workouts.' These are, as Brunck says, 'voces a palaestra ductae, sed ad alterius luctae significationem translatae'; R. F. P. Brunck (ed.), *Analecta veterum poetarum Graecorum III*, Strasbourg 1776, 212.

As for the first distich, the list of commands can be confidently attributed to the instructor, whether the Ἦν τούτω φωνῆς of the MS is considered a phrase reporting direct speech (in which case the whole of the distich is attributed to the student), or a corruption, or a reference to the dubious missing previous lines.⁷⁶

Commands made up of an active aorist participle and an aorist imperative such as κατακλίνας ζεύγνυε are, of course, similar to the ones in the papyri, but this similarity in linguistic form may very well simply be due to the fact that the sources are written in the same language. An interesting difference is that a series of movements is prescribed to the same person without intervening prescriptions regarding what the opponent should be doing: the effect is accentuated by the string of conjunctions (καί ... καί ... καί...). Since the opponent is not instructed to act otherwise, he is resisting the movements, prompting the student to complain about the σχῆμα in the second distich, directed at the instructor, apparently named Diophantus.

As for the last distich, the first line is clearly an instruction directed at the partner named Cyris. Some editors prefer to attribute the whole distich to the same student who is the speaker in the previous distich.⁷⁷ Depending on who is speaking, the third person singular in the last line (μαθέτω) either refers to the active student, whose learning the instructor is concerned of, or, spoken by the student, to his opponent, who ought to learn how to practice in cooperation with his partner before practicing at his own pleasure. The phrase ἑρώτων

⁷⁶ In Brunck's (above n. 75, *ibid.*) opinion, there are lines missing at the beginning, obscuring the meaning of the first extant line, which appears corrupt. The first distich is attributed to the instructor by Gardiner 1905 (above n. 35) 15–16, H. Beckby (ed.), *Anthologia Graeca Buch XII–XVI*, Munich 1958, 120–1, Poliakoff (above n. 11) 128, and G. Paduano, *Antologia Palatina. Epigrammi erotici libro V e libro XII*, Milan 1989, 340–1, all of whom attribute the second distich to the student and the third again to the instructor; reported speech in the first distich is suggested in R. Aubreton, F. Buffière, J. Irigoin, *Anthologie Grecque: première partie, Anthologie palatine, tome xi, Livre XII*, Paris 1994, 72, and followed by M. Marzi, *Antologia Palatina, volume terzo Libri XII–XVI*, Turin 2011, 158–61; both attribute only the penultimate line to the instructor.

⁷⁷ W. R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology with an English translation IV*, London – New York 1918, 386–87 translates: 'Fix yourself fast and stand firm, Cyris, and support it when I close with you. He should learn to practice with a fellow before learning to practice himself.' This reading is followed by D. Hine, *Puerilities: Erotic Epigrams of The Greek Anthology*, Princeton 2001, 96–97, where the third distich is more freely translated as 'Withstand my onslaught, Cyris, hold your own! / Let's practice together what you do alone.'

συμμελετᾶν ἢ μελετᾶν' seems to be a genuine maxim of wrestling practice, also implied by the papyrus sources, which necessitate that both parties follow the commands of the instructor.⁷⁸ The humour becomes understandable if this is how wrestling was generally taught: the epigram can be read straight or by interpreting it through the double entendres.

Based on its attestation in the above epigram, it can be concluded that the method of teaching was not limited to Roman Egypt of the first or second century CE. Accordingly, the papyri seem to represent not the *Sonderstellung* of Egypt but a more general practice in the Greek world. This is not to say that other methods would not have existed: another (homoerotic) epigram of the same collection, *Anth. Pal.* 12,222, sets up a scene where the wrestling instructor is giving a private lesson to a single student. Whether this is due to the lessons being of preliminary nature (as perhaps implied by the word προδιδάσκων), is unknown. In ps.-Lucian *Asinus* 8–11, a description of an erotic encounter, the character of Palaestra, acting as the (receiving) partner, states that she also takes the role of the instructor, which can be read to indicate that this was not common practice. Palaestra proceeds to give commands designating the various moves, or παλαίσματα, to be performed on her, confusing the order and made fun of by her partner. Though used of sexual activities in the passage, I would argue that παλαίσματα should be understood to have the denotative sense of 'grappling moves', as opposed to strikes and kicks. Accordingly, it can be postulated that a σχῆμα of grappling is made up of a sequence of παλαίσματα, which is exactly what the two papyrus sources contain, matching what is known of the face-to-face teaching situation.

8. Conclusion

Success in wrestling and *pankration* would have been achieved through skills gained from practicing the σχήματα formally and in free play. After the skills have been embodied, the σχήματα may be forgotten, but an instructor must

⁷⁸ Gardiner 1905 (above n. 35) 16 notes that the idea of cooperation when learning movements is not unknown in Japanese martial arts either. Incidentally, the terms used in Japanese martial arts for the attacker and the receiver of the attack, *seme* and *uke*, respectively, are also used to refer to the corresponding roles in Japanese homoerotic fiction of the *yaoi* genre.

retain explicit knowledge concerning the σχήματα, which is perhaps even more important than the actual skill level of the instructor. Grappling and teaching grappling are separate skill sets.

A σχῆμα would have been made up of actions composed of παλαισµατα or, in the case of *pankration*, other types of moves as well. The sequences of moves can be committed to memory and written down in books as a mnemonic aid, which explains why the books are made up of commands meant to be read out loud by the instructor. As such, they duplicate the linguistic reality of an actual training situation, instead of exemplifying a fully developed genre of pragmatic literature making use of literary devices to impart fighting technique. Fiore dei Liberi, a fighting instructor writing in the early fifteenth century, argues for the necessity of books, noting that one can only remember a quarter of the whole art without books.⁷⁹ Such arguments may have circulated at the time of production of the papyrus sources as well. Perhaps technical literature was produced as a reaction to the less sophisticated sports of the *pammacharii* and *catervarii* gaining popularity in the Roman empire. Owning books on such topics could also serve to elevate one above the more low-brow spectator sports.

As for boxing, or rather fist-fighting, there are no similar sources available, but there is little reason to assume that similar units of boxing technique would not have existed. Boxing involved skill or art (τέχνη), traditionally dated back to the victory of Pythagoras of Samos at Olympia in 588 BCE (Diog. Laert. 8,47), implied to be lacking in non-Greeks in Dem. 4,40, and indeed contrasted with the lack of *ars* in Roman *catervarii* boxers in Suet. *Aug.* 45,2. The ἀπ' ἀρότρου or 'the one from the plough' employed by Glaucus (Paus. 6,10,1–3, Philostr. *Gymn.* 20) may be considered something of a (σκιαμαχοῦντος) σχῆμα, even if the name probably is an *ad hoc* creation retold as a good story.

Seen as a list of moves to be practiced, a σχῆμα would be equivalent to a recipe listing the ingredients of a dish: to cook, one must also know how to handle and prepare the various ingredients. It may very well be that such details of fighting technique were never written down. In mediaeval and early modern fight books, the level of sophistication is far greater, though details only appear

⁷⁹ M. Malipiero (ed.), *Il Fior di battaglia di Fiore dei Liberi da Cividale: Il Codice Ludwig XV 13 del J. Paul Getty Museum*, 2006, 427. Unlike the papyri, Fiore's text is written in the first person, taking the form of how an instructor could be describing his own actions during a teaching situation.

sporadically. The papyri contain details of fighting technique only implicitly, since combining certain moves into a sequence implies that they fit together in a meaningful way, which is a matter of details of execution. Knowledge of such details may be gained from instructors in a face-to-face teaching situation or discovered through practice; an argument *ex silentio* should not be employed to make conclusions regarding the level of theoretical understanding possessed by the Greeks.

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THE INCIDENT AT ELEGEIA

The Meaning of στρατόπεδον in Ioannes Xiphilinus’ *Epitome of Cassius Dio* (S.297,14–21)*

ΚΑΙ JUNTUNEN

ὁ γὰρ Οὐολόγαισος πολέμου ἤρξε, καὶ στρατόπεδόν τε ὄλον Ῥωμαϊκὸν τὸ ὑπὸ Σεβηριανῶ τεταγμένον ἐν τῇ Ἐλεγεΐα, χωρὶς τινὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας, περισχῶν πάντοθεν αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόσι κατετόξευσε καὶ διέφθειρε, καὶ τῆς Συρίας ταῖς πόλεσι πολλὸς ἐπήγει καὶ φοβερός.

The above passing remark in Ioannes Xiphilinus’ *Epitome of Cassius Dio* describes a Roman defeat by the Parthians that occurred at Elegeia in Armenia in 162 CE.¹ The Roman entity that was involved and subsequently destroyed by the Parthians is defined by Xiphilinus to have been a στρατόπεδον, but what is exactly meant by this term is not clarified by the passage. The first translations of the passage defined the Roman entity simply as an army,² and it was not until 1752 when Hermann Reimarus appears to have been the first to suggest that the term στρατόπεδον could be understood as a legion in this context.³

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¹ Xiph. S.297,14–21 (Cass. Dio 71,2,1). The incident seems to have occurred in early 162 CE as demonstrated by Fronto’s (*Princ. Hist.* 16) statement that the news of it reached Rome before Lucius Verus had left the city. As Verus is known to have left Rome in the summer of 162 CE and reached Antioch in late 162 CE (or early 163 CE at the latest), the incident at Elegeia should be seen to have occurred in the spring of 162 CE. For Lucius Verus’ journey to the East, cf. Barnes 1967, 71; Birley 1987, 125–26; Champlin 1974, 147.

² Le Blanc 1551, 200; Baldelli 1562, 264; Cousin 1678, 380–81; the term often being translated into Latin as *exercitus*.

³ Reimarus (in Fabricius – Reimarus) 1752, 1177–78. The principle translations appear to have

The interpretation of a legion lost at Elegeia does not appear to have emerged in the secondary literature until a century later when Léon Renier suggested that a legion could have indeed been lost and that that legion could have been the *XXII Deiotariana*; an idea that had some support, but also opposition.⁴ After this initial stage of enquiry into the matter the issue appears to have lain dormant for a while, with only a few scholars acknowledging that a legion indeed was lost at Elegeia, while opting not to identify the legion in question.⁵ The possibility has since been brought forward again by Eric Birley, who suggested that the legion in question could have been the *IX Hispana* instead.⁶ This hypothesis has received more support than the previous one(s) and although it too has its opponents, the incident at Elegeia can presently be found as a possible explanation for the loss of *legio IX Hispana*.⁷

Much of the research done so far has concentrated on the lifespans of the said two legions, but relatively little has been done on the meaning of the term *στρατόπεδον* itself, or what our other sources have to say about the incident. Closer examination of the passage and the terminological tendencies of both Ioannes Xiphilinus and his primary source Cassius Dio do cast severe doubts that Xiphilinus meant something as specific as a legion by this term. A thorough survey of the semantic use of the term *στρατόπεδον* not only shows that there

followed his suggestion since, cf. Tafel 1836, 1640; Gros 1870, 5; Cary 1927, 3; Veh 1987, 246 and Stoppa (in Valvo – Stoppa – Migliorati) 2009, 139. The only noticeable exception to this was the first English translation of Cassius Dio by Foster (1906, 247), who preferred to interpret the term to mean a camp.

⁴ Renier 1854, 122; supported by Borghesi 1865, 254; idem. 1869, 375; Rohden 1894, col. 532; Schiller 1883, 639; Schneiderwirth 1874, 158, but opposed by Marquardt 1873, 213n.11; Meyer 1900, 155; Schwendemann 1923, 138n.6; Stein 1899, col. 1841. For more recent comments on this possibility, cf. Keppie 1990, 58.

⁵ Magie 1950, vol. I, 660 (also vol. II, 1529–30n.4); Stark 1966, 235; Stein 1944, 25. Nischer (1928, 503n.9) in an attempt to circumvent the conundrum of the legion's identity suggested that it might have been a newly raised one which had left no traces of its existence at all.

⁶ E. Birley 1971, 74–78. The possibility of *IX Hispana* being the legion lost at Elegeia with references to Birley was first mentioned by Bogaers 1965, 30.

⁷ A. Birley 1981, 220; idem. 1987, 121–22; Eck 1972, 462, but objected to by Keppie 1989, 250; id. 2000, 94; Mitford 1980, 1203n. 98; id. 2018, 72–73n.66; Speidel 1983, 10; Remy 1989, 221. For detailed examination of this theory and the arguments for and against it, cf. Campbell 2018, 134–39. Some scholars still see a legion being lost at Elegeia, but remain uncertain regarding the identity of the lost legion, cf. Garzetti 1974, 476; Mor 1986, 269.

appears to be very precise structural conditions in Cassius Dio when he used this term in the sense of a Roman legion, but also that when Xiphilinus was speaking independently, instead of quoting Dio, he preferred to use other terms when he was referring to the legions. These terminological patterns in combination with what we know about the incident at Elegeia from other sources would seem to suggest that we should interpret the incident as something else than a legion lost in battle.

The Roman defeat at Elegeia in Xiphilinus' *Epitome* of Cassius Dio

The passage that relates the incident at Elegeia originates from an epitome of Cassius Dio's *Roman History* written by Ioannes Xiphilinus, the nephew of the patriarch Ioannes VIII Xiphilinus of Constantinople (1064–1075), in the late eleventh century.⁸ In his epitome, Xiphilinus did not attempt to cover the whole work of Dio, which narrated the history of the Roman Empire from its foundation to Dio's own lifetime in the early third century, but instead he limited his choice of material to the latter half of Dio's work, covering the history of the Empire since the last days of the Roman Republic. Although Xiphilinus does not seem to have altered much the annalistic narrative arrangement used by Dio, he did change the general division of the work by arranging the material from the forty-five books he had chosen for abbreviation into twenty-five chapters, each chapter covering the reign of a single Roman emperor.⁹ This arrangement shows that Xiphilinus' focus was mainly the character and deeds of individual emperors, a fact he himself confirms (Xiph. 87,6–13) while narrating the life of Augustus.

After reaching the end of Hadrian's reign in his epitome, Xiphilinus informed his readers that the books of Dio that described the reign of Antoninus Pius and the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (i.e. until the death

⁸ The approximate date of writing seems to have been between 1071 and 1075 as Xiphilinus (87,6–13) states that he was writing during the reign of the Emperor Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078) while simultaneously referring to his uncle patriarch Ioannes VIII (1064–1075) using an expression that would seem to indicate that the latter was still alive, cf. Mallan 2013, 614; Treadgold 2013, 310.

⁹ For Xiphilinus' style and methods of writing, cf. Mallan 2013. Although Dio's books had been roughly of equal length, Xiphilinus' chapters do not follow such uniformity due to their specific subject matter.

of Verus in 169 CE) had not survived to his time. Xiphilinus explained that for this reason he had consulted alternative sources and after providing a brief summary of events covered in the lost books, he would continue the narrative of Dio again (i.e. from spring 169 CE onwards).¹⁰ This means that the passage relating the incident at Elegeia does *not* originate from Cassius Dio, although it tends to be referred to as such, but instead it originates from one of these alternative sources used by Xiphilinus. Consequently, the terminological tendencies of the passage would seem to reflect primarily either Xiphilinus' own linguistic preferences or those of his unknown source.

This does not mean that Dio and his chosen expressions did not have any influence on Xiphilinus. In fact, we must acknowledge that there are three possibilities which should be considered. First, that Xiphilinus followed so closely his primary source that he projected the terminological tendencies of Dio even to the sections that did not originate from Dio. Second, that Xiphilinus relied purely on his memory regarding the information discovered from his alternative sources and thus, the chosen terminology reflects his own, late eleventh century Byzantine terminology. Or third, that Xiphilinus copied the description of the incident from his alternative source and used the expressions of his source. Regardless of whether Xiphilinus decided to omit Dio's terminological usage at this occasion it is nevertheless essential to understand how Dio's structural and terminological tendencies limited and affected Xiphilinus' own expressions. But what does Xiphilinus say about the incident itself?

In the epitome, the whole event is covered in a single sentence, but several aspects of the process that could help us decipher the incident are given. First, the entity στρατόπεδον is defined to have been Roman (Ρωμαϊκόν), which strictly speaking just separates it from the opposing "non-Roman" counterpart or elements. The entity is also defined as "whole" (ὅλον), and as it is said to have been destroyed, this signifies that it was fully lost. The start of the passage also defines that the said στρατόπεδον was under (the command) of one Severianus, who can be identified as M. Sedatius Severianus, the legate of the Cappadocian province.¹¹ The first half of the sentence also defines the location of the incident

¹⁰ Xiph. S.256,6–15; S.257,2–5 (Cass. Dio 70,1,1; 2,2). For the loss of Dio's books covering the reigns of Antoninus Pius and the first half of Marcus Aurelius (138–169 CE), cf. Juntunen 2013a.

¹¹ M. Sedatius Severianus (*PIR*² S 306), cf. Alföldy 1977, 220; Groag 1923, col. 1007–9; Piso 1993, 61–65; Rémy 1989, 219–22; Stein 1944, 24–26.

to have been at Elegeia, a place in Armenia.¹² Moreover, this early part of the sentence contains a problematic participle of the verb τάσσω (τεταγμένον), which causes some confusion for the translation.

Just like the term στρατόπεδον, the participle too can have various meanings, depending on what it is referring to. As Cary had understood the Roman entity στρατόπεδον to mean a legion, he translated the participle to mean that the said entity was stationed (i.e. permanently located) at the said location (“[Vologaesius had destroyed] the Roman *legion* ... that was *stationed* at Elegeia”). Foster, in the previous English translation had opted for a different approach as he understood the Roman entity to have been a camp, and thus, he had translated the participle to mean simply the physical location of the camp (“[Vologaesius had destroyed] the Roman *camp* ... *situated* in Elegeia”). But the structure of the sentence also allows a third option, namely that the participle refers to the entity that had been placed under Severianus’ command and not to the physical location (i.e. “[Vologaesius had destroyed] the Roman στρατόπεδον *under the charge* of Severianus at Elegeia”).¹³

Although the various interpretations regarding the meaning of the participle do not tend to change the overall picture of the event much, Cary’s option would imply that a whole legion had been stationed at Elegeia permanently. This is in strict contradiction with what we know about the province of Cappadocia, the rank of its legates and the known locations of its legionary garrison. Throughout the second century, the province is known to have hosted only two legions, one being garrisoned at Satala and the other at Melitene, and the rank of the known legates in the Antonine era confirms its relative inferiority to provinces which hosted three legions (i.e. Britannia, Syria and Pannonia Superior), thus making it unlikely that a third legion could have been stationed in the province.¹⁴

The latter part of the sentence provides a description of the manner how the Roman entity was lost. Xiphilinus states that it was surrounded from

¹² For the identification of ancient Elegeia with the modern village of Ilica, cf. Juntunen (forthc.); Mitford 1980, 1198; idem. 2018, 333n.23.

¹³ A similar construction using the same participle can also be found in Plutarch (*Luc.* 41,2).

¹⁴ Alföldy 1977, 220–21; Keppie 1989, 250; Mitford 1980, 1186–87; id. 2018, 426–50; Remy 1989, 217–23; Speidel 1983, 10–11.



Image 1: The location of Elegeia (Ilca) on the Cappadocian Frontier.¹⁵

all sides (περισχῶν πάντοθεν),¹⁶ while the men and leaders of the entity were shot down (αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόσι κατετόξευσε). Knowing the Parthian excellence in mounted archery, this statement has a strong resemblance to Crassus' defeat at Carrhae. Ioannes Zonaras (fl. c. 1081–1118), a near contemporary of Xiphilinus, who appears to take his description of the event from Xiphilinus, simplifies the

¹⁵ Modified from Hewsen 2001, 14.

¹⁶ All the manuscripts of Xiphilinus read ἐπισχῶν πάντοθεν (faced from all sides), which was amended to περισχῶν πάντοθεν by Friedrich Sylburg (1536–1596).

description by stating that “[Vologaesus] had shot down many Romans and destroyed a whole στρατόπεδον”.¹⁷ Zonaras’ account would seem to make a clearer distinction between the manner how the Roman soldiers died and the act of the στρατόπεδον getting destroyed.

The incident in contemporary accounts

The event is also mentioned by two contemporary sources, namely M. Cornelius Fronto and Lucian of Samosata. Both of these authors confirm that the Roman host was lost, but interestingly both refer to the Roman force using terms which mean simply an army.¹⁸ The fact that both authors use other terms to specify legions elsewhere in their writings would seem strongly to imply that neither of them understood the Roman force at Elegeia to have been something as explicit as a legion.¹⁹ The only other thing that Fronto informs about the incident is that a consular legate had died, a statement confirmed by Lucian, who further provides the name of the Parthian commander responsible of the Roman defeat – Osroes.²⁰ While Fronto does not provide any further details about the incident, Lucian makes several references to it in his essay “How to write history”.

This essay of Lucian is essentially a sarcastic criticism towards his contemporary historians, who often appear to have neglected facts and sacrificed accuracy for flamboyant style. Many of the authors whom Lucian is criticizing wrote about the Parthian War of Lucius Verus, and it is in his references of how they described some aspects of the incident that we get some details of the event itself. One fact that appears to have occurred was that the leader of the Roman force Severianus eventually despaired of their situation and decided to commit suicide.²¹ That Severianus committed suicide seems to have been accepted as

¹⁷ Zonaras 12,2 (... πολλούς Ῥωμαίων κατατοξεύσαντος και ὄλον τὸ στρατόπεδον διαφθείραντος ...). For Zonaras’ dependence of Xiphilinus for the Antonine history, cf. Millar 1964, 3.

¹⁸ Fronto *Princ. Hist.* 16 (*exercitus*), Luc. *Alex.* 27 (στρατία).

¹⁹ Fronto *ad Anton. de eloqu.* 2,2 (*legionem*), *ad M. Caesarem* 1,4,4 (*legiones*), *Princ. Hist.* 15 (*legione*), *De bello Parthico* 8 (*legiones*); *Hist. conscr.* 31 (τὸ τρίτον τάγμα i.e. *legio III Gallica*).

²⁰ Fronto *Princ. Hist.* 16; Luc. *Alex.* 27, *Hist. conscr.* 21; 25. This Osroes is also mentioned by Lucian (*Hist. conscr.* 19) in connection to the Parthian defeat in northern Mesopotamia a few years later.

²¹ Luc. *Hist. conscr.* 21; 25.

common knowledge, but the manner how the legate ended his life appears to have attracted some controversy.

One of the narratives which Lucian (*Hist. conscr.* 21) criticized had claimed that Severianus had decided to fast himself to death, a claim that was rejected by Lucian on the basis that (as far as he knew) the whole incident had lasted only approximately three days, while fasting oneself to death lasts much longer. Lucian continues sarcastically that the historian making this claim had not thought about Osroes and the Parthians, who consequently would have had to wait without attacking the Romans for the legate to die by fasting. This comment appears to betray a fact that the Romans were unable to move from their present position and thus confirms Xiphilinus' statement that they had been surrounded on all sides.

A more peculiar feature of the conflict which appears to be indicated by Lucian's critique concerns extravagance. The first hint of this comes from Lucian's (*Hist. conscr.* 25) criticism of another historian's claim that Severianus had committed suicide by using a shard of an expensive vessel. Lucian ridicules this statement, pointing out that such a melodramatic display would have been pointless when so many weapons were lying around, but oddly the idea of such vessels being conveniently present in the Roman army does not raise any objection. Something similar is hinted about Lucian's (*Hist. conscr.* 26) criticism of yet another historian who appears to have provided a lengthy funeral monologue for Severianus, delivered by a centurion on the legate's funeral mound. Lucian points out that this speech contained several references to extravagant dishes, vessels and pledges, but the issue for Lucian was not their presence in the speech, but the overlong description of such things in the narrative. In other words, the issue for Lucian in these narratives was not the presence of elements whose factuality was in question, but the overzealous representation of them for stylistic reasons. The fact that several historians apparently made references to such things and that Lucian did not ridicule their presence at Elegeia would seem to suggest that such things were somehow connected to the incident and their existence was common knowledge.

In a similar fashion, neither is the claim that the Roman troops had time to create a funeral mound for their dead commander questioned by Lucian, although he does ridicule the speech given on the mound as a mere copying of the famous funeral speech of Thucydides. Even though it is doubtful that the

Romans had actually made such a mound, the suggestion that one could have been made hints at the possibility that the Roman troops had some relative peace during the conflict. The image we can read between the lines in Lucian's essay is not a legion or larger army engaged in a field battle, but a smaller stationary force under siege. Also, the references to extravagant vessels and dishes, and pledges of good will could mean that the conflict may have begun as something more peaceful that required the presence of such things. As Lucian and Xiphilinus seem to reflect different kind of images of the incident that took place at Elegeia, it is paramount to comprehend exactly what both Cassius Dio and Xiphilinus understood by the term στρατόπεδον.

The meaning of στρατόπεδον in Cassius Dio

The creation of Cassius Dio's *Roman History* had been a monumental task, the search for sources alone taking Dio ten years and then another twelve years spent on writing the compilation from these sources.²² But combining a wide variety of sources into a continuous historical narrative was not enough for Dio, who informs us that he had also purposely read Atticist authors for guidance for stylistic imitation.²³ This stylistic polishing can be observed from the terminological uniformity in choice thematic cases, such as Dio's choice of term(s) to define the Roman legions. Dio's sources would have used several different terms to describe the Roman legions, such as λεγεών (λεγιών), στρατεύμα, στρατόπεδον, τάγμα (σύνταγμα), τάξις (σύνταξις), τεῖχος, τέλος and φάλαγξ, but most of these are either not used at all or appear in other senses that the terms can mean.²⁴ Dio's

²² Cass. Dio fr. 1,2; 73,23,5, cf. Millar 1964, 32–33.

²³ Cass. Dio 55,12,4–5, cf. Millar 1964, 40–42.

²⁴ For the general use of these terms, cf. Mason 1974, 163–65, 191; also 65 (λεγιών), 86 (στράτευμα), 87 (στρατόπεδον), 90 (σύνταγμα), 90 (σύνταξις), 91 (τάγμα), 91 (τάξις), 92 (τεῖχος), 92 (τέλος), 97 (φάλαγξ). In Dio's narrative λεγεών and τάγμα do not appear at all (but they can be found in Xiphilinus when he diverts from Dio, cf. below), and neither does σύνταγμα for that matter. τάξις is occasionally used of a battle-line (for all occurrences of this term cf. Nawijn 1931, 779–80), and σύνταξις is used only twice to mean a dense military formation such as a testudo (Cass. Dio 49,30,3 [copied in Xiph. 70,10]; 50,31,5). τέλος appears a few times in the sense of a larger military division (such as expeditionary forces, cf. Cass. Dio 75,3,2) but mostly it is used to define other things (for all occurrences of this term, cf. Nawijn 1931, 786–87). φάλαγξ appears three times in the surviving

choice to use the term *στρατόπεδον* to define the Roman legions was rather unique and may reflect the stylistic example given by Polybius, who is one of the few other Greek historians known to have used this term when referring to the Roman legions.²⁵ If so, then this terminological adaptation could be an indication of stylistic imitation of Polybius by Cassius Dio.

In the extant part of Dio's narrative the term *στρατόπεδον* occurs in total 172 times (including the cases known from the *Excerpta Constantiniana*), usually meaning either a Roman legion or a military camp.²⁶ But there seems to be clear structural conditions which define what is meant by the term, especially when used in the singular form. In the cases when Dio uses the term independently in the singular form, meaning that there are no other terms providing definitional assistance, the term almost always means a camp (71 cases), being essentially the Greek equivalent to the Latin term *castrum*.²⁷ Although Dio's narrative often refers to temporary camps, the term is also used of permanent fortifications such as the Praetorian camp (*castra Praetoria*) in Rome.²⁸ In addition, the term

part of Dio's text and always in the sense of «battle-line» (Cass. Dio 40,21,3; 49,29,4 [copied in Xiph. 69,30]; 49,30,2). The term can be found three further times in Xiphilinus' *Epitome* either in the sense of «battle-line» (Xiph. S.163,11 [Cass. Dio 62,8,2]) or as a reference to the traditional Macedonian phalanx (Xiph. S.329,24 [Cass. Dio 77,7,1]; Xiph. S.334,23 [Cass. Dio 77,18,1]). As Xiphilinus does not use the term more often, these terms most likely originate from Cassius Dio. For the use of *στράτευμα* and *τείχος*, cf. below.

²⁵ Polyb. 1,16,2 (legions, in plural form), 1,30,11 (First legion, defined by number of the legion), but the term can also be found as a definition for an army (Polyb. 1,19,11; 1,34,2), a naval squadron (1,27,9) or a camp (1,43,1).

²⁶ The present study will not include those sources that are known to have used Dio as a source, but can be seen to have largely rewritten the passages (such as Petrus Patricius, Ioannes of Antioch and Ioannes Zonaras), thus making it uncertain whether the used terminology reflects Dio's original wording.

²⁷ Cass. Dio fr. 11,14 (Exc. V 7); fr. 18,7 (Exc. M 33); fr. 36,31 (Exc. V 20); fr. 43,12 (Exc. M 119); fr. 57,33 (Exc. V 37); fr. 57,63 (Exc. P 2); fr. 58,3 (Exc. P 4); fr. 83,6 (Exc. V 71); 36,9,3 (τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ στρατοπέδῳ); 36,13,2; 36,45,4; 36,47,4; 36,48,3; 36,52,2; 39,3,1; 39,46,4; 39,52,1; 40,5,2; 40,9,4; 40,32,4; 40,36,2; 40,40,4; 40,42,2; 41,42,1; 41,42,3; 41,50,1; 41,61,2; 42,1,3; 42,11,3; 42,58,4; 43,4,1; 43,4,4; 43,6,1; 43,8,4; 43,38,2; 46,37,2; 46,37,7; 46,39,1; 46,41,1; 46,47,2; 47,1,2; 47,28,2; 47,36,2; 47,38,5; 47,40,7; 47,41,3; 47,47,2; 47,48,3; 47,49,1; 48,25,3; 48,40,4; 49,5,2; 49,8,5; 49,12,2; 49,39,5; 50,13,2; 50,34,1; 51,1,3; 51,10,2; 54,9,6; 54,33,2; 55,1,5; 56,16,2; 57,4,2; 57,5,6; 62,21,2 (Exc. UR 12); 68,9,7 (Exc. U^G 46); 68,20,1 (Exc. U^G 51); 73,16,2 (Exc. V 335); 78,31,3; 79,6,1.

²⁸ Cass. Dio 58,9,5; 58,9,6; 60,17,9.

can also be found in the sense of an army in general, or an encamped army (6 cases) when used independently.²⁹ But when Dio uses the term to mean instead a Roman legion (in 9 cases), he always defines his meaning by using additional definitions, such as the name or numeral of the legion in question, a definition that the entity was composed of citizens (πολιτικός) or that it belonged to the official catalogue of the legions, or quantifying terms such as “single” or “another”, which in combination with the narrative context makes it clear that the term is being used to mean a legion.³⁰

The plural constructions show a rather different approach. In these the term can mean Roman legions when used independently without additional definitions (51 cases),³¹ but the narrative context tends to make it clear whether legions or camps are meant. Many of these occasions involve physical activity, such as στρατόπεδα being on the march, engaging an enemy etc., and as camps are static by nature, the meaning of the term is obvious from the context alone. Occasionally, when Dio speaks of specific legions, or the context of the narrative does not make the meaning obvious (13 cases), he uses the same additional definitions for the plural forms as he does for the singular ones.³²

Sometimes Dio also uses the term about armies in general (7 cases), but as Roman armies were mainly composed of legions there is some room for interpretation what Dio exactly meant.³³ The use of the plural form of στρατόπεδον in the sense of camps is not so common (10 cases), but this seems

²⁹ Cass. Dio fr. 36,10 (Exc. M 62); fr. 57,40 (Exc. V 41); 37,24,2; 40,18,5; 43,30,5; 63,8,4 (Exc. V 251).

³⁰ Dio Cass. 38,8,5 (another legion); 38,46,3 (Tenth legion); 40,27,3 (ἐκ καταλόγου); 45,13,3 (the Martian [legion] and the Fourth legion); 49,34,3 (single legion); 54,11,5 (Augustan legion); 78,13,4 (Alban legion); 79,7,1 (Third Gallic legion); 79,7,3 (Gallic legion). This dependence on additional definitions was pointed out earlier by Mason (1974, 164).

³¹ Cass. Dio fr. 40,28 (Exc. M 100); 36,17,1; 37,50,6; 38,43,4; 40,44,1; 40,62,3; 40,65,2; 40,66,1; 40,66,4; 41,1,4; 41,4,3; 41,13,1; 41,62,1; 42,30,1; 42,46,1; 42,49,3; 42,52,1; 43,29,1; 43,35,4; 45,39,1; 46,17,4; 46,23,4; 46,27,3; 46,29,4; 46,30,4; 46,40,1; 46,42,3; 46,43,5; 46,47,3; 46,54,2; 47,26,7; 47,28,1; 48,25,2; 49,12,4; 49,19,1; 49,40,2; 50,25,2; 51,3,1; 51,7,7; 52,16,2; 52,20,4; 55,10,17 (Exc. V 180); 55,24,1; 56,16,4; 56,24,5; 57,2,1; 57,2,5; 58,25,1; 60,21,3; 74,2,5 (Exc. V 337); 78,34,6.

³² Cass. Dio 38,8,5 (three legions); 38,41,4 (four legions); 38,47,2 (πολιτικά); 40,18,1 (ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου); 40,64,4 (two legions; πολιτικά); 46,46,6 (πολιτικά); 48,2,3 (two legions); 52,25,6 (πολιτικά); 53,15,1 (πολιτικά); 55,23,2 (πολιτικά); 55,23,4 (two legions; *Claudiae*); 55,23,7 (Augustan legions); 60,15,4 (πολιτικά; Seventh and Eleventh *Claudiae*).

³³ Cass. Dio fr. 57,74 (Exc. U^G 7); 36,31,4; 41,61,3; 43,35,3; 43,38,1; 47,40,2; 62,22,1 (Exc. UR 12).

to be primarily caused by the fact that legions on campaign usually shared a single camp, thus making the need to use the plural form of camp(s) in the narrative less common.³⁴ Although in most cases the semantic value of the term is explicit, there are nevertheless two occasions when the precise meaning of the term is in doubt, and these cases deserve closer inspection.

In the first case Dio (78,40,1) recounts how the son of Macrinus was captured at Zeugma by a Roman officer, Claudius Pollio. Who Pollio exactly was, is defined with a reference to his rank, which is stated to have been a centurion of the στρατόπεδον (i.e. τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἑκατόνταρχος), which is rather peculiar as on every other occasion when Dio refers to centurions, he does not give any further definitions of their rank. This is also the case of the two other centurions mentioned in the same passage, who had captured and afterwards killed Macrinus, but both of whose rank is given simply as centurions without such additional definitions.³⁵ As it goes to Dio's tendencies to indicate rank, it should be noted that throughout his work he does not give official titles, but instead refers to people as being in charge of the said entities (i.e. provinces, legions, etc.), and thus the given phrase would seem to indicate that Pollio was the centurion in charge of the στρατόπεδον.

This would seem to suggest that Pollio was no mere centurion, but instead a senior one, seemingly the camp prefect who would have been the acting senior officer present at Zeugma, the base of *legio IV Scythica*, if the legionary legate and the *tribunus laticlavius* were absent. That Pollio possessed a rank above the normal centurionate is also suggested by his extraordinarily fast social advance afterwards, being first charged with the suppression of unrest in Bithynia and then, being enrolled among the former consuls, made the legate of Germania Superior.³⁶ As camp prefects in reality belonged to the equestrian order, the

³⁴ Cass. Dio fr. 23,3 (Exc. M 42); 41,53,1; 47,27,4; 47,35,6; 47,45,3; 48,23,2; 48,30,1; 53,26,1; 56,24,4 (τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδα); 57,12,3.

³⁵ Aurelius Celsus (Cass. Dio 78,39,6), who arrested Macrinus in Chalcedon in Bithynia, and Marcianus Taurus (Cass. Dio 78,40,2), who killed Macrinus while escorting him through Cappadocia.

³⁶ The possibility that Claudius Pollio (*PIR*² C 770), the person mentioned by Dio (78,40,1; 79,2,4; 79,3,1) to have held these three positions during the reigns of Macrinus and Elagabalus, was in fact one and the same person, is generally accepted with a certain amount of caution, cf. Barbieri 1952, 204 (no. 991), 550–51; Leunissen 1989, 246–47; Rémy 1989, 114. The primary concern causing doubt about this identification seems to be the literal interpretation of Dio's choice of words, indicating Pollio to have been just a mere (legionary) centurion before his sudden promotion to the senatorial

identification of Pollio as belonging to this class would partially explain his extraordinarily rapid promotion to the senatorial order.³⁷

That Dio preferred to identify the post of *praefectus castrorum* with the phrase “centurion of the camp” is also supported by the fact that the only occasions when he uses the term prefect (ἔπαρχος) is when he refers to the Praetorian prefects.³⁸ Neither does this expression seem to be unique, for we can also find it in Arrian, who uses a similar expression in his work *Against Alans* (*contra alanos* 2) to define the centurion in charge of the legionary camp (ἐκατόνταρχος, ὅσπερ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου). Thus, the expression “centurion of the camp” would seem to be Dio’s attempt to define Pollio’s rank as a senior centurion, which a camp prefect (i.e. *praefectus castrorum*) would have been from Dio’s upper class point of view.

The second case involves P. Valerius Comazon whose experiences of responsibility before being appointed to the command of the Praetorian Guard are belittled by Dio (79,4,1). Dio states that Comazon, who was of lowly origin, had not previously held other positions of responsibility except that over the στρατόπεδον. What Dio means here is uncertain as much of his narrative that could elaborate the background of Comazon is lost, but that much is obvious that he uses this as a derogatory remark. Dio states that Comazon had begun his career as a regular soldier, which indicates that he belonged to the lower social classes, below the senatorial and equestrian orders. Consequently, it would seem that Dio is suggesting that Comazon had previously been only a camp prefect (at best), a rank he seems to have associated to be little better than a common centurion, as we saw with the case of Pollio.³⁹

Although the principal term which Cassius Dio used for Roman legions was στρατόπεδον, there are a few isolated occasions when he can be found to

order among the former consuls, a doubt which is lifted if we identify him instead as a *praefectus castrorum*.

³⁷ Rapid social advancement, especially during the Severan dynasty, is a clear subject of objection in Dio (78,13,1), but he does bring forth other cases where individuals were promoted directly to posts reserved for former consuls, such as Aelius Triccianus (*PIR*² A 271), the prefect of *legio II Parthica*, whom Macrinus made the legate of Pannonia Inferior (at the time a two legion province) in 217 CE (Cass. Dio 78,13,4), and M. Oclatinus Adventus (*PIR*² O 9), who was Macrinus’ colleague as praetorian prefect, and whom the latter made a consul and city prefect (Cass. Dio 78,14,1–2).

³⁸ For Dio’s use of the term ἔπαρχος, cf. Nawijn 1931, 300.

³⁹ Whittaker (1970, 65n.1) also recognizes Comazon’s previous position as a *praefectus castrorum*.

have used two alternative terms for this purpose, namely *στράτευμα* and *τείχος*. The first of these is the more common one and Dio uses the term primarily to indicate armies in general, the term often being used in the plural form in the more rhetorical sections of his narrative, such as speeches and dialogues, when he needs to feature the Roman military, not as an active actual participant but as a rhetorical figure representing the military might that was used to achieve political control. In modern translations of Dio many of these sections have the term translated as legions, even though no precise units or unit types are indicated in the narrative.⁴⁰ But in addition to these rhetorical cases the term can be found in the precise sense of a Roman legion four times, its meaning defined by the use of the same additional definitions which can be seen in the cases involving the term *στρατόπεδον*.⁴¹ These same regulations can also be observed in the two cases when *τείχος* is used instead of *στρατόπεδον*.⁴² Interestingly, these alternative terms tend to occur in connection with Dio using the term *στρατόπεδον* of the Roman legions, seemingly in an attempt to avoid repeating the same term again in the sentence.⁴³

It would seem that not only does Dio use very precise terms when speaking of different military entities, such as armies in general, dense military formations, or specifically legions, but also that very precise structural rules occur how these terms are being used. On every occasion when the term *στρατόπεδον* can be found in Dio's surviving narrative in a singular form without additional definitions, it means either a camp or an army. This alone casts severe doubt that the passage describing the incident at Elegeia could refer to a legion lost in battle, as it too defines the lost Roman entity with a singular form of the

⁴⁰ Cass. Dio 37,44,3; 41,3,4; 41,5,4; 42,40,5; 44,34,5; 45,9,3; 45,19,4; 45,20,4; 45,22,3; 45,25,1; 45,42,1; 46,12,1; 46,24,2; 46,25,2; 47,22,4; 47,26,2; 48,39,3; 50,13,3; 50,26,1; 52,8,4; 52,18,2; 52,22,4; 56,19,1; 57,3,1; 57,6,2; 59,22,1; 60,30,4 (Xiph. S143,4); 69,14,3 (Xiph. S249,26); 76,11,1 (Xiph. S321,13); 77,1,3 (Xiph. S326,26); 77,18,2 (Xiph. S334,31); 78,16,2; 78,17,3; 78,40,3; 79,2,1.

⁴¹ Cass. Dio 38,47,2 (Tenth legion); 40,65,1 (*ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου*); 40,65,3 (narrative continuation of the previous case); 52,22,4 (two legions; *πολιτικά*).

⁴² Cass. Dio 53,15,2 (*πολιτικά*); 79,7,1 (IV Scythica).

⁴³ When Dio speaks of the Tenth legion, the term he first uses of it is *στρατόπεδον* (Cass. Dio 38,46,4), but a few sentences later he refers to the same legion with the term *στράτευμα* (Cass. Dio 38,47,2). In a similar fashion, when Dio is required to name two legions in the same sentence, the first legion is referred to with the term *στρατόπεδον* (Cass. Dio 79,7,1: Third Gallica), but the second legion is referred to with the term *τείχος* (Cass. Dio 79,7,1: Fourth Scythica).

term στρατόπεδον without any of the usual additional definitions we can see occurring when the term is used to define a legion. The question is whether these structural conditions we see in Cassius Dio also occur in Xiphilinus.

Xiphilinus and the abbreviation of Cassius Dio

The role of Ioannes Xiphilinus in the process of preserving Cassius Dio's narrative is not yet fully understood, and consequently he is still often judged as a mere copyist. This is also the reason, why his epitome is merely cut into fragments and excerpted into the corpus of Dio and studied as parts of Cassius Dio, whether the writing actually originated from Dio or not. A closer examination reveals a much more complex compilation where Xiphilinus was able either to retain or alter Dio's original description by a combination of quotes, omissions and selected rewritten elements.⁴⁴ Whether Xiphilinus retained Cassius Dio's expressions that included the term στρατόπεδον, and if the patterns we see in Dio's narrative also occur as such in Xiphilinus can be deciphered by comparing his epitomized narrative to the still existent parts of Dio's narrative.

In total the term στρατόπεδον can be found 54 times (including the Elegeia incident) in Xiphilinus' epitome. In 24 cases we have the corresponding section in Cassius Dio intact, and from these it can be observed that Xiphilinus copied Dio's original text quite closely. The grammatical constructions and thus the original meaning of the term in these sentences are what Dio intended and thus, we find Xiphilinus using the term in the singular form to mean a camp (12 cases), *castra Praetoria* (2 cases) or an army in general (1 case) when used independently, and once a Roman legion when used with additional definitions.⁴⁵ The plural cases also reveal identical patterns as seen in Dio as the term can be found to mean either camps (2 cases) or legions (2 cases) when

⁴⁴ Juntunen 2015, 123–24, 133–38; Mallan 2013, 617–25.

⁴⁵ **Camp:** Xiph. 5,31 (Cass. Dio 36,52); 18,27 (Cass. Dio 41,50,1); 20,21 (Cass. Dio 41,61,2); 21,1 (Cass. Dio 42,1,3); 29,13 (Cass. Dio 43,38,2); 44,1 (Cass. Dio 47,1,2); 52,27 (Cass. Dio 47,41,3); 67,23 (Cass. Dio 49,12,2); 127,16 (Cass. Dio 57,5,6); S.292,5 (Cass. Dio 73,16,2 [Exc. V 335]); S.344,30 (Cass. Dio 78,31,3); S.347,25 (79,4,1). **Castra Praetoria:** Xiph. 149,31 (Cass. Dio 58,9,5); 150,7 (Cass. Dio 58,9,6). **Army:** Xiph. S.176,13 (Cass. Dio 63,8,4 [Exc. V 251]). **Legion:** Xiph. 15,21 (Cass. Dio 40,27,3; ἐκ καταλόγου).

used independently,⁴⁶ while with the meaning of legions four further times can be found when the term is used with additional definitions.⁴⁷ From these cases it can be observed that Xiphilinus did not essentially make any changes to the original structures or expressions used by Cassius Dio, but incorporated them as such into his own work.

The situation would seem to be similar on the occasions (25 cases) when we do not have an intact version of Dio's original text. In the singular form, the term appears in the sense of camp (7 cases) or *castra Praetoria* (10 cases) when used independently,⁴⁸ and twice as a legion when used with additional definitions.⁴⁹ The plural forms also continue to follow the patterns seen in Cassius Dio, the term appearing in the sense of camps (3 cases) or legions (1 case) when used independently,⁵⁰ and twice as legions when used with additional definitions.⁵¹ All these cases have the appearance of following Dio's original text, and none of them break the patterns that can be seen from the extant part of Dio's work. There are nevertheless four further occasions (in addition to the Elegeia case) when Xiphilinus uses the term στρατόπεδον; twice clearly on his own, and twice when its origin is debatable.

The two occasions when Xiphilinus uses the term independently refer to the Roman armies of the Republican era. The first case (in a short foreword to the summary of Dio's book 41) stating that Caesar's armies (στρατόπεδα) were more experienced than those of Pompeius, while the second case refers

⁴⁶ **Camps:** Xiph. 50,19 (Cass. Dio 47,35,6); S.212,25 (Cass. Dio 66,20,2). **Legions:** Xiph. 125,26 (Cass. Dio 57,2,1); 126,21 (Cass. Dio 57,2,5).

⁴⁷ Xiph. 14,20 (Cass. Dio 40,18,1: τοῦ καταλόγου); 113,5 (Cass. Dio 55,23,2: πολιτικά); 113,20 (Cass. Dio 55,23,4: two legions); 113,27 (Cass. Dio 55,23,7: Augustan legions).

⁴⁸ **Camp:** Xiph. S.167,19 (Cass. Dio 62,16,3); S.197,13 (Cass. Dio 65,11,1), S.240,24 (Cass. Dio 68,31,3); S.298,2 (Cass. Dio 74,7,2); S.299,2 (Cass. Dio 74,8,2); S.353,20 (Cass. Dio 79,19,2); S.353,32 (Cass. Dio 79,20,1). **Castra Praetoria:** Xiph. 173,22 (Cass. Dio 60,1,3); S.146,19 (Cass. Dio 60,35,1); S.148,7 (Cass. Dio 61,3,1); S.188,30 (Cass. Dio 64,6,1); S.216,12 (Cass. Dio 66,26,3); S.282,27 (Cass. Dio 73,1,2); S.286,22 (Cass. Dio 73,8,2); S.288,20 (Cass. Dio 73,11,1); S.288,27 (Cass. Dio 73,11,2); S.352,18 (Cass. Dio 79,17,1).

⁴⁹ Xiph. S.196,20 (Cass. Dio 65,9,3: Pannonian legion i.e. *legio VII Claudia*); S.198,23 (Cass. Dio 65,14,3: Third Gallica).

⁵⁰ **Camps:** Xiph. S.246,24 (Cass. Dio 69,9,2); S.262,5 (Cass. Dio 71,10,5: μήτηρ τῶν στρατοπέδων); S.329,23 (Cass. Dio 77,7,1). **Legions:** S.328,2 (Cass. Dio 77,3,1).

⁵¹ Xiph. S.276,9 (Cass. Dio 72,15,2: Κομοδιανά); S.291,11 (Cass. Dio 73,14,3: three legions; πολιτικών).

to the troops that Cato handed over to Scipio in Africa in 47 BCE.⁵² In the latter Dio (42,57,3) had used the plural στρατεύματα to define the troops under Cato, which Xiphilinus changed into the plural form of στρατόπεδον. Given the fact that both passages are highly rhetorical in nature, while it is doubtful that Xiphilinus was aware of the composition of the Roman republican armies, it would seem unlikely that he meant something as specific as legions with either passage but just generally troops or armed forces.

Similar tendencies can be observed from the two cases where we do not have Dio's original version intact for comparison. In the first one Xiphilinus defines Cn. Pompeius Longinus' position in Dacia in 105 CE as being the leader of the Roman στρατόπεδον (στρατόπεδον ῥωμαϊκόν), which must mean the Roman forces occupying the southern portions of Dacia (i.e. Banat) that were annexed after the First Dacian War of Trajan.⁵³ As Longinus had previously been the legate of Moesia Superior and Pannonia, which both had garrisons containing several legions (and other troops), the force under his command at the time must have been larger than a single legion, and thus Xiphilinus must mean an army by this expression.⁵⁴ In the second case Xiphilinus defines the opposing parties during a native uprising in Britannia in 184 CE as the British tribes beyond the wall (either Hadrian's or the Antonine wall) and the Roman forces (Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδα).⁵⁵ There is nothing in the passage that could indicate that some precise troops, such as legions, are meant, and thus a more general translation of troops or forces seems more appropriate.

These few cases would seem to indicate that in Xiphilinus' own usage the term στρατόπεδον had a semantic value meaning generic troops or forces, and thus its modern equivalent would be an army. But this raises another question, namely by which terms would Xiphilinus have in his own words defined a precise military entity such as a legion? Fortunately, there are a few

⁵² Xiph. 16,7–12, and 25,9–26,2.

⁵³ Xiph. S.232,18 (Cass. Dio 68,12,1). The core of the occupying force seems to have been the two legions (*IV Flavia* and *XIII Gemina*) stationed at Sarmizegethusa and Berzebis, cf. Bennett 1997, 95; Lepper – Frere 1988, 295.

⁵⁴ Cn. Pinarus Aemilius Cicatricula Pompeius Longinus (*PIR* P² 623) can be confirmed as legate of Moesia Superior from September 94 CE (*AE* 2008: 1716; *CIL* XVI 39; *RMD* 335) to July 96 CE (*RMD* 6) and then as legate of Pannonia in February 98 CE (*CIL* XVI 42; *RMD* 81); cf. Bennett 1997, 76; Eck 1982, 322–30.

⁵⁵ Xiph. S.272,3 (Cass. Dio 72,8,2), cf. Hekster 2002, 62.

occasions when Xiphilinus breaks from Dio's narrative and does just that. On two occasions when we can confirm from Dio's original that he was speaking precisely of legions, Xiphilinus diverts from Dio's terminology and elaborates the passages in his own words.

In the first case, Dio (41,58,1) describes in a rather long rhetorical fashion how the Roman forces opposing each other at Pharsalus in 48 BCE were similar in armament and appearance as they originated from the same place. This passage clearly refers to the legions, both sides being armed in a similar fashion and originating from the Italian peninsula. In Xiphilinus (19,18) this rhetorical expression of comparison is summarized, and Xiphilinus states that the opposing "τάγματα" of the same origin ended up slaughtering each other due to the lust for power of Caesar and Pompeius. In the second case, Dio (55,23,7) had explained how some legions (στρατόπεδα) were amalgamated and thus, were henceforth called by the title of "Gemina". Again, Xiphilinus (113,17) elaborates the passage by adding that when two "τάγματα" had been amalgamated the new unit was called "Gemina".

The term can also be found in the description of the battle at Issus between the forces of Septimius Severus and Pescennius Niger, where Xiphilinus (S297,30 = Cass. Dio 74,7,1) defines the forces of Niger using the term τάγματα. As the term τάγμα does not exist in the surviving books of Cassius Dio, it would seem that this passage was also summarized by Xiphilinus in his own terms. These passages would seem to suggest that for Xiphilinus the preferred term for a Roman legion was τάγμα. Fortunately, there is one further occasion when Xiphilinus speaks more plainly in his own words which helps us to determine his terminological preferences.

This passage concerns the famous Rain Miracle that occurred during the Marcomannic Wars of Marcus Aurelius. After providing Dio's original narrative of the event, Xiphilinus makes a rather unique disruption from his quite passive role as an epitomizer and criticizes Dio for allocating this incident to pagan practices. Xiphilinus continues to explain that it was actually a division of Christian soldiers that caused the salvation of the Roman army through their prayers. The term Xiphilinus uses for this Christian division is again τάγμα, a term he uses five times in the passage, and to make its meaning explicit, he defines τάγμα as a military unit that the ancients (i.e. Romans) called λεγεών.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ τάγμα: Xiph. S.260,26 (Cass. Dio 71,9,1); S.261,1 (Cass. Dio 71,9,3); S.261,2 (Cass. Dio 71,9,3);

He further explains that it was for this reason that the unit in question was named “the thundering legion”, the reference being to the name of *legio XIII Fulminata*, while referring to the unit with both of the terms τάγμα and λεγεών. The Christian version of the “Rain miracle” in Xiphilinus clearly originated from Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 5,5,1–7), who provides the same details, but referred to the Roman legion only with the term λεγεών, which confirms that the other term τάγμα was Xiphilinus' own terminological preference.⁵⁷

It would appear that when Xiphilinus was merely copying Cassius Dio, he followed the same terminological patterns which we can see in Dio's narrative. Thus, in those cases which obviously derive from Dio, the meaning of the term στρατόπεδον can be found to be either a camp or an army when used independently in the singular form, while the few occasions when the term is used in the singular form to mean a Roman legion, it is always accompanied by additional definitions. When Xiphilinus can be found to have diverted from Dio's original script and rewritten things anew with his own words, the term he used for a legion was apparently always τάγμα, while the term στρατόπεδον appears to have been used to indicate general military forces. This is in line with other Byzantine historians who were Xiphilinus' contemporaries such as Michael Attaleiates, Michael Psellus and Ioannes Scylitzes who use the term στρατόπεδον only in the sense of either a general army or a camp (or an encamped army).⁵⁸

S.261,6 (Cass. Dio 71,9,4); S.261,15 (Cass. Dio 71,9,6). λεγεών: Xiph. S.261,2 (Cass. Dio 71,9,3); S.261,12 (Cass. Dio 71,9,5).

⁵⁷ For a full analysis of this passage in Dio/Xiphilinus and Eusebius, cf. Kovacs 2009, 26–38, 45–50.

⁵⁸ **Army:** Attalates *Hist.* 2,2 [8]; 5,1 [18]; 6,12 [29]; 7,14 [41]; 17,3 [104]; 17,3 [105]; 17,7 [108]; 17,9 [111]; 17,16 [117] (twice); 17,17 [118]; 17,20 [120]; 18,5 [125]; 18,7 [127]; 18,10 [128]; 18,12 [132]; 18,14 [133]; 18,16 [134]; 19,2 [139]; 20,8 [148]; 20,24 [163]; 21,8 [174]; 23,1 [183] (twice); 23,2 [183]; 23,9 [188]; 28,6 [227]; 33,11 [282]; 34,4 [289]; 34,6 [290]; 35,5 [297]; Psellos *Chron.* 1,5; 1,10; 1,11; 1,26; 1,29; 1,32; 1,33; 3,7; 3,9; 3,10; 6,83; 6,84; 6,86; 6,87; 6,103 (twice); 6,104; 6,113; 6,119; 7,5; 7,8; 7,13; 7,14; 7,22; 7,70 (three times); 7(Rom),23; 7(Rom),24; 7(Rom),24; 7(Rom),27; Psellos *Hist. synt.* 71; 74; 74; 100; 103; Scylitzes *Syn.* 4,23 [75]; 6,2 [116]; 9,8 [203]; 9,10 [207]; 10,10 [218]; 15,17 [308]; 19,4 [394]; 19,20 [407]; 21,8 [442].

camp: Attalates *Hist.* 20,7 [147]; Psellos *Chron.* 7,10; 7,11; 7,35; 7(Rom),11; 7(Rom),14; Scylitzes *Syn.* 1,2 [6] (twice); 3,9 [36]; 3,13 [40]; 4,23 [77]; 6,25 [145]; 9,13 [209]; 10,8 [216] (twice); 10,12 [219]; 11,15 [246]; 14,8 [267]; 15,9 [295]; 15,14 [305]; 16,4 [319]; 16,12 [331]; 16,23 [342]; 16,30 [346]; 16,40 [356]; 16,43 [363]; 18,5 [380]; 19,20 [407]; 21,6 [433]; 23,11 [497].

The Attalates references are given with paragraph and section numbers according to the Kaldellis and Krallis edition (2012) with the older Bekker edition (1853) page numbers following in brackets,

For these authors the term to indicate larger military units was always τάγμα.⁵⁹

An alternative explanation?

These terminological patterns and preferences that we can witness occurring in Cassius Dio and Ioannes Xiphilinus do not support the assumption that the term used to describe the lost Roman entity at Elegeia meant something as specific as a legion. None of the usual additional terms of definition that we can find in Dio to signify the meaning of the term στρατόπεδον as a legion can be found in Xiphilinus' phrasing, and thus the semantic value of the term would seem to be either an army or a camp. Neither does the term Roman (ῥωμαϊκόν), which is the adjective used of the entity by Xiphilinus, appear elsewhere as such an additional definition. In fact, Xiphilinus used the expression στρατόπεδον ῥωμαϊκόν earlier (Xiph. S.232,18 = Cass. Dio 68,12,1) to mean the Roman army occupying the southern part of Dacia, while Cassius Dio (36,9,3) used the same phrase to signify a Roman camp.

The possibility that the phrasing originates from one of the alternative sources used by Xiphilinus is of course possible, but less likely given the rather limited account Xiphilinus provides for the lost era in the books of Cassius Dio available to him. Although we cannot establish with absolute certainty from what source Xiphilinus was able to find his account of the Parthian War, there are good reasons to assume it was the now lost *Parthica* by Asinius Quadratus written in the early third century.⁶⁰ After all, Quadratus is mentioned by name as the source that provided information regarding the death of Antoninus Pius, an event that precedes the description of the Parthian War of Lucius Verus.⁶¹ Also,

while Scylitzes references are given with paragraph and section numbers according to the Thurn edition (1973), with the page numbers of the same edition following in brackets as both styles are commonly used.

⁵⁹ In Xiphilinus' time the larger field units (whether infantry or cavalry) were officially known as the *tagmata*, and this is the term Byzantine sources always use for such larger formations. For Byzantine tagmatic formations, cf. Treadgold 1995, 28–29 (origin), 64–86 (size).

⁶⁰ For the life and literary production of Asinius Quadratus, cf. Cornell – Levick in Cornell 2013, 612–16; Jacoby 1926, 300–3; Manni 1971, 191–201; Zecchini 1998, 2999–3021.

⁶¹ This reference is often assumed to originate from Quadratus' other work Χιλιετηρίς, but given the fact that Xiphilinus does not provide any information about the political events that occurred during

the only longer political narrative that Xiphilinus provides from his alternative sources concerns the Parthian War of Lucius Verus, a topic that would have been at the core of Quadratus' *Parthica*. And lastly, the historiography that precedes Xiphilinus does not seem to identify any other Greek sources that described the events of this war and could be shown to have survived to Xiphilinus' lifetime.⁶²

Unfortunately, most of Quadratus' works have been lost with only some minor fragments surviving as quotes in later works. It cannot thus be established how he would have understood the term στρατόπεδον, or which term he would have used to define the Roman legions. In principle, some hypothetical avenues that could shed some light on the issue – such as the common terminology in Quadratus' time or terminological preferences of his assumed models – could be explored. It has been hypothesized that Quadratus' work was intended to be a continuation of the earlier work titled *Parthica* by Arrian, possibly even to the point of emulating the style and terminology of his predecessor.⁶³ Although most of Arrian's contemporary works have not survived to our time either, enough remains to establish something of his preferred terminology. These reveal that Arrian used the terms τέλος and φάλαγξ for the legions, while the term στρατόπεδον can be found to be used for a camp or a fort.⁶⁴

The surviving second and third century historiography does not provide much support either as Herodian (c. 170–240) can be seen to have favoured the term φάλαγξ to define Roman legions, while Appian (c. 95–165) used τέλος.⁶⁵

the reign of Antoninus Pius, but instead he described the Parthian War of Lucius Verus that had its origin in the reign of Pius, it seems more likely that the reference to Pius' death originates from the *Parthica*, the death of Pius marking the beginning of the conflict with Parthia.

⁶² Although Lucian of Samosata made references to several historians writing about the Parthian War of Lucius Verus, none of them are recorded by anyone else. Quadratus' *Parthica* on the other hand can be seen to have been used by later historians as testified by *Historia Augusta* (4th century), Evagrius (4th century), Stephanus of Byzantium (5th/6th centuries) and Agathias (6th century), cf. Cornell – Levick 2013, 615–16.

⁶³ Jacoby 1926, 300–1; Zecchini 1998, 3009–10.

⁶⁴ τέλος: *Suda* s.v. ὑπό οἱ (τὸ ἑβδομον τέλος); φάλαγξ: Arr. *Acies* 5; 6; 15; 22; 24; στρατόπεδον: Arr. *Acies* 2; *Peripl. M. Eux.* 17,2.

⁶⁵ Hdn. 8,2,2; 8,4,6; App. *B. Civ.* 1,57; 1,58; 1,79; 1,80; 1,90; 1,91; 1,92; 1,100; 1,109; 1,111; 1,116; 1,118; 2,13; 2,24; 2,29; 2,32; 2,39; 2,44; 2,46; 2,47; 2,49; 2,54; 2,60; 2,68; 2,76; 2,78; 2,79; 2,82; 2,92; 2,94; 2,96; 2,110; 2,118; 3,6; 3,24; 3,25; 3,43; 3,45; 3,46; 3,47; 3,48; 3,49; 3,51; 3,56; 3,59; 3,62; 3,65; 3,66; 3,67; 3,70; 3,71; 3,72; 3,74; 3,75; 3,77; 3,78; 3,79; 3,80; 3,83; 3,84; 3,85; 3,86; 3,88; 3,90; 3,91; 3,92; 3,93; 3,96;

The contemporary epigraphy, which can be seen to reflect colloquial speech, used the term στρατόπεδον mainly in titles such as *mater castrorum* (μήτηρ στρατοπέδων), where it obviously referred to camps, or used it as a reference to provincial armies (*exerciti*), while the term used to identify specific legions is always λεγεών/λεγιών.⁶⁶ All these aspects are in line with Byzantine lexicons such as Suda, which defines the term στρατόπεδον to mean either an army or the camp location of the army, while explaining that λεγεών was the term among the Romans that defined a division of six thousand men.⁶⁷ These terminological explorations cast further doubt that Xiphilinus could have meant something as specific as a legion, but if not a legion lost in battle, then what did happen at Elegeia in 162 CE?

In addition to the meaning of the term στρατόπεδον in Xiphilinus, the incident at Elegeia has many other open questions. If Severianus was attempting an invasion of Armenia, then why would he have been operating with a single legion if he had three under his jurisdiction? Given the lessons that the Romans had learned about operating in Armenia, especially during the wars waged under Nero and Trajan, it would seem unlikely that a Roman legate would have ventured into Armenia with inadequate forces if he intended to invade the kingdom.⁶⁸ In any event, it is also doubtful that the Roman legates even possessed the right to operate far outside their provincial boundaries at this point of time anymore. Thus, we need to ask what was the legate doing at Elegeia of all places and whether that location could be seen to lie within Severianus' provincial jurisdiction.

3,97; 4,1; 4,2; 4,3; 4,7; 4,58; 4,59; 4,60; 4,61; 4,63; 4,65; 4,74; 4,75; 4,86; 4,87; 4,88; 4,99; 4,102; 4,107; 4,108; 4,115; 4,117; 4,118; 4,121; 4,122; 4,131; 4,133; 5,3; 5,5; 5,6; 5,8; 5,12; 5,14; 5,20; 5,22; 5,23; 5,24; 5,25; 5,26; 5,27; 5,29; 5,30; 5,33; 5,34; 5,43; 5,46; 5,50; 5,51; 5,53; 5,56; 5,61; 5,75; 5,78; 5,87; 5,97; 5,98; 5,103; 5,104; 5,105; 5,110; 5,112; 5,115; 5,116; 5,122; 5,123; 5,127; 5,128; 5,137.

⁶⁶ *Mater castrorum*: IG II² 1076; IG IV 704; IG VII 80; *Exercitus*: IvE 672; 3028; 3080.

⁶⁷ Suda s.v. στρατόπεδον ἐποιήσαντο; λεγεών.

⁶⁸ That Severianus might have contemplated an armed intervention against the Parthian actions in Armenia is suggested by Lucian of Samosata's (*Alex.* 27) anecdote about the oracles given by the pseudo-prophet Alexander of Abonuteichos to the Roman legate. Although Harmon (1961, 223) translates the key terms in this section with the clinical modern word "invasion", Lucian is actually stating that Severianus was contemplating whether to attempt an entrance (εἰσδοσ) into Armenia (i.e. to cross the border) and after he had thrown (εἰσβάλλω) himself into the enterprise he got himself defeated. The actual scale of Severianus's actions or his intentions are not clarified.

Cary's assumption that a legion was *stationed* in Elegeia seems unlikely for geo-political reasons alone. The assumed site of ancient Elegeia lies at the nexus of two valleys leading from Armenia into the Roman province of Cappadocia. The northern valley leads to the legionary fortress at Satala, while the southern one leads to the Euphrates River crossing that was covered by the legionary fortress at Melitene, thus making it highly unlikely that Elegeia could have hosted a legion, as such defence-in-depth deployments are not known from other sectors of the Roman frontier.⁶⁹

As far as ancient Elegeia itself is concerned, it seems that it had a very limited presence in the history books. It makes its first appearance on the stage in 114 CE when a Roman army under the Emperor Trajan encamped there, the location functioning as the place where Parthamasiris, the Parthian nominee for the Armenian throne made his formal surrender of sovereignty to Trajan.⁷⁰ Cassius Dio, who is our source for this episode, refers to the Roman camp with the terms τάφρευμα, which essentially signifies a temporary encampment, and στρατόπεδον. The use of the term τάφρευμα would seem to indicate that prior to Trajan's visit there had not been any significant settlement in the location. One nevertheless seems to have developed there as Claudius Ptolemy (c. 150 CE) names Elegeia (Ἠλεγία) among the settlements in Armenia located along the Euphrates River. Whether this settlement was of a civilian or military nature is unknown, but after the incident in 162 CE the entity disappears from history, which would seem to indicate that it was literally destroyed, just as Xiphilinus stated to have occurred to the mysterious στρατόπεδον at Elegeia.

If we dare to assume that the elements hinted at by Lucian have some truth in them, then one of the only occasions where their presence in a Roman army would make perfect sense would have been a diplomatic encounter between the Roman legate and his Parthian counterpart. Such occasions would have included mutual pledges of good faith followed by both parties feasting each other in turn, which would have included some exquisite dishes served on elaborate vessels as

⁶⁹ For a geopolitical survey of the ancient Elegeia and its relation to the Cappadocian defences, cf. Juntunen (forthc.).

⁷⁰ Cass. Dio 68,19,1–20,4 (Exc. U^G 52). A fragment from Arrian's *Parthica* retained by Stephanus of Byzantium (*Ethnica* s.v. Ἠλέγεια) also mentions Elegeia. This fragment most likely originates from Arrian's description of this same event and may have been the primary source used by Cassius Dio for his version.

each host would have tried to outdo the other.⁷¹ The reason for such an encounter would undoubtedly have been the question of the Armenian throne that seems to have been recently left vacant.⁷² Also, the location where such encounters tended to take place were the borders between the states, and if such an event was agreed to occur at Elegeia, then it would appear to have marked the eastern end of the Cappadocian border.

The precise number of participants at such encounters are not usually mentioned by our sources, but the opposing forces at Elegeia may not have been overwhelmingly large. The few such occasions that are mentioned show that the number of troops depended on the stature of the dignitaries and the severity of the situation, while the retinues are stated to have been roughly equal in size.⁷³ In a rare exception regarding details, Tacitus relates how Tiridates, the Parthian nominee to the Armenian throne, suggested to Corbulo such an encounter at the Euphrates River, stating that he would bring a thousand cavalrymen and the Romans could bring as many as they pleased as long as they did not wear protective armour or shields. Tacitus explains that Tiridates' intention in allowing the Romans to bring more men than him was to catch them off guard while being vulnerable, but he was disappointed in his intention when Corbulo arrived on the scene with over ten thousand fully equipped troops, Tiridates being dismayed both by the equipment and numbers of the Romans.⁷⁴ This attempted deceit during a diplomatic encounter, which we can see as a *topos* related especially to easterners in the Greco-Roman literature, may also be behind why the situation at Elegeia escalated into open conflict.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Jos. *AJ* 18,102–103; Vell. 2,101,3.

⁷² Early medieval Armenian legends suggest that the King of Armenia had unexpectedly perished after being caught in a sudden snowstorm. The Parthians, being closer geographically to Armenia, seem to have filled the vacant throne with their candidate Pacorus, who might have been the naxarar lord Bakur of Siunik, cf. Juntunen 2013b, 168–9.

⁷³ As related during Crassus' meeting with Surenas (Cass. Dio 40,26,4); Gaius Caesar' meeting with Phraates V (Vell. 2,101,1) and Vitellius' meeting with Artabanus (Joseph. *AJ* 18,102).

⁷⁴ Tac. *ann.* 13,37–38.

⁷⁵ Cass. Dio 40,26,1–27,2 (Surenas); Tac. *ann.* 13,37 (Tiridates); Vell. 2,102,1–2 (Adduus). It should also be noted that this is exactly what happened to Cn. Pompeius Longinus who was captured during a diplomatic encounter with Decebalus and whose death Fronto (*de Bello Parthico* 2) equates with that of Severianus. Lucian of Samosata's (*Hist. conscr.* 31) statement that some Roman historians expected to see the Parthian commander Osroes to be thrown to the lions does suggest that the

Given that at Elegeia there were no members of Parthian or Roman ruling houses present, nor were there active hostilities between Rome and Parthia at the time, it is possible that both sides had agreed to limit their retinues to only a thousand or so troops. In Severianus' case that would have meant his personal guard (the *equites et pedites singulares*) reinforced perhaps with a few auxiliary units and/or legionary vexillation. Some of these troops may have even formed a garrison of a possibly outpost at Elegeia, which would have been an ideal location for such a fort, being at the nexus of two major routes leading in and out of Armenia at the headwaters of the Euphrates River.⁷⁶ Trajan's choice to encamp at Elegeia in 114 CE signifies its importance and an outpost would also explain the settlement at this location mentioned by Claudius Ptolemy.

Another conundrum is the reason why Severianus despaired so much that he decided to commit suicide. At Rhandaia in 62 CE another Roman army had been able to hold out against a siege by the combined forces of Armenians and Parthians operating under the Parthian king Vologaeses I (51–78 CE) for several weeks and even then they had been able to save themselves by surrendering.⁷⁷ The fact that resistance appears to have collapsed in three days at Elegeia is another indication that the Roman force was relatively small. The same is implied by the Parthian unwillingness to take advantage of the incident by invading Cappadocia, which would seem to suggest that the provincial garrison had survived relatively intact. At least both of the legions (*XII Fulminata* and *XV Apollinaris*) stationed in the province continued to survive well into the fifth century. Perhaps the disgrace of defeat was too much for Severianus' pride, or perhaps the cause of his despair was of a more human nature as his son also appears to have disappeared from history at this point in time.⁷⁸

Romans felt deep antagonism towards him, which appears to suggest that he was “guilty” of more than just defeating a Roman army at Elegeia.

⁷⁶ Similar outposts were located on the Pontic coastline, the most important of which was Apsarus to the north-east of Elegeia with a garrison of five cohorts.

⁷⁷ Cass. Dio 62,21,1–22,2; Tac. *ann.* 15,11–17.

⁷⁸ M. Sedatius M. f. Quir(ina) Severus Iulius Reginus (*PIR*² S 307) appears as a patron of the Ostian *collegia* along with his father c. 145–152 CE (*CIL* XIV 246–248; 250). Beyond this nothing else is known about him, but given the custom of upper class sons following their fathers into important commands, it is possible that Severus served under his father in Cappadocia just as Titus had served under Vespasian during the Jewish War (66–69 CE).

Conclusions

There appears to be very little to support an idea of a legion lost in battle. The terminological tendencies of both Cassius Dio and Ioannes Xiphilinus would seem to indicate that Xiphilinus' expression meant either a general armed force or a camp; the former of these two alternative explanations being in line with the contemporary accounts of the event written by M. Cornelius Fronto and Lucian of Samosata. Lucian's narrative on the other hand seems to indicate a failed diplomatic encounter rather than a field battle, and thus the term στρατόπεδον could in this context mean either the armed retinue of the Roman legate (i.e. army) or the possible Roman outpost where the mentioned encounter might have taken place (i.e. a camp). In any case, this example shows the importance of understanding literary narrative and its elements in their true context, when a translation of a single word can change the interpretation of the whole event.

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TWO RARE NAMES FROM INSCRIPTIONS IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF MESSENIA*

NIKOLETTA KANAVOU

A fragment of a Doric column, which is displayed in the Archaeological Museum of Messenia (inv. no. Λ 427), preserves a votive inscription offered by the priestess Archido, daughter of Chrysippos. Here is the text (as in *IG V 1 1414*):

Ἀρχιδῶ
Χρυσίππου
ἰέρεια (διὰ)
γέγους¹
(a divine name followed)

The inscription, which was found in ancient Asine, is dated to the second century AD. This is the only definite attestation of the name Ἀρχιδῶ and is recorded in *LGN IIIA*. There is a further probable attestation from Messenia, again from a votive inscription, of a much earlier date ([Ἀρ]χιδῶ ἀνέθεκε; *SEG LXII 222*). Another attestation of a similar female name, Ἀρχιδία (*LGN IV*),² is roughly contemporary with that of the first Ἀρχιδῶ. The name is understood either as a short form of a name like Ἀρχιδάμα and Ἀρχιδίκη / Ἀρχιδίκα, or as a feminine form of Ἀρχιδας and Ἀρχιδης, which are rare names themselves (no more than three attestations between them, all from the Hellenistic and Imperial

* Thanks go to the anonymous reviewers of *Arctos* for their useful suggestions.

¹ Alternative reading γένομέ[νη] (proposed by Oikonomides, *SEG XXII 313. 4*).

² Name of a deceased wife in a bilingual (Greek–Latin) inscription from Perinthos (Thrace).

periods: see *LGPN* I).³ This group of names is derived from ἄρχω “to rule”;⁴ -ίδης / -ίδας is a standard patronymic ending. For the feminine form in -ώ, cf. Νικίδης / Νικίδας – Νικιδώ, Ἀλκίδης / Ἀλκίδας – Ἀλκιδώ, Γλαυκίδης / Γλαυκίδας – Γλαυκιδώ etc.

It would be tempting to regard Ἀρχιδώ as an appropriately significant name for a priestess, one that would denote her leading role in religious ceremonies. Ἀρχιδώ brings to mind another name, however distant in time and context, that of the leading chorus girl Ἀγιδώ in Alcman’s famous *Partheneion* (fr. 1), a song performed by Spartan maidens probably in a religious setting.⁵ While names of girls in poetry were, more often than not, intentional choices, it is hard to be sure whether real priestesses’ names, presumably given at birth, are to be regarded as “speaking names” (names were often given to honour a relative). The meanings of many of these names, however, suggest that they were chosen to reflect hopes or expectations about a girl’s future abilities and prospects, in some cases with direct relevance to a religious role.⁶ This is a possibility for Ἀρχιδώ – but a possibility on which the reading of l. 4 of our inscription has some bearing. (διὰ) γέγονυς would suggest that Ἀρχιδώ was a priestess by virtue of her descent group (*genos*), which might make it more likely that her name was purposefully chosen at birth.⁷ The same is not equally true of the alternative reading proposed by Oikonomides, γέγονμ[ε]ν[η],⁸ which is perhaps more likely to be correct, as it spares the need to assume an omitted (διὰ). This reading would simply imply that she was at some point appointed as priestess, although this would not exclude the possibility that she still belonged to a descent group from which priesthoods were appointed.

³ For the single attestation of Ἀρχίδης (in the genitive Ἀρχίδου), there is some doubt as to whether Ἀρχίνου (name Ἀρχίνος) should be read instead; see the relevant entry in *LGPN* I.

⁴ F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle 1917, 83–84.

⁵ On this poem, see F. Budelmann, *Greek Lyric. A Selection*, Cambridge 2018, 57–65, 74 on the name Ἀγιδώ (ἄγω), which “suggests pre-eminence”.

⁶ J. B. Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece*, Princeton – Oxford 2007, 46, notes with regard to personal names of historical priestesses that they “often reflect their beauty or some other quality that sets them apart from other women”, and she gives the following examples: Καλλιστώ “Beautiful”, Μεγίστη “Great”, Χρυσίς “Golden”, Θεοδότη “God-Given”.

⁷ See J. H. Blok – S. D. Lambert, “The Appointment of Priests in Attic gene”, *ZPE* 169 (2009) esp. 119 n. 119: “It was a real-life feature of *gene* that girls born into them might be given appropriate priestly names, cf. Penteteris, priestess of Athena”.

⁸ See above (n. 1).

The fragment of an inscribed *stèle*, also at the Archaeological Museum of Messenia (inv. no. Λ 450), which mentions the name Ἀρώτιχος, poses more difficulties. This piece was found in the seaside village of Petalidi; the relevant museum label places it in the fourth or third century BC, making it an earlier specimen than the majority of the finds from Petalidi, which date to the Roman period. The clearly legible personal name is intriguing, while the surrounding text, which spans three fragmentary lines, is difficult to read. Here is the text provided by Arapogianni in her account of inscribed monuments at the Archaeological Museum of Messenia,⁹ and reprinted in *SEG XLVIII 514J*:

ΑΡΩΤΙΧΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΕ|ΕΟΛΑΙΑΣ.ΔΕΥ|ΕΠΕΙΔΗΜΗ

Arapogianni presents this inscription, among others from ancient Korone, in a further publication,¹⁰ in which she spells the name as ΑΡΩΤΥΧΟΣ; she does not explain the new spelling, and the inscription clearly has an I, not an Υ.¹¹ Arapogianni's survey of inscriptions from ancient Korone is recorded in *SEG LX 425*, with a note by Papazarkadas regarding the personal name ΑΡΩΤΥΧΟΣ: "No attested name springs to mind". True, no Ἀρώτιχος (or Ἀρώτυχος for that matter) is recorded in *LGN*, and the name is otherwise unknown. Similar names are hardly attested. The reading of the name Ἄρωτος in *IG XI 4 814* (Delos, second century BC) is likely, but not certain, and in *SB XXVI 16560, 96* (Arsinoite, second/third century AD) even less so.¹²

⁹ *ArchDelt* 50 (1995) B [2000] 173.

¹⁰ X. Arapogianni, "Αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα από την αρχαία Κορώνη", in P. Pantazopoulos – E. Kouloukeia (eds.), *Ομηρική Αίπεια – Αρχαία Κορώνη – Πεταλίδι. Παρελθόν, Παρόν και Μέλλον* (Πρακτικά Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου, Πεταλίδι, 5–7 Αυγούστου 2005), Petalidi, 103–4.

¹¹ This observation is based on my informal study of the inscription at the Archaeological Museum of Messenia.

¹² *IG XI 4 814. 3*: Ἄρωγος has also been proposed. *SB XXVI 16560, 96*: the most recent edition (A. Martin – R. Pintaudi, "Le journal fiscal *SB XXVI 16560*: une réédition", *Aegyptus* 95 [2015] 25–42) has Ἐρωτος (a genitive is needed at that place). Hesychius (7179) mentions an obscure Ἄρωτος as a Macedonian equivalent of Heracles; this form has been emended into Ἄρητος by editors, following Musurus' relevant correction on Hesychius' manuscript (see further J. N. Kalléris, *Les anciens Macédoniens. Étude linguistique et historique* Tome I, Athènes 1954, 111–13 in support of Ἄρητος). However, given the known use of this suffix in theophoric names (Ἀθάνιχος / Ἀθίνιχος, Ἀπολλώνιχος, Ἀσκλάπιχος, Ἐρμάιχος, etc.), our inscription may support the transmitted reading of

Meagre as the evidence above may be, it corroborates the impression that we have here a name in -(τ)ιχος, not -τυχος (as Arapogianni's alternative spelling would seem to imply). The name is indeed best explained etymologically as a compound of Ἄρω- with addition of the element -τ-, and the termination -ιχος, a construction which is not uncommon in personal names;¹³ cf. Ζώτιχος, Ἀμύντιχος, Λεώτιχος, Λεόντιχος, Βούτιχος, Μελάντιχος. Ἄρω- must be related to ἄρῶ “plow”,¹⁴ whose derivatives include mainly forms with ο (ἄροτήρ “plowman”, ἄροτος “plowing, plowed land”, ἄροσις “plowing”, ἀρόσιμος “arable” etc.), but also some with ω (e.g. ἄρωμα “farmland”; cf. the lengthened forms ἀρώσιμος and ἄρωσις). If so, Ἀρώτιχος must be a cognate of the attested name Ἀρότης (from Thasos, early Hellenistic period, *LGPN* I),¹⁵ and express occupation.

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Hesychius. The name Ἀρωτεῖος (*P.Tebt.* I 12, 5; 10; 118 BC) may well be of Egyptian origin.

¹³ On the element -τ-, see Bechtel (above n. 4) 187, and further P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien*, Paris 1933, 404 on the suffix -ιχος (particularly used in diminutive forms and pet names). See also previous note.

¹⁴ R. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* (2 Vols), Leiden 2010, s.v. ἄρῶ.

¹⁵ Ἀρότης is included by Bechtel (above n. 4) 519 in his list of names denoting profession (“Gewerbe”).

THE NOMENCLATURE OF (CLAUDIA) LIVIA, “LIVILLA”*

TUOMO NUORLUOTO

Nero Claudius Drusus and the younger Antonia were survived by three children: Germanicus Caesar, the future emperor Claudius, and a woman who is familiarly known as *Livilla*, but whose full name was probably (*Claudia*) *Livia*, as will be argued here. Since her name appears somewhat inconsistently in various scholarly works (see below), it is the intention of this paper to shed some clarity on the matter. The anomaly concerning her name may seem trivial, but it has been under debate for decades, and therefore a consensus ought to be established, for the sake of clarity in modern research and prosopographical works, if nothing else.

The form (*Claudia*) *Livia Iulia* was first introduced by Th. Mommsen in 1876 (cf. *CIL* VI 5198) and taken up in *PIR*¹ II (1897).¹ Ever since, this has been the standard form in most prosopographical works (*RE* XIII,1 s.v. ‘Livius (Livia)’ nr. 38; *PIR*² L 303; *PFOS* 239) and the form is also used in more recent scholarship.² Furthermore, our person of interest is sometimes referred to as

* I thank Mika Kajava for the initial inspiration for this paper and for his comments, the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful suggestions, Christopher Mallan for sending me his article on Zonaras, and Antonios Pontoropoulos, Baukje van der Berg, Urpo Kantola, Anna-Maria Wilskman, and Astrid Capoferro for helping me access various resources.

¹ For Mommsen and *CIL* VI 5198, see the discussion below. *PIR*¹ II = H. Dessau (ed.), *Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Saec. I. II. III. Pars II*, Berolini 1897.

² *RE* XIII,1 = W. Kroll (ed.), *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Band XIII. Halbband XXV*, Stuttgart 1926; *PIR*² L = L. Petersen (ed.), *Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Saec. I. II. III. Pars V. Fasciculus 1*, Berolini 1970; *PFOS* = M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial (Ier–Ile siècles)*, Lovanii 1987. More recent scholarship: G. Martina, “L’interventismo familiare di Antonia Minore: il caso della morte di Germanico e Livilla”, in F. Cenerini – F. Rohr Vio (eds.), *Matronae in domo et in re publica agentes*, Trieste 2016, 287–304, 296 n. 45; also M. Platon, *Édition des livres 57 et 58 de l’Histoire romaine de Dion Cassius: établissement*

Livia Iulia, e.g. by R. Syme and P. Sinclair.³ The form (*Claudia*) *Livia*, which I believe to be correct, is also used by some notable scholars, e.g. O. Salomies, M. Corbier, and M. Kajava.⁴ The exact reasoning behind this choice, however, ought to be clarified in better detail.⁵ The relevant question is to what extent the sources we have at hand really reflect a name that was once used.

The fact that her primary individual name, viz. the name she was called by in most personal encounters, was *Livia*, or the hypocoristic form *Livilla*, is clear from our sources. For example, she is known from several inscriptions of her slaves and *liberti* in which she appears either simply as *Livia* (*CIL* VI 15502; 38204) or as *Livia Drusi Caesaris* (*CIL* VI 4349; 5226; 8899; 19747; 20237). She is also called in the same way in some Egyptian papyri, viz. at least two petitions from Euhemeria from 29 and 34 CE, which mention her as Λιβία Δρούσου Καίσαρος (*P. Ryl.* II 127; 138).

The name is also well attested for her in literary sources. Tacitus for example always calls her *Livia* (*Tac. ann.* 4,3,3; 4,10,2; 4,40; *Livia uxor Drusi* in *ann.* 2, 43, 6 and *Livia nupta Druso* in 2,84,1), Pliny mentions her as *Livia Drusi Caesaris* (*Plin. nat.* 29,1,20), and in Pseudo-Seneca's *Octavia* (941–943) she is similarly styled as *Livia Drusi*. Suetonius consistently uses the hypocoristic form *Livilla* (*Suet. Tib.* 62; *Claud.* 1,6; 3,2)—though it should be noted that Suetonius seems to have the general tendency of calling women by diminutive

du texte, traduction et commentaire, Toulouse 2015, 307 n. 702

³ R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy*, Oxford 1986, 93–94; 112; 169–70; P. Sinclair, “Tacitus’ presentation of Livia Iulia, wife of Tiberius’ son Drusus”, *AJPh* 111 (1990) 238–56. Note also that in *RE* XIII,1 she is found s.v. ‘Livius (Livia)’ and not ‘Claudius (Claudia)’.

⁴ O. Salomies, “Die Bedeutung der Onomastik für die Rekonstruktion von Genealogien in Rom”, in W. Eck – M. Heil (eds.), *Prosopographie des römischen Kaiserreichs. Ertrag und Perspektiven*, Berlin 2017, 109–32, 128; M. Corbier, “Maiestas domus Augustae”, in G.A. Bertinelli – A. Donati (eds.), *Varia epigraphica. Atti del colloquio internazionale di epigrafia*, Faenza 2001, 155–199, 177 n. 79; M. Kajava, “A new catalogue of Roman upper-class women”, *Arctos* 22 (1988) 75–93, 84.

⁵ Some valid points have been made, e.g. Corbier (above n. 4) 177 n. 79 concludes that *Livia* was the woman’s individual cognomen, which would be in line with the general pattern of Julio-Claudian princesses being called in public by only their cognomen (that is, if they had one). Kajava (above n. 4) 84, in turn, notes that a nomenclature consisting of three nomina “does not seem very plausible”.

forms.⁶ The form *Livilla*, however, is also later used by Dio (in 58,11,6–7 and 58,24,5).

The fact that our Livia also bore the nomen *Claudia* is equally clear. It was, after all, her father's nomen, and it is the nomen that is attested for her *liberti* in the following epitaphs from Rome:⁷

CIL VI 5226: *Ti(berius) Claudius / Alexa / Liviae Drusi / Caesar(is)
l(ibertus) / Claudia Liviae l(iberta) Libas*
CIL VI 15502 = ILS 8054: *Claudia Liviae l(iberta) Melpomene*
CIL VI 38204: *Claudia Liviae lib(erta) Storge*

Since *Claudia* was her real nomen, the nomenclature *Livia Iulia* can already be ruled out. The question now remains what to do with the name *Iulia*. The existence of the name is based on two different sources: two passages of Dio as paraphrased by the Byzantine author Zonaras and a funerary inscription from a Roman columbarium. Let us begin with the account of Dio/Zonaras.

Dio 58,3,9, which only survives through the excerpt of Zonaras (11,2), mentions 'Iulia, daughter of Drusus', as the bride of L. Aelius Seianus. This may seem puzzling, since the imperial bride of Seianus was no other than our Livia—whose daughter, however, was called *Iulia* (cf. PFOS 422). Furthermore, not only was Livia the wife of a Drusus (she was married to Drusus Iulius Caesar), she was also the daughter of one (i.e. Nero Claudius Drusus). One could thus assume that Zonaras (or his source) was confused and mixed the name of Livia with that of

⁶ Perhaps in an attempt to be dismissive, or simply out of preference. Cf. for example *Terentilla* pro *Terentia* (the wife of Maecenas) in Suet. *Aug.* 69,2; possibly also *Tertulla* pro *Tertia* in the same passage (see M. Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina: Studies in the Nomenclature of Roman Women* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 14), Rome 1994, 209–10). He also calls one daughter of M. Iunius Silanus (*cos. suff.* 15) by the name *Claudilla* (Suet. *Claud.* 12,1), whilst in the account of Tacitus she is *Claudia* (Tac. *ann.* 6,20; 6,45).

⁷ It is unclear if one of the above-mentioned papyri can be used as evidence for the existence of the name *Claudia*. *P. Ryl.* II 127 mentions a slave/freedman of Livia, who is styled as Κλάδος Λιβίας Δρούσου Καίσαρος and his name could be emended into Κλα<υ>δ<ι>ος. The name Κλάδος, however, is fairly well attested and could simply be the slave's personal name, as pointed out to me by U. Kantola (27 cases in the LGPN). Furthermore, if we assume that he was called *Claudius*, the question remains why no cognomen was attributed to him.

her daughter Iulia, as suggested by G. V. Sumner.⁸ This seems plausible, but there is also another confusing passage that requires some attention.

The passage in question is Dio 57,22,2. It is important to point out that there is a serious problem with textual transmission in the very part that mentions the name. Dio's original text is lost and the passage in the standard edition by Boissevain is based on the epitome of Xiphilinus (139,20–30) in which the text goes as follows: ἦν τινες λουίλαν ὀνομάζουσιν.⁹ This has been emended to ἦν τινες Λιουίλλαν ὀνομάζουσιν, “some call her Livilla” (in contrast to *Livia*). In his independent summary, Zonaras (11,2), in turn, paraphrases Dio in the following way: ...γυναικὸς, ἦν Ἰουλίαν, ἕτεροι δὲ Λιβίαν γράφουσι, “...the woman, Iulia, whom others write Livia”. Boissevain, who clearly did not believe that the name *Iulia* is from Dio's lost original, addressed the matter in his critical apparatus: *Dio mihi scripsisse videtur in hunc fere modum: ἦν τινες μὲν Λιουίλλαν ἕτεροι δὲ Λιουίαν ὀνομάζουσι.*¹⁰ This view is also echoed by Sumner, according to whom there was “obviously a misunderstanding of Dio, who must have written that some call her Livilla, others Livia”.¹¹

Let us assume that there was a misunderstanding. But who made the mistake? If Zonaras simply copied his source, he can hardly be blamed for it. However, it is unlikely that Dio suddenly chose to use the name *Iulia*, or even *Livia*, given the fact that in other passages he calls her *Livilla* (see above). Perhaps one could assume that the text was transmitted to Zonaras in an erroneous or corrupt form. In the latter case it is possible that Zonaras, who seems to have confused Livia with her daughter Iulia in the later passage (Cass. Dio 58,3,9), emended the text to what he believed was correct.¹²

⁸ G. V. Sumner, “The family connections of L. Aelius Seianus”, *Phoenix* 19 (1965) 134–45, 144 n. 44.

⁹ Cf. the apparatus in U. Ph. Boissevain, *Dionis Cassii Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt, Vol. II*, Berolini 1955 (editio secunda).

¹⁰ For Boissevain, see above n. 9.

¹¹ Sumner (above n. 8) 144 n. 44.

¹² In general, Zonaras seems to have often paraphrased his sources rather than copying them word-by-word. For his methodology, see C. Mallan, “The historian John Zonaras: some observations on his sources and methods”, in O. Devillers – B. Sebastiani (eds.), *Sources et modèles des historiens anciens* (Scripta Antiqua 109), Bordeaux 2018, 359–428, 366; cf. L. Neville, *A Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing*, Cambridge 2018, 191.

The name *Iulia*, however, is also epigraphically attested. It is often believed that our Livia is identical with the woman recorded as the *patrona* of 'Antiochus Iuliae Drusi Caesaris supra lectuarios' (*CIL* VI 5198 = *ILS* 1752). For sure, the use of the plain genitive (*Drusi Caesaris*) with no other indication would normally refer to the woman's husband—in which case we would have no choice but to identify the woman as our Livia. There is, however, the possibility that the *f* for *f(ilia)* is simply missing, in which case the woman in question would not be the wife but the daughter of Drusus (and of Livia), who was, as noted above, called Iulia. Similar examples exist in which the *f* has been omitted (perhaps unintentionally), e.g. *CIL* VI 9191, where *Messalin[ae] Tauri* ought to be read *Messalin[ae] Tauri (f.)*.¹³

The idea that *f(ilia)* was (accidentally) omitted was, in fact, already presented by W. Henzen in 1872, but contradicted by Mommsen (cf. *CIL* VI 5198), who suggested (as the first person, it seems) that *Iulia* was her third name, her full nomenclature thus consisting of three nomina.¹⁴ There are a couple of problems here. Firstly, a nomenclature consisting of three nomina would be highly peculiar at such an early period, as also noted by M. Kajava.¹⁵ Secondly,

¹³ Cf. T. Nuorluoto, "Names and social distinction. How were Roman female *patronae* recorded in the nomenclature of their slaves?", in F. Beutler – Th. Pantzer (eds.), *Sprachen – Schriftkulturen – Identitäten der Antike. Beiträge des XV. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik: Einzelvorträge* (Wiener Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte online 1), Wien 2019, 6 n. 31. Some such cases, however, have been unnecessarily interpreted as patronymics, even if we are clearly dealing with a gamonymic. Thus, for example, J. N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, New York 2003, 306–7 erroneously assumes that the *domina* of *Cer[inthus] Antoniae Drusi ser(vus)* in *P.Oxy.* II 244 was 'Antonia, daughter of Drusus'—despite the fact that the woman obviously is Antonia, the wife of Drusus (and daughter of Marcus Antonius and Octavia).

¹⁴ Henzen's idea is also reflected by Kajava (above n. 4) 84, who notes that the inscription "might in theory also refer to her [i.e. Livia's] daughter Iulia"; and by Corbier (above n. 3) 177 n. 79, in whose opinion the woman in question could "à toutes chances d'être la fille de Drusus et de Liuia".

¹⁵ Kajava (above n. 4) 84 (cf. above n. 5). Raepsaet-Charlier documents only one senatorial woman with such a nomenclature, i.e. Aelia Licinia Petili[a] (*PFOS* 15), who lived during the late second century—and even in her case the third onomastic item survives only partly and could be disputed. Her name is recorded in *CIL* V 871 (Aquileia). According to the picture in the Epigraphic Database Roma, there seems to be some space after the last onomastic item, which could also be, say, *Petili[ana]* (or something else). There are also some sporadic examples of non-senatorial women with such a nomenclature from a later period, e.g. Ulpia Aurelia Valeria (*CIL* III 6155 = 7571, Tomis, 3rd/4th c.). Cf. T. Nuorluoto, *Roman Female Cognomina: Studies in the Nomenclature of Roman Women*, Uppsala 2021, 114.

our Livilla appears in the numerous other similar inscriptions and formulae as *Livia Drusi Caesaris* (see above). So, why *Iulia* all of a sudden? Given the fact that we are dealing with a funerary plate for the wife of a freedman in a columbarium, it seems unlikely that the text would have been of much concern to any person who might have insisted on the correct form. The possibility of error thus remains—either the omission of *f.* or, perhaps less likely, having the wrong name carved in the plate.

Thirdly, even though Livia's family was connected to the imperial Iulii, none of her ancestors bore the name *Iulius* or *Iulia*, which also makes the choice questionable—unless we assume that the name was chosen for dynastic purposes (but in this case it would be strange that it was omitted from most sources). A fourth point that militates against the name *Iulia* is a purely onomastic one: it would be odd if one and the same woman were called by completely different types of nomenclature at the same time.

All things considered, it is reasonable to conclude that Livia probably did not have the name *Iulia*. However, in lack of a document recording her full name, such as her funerary inscription, some doubt will remain over the matter. In my view, however, the most plausible solution is that her full name was (*Claudia*) *Livia*, viz. a nomenclature consisting of two nomina, *Livia* serving as her individual cognomen.¹⁶ This solution would also be in good accordance with the onomastic patterns concerning Julio-Claudian princesses.¹⁷ The name was obviously chosen to recall her paternal grandmother, the empress Livia. That she was sometimes called *Livilla* was simply a matter of preference in everyday life, and it may have to do with the fact that in the imperial household she was “little Livia”, in contrast to her grandmother, the Augusta.

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¹⁶ For nomina used as women's cognomina, see Nuorluoto (above n. 15) 113–19.

¹⁷ Cf. n. 5 above for Corbier's argument.

THE TEXT OF CATULLUS 6,12–14

TRISTAN POWER

10 *nam te non uiduas iacere noctes
nequiquam tacitum cubile clamat
sertis ac Syrio fragrans oliuo,
puluinusque peraeque et hic et ille
attritus, tremulique quassa lecti
argutatio inambulatioque.
nam †inista preualet† nihil tacere.
cur? non tam latera ecfututa pandas,
ni tu quid facias ineptiarum. (6,6–14)*

12 *del. Muret: inista preualet O: ni ista preualet GR: iam tu ista ipse nihil
uales tacere Schmidt: nil perstare ualet nihil tacere Skutsch*

Catullus' friend Flavius has been spending his nights with a new girlfriend, who is described as a *scortum febriculosum* (6,4–5).¹ Lines 12–14 pose problems of

¹ I print the Latin of the OCT by R. A. B. Mynors (ed.), *C. Valerii Catulli carmina*, Oxford 1958 in this paper, with my own apparatus criticus. I also refer to the following texts by the editor's last name alone: M.-A. Muret (ed.), *Catullus et in eum commentarius*, Venice 1554; J. J. Scaliger (ed.), *Catulli, Tibulli, Propertii nova editio*, Paris 1577; C. Lachmann (ed.), *Q. Catulli Veronensis liber*, Berlin 1829; M. Haupt (ed.), *Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius*, Leipzig 1853; L. Schwabe, *Catulli Veronensis liber*, Giessen 1866; R. Ellis (ed.), *Catulli Veronensis liber*, Oxford 1867; A. Riese (ed.), *Die gedichte des Catullus*, Leipzig 1884; B. Schmidt (ed.), *C. Valeri Catulli Veronensis carmina*, Leipzig 1887; F. W. Cornish (ed.), *Catullus, Tibullus and Pervigilium Veneris*, London 1912; W. Eisenhut (ed.), *Catulli Veronensis liber*, Leipzig 1983; G. P. Goold (ed.), *Catullus, Tibullus, Pervigilium Veneris*, rev. ed., Cambridge, MA 1988; G. Lee (ed.), *The Poems of Catullus*, Oxford 1990; A. R. de Verger (ed.), *C. Valerii Catulli carmina*, Huelva 2005.

interpretation, not least because the first part of the text is corrupt, and Cornish's Loeb edition originally omitted any translation altogether, in keeping with his practice of removing obscene material, and printed only the Latin emendation by Schmidt. But even some of the best conjectures on *in/ni ista preualet* are unacceptable. Lachmann's *nil ista ualet* and Haupt's *nil stupra ualet*, for example, although both widely accepted on account of their faithfulness to the *ductus litterarum*, fail to reconcile the usage of the *nil-nihil* combination elsewhere by this poet, where the second word *nihil* never appears as a repetition merely for effect.² Rather, while Catullus is indeed fond of this doublet, we only find it connecting verbs or infinitives that each refers in parallel to a separate action, not to the same one (*nil uidet, nihil audit*, 17,21; *nil proficimus, nihil mouetur*, 42,21; *nil ... iurare, nihil promittere*, 64,146).³ The best proposal to date has thus been Skutsch's more sensible *nil perstare ualet*, which omits the connective *nam*, but at least coheres with Catullus' style, and is printed by Goold in his revised Loeb as well as by de Verger in his edition.⁴

Yet this emendation by Skutsch still leaves us with a missing rationale for how line 12 is connected to the preceding part of the poem and to the next two lines. The translation that accompanies Goold's unexpurgated text is of no help,

Unless otherwise stated, all references are to Catullus, and all translations my own. I wish to thank the anonymous readers for helpful comments on an earlier version.

² Pace J. Godwin (ed.), *Catullus: The Shorter Poems*, Warminster 1999, 121, who claims that "[t]he strengthening of an initial *nil* with a subsequent *nihil* is attractive", although he cites no parallel for this usage in Catullus.

³ See J. Wills, *Repetition in Latin Poetry: Figures of Allusion*, Oxford 1996, 463–4. We might also compare e.g. Stat. *silv.* 4,3,111: *nil obstat cupidis, nihil moratur*. The emendation by Haupt in particular is based on Scaliger's *ni supra ualet*, but *supra* also seems too pejorative a term for such a jovial epigram; cf. D. S. McKie, *Essays in the Interpretation of Roman Poetry*, Cambridge 2009, 2; A. Minarini, "Catullo, Flavio e le *deliciae inlepidae*: il carme 6 del *liber*", *Paideia* 73 (2018) 1742–3. On *stuprum* generally, see J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, Baltimore, MD 1982, 223.

⁴ O. Skutsch, "Zur Überlieferung und zum Text Catullus", in R. Muth (ed.), *Acta philologica Aenipontana*, vol. 3, Innsbruck 1976, 69: "*perstare* (so für *stapre*, d. h. *stare* mit übergeschriebenem Sigel)". Skutsch's emendation had been anticipated by Ellis' *nil stare ualet* and Riese's *nil celare ualet*; cf. also A. W. Van Buren, "Osservazioni su alcuni testi letterari ed epigrafici", *RPAA* 19 (1942–3) 185–91, proposing *nil iurare ualet*. The conjecture by Skutsch also meets with the approval of K. M. Kokoszkiwicz, "*Et futura panda siue de Catulli carmine sexto corrigendo*", *Hermes* 132 (2004) 125, although he only cites Goold for it. In his own footnote, Goold unfortunately provides only the manuscript reading *inista preualet* in *O*, omitting the alternative in *GR*.

sidestepping the difficulties that necessarily result from accepting the Latin text as *nil perstare ualet, nihil tacere*:

For that you are not spending nights on your own the bed, vainly dumb, cries out aloud, perfumed as it is with garlands and Syrian scent, as do the dents right and left on the bolster, and the chattering and shuffling of the rickety bed when shaken. *It's no use standing fast in denial, no use being silent.* You ask why? Well, you wouldn't present such a debauched sight unless you were up to some fancy capers.

“It's no use ... no use” for whom? Or, to put it another way, who or what is the subject of *ualet*? When one considers the emphatic pronoun *tu* in line 14, the subject of the verb in line 12 is more likely to be also in the second person on logical grounds, because it is clearly Flavius whom Catullus dramatically turns to address in 6,12–14; hence, for example, Schwabe's conjecture *ualet*, which was followed by Munro.⁵ The previous passage of Poem 6 is about Flavius' bed, and functions as an explanation, introduced by an initial *nam* (6,6), of why Catullus suspects that his friend's romance is with a low-class girl.⁶ This second *nam* now establishes the overall structure of the poem, which moves from the uncouth girl (6,1–5), to the wrecked bed as a metaphor for the fatigued lover (6,6–11),⁷ to Flavius himself, who begins to be addressed here in the second person (6,12–14),⁸ and then finally, as a consequence (*quare*, 6,15), to his need to admit everything to Catullus (6,15–17).

⁵ H. A. J. Munro, *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus*, Cambridge 1878, 26–7.

⁶ I am not convinced by the baseless argument of J. Uden, “*Scortum diligis*: A Reading of Catullus 6”, *CQ* 55 (2005) 642 that this girl is really a “high-class woman”, or by the over-subtle view of A. Corbeill, *Sexing the World: Grammatical Gender and Biological Sex in Ancient Rome*, Princeton, NJ 2015, 95–9 that the *scortum* in Poem 6 is allegedly a homosexual boyfriend.

⁷ Flavius' bed noisily shuffles around as though alive (*argutio inambulatioque*, 6,11). On such personifications or euphemisms in Catullus, see J. K. Schafer, *Catullus through His Books: Dramas of Composition*, Cambridge 2020, 87. On the structure of Poem 6, see D. F. S. Thomson (ed.), *Catullus*, Toronto 1997, 221.

⁸ In bringing the descriptions back to the lover himself, Catullus makes clear his main source for Poem 6, a Greek epigram by Meleager (*Anth. Pal.* 5,175); see T. Power, “Catullus 6.17”, *Philologus* 164 (2020) 300–7 with bibliography.

Moreover, aside from *ualet* being grammatically in the wrong person, this word also does not fit well within the context, and probably represents a misreading of a different verb. I should also argue that *cur* in line 13 is best taken as the first part of a sentence, rather than as a rhetorical question standing alone, as it is usually punctuated, which is smoother Latin but does not affect the general meaning of lines 13–14.⁹ Once we accept these changes, we may read the lines better as follows, with the poet posing a longer question to Flavius, in order to gain more information about his new girlfriend:

nam ista pro nihilo putas tacere.
cur non tam latera ecfututa pandas,
ni tu quid facias ineptiarum?

For indeed you consider it of no value to keep those things quiet. Why would you not exhibit sides so love-weary, unless you were doing something foolish? (6,12–14)

The contemporary usage of the phrase *pro nihilo* with *puto* in this sense is illustrated by, for example, one of Cicero's speeches: *hoc pro nihilo putas* (*Phil.* 10,6; cf. *pro nihilo id putas*, *Cic. fam.* 10,26). The error of 6,12 involved the scribal transposition of words, much like the palaeographical argument in support of Skutsch's emendation (*perstare* > *stare per* or the abbreviated *stare p* > *sta pre*). However, I presume that *nihilo putas* was instead reversed into *putas nihilo*, being anticipated by Schmidt's conjecture *iam tu ista ipse nihil uales tacere* with regard to the word order of *nihil uales*,¹⁰ and by Pighi's *nil ista pudet* in its divination of the beginning *pu*-.¹¹ The corruption of *pro putas* into *pre ualet* is understandable, due to the five letters that both phrases share (*ista pro nihilo*

⁹ Cf. P. Bondam, *Variarum lectionum libri duo*, Zutphen 1759, 130, who in place of *cur* alternatively suggested *cum*, which was entertained by Riese in his commentary *ad loc.* and later printed by Lee.

¹⁰ For conjectures similar to that of Schmidt, cf. also T. G. Tucker, "Catullus: Notes and Conjectures", *CQ* 4 (1910) 1–2; T. Gärtner, "Kritisch-exegetische Überlegungen zu Catullgedichten", *AAntHung* 47 (2007) 11–13; McKie (above n. 3) 3–4. On such common word-inversions in Catullus' manuscripts, see *ibid.* 12 n. 45.

¹¹ G. B. Pighi, "Emendationes Catullianae", *RhM* 94 (1951) 42–43, whose conjecture is printed in the Teubner text of Eisenhut, although it is liable to the same refutation as Lachmann and Haupt due to its unprecedented usage of *nil ... nihil*.

putas > inista preualet nihil), while the prefixes *per-*, *prae-*, and *pro-* were often confused by medieval scribes. The change of case from *nihilo* to *nihil*, another common error, may have occurred simultaneously, or may have been a later effort to repair the metre.

The new line's closeness to the *paradosis* further bolsters its certain good sense and stylistic suitability, which are already the best arguments in its favour. This emendation brings cogency to the poem as a whole, and rescues 6,12 from the charge of being a superfluous repetition. It was this verse's similarity to the paradoxical line 7 (*nequiquam tacitum cubile clamat*) that led Muret to propose the deletion of line 12 as an alleged marginal gloss that became interpolated, and Trappes-Lomax likewise wished to omit the entire verse, claiming that it "cannot be restored to Catullan excellence".¹² However, with our emended text, we can see that lines 12–14 are actually rather different from the sentiment about his bed expressed in lines 6–11, taking the thought a step further: Flavius obviously sees no advantage in trying to conceal his affair, because of the exhausted sides that he openly displays. Like the other signs of lovemaking such as his dented pillow (*puluinusque peraeque et hic et ille / attritus*, 6,9–10), Flavius divulges the truth despite his silence, since he does not think that it is worthwhile to hide these matters. Thus, Flavius' jangling bed (*tremulique quassa lecti*, 6,10) is connected with its recent occupant in this scene, implying that he too reveals his own post-coital state. One might indeed call that Catullan excellence.

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¹² On Muret's conjecture, see J. M. Trappes-Lomax, *Catullus: A Textual Reappraisal*, Swansea 2007, 12, 47–48 (quotation at 12); cf. *id.*, "Eleven Suggestions in Latin Poetry", *Mnemosyne* 55 (2002) 581: "This inability of generations of scholars to find a truly compelling restoration of anything that Catullus might himself have written is significant in itself".

ALOE IN THE GREEK POPYRI OF GRECO-ROMAN AND LATE ANTIQUE EGYPT. A Contribution Concerning the Aloe Supply and Use in Antiquity

DIMITRIS ROUMPEKAS

Aloe, the famous succulent plant with large fleshy leaves, is one of the most widespread pharmaceutical plants. Its translucent, sticky pulp – processed or natural – is an excellent palliative and emollient medicinal against skin conditions, digestive diseases, eye problems, joint and muscle pain, even blood circulation.¹ The remedial qualities of aloe were well-known even in Antiquity, as many pharmacological and medical treatises of certain Greek, Roman, and Byzantine authors testify.²

The papyrus and ostraca editions are cited after the official abbreviations of the *Checklist of edition of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic papyri, ostraca and tablets* (<http://papyri.info/docs/checklist>). Other abbreviations used: *GMP* = I. Andorlini, *Greek Medical Papyri*, I-II, Firenze 2001, 2009. *CMG* = *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, I-XI 2,1, Leipzig, Berlin 1908-2017 (<http://cmg.bbaw.de/epubl/online/editionen.html>)

¹ K. P. Sampath Kumar – D. Bhowmik, Chiranjib, Biswajit, “*Aloe vera*: A potential herb and its medicinal importance”, *Journal of Chemical and Pharmaceutical Research* 2 (2010) 21-29; M. Sánchez – E. Gonzáles-Burgo – I. Iglesias – M. P. Gómez-Serranillos, “Pharmacological update properties of *Aloe Vera* and its major active constituents”, *Molecules* 25 (2020) 1-37 (Open access journal: www.mdpi.com/journal/molecules).

² Gal. *De simpl. med. temp. ac fac.* 6,1 (11,822 Kühn): Καὶ γὰρ εὐστόμαχόν ἐστι τὸ φάρμακον, εἴπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο, καὶ κόλπων κολλητικόν. Ἰᾶται δὲ τὰ δυσσεπούλωτα τῶν ἑλκῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ καθ’ ἕδραν τε καὶ αἰδοῖον. Ὀφελεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰς φλεγμονὰς αὐτῶν ὕδατι διεθείσα καὶ κολλᾷ τραύματα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. Ἀρμόζει δὲ ὡσαύτως χρωμένῳ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐν στόματι καὶ ῥίσι καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς φλεγμονάς; Cf. Paul. Aeg. *Epit.* 7,3 (*CMG IX* 2. 191 Heiberg); Aët. *Iatr.* 1,21 (*CMG VIII* 1. 35 Olivieri); Orib. *Coll. med.* 11,32 (*CMG VI* 1,2,85 Raeder); J. Scarborough, “Roman pharmacy and the eastern drug trade: Some problems illustrated by the example of aloe”, in J. Scarborough (ed.), *Pharmacy and drug lore in Antiquity: Greece, Rome, Byzantium*, Cornwall 2010, VIII, 135-43.

The already published papers about aloe in Antiquity are scanty and refer mainly to the literary sources. Moreover, even though some medical papyri relevant to aloe's use have been studied so far,³ the evidence which the papyrological sources provide about the aloe trade and medicine has not been sufficiently considered yet. With this paper I pursue to study the Greek medical and documentary papyri from Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt thoroughly. The information from the papyrological sources and the evidence of the literary medical treatises can lead one to come to more satisfactory conclusions about: (a) the supply, the processing, and the use of aloe in Antiquity, (b) its combination with other remedies for the production of more complex therapeutic mixtures, and (c) the diseases against which aloe was used during ancient times.⁴

The description of aloe's external appearance and pharmacological properties in the Greek and Latin literary sources⁵ leaves no room for doubt that the aloe species most used as a remedy in Antiquity was *aloe perryi*, growing on Socotra, an island in the Indian Ocean.⁶ However, according to Dioscorides,⁷ aloe also grew in North Africa and in the Arab peninsula, as well as in the maritime areas and islands of the eastern Mediterranean. The plant, already used as medical and aromatic substance in Pharaonic Egypt,⁸ must have been imported from the East through the Roman spice and drug trade routes in the 1st cent. B.C. – 1st cent. A.D.⁹ The absence of aloe from the *Hippocratic Corpus*

³ See V. Gazza, "Prescrizioni mediche nei papiri dell'Egitto greco-romano II", *Aegyptus* 36 (1956) 77 and D. Fausti, "Ricerche sul lessico botanico dei papiri medici", in I. Andorlini (ed.), "*Specimina*" per il *Corpus dei papiri greci di medicina. Atti dell'incontro di studio*, Firenze 1997, 100.

⁴ The information provided by the papyrological sources does not refer only to Egypt; it is representative of the Greco-Roman and Late Antique world in general. Cf. P. van Minnen, "The century of Papyrology (1892-1992)", *BASP* 30 (1993) 5-18.

⁵ E.g. Dsc. *Mat. med.* 3,22,1-3 (2,28-9 Wellmann); Plin. *Nat.* 27,14 (7, 397-401 Jones).

⁶ J. A. C. Greppin, "The various aloes in ancient times", *JIES* 16 (1988) 33-42; Scarborough (above n. 1) 138.

⁷ Dsc. *Mat. med.* 3,22,1-2 (2,28-29 Wellmann): Γίνεται δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἰνδίᾳ πλείστη ... φέεται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ καὶ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τισὶ παραθαλασσίσις τόποις καὶ νήσοις ὡς ἐν Ἄνδρω.

⁸ Aloe is mentioned in the *Papyrus Ebers* (1500 B.C.). C. P. Bryan, *The Papyrus Ebers*, London 1930, 25-26, 62, 164.

⁹ On the Roman drug and spice trade in the Indian Ocean see E. H. Warmington, *The commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge 1974, 202; V. Nutton, "The drug trade in antiquity",

and Aristotle's and Theophrastus' botanic treatises supports this assumption.¹⁰

In the papyrological sources, one finds hints about the origins of aloe; the papyri attest that aloe's supply proceeded through the import trade between the East and the eastern Egyptian trade stations. According to the private letter *PSI XV 1558* (3rd cent. A.D.), two *mnae* of aloe hepatitis (l. 12: ἀλόης ήπατίτιδος)¹¹ are listed among some other perfume species (e.g. κρόκον, μαλάβαθρον, σμύρνην, ρήτινην, ἄμωμον)¹², which the recipient of the letter was to receive from Coptos, one of the most important trade stations in Egypt.¹³ He should also deliver them –apparently via the Nile river– to the wife of a certain Spartas.

The account *PSI XII 1264* (4th cent. A.D.) offers evidence concerning the handling of aloe and other aroma-pharmaceutical substances (e.g. μαλάβαθρον, νάρδον, σμύρνη, κόστον) in Egypt; according to the text, two liters and six ounces of aloe (l. 18) were to be transported from Thebaid to Alexandria via the Nile (ll. 1-2: ἐπαρχίας Θηβαΐδος | παρεδ() ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας). The goods go through an agent in charge of the perfume handling (l. 11: Παλλαδίου ὑποδέκ(του) ἀρωματικῶν). The diffusion of aloe in Egypt seems to have been very extensive; the account of medical ingredients *O. Trim. II 826* (350-370 A.D.), l. 1: ἀλόης (οὐγκία) α τάλ(αντα) Αχ, from Trimithis, is a very precious attestation of the diffusion of the substance in the Western Desert.

Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine 78 (1985) 141; L. Casson, *The periplus Maris Erythraei. Text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Princeton 1989, 164-65; A. d'Hautcourt, "Les Romains et le commerce des aromates dans l'océan Indien", in L. Bodiou et al. (eds.), *Parfums et odeurs dans l'Antiquité*, Rennes 2008, 317-22; M. A. Cobb (ed.), *The Indian Ocean trade in Antiquity: Political, cultural and economic impacts*, London 2019.

¹⁰ Scarborough (above n. 1) 138, 140.

¹¹ That is, aloe that produces red-coloured juice. Cf. *Dsc. Mat. med.* 3,22,2 (2,28 Wellmann): Δισσὸν δέ ἐστι τοῦ χυλίσματος τὸ εἶδος· τὸ μὲν τι ψαμμῶδες ... τὸ δέ ἐστιν ήπατίζον ... Ἐκλέγον δέ τὴν λυπαράν καὶ ἄλιθον, στίλβουσαν, ὑπόξανθον, εὐθρυπτον καὶ ήπατίζουσαν; *Plin. Nat.* 27,16 (7,398 Jones).

¹² For details concerning the use of aloe as perfume, see below.

¹³ See also I. Andorlini, "Il commercio del croco sulla via di Coptos", in L. Del Francia Barocas (ed.), *Antinoe cent'anni dopo. Catalogo della mostra: Firenze, Palazzo Medici Riccardi, 10 luglio - 1 novembre 1998*, Firenze 1998, 183 (= *BL XI*, 251); H. Cuvigny, "Coptos, plaque tournante du commerce érythréen, et les routes transdésertiques", in P. Ballet et al. (eds.), *Coptos. L'Égypte antique aux portes du désert. Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts 3 février - 7 mai 2000*, Lyon 2000, 172-73. Bibliography on the Coptos' trade post is offered by the editors, V. Bartoletti - G. Bastianini et al., *Papiri greci e latini. Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto. XV*, Firenze 2008, 350.

The reading *ἀλόης Κώης*, that the editors of the drug list *P. Genova* I 15 (= *SB X 10753*; 2nd cent. A.D.), l. 14 recommend, could support the recording of an aloe variety originating from the island of Cos.¹⁴ However, after looking at the image of the papyrus on the back of the volume (tav. X), one could support that *Κώης* is questionable, whereas the reading *καλῆς* could be a better option. Such reading could solve the issue of the unattested aloe variety from Cos in the medical literature, which even the editors admit.¹⁵

Aloe is listed among many other pharmaceutical substances in the pharmacist's list *P. Michael*. 36 (4th-7th cent.), fr. B, l. 3. Unfortunately, the concise nature of the document does not allow us to determine neither the origins nor the use of the substance. The only information with which the papyrus provides us is the high price of aloe: about 2.000.000 *myriads* per ounce (*ἀλόης (οὐγκία) γ (ἥμισυ) (τέταρτον) μυ(ριάδες) ψ*). Aloe is the most expensive substance on the list, but it is not clear whether the high price is a matter of the difficulty of aloe's supply and diffusion or the result of inflation.

The majority of the papyrus texts refer to aloe as a medical substance. The plant is listed in the medical papyri as one of the main ingredients for eye-salves against ophthalmic conditions.¹⁶ The soft texture and the gentle palliative power of its juice made aloe an excellent medicament against conditions that affected one of the most important and sensitive parts of the human body. Aloe, therefore, is the dominant ingredient for eye-salves, as many papyrus *receptaria* confirm: *PSI X 1180* (2nd cent. A.D., Tebtynis), fr. B, c. II, l. 10: *ἀλόης (δραχμή) α*, *SB XVIII 13310* (= *P. Haun*. III 47, 2nd cent. A.D.), l. 9: *ἀλό[ης]*, *SB XVI 13045* (2nd-3rd cent. A.D.), l. 11: *ἀλόης (δραχμή) α*, *GMP I 14* (= *P.Sijp*. 6, 5th cent.), l. 5: *ἀλόης (δραχμή) α*, and the ostracon *O. Bodl.* II 2188 (4th cent.), *verso*, l. 9: *ἀλόη[ς]*, a remedy probably against leucoma (corneal opacity) and staphyloma (cf. ll. 3-4: [. .] *λευκῶ* [. .] [± ?] | [σ]ταφυλω[± ?]).

The conciseness and sententious nature of the medical prescriptions, as well as the damage of the written material, do not allow us to determine the ways aloe was used in the aforementioned *receptaria*. Judging from the information

¹⁴ Cf. the aforementioned testimony of Dioscorides (above n. 7) about the existence of the plant on the island areas of the Aegean.

¹⁵ M. Amelotti - L. Migliardi Zingale, *Papiri dell'Università di Genova (P.Genova)*, Genova 1974, 38 (n. on l. 4).

¹⁶ E.g. *Dsc. Mat. med.* 3,22,5 (2,30 Wellmann); *Plin. Nat.* 27,18 (7,400 Jones).

provided in the literary sources, one could conclude that the writers of the papyri and ostraca refer to the juice or the melted flesh of the aloe leaves, mixed with the other ingredients of the medical blends. During the blending, the viscid and gelatinous texture of the juice gave the mixture its appropriate moisture, while it blended the ingredients together. Such conjugation was necessary chiefly when the mixture did not consist only of plants (e.g. ὄπιον, σμύρνη, καστόριον, ἀκακία, νάρδος, κρόκος, etc.),¹⁷ but also minerals, such as καδμεία (calamine, a zinc oxide)¹⁸ and χαλκός κεκαυμένος (burnt copper).¹⁹

We should also refer to the Greek magical papyrus *Suppl. Mag.* II 94 (5th cent., Antinoopolis), in which one can find thirteen iatromagical prescriptions for various treatments.²⁰ In the second recipe, a formula of dry powder promoting sharpness of sight (l. 4: ξηρίον ὄξυδορκικόν), 2 drachmas of aloe are registered (l. 5). Aloe was to be melted and mixed with other ingredients as the brief directional phrase λιώσας χρω̄ (l. 6) implies.

The therapeutic effectiveness of aloe was not exploited only for eye-treatment. The sands of Egypt preserved papyrus texts, the writers of which listed aloe in prescriptions for plasters.²¹ The recipe for stomach plasters *SB XXVIII 17139* (3rd cent. A.D., Lykopolis), l. 1: Σκευ[ή στομαχ]ικοῦ ἐπιθέματος (*leg. ἐπιθέματος*) τονωτικοῦ, sheds light on the utilisation of aloe in medical ointments.²² After recording the ingredients (ἀλόη, λάδανον, στύραξ, οἰνάνθη,

¹⁷ On these ingredients see e.g. *GMP I* 14; *GMP II* 4 (2nd cent. A.D., Theadelphia); *GMP II* 5 (2nd cent. A.D., Tebtynis).

¹⁸ On καδμεία in the medical papyri see I. Andorlini, "Ricette mediche nei papiri: analisi di ingredienti", in N. Reggiani (ed.), *Isabella Andorlini, πολλά ιατρῶν ἐστι συγγράμματα. I: Scritti sui papiri e la medicina antica*, Firenze 2017, 40-4.

¹⁹ On the use of κεκαυμένος χαλκός in eye-salves see e.g. *PSI X* 1180, fr. B, c. II, l. 7; *GMP I* 13 (2nd cent. A.D., Arsinoite Nome); ll. 1-2; *GMP II* 5, *passim*; *GMP II* 7 (4th-5th cent.), l. 4.

²⁰ For the nature and the contextual interpretations of the iatromagical formularies in the papyri see M. de Haro Sanchez, "Between magic and medicine: The iatromagical formularies and medical receptaries on papyri compared", *ZPE* 195 (2015) 179-89.

²¹ For the use of aloe in the plaster production see Orib. *Syn.* 9,17,11 (*CMG VI.3*, 287 Raeder): αἰμορροΐδας δὲ πλεοναζούσας ἐφίστησιν ἀλόη καταπλασθεΐσα.

²² For the treatment of stomach conditions using aloe cf. *Dsc. Mat. med.* 3,22,3 (2,29 Wellmann): δύναμιν δ' ἔχει στυπτικὴν, ξηραντικὴν, [ύπνωτικὴν] πυκνωτικὴν τῶν σωμάτων κοιλίας τε λυτικὴν καὶ στομάχου ἀποκαθαρτικὴν; *Gal. De comp. med. sec. loc.* 8,2 (13,131 Kühn): ἡ ἀλόη ... τῶν χολωδῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ διαθέσεων ἄριστόν ἐστι φάρμακον. On the plasters used for the stomach healing

μαστίχη, ἀψίνθιον, φοίνικες) and their dosage (ll. 2-8), the preparation directions follow (ll. 9-13): the maker grates the aloe and the mastic and sprinkles the rest of the ingredients soaked in wine a day in advance. The blend becomes a plaster when some nard or quince oil is added (l. 14: καὶ γίνεται ἐνπλαστῶδες; *leg.* ἐμπλαστρῶδες). The same text sheds light on the processing of aloe; the expression τρίβεις καὶ ἐπιπάσις (*leg.* ἐπιπάσσεις) | τὰ ξηρά (ll. 11-12) proves that aloe must have been used dried, a form encountered in the aforementioned prescription for ξηρίον ὀξυδορκικόν, *Suppl. Mag.* II 94, l. 4, and in ancient medical treatises.²³

The mutilated plaster prescription *GMP* I 11 (= *P. Giss. Univ.* IV 45; 1st cent. B.C.)²⁴ refers to aloe being added to a boiling mixture that consists of wax, litharge, and oil. According to the remaining lines of the papyrus text, the mixture was to be boiled until it became thick (l. 15: ὅταν συστρέφηται). After the addition of κηρός and ἀλόη, it was removed from the fire (ll. 15-16: κηρὸ[ν | τὴν ἀλόην, ἄρας ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρός]) and left to restore itself. Since the boiling of the very sensitive aloe leaves could damage the texture of the plant tissue and consequently its therapeutic qualities, aloe must have been added to the hot mixture immediately after it reached its boiling point, if not after its removal from fire; however, the text does not confirm such interpretation.²⁵

The second therapeutic formulation of *MPER* NS XIII 10, 10-21 (5th cent.), that contained aloe, must refer to a remedy administered in liquid form, being either a liquid ointment or – less probable – a drinkable remedy, against abdominal disorders.²⁶ Such interpretation is supported by the term ἱκμάς (ll. 10-11: μαλακὴ ἱκ[μάς πρὸς] | κυλίας; *leg.* κοιλίας), used to describe the wetness of the mixture. In case the remedy was consumed as a potion, the sour taste of

see the notes of the first editor of *SB* XXVIII 17139, J.-L. Fournet, “Un papyrus médical byzantin de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres”, *T&M* 12 (1994) 310.

²³ Cf. Orib. *Syn.* 7,1,10 (*CMG* VI.3, 212 Raeder): ἀλόην ξηρανθείσαν; *Ibid.* 9,34,2 (*CMG* VI.3, 298 Raeder): ἡ ἀλόη φάρμακον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιπαττομένη ξηρὰ χνοώδης; Alex. *Therap.* 7, 6 (2,279 Puschmann): ἀλόης ἡπατίτιδος πεπλωμένης καὶ ξηρανθείσης.

²⁴ See I. Andorlini, *Greek Medical Papyri*, I, Firenze 2001, 121.

²⁵ Andorlini (above n. 24) 128 (n. on ll. 15-16). Cf. Gal. *De comp. med. per gen.* 2,9 (13,510 Kühn): ἐὰν ἦτοι λιβανωτὸν ἢ συμύρναν ἢ ἀλόην λαμβάνη, ταῦτα γὰρ, ὅταν αἴρηται τὸ φάρμακον ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρός, ἐπεμβάλλεσθαι χρὴ μὴ φέροντα τὰς ἐψήσεις.

²⁶ H. Harrauer – P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Medizinische Rezepte und Verwandtes* (*MPER* XIII), Wien 1981, 26.

aloe was likely covered by the softer taste of some other ingredients, such as μαστίχη, ρόδα, οἶνος or μέλι.

The fragmentary nature of some medical papyri makes it difficult to determine the nature of the text in which aloe occurs and consequently the use and therapeutic contribution of the plant. An example of such difficulty is fr. 2 of *P. Ant.* III 128 (5th cent., Antinoopolis), probably an extract from an unidentifiable ancient medical treatise.²⁷ The registration of aloe in fr. 2, *verso*, l. 13, in combination with the reference to rheumatic conditions of the stomach (l. 8: κοιλίας ρευματικαῖ[ς]) and an ointment (ll. 18-19: κηρω[τή]), imply that the fragment refers to the treatment of the abdominal area with cataplasms. This assumption is also supported by the same use of aloe in the aforementioned recipe for stomach plasters *SB XXVIII 17139*, l. 1: Σκευ[ή στομαχ]ικῶ ἐπιθέματος (*leg. ἐπιθέματος*) τονωτικῶ.

Not easy to interpret is the use of aloe and the other ingredients mentioned in the first prescription of *MPER NS XIII 10*, 1-7 (5th cent.). The recording of κρόκος (l. 5: κρόκου [± ?]), a substance usually found in eye-salves, may imply that the remedy was used for eye conditions; however, the inclusion of mastic (l. 7: μαστίχης (οὐγκία) [± ?]) in the medical blend weakens this hypothesis.

The inclusion of aloe in the collection of medical prescriptions *P. Mich.* XVII 758 (4th cent. A.D.) is not certain due to the fragmentariness of the papyrus codex. We are not sure whether the writer of the recipe against lichens, in the *folio D, recto* of the papyrus codex, had recorded ἀλόη or ἄλς ἄμμωνιακόν (l. 13: ἀλ[]). The issue has not been resolved after the examination of literary parallels, in which either salt or aloe was used in similar prescriptions.²⁸

Similarly, very uncertain is the recording of aloe in *SB XXVIII 17142* (= *P. Iand.* V 86; 3rd-2nd cent. B.C.), l. 1: ἀλ. . [± ?]. Contrary to the first editor, who had interpreted the text as a veterinary recipe, Giuseppina Azzarello has suggested that the papyrus fragment probably contains a food shopping list with

²⁷ The text is not related to Περὶ βοηθημάτων of Antyllos (2nd cent. A.D.) mentioned in fr. 1 of the same papyrus. M. Witt, "Ein medizinischer Papyrus mit Kolumnentitel? Bemerkungen zu einem Exzerpt aus Antyllos' περὶ βοηθημάτων im Antinoopolis-Papyrus III 128", *APF* 61 (2015) 53-73. See also the discussion by F. Corazza in her PhD thesis *The Antinoopolis medical papyri: A case study in Late Antique medicine*, Berlin 2016, 28-45.

²⁸ L. C. Youtie, *Michigan Papyri XVII: The Michigan Medical Codex (P. Mich. 758 = P. Mich. inv. 21)*, Atlanta 1996, 31 (n. on ll. 13-14).

the proper amounts required.²⁹ This is the reason why ἀλόη would be a possible –though unlikely enough– supplement for l. 1.

The damage of the papyrus sheet, on which the list of herbal substances SB XX 14501 (= BKT IX 76; 6th cent.) is preserved, does not allow us to determine the exact use of the recipe. The inclusion of aloe (c. II, l. 3: ἀλώα; *leg.* ἀλόη), λιθάργυρος (l. 2), ναρδόσταχυς (l. 7), and κρόκος (l. 10) makes the ophthalmic use of the formula possible. However, the recording of other, aromatic herbs, such as σάνδανον, στύραξ, ἄμωμον,³⁰ makes it possible that the papyrus contains a collection of aromatic recipes. The use of aloe in perfume formulas is also known from the restraining rite for anything PGM VII 429–449, in which aloe (l. 435) is included among other ἀρώματα φαιά (myrrh, bdellium, styrax and thyme). Let us also mention the use of aloe resin as perfume “to make pleasant the smell of the house or of the clothes”, according to the *Papyrus Ebers*.³¹ Although the use of aloe in perfume recipes was common in Antiquity,³² it is quite strange, for aloe is not a fragrant plant. However, the moist and soft texture and the emollient effect of aloe made it appropriate for the production of aromatic ointments or other cosmetic blends which included more fragrant substances.

The main conclusions of this paper could be summarised briefly in the following points:

(a) *The supply of aloe.* Papyri from Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt confirm the information provided by Dioscorides concerning the origins of aloe from the East. Papyrus documents, such as the letter PSI XV 1588 and the

²⁹ G. Azzarello, “P.Iand. V 86: papiro veterinario o culinario?”, in I. Andorlini (ed.), *Testi medici su papiro. Atti del Seminario di Studio. Progetto Corpus dei papiri greci di medicina* (Firenze, 3–4 giugno 2002), Firenze 2004, 251–56.

³⁰ For the recording of these substances in other lists of aromata see e.g. *P. Coll. Youtie* II 86 (3rd–4th cent. A.D.), ll. 1–5: ἀμώμο[υ] λι(τρα) β | κόστου λι(τρα) α | στύρακος λι(τρα) α δ´ | μαστίχη<ς> λι(τρα) α δ´, and the declarations of herb prices by the perfume dealers of Oxyrhynchus *P. Oxy.* LIV 3731 (ca. 310–311 A.D.) and 3733 (25 May 312 A.D.), in which στύραξ, κόστον, μαστίχη and ἄμωμον are recorded.

³¹ Bryan (above n. 8) 164.

³² M. Saiko, *Cura dabit faciem. Kosmetik im Altertum. Literarische, kulturhistorische und medizinische Aspekte* (BAC 66), Trier 2005, 133; A. Lallemand, “Vocabulaire des parfums”, in A. Verbanck-Piérard – N. Massar – D. Frère (eds.), *Parfums de l'Antiquité. La rose et l'encens en Méditerranée*, Mariemont 2008, 51; D'Hautcourt (above n. 9) 318. Cf. also the aforementioned PSI XV 1588 (3rd cent. A.D.) and PSI XII 1264 (4th cent. A.D.), which refer to the import trade of aloe and other aromatic herbs.

account *PSI* XII 1264, provide evidence for the import trade of the therapeutic and aromatic plant via the trade stations of Egypt, and its shipping and handling to the inland area through the river. *O. Trim.* II 826 reveals much about the expansion of the use of aloe even in the Western Desert.

(b) *The processing and usage of therapeutic aloe.* The Greek medical papyri offer information about the processing, the form and the ways to use aloe in Antiquity. Again the papyrological evidence is in concordance with the evidence provided by the medical literature. For the preparation of the remedies, the juice or the melted flesh of the leaves was used. Often the pharmacists used aloe in a dried form (cf. the dry powder eye-salves), while the plaster prescription *GMP* I 11 implies that the plant could be added in a hot mixture. In the majority of the medical prescriptions on papyrus, ostraca and parchment, aloe was part of the remedies used for external use only (eye-salves, ointments or plasters), while in *MPER* NS XIII 10, 10–21 aloe's inclusion in a drinkable remedy is possible. According to most of the papyri, aloe was combined with other medical substances, either herbals or minerals, creating more complex and consequently more effective medical blends.

(c) *The conditions in which aloe was used.* The medical papyri confirm the information derived from the ancient medical treatises concerning the health problems to which aloe was administered. The variety of conditions that aloe could be used as a remedy is widespread indeed. The Greek papyrological sources reveal that the doctors and pharmacologists in Egypt took advantage of aloe's emollient power and used it for the treatment of skin conditions, such as irritation and itchiness, digestive disorders (illnesses of the abdominal area, rheumatic stomach), and eye-conditions.³³ The aforementioned aloe's beneficial effects are still being exploited by the contemporary medical and pharmaceutical science against a wide range of health problems, not much different from those that afflicted the people in Antiquity.

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³³ The fragmentary nature of the papyri that contain ophthalmic remedies makes it difficult to determine the eye-conditions for which aloe could be used, except from leucoma and staphyloma, mentioned in *O. Bodl.* II 2188. However, the great number of the ocular *receptaria*, in which aloe occurs, allows us to support that the plant was used against a wide range of eye problems.

Appendix: List of the Greek papyrological witnesses of aloe

No.	Text	Date	Context
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Greek documentary papyri and ostraca

1	<i>PSI XV 1558</i>	3 rd A.D.	Letter that includes list of imported perfumes
2	<i>PSI XII 1264</i>	4 th A.D.	Account of aroma-pharmaceutical substances
3	<i>O. Trim. II 826</i>	350-370 A.D.	Account of medical ingredients
4	<i>P. Genova I 15</i>	2 nd A.D.	List of drugs
5	<i>P. Michael. 36</i>	4 th -7 th	Pharmacist's list

Greek medical papyri and ostraca

6	<i>PSI X 1180</i>	2 nd A.D.	Ophthalmic <i>receptarium</i>
7	<i>SB XVIII 13310</i>	2 nd A.D.	Eye-salve for unknown condition
8	<i>SB XVI 13045</i>	2 nd -3 rd A.D.	Eye-salve for unknown condition
9	<i>GMP I 14</i>	5 th	Eye-salve for unknown condition
10	<i>O. Bodl. III 2188</i>	4 th A.D.	Eye-salve for leucoma and staphyloma
11	<i>Suppl. Mag. II 94</i>	5 th	Ἐηρόν for sharpness of sight
12	<i>SB XXVIII 17139</i>	3 rd A.D.	Ointment for stomach diseases
13	<i>GMP I 11</i>	1 st B.C.	Boiling ointment
14	<i>MPER NS XIII 10, ll. 10-21</i>	5 th	Liquid ointment (or potion) for abdominal disorders
15	<i>P. Ant. III 128</i>	5 th	Ointment for rheumatic stomach
16	<i>MPER NS XIII 10, ll. 1-7</i>	5 th	Eye-salve (?)

17	<i>P. Mich.</i> XVII 785	4 th	Recipe for lichens (aloe's recording uncertain)
18	<i>SB</i> XXVIII 17142	3 rd -2 nd B.C.	List of goods (prob. not medical). Aloe's recording uncertain
19	<i>SB</i> XX 14501	6 th	Eye-salve or perfume

Greek magical papyri

20	<i>PGM</i> VII 429-449	3 rd A.D.	Aloe in perfume formula in restraining rite for everything
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SOME ELOQUENT IMPERIAL SENATORS¹

OLLI SALOMIES

This article is meant to complement a much more substantial article from 2005 dealing with various aspects of the significance of eloquence for senators active between Augustus and the end of the third century.² In that article, I concentrate on eloquence and on identifying eloquent senators, but I also point out in passing (p. 238ff.) that, although readers of the letters of Pliny and Fronto could get the impression that oratory was regarded as one of the most important preoccupations of Roman senators, they could in fact also be interested in other activities, for instance, in addition e.g. to agriculture,³ pisciculture,⁴ medicine, poetry or law,⁵ in epic and historical writing. In fact, turning to epic or history

¹ Thanks are due to two anonymous referees of this article.

² Salomies 2005. This publication was the result of a colloquium arranged by the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* which takes into account persons active between Augustus and the end of the third century, this accordingly being also the period discussed by me.

³ Cf. Salomies 2005, 238 n. 45 on the consul of 108, Pompeius Falco, who devoted his time to arboriculture; H. Niquet, ‘The Ideal of the Senatorial Agriculturist and Reality during Roman Republic and Empire (*sic*)’, in K. Pollmann (ed.), *Double Standards in the Ancient and Medieval World* (GFA - Beihefte 1, 2000) 121–33.

⁴ Cf. the senator Demostratus, an authority on fishes who is referred to a few times by Aelian in books thirteen and fifteen (see *PIR*² D 49), surely identical with C. Claudius Titianus Demostratus from Ephesus, proconsul of Crete and Cyrenae in AD 161 (*PIR*² C 1044).

⁵ On senators (and emperors – cf. the future emperor Nerva being compared to Tibullus, Mart. 8,70) writing poetry including tragedy and comedy see Stein-Hölkenskap 2011, 184f. Note that according to Gallia 2012, 149, 173f., 176, some eloquent men may have turned their attention from oratory to poetry, as poetry was “an antidote to the demanding labors of public business” (p. 178); cf., however, Künzer 2016, 284f. n. 149. As for law, cf. e.g. the observations by Eck 2012, 174f. and 177 on P. Salvius Iulianus, ordinary consul in 148, and in general on the literary activities of Roman jurists, D. Mantovani, *Les juristes écrivains de la Rome antique : les oeuvres des juristes comme littérature* (2018).

may well have been considered by many as the highest goal of a senator with literary and/or scholarly interests, for in the case of some prominent senators it is attested that they abandoned eloquence and rhetoric in order to be able to concentrate on the writing of epic or history.⁶ Be that as it may, in addition to observations on aspects of senatorial eloquence in general, my 2005 article also includes (on p. 251–59) a list of senators attested, in one way or another, as having been regarded as eloquent,⁷ and on p. 260 a list of some senators attested

⁶ See Salomies 2005 p. 240 nn. 56 and 62 on Silius Italicus and Servilius Nonianus. Cf. on Nonianus Stein-Hölkeskamp 2011, 183, on Silius Italicus *ibid.* 186.

⁷ Addenda and corrigenda to the list: Avidius Nigrinus is there (p. 253) said to have spoken *presse* etc. (Plin. 5,20,6) as tribune of the plebs, but in fact Nigrinus is simply said by Pliny in his description of the trial of Rufius Varenus (cf. n. 8) to have spoken *presse graviter ornate* against Rufius. In the case of Catus Fronto (registered on p. 253, with quotes from Pliny) the passage in Martial 1,55,2, where an obviously senatorial Fronto, perhaps Catus Fronto (thus Bablitz 2009, 202; but cf. J. Fernández Valverde in Moreno Soldevila & al. 2019, 239f.), is described as *clarum militiae ... togaeque decus* also seems relevant. For another reference to a senator's success both as a soldier and in the *toga* see below at n. 28 on Q. Iunius Blaesus, and for the *toga* 'as the symbol of peacetime or civilian occupation, esp. in ref. to forensic activity' see *OLD* s. v. *toga* 4(a). For the reference to M. Cornelius Fronto as *orator* in *ILS* 1149 cf. Eck 2012, 180f. As for L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus (the sources for his eloquence being cited in n. 42; cf. on this person N. Hächler, *Kontinuität und Wandel des Senatorenstandes im Zeitalter der Soldatenkaiser* [2019] 409–15, 415f., 684f.), there is a new inscription in his honour from Athens, once again referring to him as ῥήτωρ (and set up by a man calling himself ῥήτωρ): D. Sourlas, in C. F. Noreña – N. Papazarkadas (eds.), *From Document to History. Epigraphic Insights into the Greco-Roman World* (2019) 399 A. Ἐγνάτ(ιον) Οὐκίτορα Λολλιανὸν τὸν λαμπρότατον ὑπατικόν, τὸν πρώτιστον τῶν δέκα ῥήτορα etc. Sourlas p. 401 translates this as 'the foremost orator amongst the ten (orators)' and observes that the phrase 'probably refers, retrospectively and somewhat misleadingly, to the ten canonical orators of Classical Athens'. The man who set up the inscription, M. Ulpius Asclepiades Eurytidas, apparently thought that Lollianus could be accorded a place within this venerable group (one wonders at whose expense this could have happened), unless he was just trying to say that Lollianus was even better than the rest. As for Vitorius Marcellus, I should have quoted (on p. 259) not only Statius, *Silvae* 4,4,43ff., but also lines 64f., *nec enim tibi sola potentis / eloquii virtus* (a reference to Marcellus' *membra accommoda bellis* follows). Note finally that C. Sosius, consul in 32 BC, but attested as *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* in 17 BC (*PIR*² S 776), could perhaps have been added to the list of senatorial *declamatores* (p. 260f.; cf. now for this category of men Roller 2011, 217–19), as he is attested as having been present in the *schola* of a certain Corvus (*PIR*² C 1521), a *retor*, listening to this person's declamation of a *controversia* on a woman *quae apud matronas disserebat liberos non esse tollendos et ob hoc accusatur rei publicae laesae* (Sen *suas.* 2,21; note that this particular episode is not registered in the *PIR* article on Sosius, which does mention the passage, but from another point of view). Cf. in general also Eck 2012, 181ff. with observations on C. Sallius Aristaenetus, the three Postumii (registered by me on p. 259), M. Caecilius Novatillianus, Ti.

as advocates, some names in which list I should perhaps have added to the preceding list.⁸ The modest, and only, aim of this article is to add a few names to the 2005 list of orators⁹ and to illustrate for its part the 'intellectual' activities of senators, and thus Roman intellectual history in general. As this article consists of a number of observations which are not interconnected, it cannot be furnished with concluding remarks, as there are no general conclusions that offer themselves. The inspiration for the compilation of the notes that follow has been provided by my observation of the presence of *Calliepius*, a *signum*, in the nomenclature of P. Cornelius Saecularis, consul for the second time in 260, this surely being relevant for the illustration of the personality of the consul (cf. below).

After (or in the case of Balbo 2004 just preceding) the publication of my 2005 article, some work relevant from my point of view has been published (for some instances see the bibliography), notably, in addition to Eck 2012, 178ff., the two volumes by Andrea Balbo containing the fragments of Augustan and Tiberian orators, with *testimonia*, biographical notes and commentaries (Balbo 2004 and 2007, the individual orators only in the latter volume being numbered). The volumes have been of great use in the compilation of this article, as many, if not most, of the orators in Balbo are senators. It must, however, be stressed that

Claudius Aristocles, L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus.

⁸ Thus in the case of Rufius Varenus (see *PIR*² V 261 and *AE* 2012, 1419 for Varenus' nomenclature and for the date of the proconsulate of Bithynia in 103), for the fact that Pliny (5,20,1) tells us that the Bithynians had asked Varenus to act as their advocate in their accusation of Iulius Bassus (*Varenum, quem nuper adversus Bassum advocatum et postularant et acceperant*; for other instances of provinces contacting directly advocates in Rome see Bablitz 2009, 199 n. 10) seems to imply that he was regarded as an able, and thus probably eloquent, advocate. The fact that the Bithynians turned to Varenus cannot be explained simply by the fact that he had been proconsul of Bithynia and was thus known in the province, for the trial of Iulius Bassus surely precedes Varenus' proconsulate in 103 (in *PIR* the trial is dated 'paulo ante a. 103'). However, although Varenus had accepted (cf. above), something may have happened, for, as pointed out by Bablitz 2009, 198 n. 7, there is no trace of Varenus in Pliny's description of the trial itself (4,9).

⁹ I have not added Plotius Grypus, described in the early nineties as an orator in Statius, *Silvae* 4,9,15f., thought by some scholars to have been the son of D. Plotius Grypus, suffect consul in 88 (*PIR*² P 506) and thus a senator, for the offices mentioned by Statius (ibid. 16ff.) point to an equestrian, a fact not altogether convincingly explained away by F. Bérard, *MEFRA* 96 (1984) 259–306, and Grypus is registered as a knight in *PIR*² P 505. According to W. Eck, *Chiron* 5 (1975) 383, Grypus may have been the elder Grypus' nephew, i.e. the son of an equestrian brother of the elder Grypus.

many of the orators in Balbo have been registered as such by the author simply because they are attested as having spoken in the senate,¹⁰ something which senators present at senate meetings were in any case expected to do,¹¹ with no evidence of them having been regarded as eloquent speakers.¹² These senators, and some senators recorded by Balbo for other reasons,¹³ accordingly do not appear in my lists, as my only aim has been to register senators described in one way or another (cf. below) as corresponding to the ideal of the eloquent orator. On the other hand, my list and Balbo's catalogue of orators evidently overlap in the case of Augustan or Tiberian senators attested as eloquent speakers for whose performance as orators there is some actual evidence, i.e. fragments that can be registered.¹⁴ As for the definition of 'eloquent' and 'eloquence', I do not, as

¹⁰ Cf. Balbo 2007, p. XVII: the book includes persons 'per i quali sia attestata in maniera sufficientemente convincente l'attività effettiva nel foro, in Senato o nel tribunale centumvirale'.

¹¹ For the procedure of senate meetings, with various references to senators taking the floor, see R. J. A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (1984) 221–89.

¹² Note one of the speakers in the *Dialogus* of Tacitus saying (in 36,7) that in the past – this meaning the Ciceronian period – it was expected of a senator expressing his *sententia* that he spoke *ingenio et eloquentia*, the reference to the past apparently implying that speaking *ingenio et eloquentia* may have become more rare in the later first century AD.

¹³ Senators in Balbo who are only attested as having spoken in the senate and thus are not, or at least not necessarily, to be identified as orators in the Ciceronian and Quintilianian sense: e.g. M. Aemilius Lepidus (consul in AD 6, Balbo 2007, 225–34 no. 11); L. Caninius Gallus (consul in 2 BC, Balbo 2007, 26–29 no. 3); D. Haterius Agrippa (consul in AD 22, Balbo 2007, 328–32 no. 24); M. Papius Mutilus (consul in AD 9, Balbo 2007, 508 no. 45); Q. Veranius the Elder (Balbo 2007, 511 no. 48). For senators listed by Balbo for some other reason but not necessarily to be classified as orators note M. Aemilius Lepidus (consul in AD 11, Balbo 2007, 521 no. 54), attested as having defended his sister Lepida in her trial in AD 20, something which does not necessarily imply that Lepidus was regarded as an excellent speaker; Caepio Crispinus (quaestor in Bithynia, Balbo 2007, 479–84 no. 39), attested as having accused his superior, the proconsul, and thus a *delator* rather than necessarily an orator. The reasons for the presence in Balbo of P. Sulpicius Quirinius (consul in 12 BC, Balbo 2007, 519f. no. 53) are not altogether clear to me. Finally, there are some orators who seem to have been active only before Augustus, e.g. L. Cornificius (consul in 35 BC, Balbo 2004, 85–8 and Velleius Capito (Balbo 2004, 89f.).

¹⁴ Mam. Aemilius Scaurus (p. 252): Balbo 2007, 309–20 no. 22; L. Arruntius (p. 252): Balbo 2007, 235–46 no. 12; C. Asinius Gallus (p. 252): Balbo 2007, 175–206 no. 7; M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus (p. 252): Balbo 2007, 321–27 no. 23; M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus (p. 253): Balbo 2007, 517 no. 51; Cn. Domitius Afer (p. 254): Balbo 2007, 405–46 no. 33; Paullus Fabius Maximus (p. 255): Balbo 2004, 147–55; L. Fulcinus Trio (p. 255): Balbo 2007, 359–65 no. 29; Q. Haterius (p. 255): Balbo

mentioned above, regard the fact that someone who is simply attested as having spoken in the senate or at a trial or at some other occasion is evidence of this particular person's eloquence; and the same goes for persons known only as *delatores*. In order to be ranked as an *orator* in the Ciceronian and Quintilianian sense, a person's performance as a speaker needs to be assessed in a positive and complimentary way in our sources ('speaking' being sometimes referred to as appearing in the *forum*, the natural setting of an eloquent man, or as dressed in a *toga*, in order to establish a contrast between the speaker and the military man); or one has to be identified as an *orator* (cf. C. Furnius, below) or as a person equipped with *eloquentia* (cf. C. Sulpicius Galba, below). But there are also some other ways of identifying an eloquent senator; cf. below on P. Cornelius Saecularis.

As in Salomies 2005, I have not considered emperors¹⁵ who cannot be seen as representing the category of normal senators, with the exception perhaps of the emperors of AD 68–69 who managed to reign for only a few months.¹⁶ For some addenda and corrigenda to my 2005 article, see notes 7 and 8.

C. Asinius Pollio (*PIR*² A 1241, consul in 40 BC). Born around 76/5 BC, Pollio, known in addition to other activities also as an orator, started his oratorical career long before Augustus and can thus be referred to as a Republican orator (thus E. Malcovati, *Oratorum romanorum fragmenta liberae rei publicae* [1976⁴] 516–26 no. 174). However, he died only in AD 5 and could thus, although not appearing in Balbo 2004, surely be described as an orator of the Augustan age as well. Note Malcovati's fragments III, IV, V, VII, VIII, dated between 'post a. 29' and 9 BC, and e.g. the mention of Pollio's activities both as advocate and as

2007, 3–22 no. 1; Iunius Gallio (p. 256): Balbo 2007, 247–53 no. 13; D. Laelius Balbus (p. 256): Balbo 2007, 489–95 no. 41; M. Iunius Silanus (p. 256): Balbo 2007, 280–83 no. 18; Sex. Pompeius (p. 257): Balbo 2007, 275–79 no. 17; C. Sallustius Crispus Passienus (p. 258): Balbo 2007, 395–404 no. 32; M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus (p. 258f.): Balbo 2007, 207–15 no. 8; Q. Varius Geminus (p. 259): Balbo 2004, 187–200; L. Vinicius (p. 259): Balbo 2004, 141–46; M. Vinicius (p. 259): Balbo 2007, 518 no. 52; P. Vinicius (p. 259): Balbo 2007, 219–24 no. 10; P. Vitellius (p. 259): Balbo 2007, 366–73 no. 30.

¹⁵ On the subject of the eloquence of Roman emperors cf. Fleury 2019 and references there.

¹⁶ As for Vitellius, note that his speech, once he had arrived in Rome, was magnificent (Tac. *hist.* 2,90,1 *magnificam orationem de semet ipso prompsit*); Otho, on the other hand, was assumed to rely in speaking on the eloquence of Galerius Trachalus (cf. Salomies 2005, n. 35).

a speaker in the senate in Horace, *carm.* 2,1,13f.¹⁷ and the reference in Tac. *dial.* 38,2 to Pollio, speaking *mediis divi Augusti temporibus*, as the only *magnus orator* whose speech in a centumviral court, namely that held *pro heredibus Urbiniae* (a famous case), is still read.¹⁸

P. Cornelius Saecularis (*PIR*² C 1432 and *PLRE* I Saecularis, consul II in 260). The original reading of *IRT* 687, the inscription of a statue base from Lepcis Magna (of which only the upper part has been preserved) and dated in *IRT* on the basis of the letter forms to the third century, is *Calliepi. / P. Cornelio / Saec[--- / ---]*, with the reading of the letters *AEC* in l. 3 being described as uncertain.¹⁹ In spite of this, the honorand was identified with P. Cornelius Saecularis, consul for the second time in AD 260, by H.-G. Pflaum, *BACTH* n.s. 6 (1970) 226f. = Id., *Afrique romaine. Scripta varia* I (1978) 346f. no. III, who in the establishment of the approximate date of the inscription also adduced the presence of the *signum*, inscribed on the margin above the panel with the inscription proper beginning in line 2. But the reading of l. 3 is in fact *Saeculari*, for one can discern at least the upper parts of all the letters in this line in the photos of the inscription available in *IRT*, in I. Tantillo – F. Bigi (eds.), *Leptis Magna. Una città e le sue iscrizioni in epoca tardoromana* (2010) 436 no. 61, in the Heidelberg epigraphical database (HD059538, by F. Bigi) and also in the Clauss-Slaby database (EDCS-06000678); that this is the consul II of 260 thus seems practically certain. As *Calliepius* is an extremely rare *signum*, being apparently attested only in the inscription from Lepcis and in a recently published inscription on a statue base from Rome (I. Tantillo, *Epigraphica* 74 [2012] 383–85 no. 1 = *AE* 2012, 207 = EDR129360: *Calliepi / [[---]]*, with the *signum* inscribed in the upper margin and the rest erased), it seems more than probable, as seen by Tantillo, that this latter

¹⁷ *Insigne maestis praesidium reis / et consulenti, Pollio, curiae.* (As for the *maesti rei*, according to S. Harrison, *Horace. Odes Book II* [2017] 51 Pollio “is here praised for the benevolence of his defences”, but I think that Horace is simply saying that Pollio has acted as a defence lawyer, for it is normal to describe a *reus* as aggrieved and afflicted.)

¹⁸ This is confirmed by the quotations of the speech in Quintilian (4,1,11; 7,2,4f.; 7,2,26f.; 9,3,13; these passages are registered in Balbo 2004 under T. Labienus, Pollio’s opponent in the case, p. 210–14 as fragments 26, 27, 28, 30). Cf. on Pollio also Bablitz 2007, 151.

¹⁹ The same reading is repeated in the online version from 2009 (<http://inslib.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT687.html>).

inscription must also be ascribed to the consul Saecularis.²⁰ As for the *signum* (a nickname of sorts) *Calliepius*, known to I. Kajanto from *IRT* and thought by him to be in need of emendation,²¹ Pflaum pointed out that it must be derived from καλλιεπής ‘elegant in diction’, ‘speaking well’, and that this *signum* ‘a dû faire allusion aux dons d’orateur’ of Saecularis. As this is evidently the correct interpretation of the *signum*, it follows that Saecularis can most probably be added not only to the list of senatorial orators of the first three centuries of the Empire but surely also to the list of ‘intellectuals’, these including the philosopher Plotinus, active under the emperor Gallienus, known for his interest in the liberal arts and according to the author of the *Historia Augusta* himself celebrated for his oratory and his poetry and for ‘all arts’ in general: *Fuit enim Gallienus, quod negari non potest, oratione, poemate atque omnibus artibus clarus* (*HA Gall.* 11,6, cf. *tam inter poetas quam inter rhetores emicuit* *ibid.* § 9).²³ The fact that Saecularis was accorded the distinction of holding a second consulate is since E. Groag’s article in *PIR*² (1936) normally explained by assuming that he was a relative of the empress Cornelia Salonina, Gallienus’ wife; this proximity to Gallienus may also be the reason for the inscription from Rome in his honour having been erased after the death of the emperor.²⁴

²⁰ Cf. M. Giovagnoli – D. Nonnis, in M. L. Caldelli – G. L. Gregori (eds.), *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio, 30 anni dopo* (Tituli 10, 2014) 218.

²¹ I. Kajanto, *Supernomina. A Study in Latin Epigraphy* (1966) 78, suggesting the emendation of the name to Καλλιόπιος.

²² This refers to the fact that the author is most critical of Gallienus and thus reluctant to admit that the emperor might have been good at something; however, oratory and poetry are not activities an emperor should be concentrating on (11,9 *sed aliud in imperatore quaeritur, aliud in oratore vel poeta flagitatur*).

²³ For other relevant details, including the quotation of an epithalamium by Gallienus himself, see the whole passage 11,3–9; and e.g. A. Alföldi, *Studien zur Geschichte der Reichskrise des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus* (1967) 257f. (with a list of some ‘intellectuals’ of this period); L. De Blois, *The Policy of the Emperor Gallienus* (1976) 145–47, cf. his ch. 5 on “The Gallienic Renaissance” in the plastic arts; M. Geiger, *Gallienus* (2013), ch. 7 (p. 256–75) on the “Philhellenentum des Gallienus”, with section 7.4 (p. 268ff.) on the “Beziehungen des Kaisers zu Plotin”.

²⁴ Cf. Tantillo p. 385, according to whom the erasion of the name (except for the *signum*) “potrebbe esser dovuta alla parentela di Saecularis con la famiglia di Gallieno, il cui nome è talora oggetto di *damnatio* anche a Roma (vd. *CIL* VI, 1107)”. For Cornelius Saecularis in general see M. Christol, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* (n. 20) 143–57, who thinks that Saecularis may have been the son of P. Cornelius Anullinus, a Spaniard, consul ordinarius in 216, and that he may have been born around

C. Furnius (*PIR*² F 591, consul in 17 BC; addressed by Horace as *candide Furni* in *sat.* 1,10,86). He and his father, C. Furnius, tribune of the plebs in 50 BC (*PIR*² F 590; E. Malcovati, *Oratorum romanorum fragmenta liberae rei publicae* [1976⁴] 451–52 no. 151²⁵), are described as orators in the chronicle of Jerome (Hieron., *chron.* p. 159 ed. Helm): *Furnii pater et filius clari oratores habentur. Quorum filius consularis ante patrem moritur*. Jerome assigns the date 37 BC to the two Furnii, and book 1 of Horace’s *Satires*, where Furnius seems to be described as an intellectual of sorts,²⁶ was published before Actium, but since Furnius was certainly alive in 17 BC, I think it would be not be too bold to add him to the list of Augustan orators.

Herennius Senecio (*PIR*² H 128, quaestor in Baetica, killed by the emperor Domitian in AD 93). Known especially for his biography of Helvidius Priscus the Stoic philosopher (for which he was executed), but references to him in Pliny the Younger seem to point to the fact that Senecio was considered an orator as well. He defended the absent Valerius Licinianus (accused of *incestum* with a Vestal) in the presence of Domitian, calling himself Licinianus’ *advocatus* who had, because Licinianus had in the meantime confessed, become the *nuntius* of Licinianus’ confession (Plin. *epist.* 4,11,12 *ex advocato nuntius factus sum*). When Baebius Massa was accused of extortion by the province of Baetica, the senate appointed Senecio, together with Pliny, as the provincials’ advocate (*epist.* 7,33,4 *dederat me senatus cum Herennio Senecione advocatum provinciae Baeticae contra Baebium Massam*; both are referred to as advocates also in § 5 and Senecio also in § 7, in a quote from Massa himself). This passage is, however, not necessarily a testimony to Senecio’s oratorical qualities, for the fact that Senecio was from Baetica²⁷ and had been the provincial quaestor there and thus

the time of Septimius Severus’ *ludi saeculares* in AD 204, this providing the inspiration for the cognomen. The same author places Saecularis’ first consulate in the time of the emperor Maximinus and discusses the possibilities of explaining the inscription from Lepcis the existence of which does not necessarily mean that Saecularis had been proconsul of Africa.

²⁵ Cf. esp. Plut. *Ant.* 58,6 Φουρνίου ... ὃς ἦν ἀξιώματος μεγάλου καὶ δεινότατος εἰπεῖν Ῥωμαίων.

²⁶ The interpretations of *candidus* cited in the commentary of E. Gowers, *Horace. Satires Book I* (2012) *ad loc.* (with some errors) do not seem very helpful (the claim of the Cruquian scholiast that Furnius was a historian noted for his honesty and elegance is surely an invention).

²⁷ Cf. below; and A. Caballos Rufino, *Los senadores hispanorromanos y la romanización de Hispania* (1990) 155–56 no. 83.

had a *necessitudo* with the province may have played a role in the senate's choice of him alongside the experienced orator Pliny (cf. § 5 for Senecio saying *ipse et natus ibi et quaestor in ea fui*, preceded by the observation that Pliny himself did not have the same kind of *necessitudo* with the province). In any case, it is surely worth observing here that Senecio is also attested as a critic of oratory, for he is quoted with approval in *epist.* 4,7,5 on Aquillius Regulus' eloquence, Regulus being described, with a little twist added to Cato's famous dictum, '*orator est vir malus dicendi imperitus*'; after Senecio's death this led to Regulus' attack on him, *epist.* 1,5,3.

Q. Iunius Blaesus (*PIR*² I 738, suffect consul in AD 10). As legate of Pannonia in AD 14, Blaesus had to suppress the mutiny of the legions stationed there. In addressing the soldiers, Blaesus spoke *multa dicendi arte*²⁸ (*Tac. ann.* 1,19,2, the passage also including quotations, partly in indirect speech, from Blaesus' speech). Blaesus' role in suppressing the mutiny is also referred to by Velleius who describes him (in the ablative) as *viro nescias utiliore in castris an meliore in toga* (*Vell.* 2,125,5), where I think that *in toga*, as opposed to *in castris* which is obviously a reference to Blaesus' military merits, could be understood as a reference to his eloquence; cf. the description *clarum militiae ... togaeque decus* of (probably) the celebrated orator Catius Fronto (above n. 7, with a reference also to the interpretation of *toga*).

P. Martius Verus (*PIR*² M 348, suffect consul in 166 and again as *consul ordinarius* in 179, perhaps from Tolosa in Aquitania²⁹). Reporting on Verus' activities as legate of Cappadocia between 172 and 175, Dio offers a brief description of the man, said to be not only an excellent general but also a most convincing and persuasive speaker, whatever he did or said being characterised by charm (*χάρις*): *χάρις τε ἦν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πρασσομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ λεγομένοις*, *Dio* 71,3,1). Verus can thus surely be added to the list of eloquent senators.

²⁸ F. D. R. Goodyear, *The Annals of Tacitus. Books 1–6* (1972) 211 thinks that *multa dicendi arte* does not define the verb *ait* but Blaesus himself (this being an 'ablative unattached to a common noun'), the result being that Tacitus described Blaesus as eloquent in general rather than only at this particular moment. Blaesus remains in any case a person that Tacitus described as eloquent.

²⁹ Thus G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* (1977) 317; P. M. M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander* (1989) 362.

?(Cn.?) Pedanius Fuscus Salinator (*PIR*² P 199, suffect consul around AD 84). A certain Fuscus is addressed by Martial in epigram 7,28 with references to Tartessian oil-presses (*Tartesiaca ... trapeta*) and to Fuscus' villa in Tibur, both items pointing to the conclusion that the man was from Spain.³⁰ Moreover, the way he is described by Martial (cf. below) clearly implies that he is a senator, and accordingly he is normally and plausibly identified with the Flavian senator and consul Pedanius Fuscus Salinator who appears to have been from, or at least to have had close connections to, Barcino in Hispania Tarraconensis.³¹ In lines 5f. of the epigram Martial writes *sic fora mirentur, sic te Palatia laudent, / excolat et geminas plurima palma fores* (the subjunctive here expressing a wish), in the Loeb volume of 1993 by D. R. Shackleton Bailey translated as 'so may the Forums³² admire you and the Palace praise you, and many a palm deck your twin doors'. In such a context, the term *forum* indicates the normal sphere of activity of the advocate,³³ and the *plurima palma* fixed to the front door indicates a forensic victory;³⁴ taking into account also the mention of the imperial residence on the Palatine, it seems obvious that this Fuscus 'is not a mere *causidicus* ..., but

³⁰ For Tibur as a place where upper-class Spaniards congregated see R. Syme, 'Spaniards at Tivoli', *Anc. Soc.* 13–14 (1982–3) 241–63 = Id., *Roman Papers* IV (1988) 94–114; on the probable identity of Fuscus with Pedanius Fuscus see p. 255 = 107, where Syme observes that the epithet 'Tartessian', 'although appertaining to Baetica, may merely stand for 'Spanish'.

³¹ For Barcino see P. Le Roux, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio II* (*Tituli* 5, 1982) 448f. (cf., on the senatorial Pedanii in general, F. Chausson, *Epigraphica* 75 [2013] 167–86, who thinks that the connections of the Pedanii with Barcino may not necessarily mean that Barcino was their *patria*), and for the identification of Martial's Fuscus with the senator Fuscus Salinator see R. Syme (n. 30) and the scholars cited in *PIR*, by R. Nauta in W. Eck – M. Heil (eds.), *Senatores populi Romani. Realität und mediale Präsentation einer Führungsschicht* (HABES 40, 2005) 217, and in J. Fernández Valverde in Moreno Soldevila & al. 2019, 242 Fuscus 1 (where, however, the identification with Pedanius Fuscus is because of the common cognomen said to remain uncertain). In the inadequate *PIR* article on Martial's Fuscus (*PIR*² F 599 by A. Stein) the man is only said to have been 'causidicus ut videtur clarus'. This Fuscus is not mentioned in E. D. Augenti, *Gente dell'antica Roma. Personaggi dagli Epigrammi di M. Valerio Marziale* (2017).

³² In his note on this passage, Shackleton Bailey explains *fora* as 'the law courts', but the singular 'the forum' would surely be more correct, as *forum* is the general expression for the field of activity of the orator (see n. 33) and as Martial uses the plural *fora* only for metrical reasons.

³³ Cf. *TLL* VI 1, 1204, 33ff. ('saepissime hoc vocabulo variis modis denotatur officium oratoris vel iudicis in causis publicis vel privatis'), with references also to relevant passages cited on p. 1199.

³⁴ See E. Courtney, *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal* (1980, repr. 2013) p. 319 on *Iuv. sat.* 7,118 with references.

of high quality as a public speaker' (R. Syme, see n. 30) or, in the words of R. Nauta (n. 31), 'ein angesehener, auch vom Kaiser favorisierter Redner', and the conclusion that we are dealing with a man of senatorial status seems inevitable.

L. Rutilius Pudens Crispinus (*PIR*² R 257;³⁵ consul around AD 235). In his narration of the siege of Aquileia by the emperor Maximinus in AD 238, Herodian (8,3,4ff.) tells us that Crispinus, as a consular sent by the senate to Aquileia, spoke to the people (part of the speech being 'quoted') in order to persuade the Aquileians to resist the invitation of the emperor for them to surrender, and that he did succeed in this. In addition to being a man who commanded respect (αἰδέσιμος), Crispinus is described by Herodian (8,3,7) as fluent in his speech when speaking Latin (ἐν ... τῇ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ εὐπρόσφορος ἐν λόγοις; his Greek may have been less impressive). Herodian thus clearly wishes to convey the impression that Crispinus was an eloquent orator, a personality commanding respect also being a prerequisite of the successful speaker.

P. Suillius Rufus (*PIR*² S 970, suffect consul in AD 41, or perhaps 44 or 45). An unpleasant character, Suillius Rufus was known especially as an *accusator*,³⁶ but from the narration of the prosecution, apparently instigated by Seneca, of Rufus in AD 58 in Tacitus (13,42)³⁷ it emerges that among other charges Rufus was accused of having received money for acting as advocate. In the same passage Rufus himself is quoted as attacking Seneca, said by Rufus to be familiar only with 'idle studies and with the ignorance of youths' and for being envious of persons who 'practised vigorous and uncorrupted eloquence in defending citizens', Rufus himself undoubtedly being meant to be included in this category of men. The fact that Rufus had been able to act as advocate, and not only that but indeed for profit, and furthermore that he clearly considered himself a speaker of some note, surely allows us to register him as an imperial orator.

³⁵ The praenomen is now attested in *CIL* II² 14. 2. 1, 992a from Tarraco.

³⁶ Rivière 2002, 545f. no. 70, cf. the index p. 593 for the mentions of Suillius throughout the book.

³⁷ *Eius* (i.e. Rufus) *opprimendi gratia repetitum credebatur senatus consultum poenaeque Cinciae legis adversum eos, qui pretio causas oravissent. Nec Suillius questu aut exprobratione abstinebat, ... Senecam increpans infensum amicis Claudii ... ; simul studiis inertibus et iuvenum imperitiae suetum vivere iis, qui vividam et incorruptam eloquentiam tuendis civibus exercerent.*

C. Sulpicius Galba (*PIR*² S 999, suffect consul in 5 BC; Balbo 2004, 135–40), father of the emperor, was according to Suetonius (*Galba* 3,6) short and hump-backed and only moderately talented in speaking, but did plead causes ‘industriously’;³⁸ Galba’s *habitus corporis* is seen as a problem also by Macrobius, but in Macrobius, who seems to have used a source not identical with Suetonius, this Galba was *eloquentia clarus* (*sat.* 2,6,3).³⁹ In another passage (*sat.* 2,4,8, not in Balbo 2004), Macrobius has Galba pleading a cause before Augustus, but we seem to be dealing with a declamation or an exercise of sorts, as Galba is reported to have asked Augustus to correct any faults he may notice in Galba’s delivery (another joke on Galba’s appearance follows).⁴⁰ In any case, Balbo is clearly right in placing Galba among the Augustan orators.

M. Vipsanius Agrippa (*PIR*² V 674, consul in 37, 38, 27 BC; Balbo 2004, 71–83). References to Agrippa’s oratorical activities have been registered in Balbo (esp. F 9 = *Sen. contr.* 2,4,13f. and F 10 = *Plin. nat.* 35,26) and not being exactly datable and thus possibly from a period preceding Augustus do not need to be repeated here.

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³⁸ Suet. *Galba* 3,6 *quamquam brevi corpore atque etiam gibber modicaeque in dicendo facultatis causas industrie acitavit.*

³⁹ *In Galbam eloquentia clarum, sed quem habitus, ut supra dixi, corporis destruebat, M. Lollii vox circumferebatur* (the *vox* being a joke on Galba’s appearance); *supra* refers to *informe gibbo erat corpus* in *sat.* 2,4,8.

⁴⁰ *Galbae ... agenti apud se causam et frequenter dicenti 'corrigere, in me si quid reprehendis', respondit* (Augustus): *'Ego te monere possum, corrigere non possum.'*

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ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

331. NEUE NAMEN

Diesmal wieder nur eine kleine Nachlese.¹

Abonianus: Kajanto 139 mit einem Beleg aus Aeclanum. Dazu *IL Afr* 304 (prov. proc.) *decurionatus Consi F[e]l[icis(?) A]boniani*. Da der Vater [---]nanius *Abonius* heißt, scheint die Ergänzung [A]bonianus ansprechend (und die anderen Cognomina auf *-bonius* sind gleichermaßen selten); in dem Falle hätte der Vater einen Gentilnamen (als Gentilicium ist *Abonius* einigermaßen bekannt, auch in Africa) in der Funktion des Cognomens getragen, sofern es sich nicht um epichorisches Namengut handelt.²

Agilis f.: Kajanto 248 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 15175 (Sklavin); *AE* 1994, 866 (Emerita); *Epigraphica* 81 (2019) 565–594 (Mutina, Freigelassene). Vgl. unten S. 254).

Antio: Der Name fehlt bei Kajanto, ist aber des Öfteren inschriftlich belegt. Dabei ist aber schwierig zu entscheiden, ob ein lateinisches Cognomen vorliegt oder ob wir es mit dem im römischen Westen einigermaßen bekannten griechischen Namen *Anthio* zu tun haben.³ Gelegentlich mag die griechische

¹ Mein Dank geht an Ekkehard Weber für die Durchsicht meines deutschen Stils. Olli Salomies und Mika Kajava haben meinen Text durchgesehen und einiges verbessert.

² K. Jongeling, *North African Names from Latin Sources*, Leiden 1994, 2 (vgl. auch 4 zu *Abonius*) vermutet, freilich mit Vorbehalt, in *Abbonius -ia* einen punischen Namen, vergleicht aber auch zu lat. *bonus*. Da aber ein Gentilname *Abonius* existiert, belegt sowohl außerhalb von Africa als auch in Africa, würde man doch den Ausgangspunkt von *Abonianus* in ihm sehen.

³ Man sieht die Schwierigkeit der Entscheidung auch darin, dass sich in mein griechisches Namenbuch 1160, wo *Anthio* 6mal belegt ist, ein paar Belege ohne *h* eingeschlichen haben: *CIL* VI 36581 und *AE* 1996, 131 (Rom, spät, circa 4. Jh.) *Antioni*. – Vidman im Cognominaindex von *CIL* VI

Endung *-on* eine griechische Zuweisung empfehlen: *CIL* VI 7024 (2./3. Jh.) *Antion Feliciae coniugi*. In folgenden Fällen aber, in denen der Name ohne *h* geschrieben ist, gibt es keinen zwingenden Grund, die fraglichen Belege dem gr. *Anthio* zuzuweisen: *CIL* VI 11701 *M. Annius Antio*; 24769 *M. Popilius M. l. Antio*; 36581 *M. Ulpio Antion[i]*; *AE* 1996, 131 (Rom, spät) *Antioni*; 2005, 219 (Rom) *A. Colius A. l. Antio*; *CIL* XIV 1377 *Munatio Antioni*; *NSA* 1938, 50 (Ostia) *A. Mucius A. l. Antio* *CIL* V 1655 = *I.Aquileia* 2909; *CIL* III 10547 = *IMS* II 53, 86*b* (Viminacium, 195 n. Chr.) *M. Aur. Antio sig(nifer)*, Soldat unbestimmter Herkunft. Aus diesen Belegen kann man wohl auf ein lateinisches Cognomen *Antio* schließen, das man ungezwungen als Ableitung aus dem einigermäßen verbreiteten Gentilnamen *Antius* erklären kann. Mit dem Suffix *-io* aus Gentilnamen gebildete Cognomina gibt es eine ganze Handvoll, wie das Verzeichnis in Kajanto 163–165 zeigt.⁴ Zuletzt sei darauf hingewiesen, dass auch das Griechische den Namen Ἀντίων kennt (Bechtel *HPN* 60), der seit frühhellenistischer Zeit belegt ist, freilich nicht oft. Doch besteht kein Anlass, die Belege von *Antio* mit diesem Namen zu verbinden.

!*Aprillus*: der in *Arctos* 53 (2019) 211 angeführte Beleg *ICUR* 21031 = *CIL* VI 17797 verschwindet: der Stein hat wohl [*S*]apricio, vgl. C. E. Biuzzi, *EDR* 171452 mit Foto (Biuzzi schwankt zwischen *Sapricius* und *Apricius*, doch *Sapricius* passt besser zum christlichen Kontext).

Conditus: Kajanto 350 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1961, 115 (Rom, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Q. Lollius Q. l. Conditus*.

Cutina: *AE* 2013, 2017 (Ammaedara in der prov. proc.) *Magnia Cutina*. Der Männername *Cutinus* ist einmal bei Kajanto 161 (christl.) belegt, der ihn aus dem Gentilnamen *Cutius* herleitet.⁵ Dies ist wohl die richtige Erklärung; *-inus -a* war ein häufig gebrauchtes Suffix in der Bildung von Cognomina aus

6, S. 220 scheint sich *Antio* als ein Graecanicum vorzustellen, da er unter *Antio* auf *Antion* hinweist.

⁴ Kajantos Listen können durch mehrere Fälle vervollständigt werden: *Aelio* in *PCBE* I Afrique 44 und *APF* 2, 1903, 44; Ἀτιλιῶν *SB* 9997; Ἀρηλιῶν *IGUR* 467; *Fannio* *AE* 1986, 542; *Nonio* 40. *BRGK* 31; *Rocio* *CIL* VI 25437; *Silio* *Cass. Dio* 60, 24, 5 = *PIR*² V 885 (wo noch falsch *Silo*) und *AE* 1995, 247 (Ostia); *Sorillio* *AE* 1975, 411; *Veronio* *ILJug* 2578.

⁵ Als Alternative fragt Kajanto, ob möglicherweise griech. *Cotinos* vorliegen könnte; doch ist dies unnötig, und sodann kann der Name gar nicht griechisch sein (es gibt keine inschriftlichen Belege für *Κοτῖνος oder *Κωτῖνος). Zum Namen *Cotinus* vgl. Fr. Reisch, *ThLL Onom.* II 672, 16–22 und meine Bemerkungen in *CIL* IV S. 1898 zu 6820.

Gentilnamen.⁶ *Cutius* war ein gut bekannter Name, öfters in Rom und Italien belegt, weniger häufig in den Provinzen (aber die senatorische. *Cutii* stammen wohl aus Hispanien). Auch wenn *Cutina* Afrikanerin war, besteht kein Anlass, an eine afrikanische Herkunft des Namens zu denken, trotz einiger ähnlich klingender Namen, die in lateinischen Inschriften Nordafrikas zu treffen sind.⁷

Filliana: s. unten 247.

Frequens f.: Kajanto 289 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1989, 135 (Ulubrae, Sklavin, 50–150 n. Chr.).

Frugillianus: *Rep.* 335 aus Apamea Phryg. Dazu *CIL* VI 2086 = Scheid, *Comm. fr. Arv.* (1998) 236–239 Nr. 80 [---]nius Tiro Frugillianus, ein *camillus* an einer Sitzung der Arvalbrüder 155 n. Chr.

Hirpinus: siehe weiter unten.

Laboniana: *CIL* VIII 6808 (Castellum Tidditanorum) *Potent(i?)a Laboniana*. Im onomastischen Index werden beide Namensteile für suspekt gehalten, aber wenigstens die Bildung von *Laboniana* lässt sich als Ableitung des freilich nicht sehr häufig belegten Gentilnamens *Labonius* erklären.⁸ Eine Deutung als epichorischer afrikanischer Name scheint ausgeschlossen.

Maurilla: Kajanto 206 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1980, 470 (Florentia, christl.); 2011, 377 (Bononia, Fluchtafel, spät, circa 4./5. Jh.); *CAG* 57, 2 (2005) 197 (Divodurum in der Belgica) *Ingenuia Maurilla*. Üblich in den hispanischen Provinzen: *EE* VIII 2, 69a (Turgalium); *AE* 1967, 159 (Civitas Igaeditanorum in Lusitanien); 1994, 859 (Emerita) 2002, 731 (Gades); *CILA* II 2, 461 (Italica); *AE* 1981, 558 (Hisp. cit.). Im griechischen Osten: *ArchEph* 1929, 154 Nr. 11 (Thebai in Achaia Phthiotis (christl.)).

Mustinus: *CIL* VIII 16062 (Sicca Veneria) *Q. Iulius M[u]stinus* (angesichts des folgenden Belegs scheint die Ergänzung ansprechend); *Cartagine. Studi e*

⁶ Kajanto 160–63 hat eine ganze Menge von diesbezüglichen Fällen gesammelt. Und es wäre nicht schwierig, weitere Namen anzuführen (einiges in *Arctos* 49 (2015) 246 und 254f.).

⁷ K. Jongeling, *North African Names from Latin sources*, Leiden 1994, 39f glaubt mehrere Namen wie *Cutia*, *Cutilius -ia*, *Cuttius* als epichorische Bildungen zu erklären, doch lassen sich diese Bildungen leicht als lateinisch verstehen; vgl. H. Solin, Sur la présence de noms puniques et berbères en Afrique in *Visions de l'Occident romain. Hommages à Yann Le Bohec*. Textes réunis par B. Cabouret, A. Gros Lambert et C. Wolff, 1, Paris 2012, 332.

⁸ R. Lanciani, *Nuovo Bullettino di Arch. crist.* 23 (1917) 16f LABONIO... (Stempel, Deutung sehr unsicher); *CIL* VIII 26549. 26550 (derselbe; unsicher bleibt 26881 als ergänzt).

ricerche 5 (2020) 8 Nr. 3 (Uchi Maius) *P. Aulius P. f. Arn. Mustinus*. Auch als Gentilname: *AE* 2013, 2094 (Thugga) *Lucan[us] Mustini Successi fil.*

Petilianus: Kajanto 152 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 32 (1998) 247. Dazu *AE* 1987, 61 (Rom, christl., 391 n. Chr.) *Petilianus* (sic!; könnte auch zu *Petillianus* gehören).

Saxa: s. unten 249–251.

Servenianus: D. Koßmann, *ZPE* 211 (2019) 268 (unbestimmte Herkunft; Wende 2./ 3. Jh.) *P. Vibi P. f. Pup. Severiani Procli Vibius Servenianus avus*. Unsicherer, aber möglicher Beleg in W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Oxford 1895, 608 Nr. 498 (Sebaste in Phrygien) Λούκιος Σεσηριανὸς Λεῖτος Σερου[νιανό]ς (die Ergänzung des Namens scheint verlockend). Ableitung aus dem einigermaßen in Italien und den Provinzen belegten Gentilnamen *Servenius*; besonders sei auf die senatorischen Servenii aus Akmoneia in Phrygien (*PIR*² S 566–569 mit 565, Vater der vorigen Senatoren, ein Akmonienser aus einer Familie italischer, wahrscheinlich umbrischer Herkunft) hingewiesen.⁹ Der Gedanke liegt nicht fern, dass unser Servenianus diesen Namen irgendwie den senatorischen Servenii verdankt.

!*Turtur*. Kajanto 332 führt als Männernamen (so scheint es mir) einzig *CIL* X 4483 (Capua) an. Die Interpretation dieser Inschrift, die ein obszönes Graffito darstellt, ist aber alles andere als eindeutig. Mommsen im *CIL* druckt den Anfang wie folgt: *Turtu[r Cly]mene(?)*. Anhand der beigebrachten Zeichnung bleibt das aber sehr unsicher. Ebenso gut kann man hier den Frauennamen *Turtura* sehen (die angeredete Frau hätte zwei Namen gehabt, *Turtura* und *Clymene*), oder aber *Clymene* wird mit dem Kosewort *turtur* ‘Turteltaube’ angeredet, eine schön zwitschernde Frau, mit möglicherweise erotischem Beigeschmack ihrer Stimme.¹⁰ Das Substantiv *turtur* konnte auch als feminin gebraucht werden (Plin. *nat.* 30, 68; ferner *turtur marina*, eine Rochenart, *Dict.* 6, 15). Vgl. noch *ICUR* 6018, wo von der verstorbenen Frau gesagt wird *Turtura nomen abis* (=

⁹ Vgl. H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jh. n. Chr.*, Göttingen 1979, 102f. Ein weiterer Servenius in Kleinasien: *SEG* LIV 1314 aus Hierapolis (er führt einen anderen Vornamen, hat also kaum etwas mit unseren Servenii zu tun).

¹⁰ Zum Graffito neuerdings S. Rocchi – R. Marchionni, *Oltre Pompei. Graffiti e altre iscrizioni oscene dall’Impero romano d’Occidente. Introduzione, testo, traduzione e commento filologico*, Roma 2021, 55–9.

habes), *set turtur vera fuisti*. – Nunmehr ist der Männername *Turtur* durch *AE* 1986, 542 (Noricum) gesichert: *Privato Turturi*¹¹ *e[t] Secundine Fannionis*.

Turtura: Kajanto 332 mit fünf christlichen Belegen. Die Zahl der christlichen Belege ist aber höher; da es schwierig ist, die von Kajanto berücksichtigten Belege in der ganzen Fülle auszusondern, seien alle mir bekannten Belege angeführt: *ICUR* 3250 (= *CIL* VI 32049), 6018, 12777 (*Turtura Victorina*), 19417, 21310; *CIL* XI 3757; *ILTun* 201 p. 39 zweimal (Hadrumetum); *CIG* 9869 (Ravenna, aber vom Jahre 643). Die Form *Turtura*, die als Appellativum nirgends in der antiken Latinität belegt ist (dagegen im Mittellatein), stellt einen Versuch dar, den femininen Charakter des Namens hervorzuheben. Man kann sich die Frage stellen, warum *Turtura* ausschließlich in christlichen Urkunden belegt ist. Vielleicht hat das etwas mit dem symbolischen Wert der Tauben bei den alten Christen zu tun; bekannterweise war ja die Taube ein oft gebrauchtes Symbol in altchristlichen Inschriften.¹² Man notiere ferner, dass auch *Columba* allein als Frauenname in christlichen Inschriften vorkommt.¹³

332. FALSCHENAMEN

**Hircinus*. Dieser Name, bisher aus *CIL* VI 200 III, 66 registriert (Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 327), verschwindet; s. weiter unten.

Piperolus. Dieser Name ist in *CIL* XII 3333 (Nemausus) *Sex. Spurius Piperolus aerar(ius)* überliefert. Daraus Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 340, der den Namen zu *Piperculus* stellt. Zu lesen ist aber eindeutig *Piperclus*, das für *Piperculus* steht, wie man anhand eines in EDCS-09201807 publizierten Fotos erkennt. Das hat kürzlich auch M. Christol, *SEBarc* 18 (2020) 251–255 gesehen.

Tripania. D. Fasolini publiziert in *Considerazioni di storia ed archeologia* 2018–19, 27 (mit unbrauchbarem Foto) aus der Kirche S. Giorgio in Petrella im Territorium des antiken Fagifulae eine Grabinschrift mit folgendem Wortlaut:

¹¹ Da *turtur* nach der 3. Deklination flektiert wird, erhebt sich die Frage, ob *Turturi* Dativ und so ein zweites Cognomen von *Privatus* sei oder ob Genetiv vorliege: *Privatus* Sohn des *Turtur*.

¹² Dazu vgl. P. Bruun, „Symboles, signes et monogrammes“, in *Sylloge inscriptionum christianarum veterum Musei Vaticani*, 2, Helsinki 1963, 86–92.

¹³ Vg. Kajanto 330, der fünf Frauennamenbelege aufzählt. Der einzige mir bekannte Männernamenbeleg ist der eines afrikanischen Bischofs (*ILCV* 2055).



Sex. Hirrio Phileroni | patri, | Hirriae Sex. l. Tripania | matri | L. Hirrius Phylades | filius, | Hirria L. l. Phylarguri | filia d. s. fecerunt. Ein solcher Text ist in mancher Hinsicht verdächtig. Vor allem fällt in die Augen das Cognomen der Mutter, dessen Dativ *Tripania* wiedergegeben wird (wenn denn nicht *Tripania(e)* verstanden werden soll). Die Lesung des Cognomens ist sicher falsch, was man auch an den Fotos feststellen kann; außerdem wäre *Tripania* ein *nom fantôme*. Im Ganzen muss man an der Lesung des Editors große Zweifel hegen; schlimm ist ferner, dass er nicht angibt, welche Buchstaben ihm als sicher und welche als weniger sicher scheinen (schon *Tripania* gibt er *tout court* so, ohne zu spezifizieren, welche Buchstaben als sicher gelten könnten). Aufgrund von drei Fotos, die auch von nicht guter Qualität sind (ich danke Marco Buonocore, der sie mir zur Verfügung gestellt hat), und die von ihnen gebotene Information kombinierend wage ich mir

folgende Bemerkungen: Die Lesung der ersten zwei Zeilen dürfte sicher feststehen; dabei mache ich darauf aufmerksam, dass der erste Strich des N undeutlich eingehauen worden ist; das wiederholt sich in der ganzen Inschrift, weswegen an einigen Stellen, in denen das zu erwartende N nur schlecht sichtbar ist, daran nicht gezweifelt werden soll. Dann aber die dritte Zeile. Anstelle von *Hirriae Sex. l. Tripania* erwäge ich, wenn auch mit Vorbehalt, *Hirriae Sex. l. Fillian[ae]*. Vom L als Angabe der Freilassung ist nur der Querstrich sichtbar, L dürfte aber feststehen, jedenfalls wird es erwartet. Vom Cognomen sind die Anfangsbuchstaben schlecht in den Fotos zu sehen: statt F könnte auch an E gedacht werden, doch sieht man kaum etwas vom untersten Querstrich des E; von I kann man Reste sehen, die in einen Riss des Steines übergehen; vom ersten L ist nur der Querstrich sichtbar. Der Gentilname *Fillius* lässt sich hier und da in Italien und den Provinzen belegen;¹⁴ dagegen war die Ableitung *Fillianus* -a bisher nicht belegt, was ein Zufall sein mag. In Zeile 5 liest der Editor das Cognomen *Phylades*, an sich gut griechischer Name (7 Belege in meinem griechischen Namenbuch 1069): PHYLA steht gut, aber -DES lässt sich anhand der Fotos nicht mit Sicherheit eruieren, doch ist *Phylades* nicht auszuschließen (das Schluss-S erkenne ich an zwei Fotos); ich hatte auch an *Phylaxs* gedacht (*Phylax* dreimal in Rom belegt in meinem Namenbuch 197). Und endlich in Zeile 7 liest der Editor das Cognomen der Frau *Phylarguri*. Das ist auszuschließen; höchstens könnte man *Philarguri* lesen, was dann für *Philarguris* stehen müsste; wenn dies die richtige Lesung ist, dann steht das abgekürzt für *Philarguris* (*Philargyris* ist eine regelrechte feminine Bildung, in Rom aus *CIL* VI 8526, 9443b belegt). Doch bleibt, aus dem Foto zu schließen, die Folge PHIL etwas unsicher; vielmehr schiene da PHL zu stehen, weswegen ich wahlweisen an *Phlegusa* gedacht hatte,¹⁵ doch passen die im Foto sichtbaren Buchstabenreste zu GVSA nicht. Im Ganzen wäre eine Autopsie des erhaltenen rechten Teils der Inschrift vonnöten.

¹⁴ *CIL* VI 32270 b II, 13 vgl. 37141 = *Inscr. It.* XIII 1, 27 P. *Filli[us --](?)* (so Bang und Degressi; 19 n. Chr.; ein scriba quaestorius); C. Slavich, *La collezione epigrafica della casa museo dell'antiquariato Ivan Bruschi di Arezzo* (Opuscula Epigraphica 19), Roma 2019, Nr. 54 (Rom), wo der Editor *Fflliae P. l. Amabili* liest, was für *Fillius* oder das seltenere *Fel(l)ius* (sic!) stünde (anhand des beigebrachten Fotos lässt sich nicht entscheiden, wie der Name zu lesen sei); *CIL* IX 2148 (Saticula), 2221, 2226, 2283 (Telesia); X 4601 (Caiatia), 4906 (Venafrum). Auf einen *Fillius* weist hin auch *CIL* XIV 4090, 16 = XV 1800 (doch ist der Text des Ziegelstempels korrupt).

¹⁵ *Phlegusa* ist ein guter griechischer Name, in meinem stadtrömischen Namenbuch 744 neunmal belegt.

333. VERKANNTTE NAMEN

Charine. Dieses Frauencognomen fehlt in onomastischen Repertoiren. Man kann es aber mit einer gewissen Sicherheit zweimal aus Rom belegen. Es scheint in *CIL VI 14724a* verkannt worden zu sein. Diese Inschrift war lange Zeit nur aus Amati, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 9750 f. 5v bekannt, dessen Abschrift D M | CHARINE | TECIA IONICE | VERNAE SVAE beginnt. Henzen in *CIL* will den ersten Namen in *Charini* ändern. Ein seltener Einfall, der aber sowohl Vidman im *Cognominaindex* 236 als auch mich im griechischen Namenbuch 488 irregeleitet hat. Freilich ist *Charini* neben dem üblicheren *Charidi* an sich ein guter Dativ des beliebten Frauennamens *Charis*, doch besteht kein Anlass, 14724a *Charine* in *Charini* zu ändern, zumal wir nunmehr wissen, dass der Stein in der Tat *Charine* hat: die Inschrift existiert in einer Sammlung nahe von Dublin, und da der Editor Purser in seinem Text *Charine* druckt, dürfte diese Form feststehen;¹⁶ freilich ist Pursers eigene Erklärung auf Irrwegen, indem er in *Charine Tecia* eine Inversion der Namen statt *Tecia Charine* sieht (und *Ionice* wäre ein Dativ statt *Ionicae!*). In Wirklichkeit bestattet Tecia Ionice ihre hausgeborene Sklavin Charine. Ferner hält Henzen unverständlicherweise den Gentilnamen *Tecia* für korrupt und denkt vermutungsweise an *Iegia*. Doch lässt sich *Tecia* verteidigen als Nebenform von *Taecia*, als Gentilicium in *CIL VI 27093, 27094* belegt; vgl. auch *CIL II 4970, 508b Tecci Triti*, wo möglicherweise der Gentilname *Teccius* vorliegt (wenn nicht eine epichorische Bildung). Ein zweiter Beleg von *Charine* scheint in *CIL VI 23063 Norbana Carine* vorzuliegen, soweit die Lesung des nur von Ligorio, *Cod. Bodl. Canonici Ital.* 138 überlieferten Textes richtig ist. Hier würde man wegen der Endung *-e* eine griechische Bildung vermuten, wobei sich nur *Charine* bietet. Vor allem aber lässt sich dieser Name als feminines Gegenstück von *Charinus* verteidigen, der öfters in der römischen Welt belegt ist und im griechischen Bereich ein beliebter Name wurde.¹⁷

¹⁶ L. C. Purser, *Classical inscriptions at Shanganagh Castle, Co. Dublin* (Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy 37, section C 1), Dublin 1925, 13 Nr. 29.

¹⁷ Die stadtrömischen Belege in meinem griechischen Namenbuch 1387 mit drei sicheren Fällen, dazu ein Namensträger unbekanntes Sexus. Sonst in der römischen Welt *CIL IX 5752; X 4564; XI 644; II 583 = 4979; VIII 21186; AE 1989, 307* (aber er war *alumnus* eines Arztes aus Tyana in Kappadokien). Im griechischen Bereich öfters belegt z. B. in Attika und auf den Inseln des Ägäischen Meeres, aber auch in Mittelgriechenland.

Hirpinus. Dieser Name liegt vor in *CIL* VI 200 III, 66, dessen Vulgata *M. Matius Hircinus* heißt. Dazu vgl. meine Bemerkungen in *ZPE* 129 (2000) 295 und in *Gaetano Marini (1742–1815), protagonista della cultura europea. Scritti per il bicentenario della morte*, a cura di M. Buonocore, II (Studi e Testi 493), Città del Vaticano 2015, 1043: einige gute alte Autoren haben die richtige Lesung *M. Malius Hirpinus* erkannt, während Mommsen den falschen Namen **Hircinus* geschaffen hat (in seiner Nachfolge von Henzen ins *CIL* aufgenommen). – *Hirpinus -a* ist kein übliches Cognomen. Kajanto 185 registriert vom Männernamen sechs Belege, vom Frauennamen drei. Hinzuzufügen *CIL* I² 3638 (Gemmenaufschrift unbekannter Herkunft) *Hirp(ini?)*; *AE* 1979, 182 (Herculaneum) *Hirpini Aug. l. a rationibus*; *AE* 1988, 71 (Rom) *L. Cornelius L. J. l. Martialis*; *Hirpine, va(le)* (*Hirpinus* ist vielleicht eine Art Zuname des Verstorbenen); *ERCanosa* II 25 *Irp[in]us*; *AE* 2005, 415 (Salapia in Apulien) *C. Caecilio Occiae lib. Irpino*.

334. SAXA

Das Cognomen *Saxa*, das in Kajantos Cognominabuch fehlt, kann der lateinischen Onymie gehören. Belegt bei den senatorischen Decidiern der republikanischen und Voconiern der republikanischen und der Kaiserzeit: Decidius Saxa Quaestor in Syrien 40 v. Chr. (*RE* IV 2, 2271 Nr. 3 = Broughton, *MRR* II 381); L. Decidius Saxa, von Geburt Spanier, Volkstribun 44 v. Chr. (*RE* IV 2, 2271f Nr. 4 = Broughton, *MRR* II 324, 332 usw.); Q. Voconius Saxa Volkstribun 169 v. Chr. (Broughton, *MRR* I 425); Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus Suffektkonsul 146 n. Chr. (*PIR*² V 921) und sein Sohn Q. Voconius Saxa Amyntianus (*PIR*² V 920). Dazu noch der Polyonym Q. Pompeius Senecio ... Saxa Ἰ Amyntianus ..., Konsul 169 n. Chr. (*PIR*² P 651), der wegen der Namenkombination *Saxa Amyntianus* etwas mit den Voconii Saxae zu tun haben muss, aber was, bleibt ungewiss.¹⁸ Ob die Q. Voconii Saxae des 2. Jh. n. Chr. Nachkommen des Volkstribuns 169 v. Chr. seien, ist eher unwahrscheinlich; der Suffektkonsul 146 stammt aus Velia, während der Volkstribun aus Aricia gebürtig war. Es handelt sich möglicherweise um eine bewusste Annahme des Cognomens des Volkstribuns

¹⁸ In *CIL* XIV 3609, wo allein der ganze Name des polyonymen Konsuls erhalten ist, bietet der Stein VRYNTIANO, aber die Emendation *Amyntiano* ist sicher. Auch wenn in der Inschrift *Voconio* fehlt, wird man eine Verbindung mit den Voconii Saxae nicht verneinen können.

seitens einer kaiserzeitlichen Familie der Voconii. Freilich wird er in der Literatur nur ausnahmsweise mit dem Cognomen erwähnt; berühmt ist er geworden als Urheber der Lex Voconia; sein Cognomen ist aber nur in Liv. *perioch.* 41 erhalten, das zeigt aber, dass im Werk des Livius selbst, das als Klassiker in der Kaiserzeit viel gelesen wurde, das Cognomen da gewesen sein muss; die Livius-Lektüre hätte also einen voconischen Namengeber dazu inspiriert, dies Cognomen in der Familie in Gebrauch zu nehmen.

Ferner *CIL* VIII 7336 (Cirta in Numidien) *P. Dupidius Saxa*; 27978 (prov. proc.) [*Ael*]ius(?) *Saxa*. Der Name scheint auch im griechischen Osten vorzukommen, er ist dreimal in einer aurelischen Familie in Termessos in Pisidien belegt, jedesmal im Dativ Σάξα.¹⁹ Da ein kleinasiatisches Etymon kaum in Frage kommt (der Name fehlt bei Zgusta), wird man ihn am ehesten zu unserem *Saxa* stellen; und es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass als Namensvorbild die Q. Voconii Saxae gedient hätten; besonders ist festzustellen, dass dem Suffektkonsul 146 mehrere Ehrendenkmalen in der Provinz Lykien-Pamphylien errichtet wurden, die er verwaltete, auch in Teilen, die zu Pisidien gehört hatten.

Dieser Name ist am besten als lateinisch aufzufassen und neben andere von Kajanto 105–107 zusammengestellte Männernamen auf *-a* zu stellen; auch wenn die Diskussion von Kajanto über dieses Suffix in Männernamen aus sprachhistorischer Sicht etwas unbefriedigend bleibt, hat sie jedoch gezeigt, dass ein gut Teil dieser Namen sich als lateinisches Namengut erklären lässt; Kajanto hätte neben den von ihm angeführten Namen doch auch *Saxa* aufnehmen können. Freilich betritt Schulze *ZGLE* 418 unbestechlich für etruskische Herkunft von *Saxa* mit anderen lateinisch aussehenden Männernamen auf *-a*, man sieht aber leicht, auf wie schwachem Boden Schulzes Panetruskismus sich bewegt. Was nun den Einzelfall *Saxa* angeht, so kann er zu denjenigen Cognomina der republikanischen Nobilität gestellt werden, die dem Volkstribun oder einem seiner Vorfahren aus physischen oder geistigen Eigenschaften zugelegt worden wären: der Betreffende war hart oder standhaft wie ein Fels. Da man eine Benennung auf *-um* eher vermeiden wollte (vergleiche aber den

¹⁹ Die Belege in *LGPV* V.C 383 s. v. Σάξα. Es ist nicht völlig sicher, dass all die drei derselben Familie angehörten, wegen des Vorhandenseins der Namen Ὀρέστης und Ὀρεστίων in ihrer Nomenklatur wird aber eine nahe Verwandtschaft sehr wahrscheinlich. Der dritte wird in *LGPV* als Vater von Ἀδρ. Ὀρεστίων angeführt, eher hieß er aber Ἀδρ. Ὀρεστίων Σάξα. Ein unsicherer Beleg in *TAM* II 1, 231, 11, wo für Σα[σα]ς des Editors die Autoren von *LGPV* V.B 378 aufgrund des Apographons Σάξα konjizieren.

Zunamen *Corculum* des Konsuls 162 v. Chr.), wurde die Pluralform gewählt.²⁰ Vielleicht konnten noch andere Assoziationen vorhanden sein, wie *Saxa Rubra*.

335. VERONA UND VERWANDTES
ZU *CIL* XI 2060

Die Grabinschrift *CIL* XI 2060 aus Perugia lautet in der Lesung von Bormann folgendermaßen:

D. m. | P. Magio | Vero v(ivi) f(ecerunt) | Lu. Magius | (5) Verona, | P. Magius | Iustus f(ilii) | et Pupa l(iberta) | b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).

Aus dem in EDR144280 publizierten (freilich nicht sehr scharfen) Foto zu schließen scheint die Lesung in Ordnung zu sein. Der Steinmetz dagegen verdient keinen unbedingten Freispruch. In Zeile 4 hat er am Ende ein B eingehauen, wie aus dem Foto hervorgehen dürfte; auch sonst hat er mit den Zeilenenden Schwierigkeiten gehabt; u. A. hat er einige Male die letzten Buchstaben kleiner einhauen müssen. Ob LV für L in Zeile 4 eine Nachlässigkeit des Steinmetzes darstellt oder so schon in der Vorlage geschrieben war, lässt sich nicht mit Sicherheit sagen. Jedenfalls ist die Abkürzung *Lu.* ungewöhnlich, kommt aber vornehmlich in späterer Zeit hier und da vor, besonders im Osten des Reiches.²¹ Wenn Bormann *Pupa* in Zeile 8 als *l(ibertus)* bezeichnet, so beruht das auf einem Lapsus (vielleicht nur *calami*); *Pupa* ist ein gut bekannter Frauenname, auf dessen Interpretation es keinerlei Zweifel herrschen sollte; man schreibe also *l(iberta)*. In Zeile 9 ist F·C zweifellos als *faciendum curaverunt* zu verstehen, schon wegen des zwischen F und C bestehenden Punktes. Es ist freilich bekannt, dass in den Inschriften der vorgerückten Kaiserzeit – und unsere lässt sich etwa ins 2. Jh. datieren – FC auch als *f(e)c(it)* oder *f(e)c(erunt)* aufgelöst werden kann; darauf weist zum Beispiel die übliche Kontraktion FCR für *fecerunt* hin.²² Es ist freilich nicht immer leicht zu entscheiden, ob in Inschriften der mittleren und

²⁰ Kajanto 105 und 285 führt aus *CIL* V 6793 *Lucra* als Beispiel eines Namens auf *-a* aus Neutra auf *-um* an; die Überlieferung des Namens ist aber nicht über alle Zweifel erhaben, doch nicht auszuschließen.

²¹ Vgl. A. Zimmermann, *Philologus* 63 (1904) 633; Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen* (1987) 34.

²² Vgl. U. Hälvä-Nyberg, *Die Kontraktionen auf den lateinischen Inschriften Roms und Afrikas bis zum 8. Jh. n. Chr.*, Helsinki 1988, 249.

späteren Kaiserzeit FC als *fecit* oder als *faciendum curavit* zu verstehen ist; wenn zwischen F und C ein Punkt da ist, dann wähle man *faciendum curavit*. Sonst ist die Entscheidung nicht immer leicht, jedenfalls darf man *tout court* nicht alle Fälle von FC als *faciendum curavit* auflösen, wie es manchmal passiert.²³ Man sollte auf die Datierung des betreffenden Falles, auf den Grad der Vulgarität und auf das eventuelle Vorhandensein anderer kontraktivartiger Abkürzungen in der Inschrift achten. Eine diesbezügliche Untersuchung mit allen Belegen wäre vonnöten.

Der wichtigste Punkt an der Inschrift ist aber das sonst nirgends belegte Cognomen *Verona*, das hier vorzuliegen scheint. Es fehlt in Kajantos Cognominabuch, was sich leicht dadurch erklärt, dass *Verona* auch im Cognominaindex des *CIL* XI fehlt; der Kompilator des Index hat *Verona* möglicherweise als Herkunftsbezeichnung aufgefasst.²⁴ Doch macht der Wortlaut der Inschrift es sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass hier eine Herkunftsbezeichnung vorliege. Die in der Inschrift genannten Männer führen die klassische Form des Namens eines römischen Bürgers, Vornamen, Gentile und Cognomen, wobei es recht merkwürdig wäre, wenn *Verona* in dieser Konstellation etwas anderes wäre als das Cognomen des Lucius Magius. Dagegen ist notierungswert, dass *Verona* einen anderen Vornamen führt als sein Vater und sein Bruder, denn im 2. Jh. war es schon üblich geworden, dass in Familien die Brüder denselben Vornamen führten.

Wie ist aber das Männercognomen *Verona* zu erklären? Zu Personennamen metonymisch gewordene Ortsnamen, die auf *-a* enden, sind nicht sehr zahlreich (eine Ausnahme ist der beliebte Frauenname *Italia*) und fast ausschließlich Frauennamen. Männernamen sind der Flussname *Astura*, als Männername in *CIL* V 1884 (Soldat) belegt, von Kajanto 185 hierher gestellt, was aber unsicher bleibt (die Herkunft des Namens könnte auch anders erklärt werden). Auf *Buca* in Samnium bezieht Kajanto 188 auch *Buca*, als Cognomen in der republikanischen gens *Aemilia* belegt, was doch sehr unsicher bleibt; viel eher ist es eine sekundäre Graphie von *Bucca* (bei Kajanto 225 dreimal registriert) zu bewerten – aus Körperteilen metonymisch gebildete Cognomina waren ja ein

²³ So lässt Hälvä-Nyberg FC aus ihren Kontraktionslisten weg.

²⁴ In *Suppl. It.* 30, 191 wird nur lakonisch festgestellt, dass einer der Söhne L. Magius *Verona* hieß, ohne ein Sterbenswörtchen zum merkwürdigen Namen; darauf hat O. Salomies, *Arctos* 53 (2019) 284 hingewiesen, was mir den Anstoß zur vorliegenden Note gegeben hat.

charakteristischer Zug der senatorischen Namengebung der republikanischen Zeit. Ferner bezieht Kajanto 190 das Männercognomen *Luca* in *AE* 1930, 42 = *ILLTun* 652 (prov. proc.) auf den Namen der etruskischen Stadt Luca, aber dieser Vergleich hält nicht stand (fern vom Namen der etruskischen Stadt bleiben auch zwei Belege auf dem instrumentum inscriptum aus Aquitanien *CAG* 63, 1 [1994] 208; 2 [1994] 285): in der aus der Mitte des 3. Jh. stammenden Inschrift kann was auch immer vorliegen, etwa *Luca(s)* Ableitung aus *Lucius*; vgl. auch den Rutuler Luca in Verg. *Aen.* 10, 561 *Lucam*;²⁵ zuletzt sei auf *Luca bos* hingewiesen. Gleichermaßen lässt *Atella* (Kajanto 192 aus Cic. *Cluent.* 68; *CIL* VI 22745) mehrere Deutungen zu, von denen Kajanto selbst referiert. Ganz ähnlich *Pola* (Kajanto 198). Die sprachliche Herkunft von *Rutuba* (Kajanto 198 aus *CIL* I² 2784 [Ateste] *Q. Rutilius Rutuba*; jetzt auch *Suppl. It.* 15, 172 [2./1. Jh.]) bleibt etwas unsicher, möglicherweise haben wir es aber mit venetischer Anthroponymie zu tun.²⁶ Ob aber als Namenquelle ein Fluss in Ligurien zugrunde liegt, wie Kajanto meint, ist unwahrscheinlich; er weist als Alternative auf das Appellativum *rutuba* ‘Verwirrung, Unruhe’ hin, was aber ebenso wenig überzeugt.

Könnte aber sich unser Name *Verona* diesen Fällen gesellen? Letzten Endes vielleicht: der Städtename wurde als solcher als Männercognomen gebraucht; es kann sein, dass die Eltern des Sohnes aus irgendeinem Grund für Verona schwärmten und so ihm den Namen der Stadt als solchen zulegten. Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre, hier eine Ableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Veronius* zu sehen, wie *Luca(s)* aus *Lucius*. Doch bleibt das etwas gesucht. Zuletzt sei darauf hingewiesen, dass der Vater das Cognomen *Verus* führte. Wer weiß, ob dies die Ingebrauchnahme von *Verona* irgendwie befördert hat; wegen des gemeinsamen Anlauts war es leichter, der Laune desjenigen nachzugeben, der den etwas sonderbaren Namen in die Familie einführen wollte.

²⁵ Ob aber dieser Rutuler so bekannt war, dass er als Vorbild für die römischen Namengeber der Kaiserzeit dienen konnte, bleibt offen. Mynors im Namenindex seiner Oxforder Ausgabe 439 führt ihn als *Luca(s)* an. Ob es nötig ist, als Alternative *Lucas* anzunehmen, stehe aber dahin.

²⁶ Vgl. etwa J. Untermann, *Die venetischen Personennamen*, Wiesbaden 1961, 164; M. Lejeune, *Manuel de la langue vénète*; Heidelberg 1974, 239; ders. *Ateste à l'heure de la romanisation (étude anthroponymique)*, Firenze 1978, 35; S. Bassignano, *Suppl. It.* 15, 292 zu Nr. 172. Ferner meinte M. Lejeune, *RPh* 25 (1951) 222, dass *Rutuba* Abkürzung von *Rutubarba* sei, was nicht sehr wahrscheinlich anmutet.

336. MUTINENSIA

In *Epigraphica* 81 (2019) 565–594 publizieren A. Raggi und L. Parisini verdienstlich eine Handvoll von neuen oder früher unbefriedigend herausgegebenen Inschriften von Mutina. Ich greife nur zwei Beispiele aus, die gewisses Interesse hervorrufen. In der Nr. 1 Seite 570 Zeile 5 *Patulciae* \mathcal{O} . l. *Agilini* (die Lesung ist sicher, wie man anhand des Fotos feststellen kann) vermuten die Editoren (S. 571, 573) das griechische Cognomen *Agele/Agile*. Vielmehr liegt hier der Dativ von lat. *Agilis* vor.²⁷ Der Dativ von *Agele* (ein Name *Agile* existiert nicht) müsste *Ageleni* heißen, während Dativ und Genetiv lateinischer Cognomina auf *-is* auf Inschriften nicht selten *-ini(s)* flektiert werden, wie man zum Beispiel an den beliebten Formen *Vitalini(s)* von *Vitalis* sieht. Freilich wurde *Agilis* vornehmlich als Männername verwendet; als Frauenname *CIL* VI 11254,²⁸ 15175; *AE* 1994, 866 (Emerita).

Auf S. 579 publizieren die Editoren ein interessantes Epitaph. Im Namen der Frau *Prima Helonia L. l. Dapinis* (auch hier steht Lesung fest, aus dem beigefügten Foto zu schließen), der statt des zu erwartenden Dativs im Nominativ steht, wollen die Editoren *Dapinis* als „errore materiale da parte del lapicida che ha inciso una I al posto di H“ erklären. Vielmehr lässt sich *Dapinis* für *Daphnis* als eine sekundäre Graphie deuten, mit Einführung der Anaptyxe und Verlieren der Aspiration. Allein aus Rom kennen wir Schreibungen auf *Daphin-* in *CIL* VI 11124, 11520, 16739, 19921, 34195, 37891, XV 5171, *LIK*M 86, *RAC* 35 (1959) 13; vgl. *Oculatiae Dapinni* in *INAV* 42 oder noch *Dafene* in *ICUR* 17770b.²⁹ Üblich sind anaptyktische Formen in vulgären Schriften wie in pompejanischen Graffiti (*Dapine* in *CIL* IV 4207 vgl. S. 1816);³⁰ und das zeigt, dass es sich nicht um Steinmetzfehler handeln kann, sondern dass Schreibungen dieser Art aus der Aussprache her zu erklären sind. Eine andere Eigentümlichkeit in der Nomenklatur der Frau ist der Gebrauch des Praenomens *Prima*, das den Editoren zufolge „irregolare“ sei und den männlichen Vornamen *Primus*

²⁷ Belegt auch in *CIL* VI 11254; L. Bakker – B. Galsterer-Kröll, *Graffiti auf römischer Keramik im Rheinischen Landesmuseum Bonn*, Bonn 1975, 122.

²⁸ Auch hier *Agilini*, in meinem griechischen Namenbuch 1275 unvorsichtig zu *Agele* gestellt. Dagegen gehört *Agilini* in *NSA* 1923, 362 vgl. *RAL* 1974, 499 Nr. 5 und *ICUR* 1278 eher zu *Agele*.

²⁹ Sonst s. *ThLL Onom.* III 38, 7–10. 81; 40, 7.

³⁰ Zu Pompeji vgl. V. Väänänen, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, Berlin 1996³, 47f.

nachahme.³¹ Ganz so kann man die Sachlage wohl nicht auffassen; gut, das Praenomen *Primus* gehört zu den für Oberitalien charakteristischen Vornamen und ist als solcher gut belegt,³² doch, innerhalb dieses oberitalischen Usus ist die Verwendung von entsprechenden weiblichen Vornamen nicht bekannt. So haben wir vielmehr mit der in verschiedenen Teilen Italiens vorwiegend aus der republikanischen Zeit bekannten Sitte zu tun, Frauen numerale und ähnliche Vornamen beizulegen,³³ wobei gerade *Prima* bestens belegt ist, auch in Oberitalien, sogar in Mutina (*CIL* XI 918).

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³¹ Ferner stellen die Editoren fest: "In definitiva, il testo rivelerebbe un interessante tentativo di adattare il formulario onomastico indigeno a quello trimembre latino, non ancora ben compreso nella struttura dei suoi elementi da parte della popolazione locale".

³² Zu diesem Usus vgl. O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen* (1987) 120–31; die Belege von *Primus* 115f.

³³ Dazu die wichtigen Ausführungen von M. Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina* (1995); Belege von *Prima* 60–2.

BREAKING CHAIRS

Sella Curulis in Roman Law, Identity and Memory¹

KAIUS TUORI

Introduction

There are contradictory indications about where Roman jurisdiction should take place. Gaius (Gaius *inst.* 1,7,20) writes how magistrates would perform official acts virtually anywhere, for instance by emancipating slaves on the way home from the baths. Alternatively, we have numerous instances where the fact that the magistrate was sitting down on the podium in his *sella curulis* was apparently considered to be crucial for him to have jurisdiction and thus the acts to be valid (*Dig.* 1,16,9,3, 37,1,3,8; Suet. *Claud.* 15). Then again, the jurist Paul wrote (*Dig.* 1,1,11) that wherever the praetor decided to exercise his jurisdiction was by his *imperium* and the *mos maiorum* was to be considered as *ius*. Recent works have equally suggested that in general wherever the magistrate would place his *sella curulis* would be the location of the court.²

The purpose of this article is to explore the meaning of the *sella curulis* and its role in the public functions of the Roman Republic, the way official acts

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² Färber 2014, 31; Bablitz 2007, 13–50; similarly in older literature Kaser 1966, 30; Düll 1932; Düll 1940, 234. Other sources on the locations of courts are equally vague, see *lex XII Tab.* 1,7 (*FIRA*); Gell. 20,1,47; Varro 5,155.

were sometimes tied to the chair itself and a specific location, while in others not. This chair was the symbol of the Roman magistrate and the official acts performed in a magisterial capacity were to be taken on this chair (e.g. Isid. *diff.* 1,108; Cic. *Verr.* 4,40,86; *Vir. ill.* 72,6).³ Because the role and significance of the *sella curulis* was commonplace, shared knowledge among Roman authors, its precise significance was seldom openly discussed. However, the Roman sources have two pairs of illuminating examples where the chair of the magistrate becomes the source and object of contention, resulting in broken furniture and a constitutional problem. Dio (Cass. Dio 36,41,2, 42,23,3–9) and Aurelius Victor (*Vir. ill.* 3,72,6, 3,73,2) both recount late republican disputes where opponents sought to prevent the magistrate from acting by physically destroying the *sella curulis*. Beginning from these examples and their political and legal contexts, the article will analyse both the symbolic significance given to the *sella curulis* and the changing ideas of the jurisdiction of magistrates in Roman law.

The *sella curulis* was a symbol of the curule magistrates, which included from the regular magistrates the censors (Liv. 40,45,8), consuls (Plut. *Vit. Marc.* 23; Cic. *Catil.* 4,2; Liv. 2,54,4; Ov. *Pont.* 4,9,27; Auson. 20,4 (Peiper p. 268); Cassiod. *var.* 6,1,6), praetors (Varro *frg. Non.* p. 835 Lindsay; Quint. *inst.* 6,3,25; *Vir. ill.* 72,6; Cass. Dio 36,41,2, 42,23,3), curule aediles (Plut. *Vit. Mar.* 5; Cic. *Verr.* 5,14,36; Gell. 7,9,6; Liv. 7,1,5, 9,46,9) and the *decemviri*, but also the *promagistrates* and from the extraordinary magistrates, dictators, *magister equitum* and *interrex* (Liv. 4,7,2, 6,15,1; Cass. Dio 43,48,2). Later, its use spread to municipal authorities and some plebeian magistracies. Some priests, such as the *flamen* of Jupiter, were granted the *sella curulis* (Liv. 1,20,2, 27,8,8; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 113). The emperor was also accorded a *sella curulis*, even when not holding a consulship, a practice which continued a precedent set by Caesar (Cass. Dio 44,6,1, 48,31,3, 50,2,5, 54,10,5, 59,12,2, 60,16,3, 73,7,4; Suet. *Aug.* 26, 43, *Nero* 13, *Galba* 18; Tac. *hist.* 2,59; SHA *Heliog.* 15,6; Plin. *Pan.Lat.* 2,3, 11,12, *Pan.* 59). The symbolic value of the chair was thought to originate from an ancient Etruscan custom, being linked to the right to use a wagon for official business in the city (for example, Gell. 3,18; Fest. p. 49). Beyond this etymology, it was clear that the *sella curulis* was considered a status symbol, a sign of the jurisdictional power accorded to the magistrate, much like the lictors were associated with imperium. Many Roman authors claim that in addition to the *sella curulis*, also the lictors, the toga and

³ Kaser 1966, 145.

other honorary insignia were adopted from the Etruscans (Liv. 1,8,3; Dion. Hal. 3,61; Flor. *epit.* 1,5,6; Macr. *Sat.* 1,6,7; Sil. 8,487; Diod. Sic. 5,40,1). The chair was handled by public slaves, giving it a further veneer of authority and respect.⁴

The earlier literature on curule chairs has mainly focused on historical discussions on the depictions of the *sella curulis* and its symbolism in Roman art and literature, where they have been compared with monarchic symbolism.⁵ Only a few studies focus on the *sella curulis* in particular. Wanscher's survey places the *sella curulis* as a near universal sign of authority in the ancient world.⁶ Schäfer analyses *sella curulis* as one of the signs of the power and authority of the magistrate.⁷ Both offer a wide range of examples of the different uses of the images of the *sella curulis*, with some discussion on the significance of the chair in Roman culture. Though only a few *sellae curules* are preserved, it was a popular motif in Roman coins and appears in reliefs during the late republic and early empire. The novelty of this study is that although the earlier works offer a comprehensive view of the visual manifestations of the *sella curulis*, the current study explores how it became enmeshed in the political and cultural disputes of the period and how that reflected in issues such as jurisdiction.

While the symbolic aspect of the *sella curulis* has been noted even in earlier literature,⁸ they have mostly been seen as traditional reflections of the powers of the magistrate himself. What is interesting is that both the textual and iconographic references to the *sella curulis* emerge during the late republic and the early principate, when the content and authority of tradition began to be debated. My argument is that in the instances that will be discussed here, there are in fact three different levels at play. The first is the most obvious one, the battles over symbols that were close to becoming real physical battles or preceded them. Much like in duelling cultures of the nineteenth century, where aristocrats slapped each other with gloves, they are symbolic insults that convey a much more serious challenge. The second level is legal, that of jurisdiction and formalism. What is the legal significance of these aggressions, either in the purely formal sense or in the popular belief? Finally, the third level is that of honour and

⁴ Kübler 1923; de Libero 2006.

⁵ See i.a. Alföldi 1970; Gabelmann 1984 for numerous examples.

⁶ Wanscher 1980, especially 121–90.

⁷ Schäfer 1989, 24–195 with extensive survey of the material.

⁸ Wanscher 1980, 128.

memory, where the chairs become placeholders for aristocratic competition and the place of the individual in the generational succession. In all of these there are clear links with the recent discussions on the evolution of historical memory during the late republic and the importance that this memory had in the Roman political realm in times of crisis.⁹

The methodology of this inquiry starts from the strong spatial aspect of the developments. The *sella curulis* is not simply a chair, but a vehicle through which any space can be transformed into an official setting. Many of the spatial battles of the late republic were over a very small but politically and symbolically vital piece of real estate in the Forum.¹⁰ I claim that the contestations over chairs were in large part about the chairs as pawns in the games for dominance in the Roman Republic itself. Is it possible that in the late republican conflicts between the *populares* and the *optimates*, the chairs become seen as symbols of aristocratic power and dominance and the contestation over them mutates into a constitutional one? Spatial theories suggest that the public venues where political and legal activities take place are highly significant and inform how power relations are constructed and perceived.¹¹ As we will observe, within the political discourse of the late republic, disputes and contestations over status and privilege took the form of turf wars that encompassed not only the concrete space in the Forum, but equally the entirety of the communicative sphere. What we will be attempting is the evaluation of the strategies of actors in this dispute as a whole, where not only spaces, but also words and images, both the image presented by the magistrate seated in the *sella curulis* but also the image minted on coins and engraved in relief, are messages seeking to convey a certain understanding about structures and order. Cultural memory and historical narratives were utilized but also shaped and contested through these discourses and to analyse

⁹ See recent works such as Sandberg 2017. On the role of memory and historical understanding during the crises of the late republic, see Straumann 2016. On the formation of that memory, few rituals were as important as triumphs, see Lange – Vervaeke 2014.

¹⁰ Gargola 2017 on the centrality of the forum area for the whole empire. Russell 2015, 44 on attempts to control the forum and its role in the memory of the republic.

¹¹ On the methodological foundations of spatial theory in ancient studies, see my review article in this journal issue. For the emergence of spatial understanding of social and cultural relations, see Arias – Warf 2009. Much of the current work on spatial theory is based on the pioneering work of Lefebvre 1991, on that, see Merrifield 2006. In addition to these, I have drawn inspiration from works such as Nicolet 1991; Nora 1984–92; Zanker 1998 or more recently Russell 2015.

them as a whole is a challenging task. Not only political power or jurisdictional power, but also the sacral dimension of the magistrate's activity and the historical understanding of identity were all areas where this aristocratic idea of proper order of the public realm was discussed and maintained.

French sociologist Marcel Mauss wrote nearly a century ago about object agency in early Roman law and society, maintaining that in a sense, certain culturally significant objects are alive and create rights and demands.¹² From these beginnings, theories of object agency have proliferated.¹³ For our purposes, the issue is whether we should reduce the *sella curulis* to simply a symbol or is it something more? As is obvious, rituals create meanings that are dependent on the cultural context and the cultural memories associated with them. Through public displays of solemn authority, objects such as the *sella curulis* become imbued with meanings that are perhaps not always recognized, even by the actors themselves. The cultural memory of early Roman law is replete with examples of concrete formalism, the strict ritual observance and the quasi-magical logic of actions and effects. In the same way, the Roman culture of memory and honour is strongly connected with the objects that are amassed, from the spoils of war to relics of accomplishments, such as the *sella curulis* or laurel wreaths.¹⁴ In the following, I will attempt to examine how the *sellae curules* and the disputes over them enlighten this debate.

Breaking chairs

The relevant passages are all from later authors, Cassius Dio and Aurelius Victor, writing of late republican history from the third and the fourth century AD, respectively. All the examples are of altercations between magistrates stemming from the late republican conflicts between the *populares* or the plebeian party and the *optimates*, the partisans of the patricians.¹⁵

¹² Mauss 1990, chapter 3. Mauss's theories, based as they were on very old and fairly speculative legal history, should not be understood as representing current anthropology. See Tuori 2015, 48–52, 132–35 on the early intellectual history.

¹³ On the criticized concept of object agency, see Gosden 2005; Knappett – Malafouris 2008.

¹⁴ On the significance of material culture and objects in the making and shaping of historical memory, see for example the seminal studies of Hölscher 2018 and Zanker 1990.

¹⁵ On the late republican disputes, there is a wealth of literature that has moved through different

Dio recounts two examples of the destruction of a *sella curulis*, both which revolved around a conflict between magistrates, the first between a tribune of the plebs and a praetor, the second a praetor and a consul. The first example dates from 78 BC and the aggressor is the tribune of the plebs M. Acilius Glabrio, who was enraged by the lack of respect shown to him. Dio (Cass. Dio 36,41,2) writes how Glabrio had destroyed the *sella curulis* of *praetor urbanus* Lucius Lucullus, who had remained seated while Glabrio had passed him. However, in the face of this aggression, Lucullus remained calm and composed:

For when Acilius once commanded that the chair on which he sat while hearing cases should be broken into pieces because Lucullus, on seeing Acilius pass by, had not risen, the praetor not only did not give way to rage, but thereupon both he himself and his colleagues on his account gave their decision standing.¹⁶

Here, the main point of Dio's narrative is to demonstrate how the praetors remained united against this attack, showing that their power was in fact not dependent on the chair itself. While Glabrio shows his weakness by becoming angry and emotional, Lucullus demonstrates true Roman self-control and his superiority as a man.¹⁷ What this reaction equally illustrates is the strategic use of the cultural capital of the elite, namely of maintaining the illusion of superiority towards aggression.

In a duplication typical of Dio,¹⁸ he recounts another conflict in 48 BC focusing on the *sella curulis*, this time involving the consul Servilius Isauricus

tendencies and frameworks at a rapid pace, from Theodor Mommsen to Christian Meier. On these, and the difficulties of the *populares/optimates* distinctions, see Mouritsen 2017.

¹⁶ Cass. Dio 36,41,2 διέδειξεν: τοῦ γὰρ Ἀκίλιου συντριβῆναι τὸν δίφρον αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' οὗ ἐδίκαζε, κελεύσαντος ὅτι παρὶόντα ποτὲ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν οὐκ ἐξanéστη, οὐτ' ὀργῇ ἐχρήσατο καὶ ὀρθοστάδην μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες αὐτοῦ δι' ἐκεῖνον διεδίκασαν. Translated by Cary – Foster 1914.

¹⁷ On this case, see David – Dondin 1980. On self-discipline as an aristocratic virtue, see McDonnell 2006.

¹⁸ Dio, like many other ancient historians and perhaps reflecting the narrative tradition, had a habit of replicating similar passages about different characters. On Dio and the late republic, see Millar 1964; Lintott 1997; Osgood and Baron 2019. They note how Dio's understanding of the late republic was colored by both his own time and his knowledge of Greek history.

and praetor M. Caelius during the early days of Caesar's dictatorship (Cass. Dio 42,23,3–9). Caelius, who opposed Caesar, had roused the people with promises of the annulment of debts and rent and had even attempted to kill his colleague. The Senate and Servilius assembled troops for their protection, but could not issue a decision against Caelius as the tribunes of the plebs would veto it. Servilius therefore took another route:

After this he would not permit Caelius to do anything in his capacity as praetor, but assigned the duties pertaining to his office to another praetor, debarred him from the senate, dragged him from the rostra while he was delivering some tirade or other, and broke his chair into pieces.¹⁹

Even though Caelius was furious, he could not do anything as the Senate an equal number of troops in the city. He departed the city to join Milo's rebellion but was killed in Bruttium (Cass. Dio 42,24–5). The same incident is also mentioned by Quintilian (*inst.* 6,3,25) *M. Caelius praetor, cum sellam eius curulem consul Isauricus fregisset, alteram posuit loris intentam*. The main point in this narrative is that the powers of the consul and the Senate could not remove a praetor elected by the people, but the power of the consul could be used to physically prevent him from utilizing the office of the praetor. The breaking of the chair was just one of these extrajudicial means of preventing a magistrate from acting, comparable to not giving him any cases or not allowing him access to address either the Senate or the People. At the same time, it can be seen as a sign of how the situation appeared difficult to approach through the conventional playbook of the aristocracy, where access to the podium and the rostra were exclusive to the upper classes. Now these tools of privilege and status were being lawfully occupied by insurgents wishing to deny the senatorial elite's exclusive position. The question was how to repel that challenge without diminishing the status of the official system itself.

The stories by Aurelius Victor contain similar narrative arcs. The first example (*Vir. ill.* 3,72,6) took place in 115 BC. In it, the consul M. Aemilius

¹⁹ Cass. Dio 42,23,3 *περί αὐτῆς εἶρηται, παρέδοσαν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐκ τούτου τῷ Καίλιῳ ὡς καὶ στρατηγούντι πρᾶξι ἐφήκεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ ἄλλω τῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν προσέταξε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ τοῦ τε συνεδρίου εἶρξε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καταβῶντά τι κατέσπασε, τὸν τε*. Translated by Cary – Foster 1916.

Scaurus punished the praetor P. Decius, who had remained seated while the consul had passed:

When he had passed in front of the praetor P. Decius who was seated, he ordered him to rise, tore his clothes and broke his chair. He published an edict prohibiting anyone from addressing the issue in a process.²⁰

The background of the incident probably referred to the conflicts between the *optimates* and the *populares*. Scaurus was one of the champions of the optimates and was known to be very sensitive of authority, both his own and that of the Senate. Again, the case demonstrates how while the consul could not prohibit the praetor, he could prevent him from doing his duty, in this case by prohibiting everyone else from approaching his tribunal and destroying the chair upon which he would sit.²¹

The second example by Aurelius Victor (*Vir. ill.* 3,73,2) is also about the conflict between the *optimates* and the *populares*. In 100 BC the famous demagogue and tribune of the plebs L. Appuleius Saturninus destroyed the *sella curulis* of praetor C. Servilius Glaucia in order to appear as a defender of the people.²² This is quite strange, because Glaucia and Saturninus were otherwise allies. Schäfer is hesitant about the dating of the event and the identification of the praetor,²³ but they are not a decisive factor here.

Schäfer maintains that the destruction of the chairs was primarily an attack on the magistrate's power and *imperium* and only secondarily an attack on their personal *dignitas* and *auctoritas*.²⁴ However, as he himself maintains that the destruction of the *sella curulis* did not prevent the magistrate from exercising his power, this may be too limited an interpretation. What these conflicts primarily revolved around were the political conflicts behind them. They were perhaps a surrogate stage to the real issues at hand, bloodless reenactments of

²⁰ *Vir. ill.* 3,73,2 *P. Decium praetorem transeunte ipso sedentem iussit assurgere eique uestem scidit, sellam concidit; ne quis ad eum in ius iret edixit.*

²¹ Stewart 2010, 131; Schäfer 1989, 65; David – Dondin 1980, 203–4.

²² *Vir. ill.* 3,73,2 *Glauciae praetori, quod is eo die, quo ipse contionem habebat, ius dicendo partem populi auocasset, sellam concidit, ut magis popularis uideretur.*

²³ Schäfer 1989, 65.

²⁴ Schäfer 1989, 66.

conflicts that could turn violent. They were, in their basic form, ritual battles about the symbols of power where the objective was to prevent the opposition from utilizing them to their own benefit.

Frolov reads the situations, especially that regarding Caelius, as a result of a dispute between the Senate and the magistrates, where the breaking of chairs is in line with the *senatusconsultum ultimum* issued against the magistrates. According to Frolov, the Senate could not take away the *imperium* of a magistrate, but rather stop him from using it. In a sense, the magistrate was degraded into an intermediate position between a magistrate and a private person. In contrast, in 62 BC Caesar was suspended of his magistracy and abandoned its insignia, including *sella curulis*, but when he told his supporters to calm down, he was praised by the Senate and reinstated.²⁵

A curious issue is the repetition of these passages by such later historians as Cassius Dio or Aurelius Victor, as they have little bearing to the lived experience of the third or fourth centuries where such contestations over the symbols of republicanism had few comparisons. While Lintott writes how Dio's late republic is his own, not following anyone else, he also underlines how alien the political realities and values of the republic are.²⁶ Nevertheless, he records these events faithfully and as part of a major development.

However, due to their close linkage to the political struggle between the parties, it is possible to see the chairs equally as symbols of the authority and dignity of class, a symbol of the preeminence of the aristocratic dominance over Rome. As such the chair would be a symbol of the constitutional order that produced this dominance and attacks on chairs were both attempts at delegitimizing the order, or in the case of plebeian officers holding them, of the usurpation by plebeians of the power of the aristocracy. In order to assess the significance of the *sella curulis* to the Roman observers, we need also to examine how it was used in self-representation.

***Sella curulis* as a symbol**

There are numerous depictions of Roman magistrates acting, for instance, as

²⁵ Frolov 2017, 988–91.

²⁶ Lintott 1997, 2520.

judges, in a way that resembles the symbolism of kings or autocratic rulers. In iconography, the common feature is their position on a podium, with the *sella curulis* either as their seat or otherwise in the scene as a symbol of jurisdiction and power (figs. 1 and 2). These settings were later utilized by emperors in their self-representations, for instance by Augustus in the famous Boscoreale cup.²⁷

The symbolic value of the *sella curulis* appeared to some degree self-evident to Roman observers. For instance, in a relief block possibly from a funerary monument from via Labicana (figs. 1 and 2), the role of the magistrate is communicated only with the chair and *capsa*, the container for documents. The relief itself is in the shape of a *sella curulis*. Between the legs of the chair is the *capsa*, but above the seat there is a panel with a smaller relief. At the centre of this relief is a *togatus*, presumably the magistrate, and beside him on the other side a gigantic *sella curulis*, roughly twice the actual size, and on the other side a



Fig 1: Funerary monument with a *sella curulis*. Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 124483. Copyright 2012 Fotosar - MIBAC - Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Nazionale Romano e l'Area Archeologica di Roma.

²⁷ On these imaginaries and their ancient contexts, see Gabelmann 1984; Alföldi 1970. On the Boscoreale cup, see Kuttner 1995.



Fig. 2: Denarius of Q. Pompeius Rufus, Rome, 54 BC, with *sella curulis* on both sides. Crawford 434/2. Image Bertolami Fine Arts, at <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=1694481&AucID=3796&Lot=963&Val=3e757e6a03e4b3f217d3cd65a5e78a5f>.

group of lictors.²⁸ If there is a way to centralize the *sella curulis* more, it would be difficult to imagine.

Whereas the lictors were the symbol of *coercitio*, the physical power of the magistrate included in the *imperium*, it may be said that the *sella curulis* symbolized the civil jurisdiction of the magistrate. Whether or not this was a conviction that was legally relevant or simply a folk belief is immaterial here. What is true is that for the actors in these descriptions this was a relevant proposition that informed their actions.

This authority linked to the *sella curulis* is apparent in Plutarch's (*Vit. Marc.* 5,23) description of M. Claudius Marcellus being charged by the Syracusans in 215 BC. Marcellus as consul sat in his *sella curulis* conducting the business of the day. Then he came down and placed himself in the place reserved for the accused, waiting to be charged. The Syracusans found it hard to present a credible accusation against a man who was wearing the purple toga of the consul and still had the dignity and authority of the magistrate about him.

The authority of the chair could be used to display status and to force others to accept it. In 304 BC the famed Gnaeus Flavius brandished the *sella curulis* to cow disrespectful patricians. Livy (9,48,8–10) mentions how Flavius had been elected *curule aedile* despite being plebeian. This break with tradition had caused great resentment among the senatorial elite. The tensions became

²⁸ Rome at the Museo Nazionale (inv. 124.483), currently at the Palazzo Massimo; Schäfer 1989, 238–40.

visible when Flavius went to visit a colleague who was bedridden at his home. The colleague was at the time entertaining a group of young patrician friends. When Flavius entered the *cubiculum*, they did not rise as would have been customary but stayed seated in bed. In what could be considered a power move, Flavius ordered his *sella curulis* to be brought and sat on it to force the issue with his resentful opponents.

While the magistrate's *sella curulis* was the same for all, there were special versions. Allied foreign kings were given ivory *sellae curules* as gifts, which underlines their status as regalia.²⁹ *Sella curulis* played a central part in the controversial accumulation of public honours to Caesar. As dictator he was first granted the right to sit on a *sella curulis* with the consuls, and upon being given the title of dictator for life, he was also given a golden *sella curulis*, a *sella aurea*. Wanscher suggests that the *sella aurea* was a gilded version of the *sella curulis*. The Roman authors grouped the *sella aurea* among the kingly or even divine honours that were heaped on Caesar and it plays a crucial role in the famous scene of the Lupercalia of 44 BC, where Mark Antony repeatedly attempts to place the royal diadem on Caesar's head.³⁰

Foreign kings, to some of whom a *sella curulis* was given, would sometimes emulate the Romans. For example, according to Polybius, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the second century BC Seleucid king, often dressed in a toga and sat at the agora in a *sella curulis* to give judgment. Antiochus was known for his eccentricity, as noted by Polybius, who calls him mad.³¹ To make matters more confusing, there is another Antiochus IV Epiphanes, namely Gaius Iulius Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who was the last Roman client king in Commagenia from 38 to 72 AD. In the so-called Philopappus monument in Athens, Antiochus is depicted wearing a toga and seated on a *sella curulis*. Wu has even suggested that this was a reference to the fact that Antiochus himself defined his office as Roman. In fact, in the accompanying inscription (*CIL* III 552), his grandson is styled as consul and a *frater Arvales*, and his *adlectio inter praetorios*, to the

²⁹ These were given to King Masinissa of Numidia during the second Carthaginian war (Liv. 30,15,11, 31,11,11–12) and to King Antiochus of Syria in 163 BC (Diod. Sic. 29,32).

³⁰ Cic. *Phil.* 2,34,85; Suet. *Caes.* 76; Cass. Dio 44,6,3, 44,17,3. On Caesar and the *sella aurea*, see Wanscher 1980, 130–36; Schäfer 1989, 114–22.

³¹ Polyb. 26,1; See also Liv. 41,20; Ath. 10,439a. On Antiochus, see Mittag 2006.

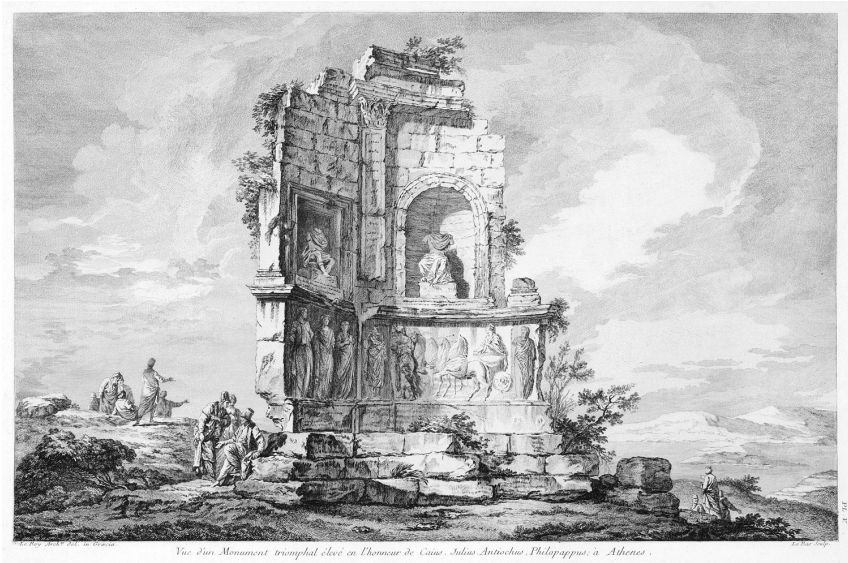


Fig. 3: Engraving by Julien-David Le Roy (1770) of the triumphal monument to Caius Julius Antiochus Philopappus in Athens. Image Public Domain, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=66475441>.

praetorian rank.³² Here, the use of Roman nomenclature and specifically the names Gaius Iulius normally signifies citizenship gained during the reigns of Caesar or Augustus. This means that Philopappus saw himself as both Roman and as king of Commagenia.

The *sella curulis* was the property of magistrates and it remained in their house, a sign of their rank and dignity, and much like the other insignia it was displayed in their funeral. In the case of Caesar, the golden *sella* was part of the funeral procession and was displayed publicly with a golden image of him and a golden crown.³³

The symbolic authority of the *sella curulis* and its linkage with its owner was utilized in magisterial self-representation, for example in coins and

³² Wu 2016.

³³ Cass. Dio 53,30, 56,29.

monuments. The minters of coins were most often aediles during the Republic, while later they were associated with emperors. The reliefs with *sella curulis* are most often parts of funerary monuments. In both, the usage of the depictions of the *sella curulis* are similar, showing most often just the *sella*, sometimes with another object.

The coin types which have representations of *sella curulis* typically have the chair in the middle with texts either under, over or around the chair (see fig. 2). They can be dated both to the last decades of the Republic, from the 80s BC down to the triumvirs and the early Principate. In these coins other features are also honorary symbols, such as laurel wreaths and *litui*, sometimes sceptres and diadems. Weapons and helmets are other additions. In most examples, there is just the chair or the chair with some other objects, but there are some instances, for example Sulla and Augustus, where a person is placed sitting on a *sella curulis*. The obverse sides of these coins usually depict a head. The main message of these coin types is the magistracy, the curule rank achieved by the author. As such, they were a tool for political discourse or even propaganda, advertising the leadership, responsibility and authority of the honoured person. Schäfer estimates that during the late republic, most of them were aligned with the optimates. Of course, the uses of Sulla or Octavian/Augustus were even more politically motivated.³⁴

In statues and reliefs, *sella curulis* is generally a feature of funerary monuments. There are just two statues of a *togatus* seated on a *sella curulis*.³⁵ Much more common are reliefs of the type of the Palazzo Massimo relief block, where the whole relief is one large *sella curulis* supporting a smaller vignette relief. There are less than ten of these, and at least seven have a *togatus* seated on a *sella curulis* in the vignette, with some lictors on the side.³⁶ There are also two larger reliefs of emperors seated on *sellae curules*, one is the Torlonia relief of Antoninus Pius and the other is the Anaglypha Traiani. According to Schäfer, the surge in popularity of the *sella curulis* in the early Principate was a reflection

³⁴ On the coinage, see images in Schäfer 1989, tables 9–13, text 70–74. On the uses of *sella curulis* in coinage, see Puglisi 2019.

³⁵ Now at Villa Massimo and Palazzo Falconieri, Rome. Image in Schäfer 1989, tables 16–18, analysis in Schäfer 1989, 238–41.

³⁶ Images in Schäfer 1989, tables 16–31.

of the return to normalcy and stability by Augustus. For the senatorial class, the loss of political and social power was compensated by the emphasis on the civil and sacral attributes of the offices.³⁷

This use of the *sella curulis* as the sign of dignity and authority by former magistrates was emphasized in Livy's narrative of early Roman history. In the description of the Gallic sack, the self-sacrifice of the old curule magistrates features the *sella curulis* prominently. According to Livy (5,41), the old magistrates sat on their chairs in front of their houses, dressed in the full regalia of their offices while the Gauls entered the otherwise empty city unopposed. What Livy's description illustrates through the moving depiction of old men waiting for death is the role of the *sella curulis* as a placeholder, which recalls the notion of honour.³⁸

In the historical examples of magistrates invoking the power of the *sella curulis*, the chair acted as a sign and symbol of the authority given by the magistracy. In late republican iconography, the chair was a symbol of the constitutional order and the power and authority of the Roman people. Within these examples, because the curule magistracies were initially reserved for the senatorial class, the chair operated equally as a symbol of senatorial privileges, explaining its use in, for instance, Sulla's propaganda.

The changing notions of jurisdiction

What was then the legal significance of the chair to the jurisdiction of the magistrate? In theory, the jurisdiction of the republican magistrate was straightforward: the Roman magistrate gained jurisdiction from the people. The curule magistrates were elected and had their own field of jurisdiction that they were free to administer with considerable independence. Each magistracy was collegial, meaning that they could each veto the other's decision. While all magistrates had *potestas*, only the highest magistrates, the consuls and the praetors, had *imperium*, perhaps a reflection of the initially military nature of these offices. As stated, the lictors were only given to magistrates with *imperium*, but the *sella curulis* was given first to them and the censors, but later they were

³⁷ Schäfer 1989, 193–95.

³⁸ On this episode, see also Flor. *epit.* 1,13,10; Val. Max. 3,2,7.

granted to other, even local magistrates. A magistracy was an honour, which meant that republican magistrates were not paid a salary.³⁹

Even though Gaius (*inst.* 1,7,20) clearly says that a magistrate can perform official acts wherever he may wish, there have been discussions whether this irrelevance of space extended to all official acts.⁴⁰ Perhaps this has emerged in reference to later public law doctrines which often maintained that an official may make decisions only under certain circumstances. In many modern jurisdictions an elected official's decisions may be made only as a response to another official's proposal.

These debates have revolved around two particular conditions. The first is that of the use of a *consilium*, a panel of advisers, in the deliberations. The second is that the decision should be made on a tribunal. Thus, for example Max Kaser, in his influential work states that the praetor was placed in the *comitium* at the Forum on his tribunal under the open sky. He is dressed in the *toga praetexta*, and sits on the *sella curulis* surrounded by his *consilium*. For Kaser, the difference was that in contested legal matters the praetor (or the aedile) has to be at his regular location, but in matters of voluntary jurisdiction, such as the manumission mentioned by Gaius, these may be done *in transitu* or out of the tribunal (*de plano*).⁴¹ While scholars such as Kaser have approached the issue from a formal perspective, others such as Francesco de Angelis have suggested that there is a sacral component in the conception that the judge needs to sit at a tribunal under the open sky.⁴²

³⁹ On the nature of Roman magistracies and the Roman administration, see Kunkel and Wittmann 1995; Lintott 1999.

⁴⁰ Düll 1932, with extensive discussion on the Roman sources. See also Gaius *Dig.* 40,2,7–8. on manumissions not being bound to courts.

⁴¹ Kaser 1966, 145. On the physical locations, see Bablitz 2007. The main source given by Kaser, *Dig.* 1,16,9,1, 50,17,71 is about proconsuls and what matters they can resolve by letter and which should be resolved by a decree in court. The expression *de plano* is mentioned by Ulpian in *Dig.* 37,1,3,8, where he argues that a *bonorum possessio* may be granted only in court, not outside it, and in *Dig.* 1,16,9,3. However, Ulpian in *Dig.* 38,15,2,1 mentions a *bonorum possessio* that can be granted *de plano*. Similarly, *Dig.* 48,5,12,6 is about how a claim presented via letter (*libellus*) can be accepted *de plano*. See Düll 1932, 171–7 on further mentions of *de plano* and *pro tribunali* juxtaposition in Roman sources.

⁴² De Angelis 2010, 7.

With regards to the proposition that the judge needs to sit at a tribunal, the main corroborating source has been the text of Suetonius on Claudius acting as judge in the Forum. Suetonius (*Claud.* 15,3) writes that Claudius had declared the day's business over, when several pleaders attempted to keep him seated and prevent him from leaving the tribunal. However, similar references may be found elsewhere. Cicero mentions how an official decision was made on the *sella curulis* and on the podium (*Cic. Verr.* 4,40,86 *agebantur in conventu palam de sella ac de loco superiore*).⁴³ Dionysios of Halicarnassus mentions how Coriolanus had in his camp a tribunal to administer justice to his troops and in it a *sella curulis* (*Dion. Hal.* 8,45).

Beyond Gaius, in the legal sources the role of place followed the juxtaposition between the *pro tribunali* and *de plano*. In many specific cases Roman jurists declare that a certain procedure is possible only in court, *pro tribunali*, not *de plano*. For example, Marcian (*Dig.* 48,16,1,8) writes how the annulment of charges may only be sought in a private capacity from the provincial governor in court, not outside it (*non de plano*). Another action that may only be sought *pro tribunali* was *bonorum possessio*, which may according to Ulpian (*Dig.* 37,1,3,8) only be given after it has been investigated (*causa cognita*) and only before the court, not *de plano*. In contrast, persons who are held in criminal trial can be both heard and tried *de plano* (*Dig.* 48,18,18,10). The proconsul can, according to Ulpian (*Dig.* 1,16,9,3, 48,2,6), issue minor commands and orders such as warnings about proper behaviour towards parents, as well as hear charges of minor crimes. As Düll remarks, following Pernice and Wlassak, that the discussion regarding *pro tribunali* and *de plano* focuses mostly thought not exclusively on *cognitio* procedure used by the governors and imperial courts.⁴⁴ There are no mentions of the praetor's jurisdiction exercised *de plano* (however, *Vat. fr.* 112 talks simply of magistrates). Marcellus (*Dig.* 4.1.7.pr) quotes an imperial rescript to the praetor Marcius Avitus regarding summons: if someone who is summoned does not appear in court, but immediately afterwards appears while the praetor is still seated, he may be given *restitutio in integrum* should it appear that he did not hear the summons of the court officer. Here, being seated is the sign that the same session is still ongoing.

⁴³ See also *Cic. Verr.* 2,42,102 *palam de loco superiore dixerat*.

⁴⁴ Düll 1932, 178–9.

Republican jurisprudence and law have been described as formalistic. This formalism meant that in numerous instances legal acts had to follow a certain strict procedure, either in acts or words, for the desired legal effect to be created. Thus, for example, Gaius (*inst.* 4,11) notes that in the *legis actio* procedure, one had to use the exact words of the formula in order to produce the required effect. According to Gaius, this could mean that if a person who was seeking damages over the cutting of vines might lose his case if he used the word vines, because the formula in the XII Tables used the word trees. A similar instance was sale using *mancipatio*, where there were even more elaborate formulas to be uttered, gestures to be made, and witnesses to be present. In all of these instances, references are to early Roman law or to archaic institutions which had been preserved. There has been a lively debate over this kind of formalism and its linkages to sacral law, as well as Roman conceptions of religion and magic.⁴⁵

Was the belief in the relevance of the *sella curulis* an extension of the formalism typical of early Roman law? Furthermore, was it a valid legal proposition or a reflection of the popular conception of law? Both of these are of course relevant because what interests us here is what the actors believed to be right and just.

There are instances where the Roman sources give us some extremely flexible examples of the spatial arrangements of jurisdiction. For example, Caesar (*civ.* 3,20,1) reports how in 48 BC the praetor peregrinus M. Caelius Rufus, the same Caelius mentioned above by Dio, would court public favour by promising relief through appeal to those convicted unpaid debts by bringing his *sella* next to the tribunal of praetor *urbanus* G. Trebonius:

About the same time the praetor M. Caelius Rufus, espousing the cause of the debtors, at the beginning of his magistracy placed his tribunal close to the chair of G. Trebonius, the city praetor, and promised to assist anyone who should appeal about the valuation and the payments to be fixed by an arbitrator, in accordance with Caesar's arrangements when present in Rome.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ MacCormack 1969. On *mancipatio* and the supernatural, see Tuori 2008. On ritual and magical elements in the Roman legal documentary practices, see Meyer 2004. On the formulary process, see Mantovani 2003. Both formalism and the supernatural are equally present in the XII Tables.

⁴⁶ *Caes. civ.* 3,20,1 *Eisdem temporibus M. Caelius Rufus praetor causa debitorum suscepta initio*

This was, of course, an exceptional circumstance of civic strife, and Caelius would continue his attack by throwing Trebonius off his tribunal.⁴⁷ From there, the disagreement would only go downhill, ending in the shattering of the offending chair reported above and ultimately Caelius' death. This conflict appears to have similar roots as those of the breaking of the *sellae curules*, the confusion that had emerged about the social and legal order among the elite, of who were the legitimate holders of jurisdiction. These movements of chairs and tribunals were about who took centre stage in the Roman commonwealth.

The concept of the magistrate on his *sella curulis* being the ultimate authority in his court was also overshadowed by the rise in imperial power and jurisdiction. While the Roman magistrates had in principle independent authority, there was an exception and that was the emperor. Thus, for instance, while a proconsul has in his province the most complete jurisdiction, comparable to that of magistrates and judges *extra ordinem* in Rome (*plenissimam iurisdictionem*, *Dig.* 1,16,7,2), his *imperium* in the province is second to the emperor (*Dig.* 1,16,8). To Ulpian, writing in the early third century, this was naturally clear. Ulpian's famous statement about the word of the emperor being law included not only formal decrees but also statements given *de plano* (*Dig.* 1,4.1,1 *statuit vel cognoscens decrevit vel de plano intercolutus est*). In the early Principate, such a common agreement was not yet reached. Thus, when Tiberius took the habit of sitting beside the presiding magistrate as an assessor or member of the *consilium*, the situation may have baffled observers (such examples are reported by Tacitus, *ann.* 1,75; Suet. *Tib.* 33; Cass. Dio 57,7,6). Claudius sat between the consuls on his own *sella curulis* (Suet. *Claud.* 12,2).⁴⁸

What did it mean that a magistrate would sit on a *sella curulis* in a tribunal? Seneca (*dial.* 2,12,2) remarks that when children were playing magistrate, they would have the fasces and the tribunal as signs of the magistracy. According to Färber, there were no specific requirements for a podium or a tribunal, it should simply be big enough to have room for the magistrate, the *consilium* and the scribes. It had, of course, a great symbolic significance of the power, authority

magistratus tribunal suum iuxta C. Treboni, praetoris urbani, sellam collocavit et, si quis appellavisset de aestimatione et de solutionibus, quae per arbitrum fierent, ut Caesar praesens constituerat, fore auxilio pollicebatur. Translated by Peskett 1914.

⁴⁷ Caes. *civ.* 3,21; Cass. Dio 42,22; Färber 2014, 37; David 1995, 376.

⁴⁸ Tuori 2016, 126–95; Färber 2014, 74–75.

and jurisdiction of the magistrate. This meant that the *sella* and the lictors could also be abused as sources of power.⁴⁹ In a similar way, Tacitus gives an account of Tiberius attending a trial at the praetor's court *in cornu tribunalis* (Tac. *ann.* 1,75). The phrase is used precisely to suggest that he did not want to displace the magistrate from his *sella curulis*. In that, the *sella curulis* is in itself a synonym for jurisdiction.

The various legal and symbolic implications of the *sella curulis* are obvious from the numerous references to it in relation to various effects. Plutarch mentions how the curule chair or the magistracy that gives one the curule chair confers such power that it relinquishes the holder from his dependency on his patron (Plut. *Vit. Mar.* 5). There are numerous examples of how the *sella curulis* was not used in times of mourning, but no indication of why this was the case.⁵⁰ In addition to the *podia*, the chairs were used in the Senate by consuls and emperors (Liv. 2,28,9; Cass. Dio 43,14,5, 50,2,5; App. *B Civ.* 2,117), which indicates that its use was not restricted to jurisdiction. Of course, Isidorus (Isid. *diff.* 1,108) writes how the *sella curulis* is a chair in which a magistrate gives justice (*in quibus magistratus sedentes iura reddunt*), implying that it represented justice.

Ulpian writes (*Dig.* 49,4,1,9) about the possibility of legal recourse by appealing to a magistrate that if a magistrate makes himself available at a public place, that should be considered an opportunity to appeal. However, a litigant is not required to go to a judge's private house (*domus*) or his villa (*horti, villa suburbana*) to see if he would be open to an appeal.⁵¹

Thus, it is evident that the formal legal requirement of being on a *sella curulis* hardly existed, but from the Roman perspective this was clearly the customary form of action. For them, it was what the magistrate did and what they expected him to do. What this means is that for the acts of the magistrate to be perceived as lawful, there was an expectation that they be given on a *sella curulis*. Although most of the legal sources are from the principate and discuss imperial jurisdiction, it is evident from them that a judge may act outside the tribunal (and thus *sella curulis*) mainly in granting and receiving applications

⁴⁹ Färber 2014, 188, 212, 221–23; Bablitz 2007.

⁵⁰ Tac. *ann.* 4,8. See also Tac. *ann.* 3,4 *sine insignibus magistratus*.

⁵¹ Färber 2014, 152.

and other minor issues, but never adversarial deliberations where this may have prevented the other party to be present.

The space and memory of a magistrate

What was, then, the meaning of a *sella curulis*? I began with the three levels that may be observed regarding the altercations over the *sella curulis*, 1) the symbolic, 2) the legal, and 3) that of memory and honour. We may observe these levels or aspects in the cases at hand.

The symbolic level is most clearly associated with the political conflicts of the late republic. The narratives of Dio and Aurelius Victor are not politically neutral, for example Dio's tendency of following the senatorial point of view is commonly recognized. Thus, Glabrio's attack on the praetor and his lack of respect is portrayed as an attack on senatorial supremacy. Their response was one of unabridged smugness of pointing out that their institutional and socioeconomic privilege was not dependent on a piece of furniture. Dio's other story about Caelius was likewise one with the Senate's advantage, in this case of the Senate having troops to physically prevent a demagogue from attending to the duties of his magistracy. In Aurelius Victor, the background is equally that of the struggle between the *populares* and the *optimates*, where both Scaurus and Saturninus seek to prevent a magistrate of the opposing side from performing his duties. Far from mere occasional conflicts, these can be seen as fundamental strategic choices in the political discourse, where the occupation of public space meant equally the domination of the discourse, not only in words, but also through images and physical objects.

On the symbolic level, the *sella curulis* is shorthand for the dignity and authority of the magistrate and through him, the *mos maiorum* or the constitution. When a *sella curulis* is being destroyed, it is not merely a chair but the position of its holder in the constitutional order; it represents his authority. As is evident from the references where *sellae curules* are given to foreign kings, it is regalia. Similar symbolic usages may be seen in the coinage issued with *sella curulis*; they convey the idea that their author not only supports the constitution and the status quo but also has the respect of the state in the form of the magistracy.

The legal level pertains mainly to the issue of jurisdiction and the popular or even legal belief that a *sella curulis* was necessary for a magistrate to have jurisdiction. All the acts of blockage were aimed at both the prevention of a magistrate from exercising his duties and the annulment of the magistrates' constitutional authority. As the senatorial praetors in the case of Dio demonstrated, the magistrates did not need their chairs in a purely legal sense to give judgments that were valid. However, a popular view that considered the chair to be the key to jurisdiction is quite likely.

Within the development of Roman law, there is a gradual movement from the formalism of early law to the consensuality of classical law. While there were clear rules that a magistrate could have jurisdiction anywhere, the acts relating to oppositional situations, such as cases with opposing parties, should be given a verdict publicly, meaning on a podium with a *consilium*. Whether the destruction of the chairs reflects either an earlier or simply a popular idea that jurisdiction would also be dependent on the magistrate's chair is not clear, but there are notable indications in that direction.

The level of historical and cultural memory and the politics of honour may be seen as tied to the symbolic and legal levels. The example given by Plutarch about Marcellus is a reflection of this. Marcellus steps down from his podium, but his podium and the *sella curulis* were still there, reminding one of the honour that he had attained and the respect that was his due. Like a throne, the furniture made him bigger than he was. In a similar way, the act of Gnaeus Flavius sought to use the *sella curulis* as a statement of authority, forcing opponents to respect the chair that has been given to him, if not the man sitting on it. While the aristocracy had previously enjoyed dominance over historical memory and the definition of tradition, the emerging popular leaders sought to contest the aristocracy's privileged position by using the same symbols to their own advantage.

In a similar way, the *sella curulis* of the deceased family member is presented by the family, sometimes in conjunction with other memorabilia such as the wax images of ancestors. Polybius recounts how in the public ceremonies such as sacrifices the representatives of the family don the masks of their hallowed *maiores*, with the insignia of their offices and sit in their curule chairs.⁵² Such

⁵² On the use of the *sellae curules* and wax images in funerals and public sacrifices, see Polyb. 6,53,6–9; Flower 2001. See Cass. Dio 45,6,5; App. *B Civ.* 3,28 on the placement of Caesar's golden *sella* at

relics were sometimes the object of actions and incidents, such as when during Augustalia, a disturbed person seated himself on Caesar's *sella curulis* and put on his crown. However, Dio points out that this reflected badly on Augustus, which appears strange (Cass. Dio 56,29,1).

Cicero lists the privileges of the curule office as the right to address the senate, to wear the *toga praetextatus*, the curule chair and the *ius imaginum*, the right to leave a portrait for his descendants.⁵³ In this way, the right to a chair is parallel to the right to inhabit the historical memory. The contestations of power were in part contestations over authority and to gain authority one had to gain access to defining historical memory. As Walter has pointed out, one of the main claims to privilege of the Roman aristocracy was their monopoly over the historical memory and its definition. The "big names" promoted and reproduced ceaselessly traditions and their way of remembering the deeds that made them who they think they are. Much of the strategies of the elite revolved around preserving and enhancing status, including adoptions and marriages.⁵⁴

Cicero's attacks on Caesar and the golden chair, the *sella aurea*, in both the Philippics and elsewhere, are juxtaposed with the crown he wore as a sign of the regal powers that he sought. As is obvious from the innumerable references to the events, the diadem and the golden chair were very effective in conveying how far Caesar had come from being a regular Roman magistrate.⁵⁵

Where all of these levels meet is the spatial politics of Rome and its republic. From Sulla onwards, each of the contenders for power from Caesar to Octavian/Augustus had sought to remake the topography of the Roman forum. Sulla rebuilt the curia to fit his larger Senate, while Caesar planned to rebuild the whole forum anew. When we talk about object agency and the spatial dimension, it is important to remember how they operate in a dynamic environment. In a

the theatre as a source of contention. Augustus put Marcellus' *sella curulis*, his golden image and golden crown on display at the theatre after his death (Cass. Dio 53,30,6). *Sedes curules sacerdotum Augustalium* dedicated to Germanicus (Tac. *ann.* 2,83).

⁵³ Cic. *Verr.* 5,14,36 *antiquiorem in senatu sententiae dicendae locum, togam praetextam, sellam curulem, ius imaginis ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendae.*

⁵⁴ Walter 2004, 86.

⁵⁵ Cic. *Phil.* 2,34,85, Cic. *Div.* 1,52,119; Plut. *Vit. Caes.* 61; App. *B Civ.* 2,109; Cass. Dio 44,11,2; Nic. Dam. *Vit. Caes.* 21 repeats these stories of the Lupercalia events. Val. Max 1,6,13; Plin. *Nat.* 11,186 also mention Caesar's *sella aurea*.

changing landscape such as the late republic, where all appears to be in motion, appeals to tradition, stability, and the constitution all gain increased significance. In such a situation, objects such as chairs become a shorthand for power and ruling.⁵⁶ They were part and parcel of the political discourse, much like the words spoken and the texts written.

Of course, Roman activities when in contact with the outside world reinforced the notion that the *sella curulis* was to be seen as a seat of power. For instance, when King Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia gave power to his son in 62/3 BC, this took place in the tribunal of Cn. Pompeius. The king had risen to Pompey's tribunal and was seated on the curule chair. The king and Pompey had the son rise to the tribunal, gave him a diadem and seated him on the *sella curulis* (Val. Max 5,7(ext),2). In short, the tribunal of the Roman magistrate and his *sella curulis* is made equal to a king's throne. While it may appear that the king would have been simply delusional, as was suggested by some Romans, it is possible that he understood the Roman mechanics and optics of power quite astutely, even more clearly than the Romans themselves.

Conclusions

Anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski famously criticized the antiquated notion of custom in primitive societies, which claimed that tribal custom would be automatically followed by all of its members. Instead, he maintained that the content of custom should be seen more as a claim, a way of asserting authority and a locus of contention.⁵⁷ In a similar way, Roman *mos maiorum* may be seen either as an immutable custom that all accepted and followed or a contentious idea of past authority. Regardless of whether this is true or not, it is evident that during the late republic, many of the shared convictions and accepted truths about the Roman state and how it should be run are being challenged. The *sella curulis* as a venerable and old symbol of authority becomes enmeshed with contestations about power, memory and law between the aristocratic elite and the *populares*. Due to the way that the constitutional definition of the Roman political and administrative structure was rooted in history, that history defined

⁵⁶ On this, see Favro 1996; Russell 2015.

⁵⁷ Malinowski 1926, 2–4.

Roman constitutionalism. The constitutional and political crises of the late republic were also battles of who had the authority to redefine the constitution through a redefinition of history.

Like the lictors and the fasces, the *sella curulis* was a symbol of power and authority entrusted to the magistrate. The Roman magistrates had jurisdiction while seated on the chair and the magistrate's authority became organically linked with the chair itself. The possession of the chair was a symbol of the status attained, meaning that its permanent possession meant that whoever gained it was elevated as equal to the aristocrats who had previously had a near monopoly over the higher offices. Thus, a chair in the hands of a plebeian could be seen as an affront to the accepted order and the position of the aristocracy.

What the cases of the destruction of the *sellae curules* demonstrate is a constitutional battle and symbolical discord rolled into one. While lawyers and the magistrates themselves were the whole time clear in maintaining that the magistrate's jurisdiction was not dependent on the chair itself, in the popular imagination these two became joined. By destroying his chair, opponents could demonstrate the loss of both real and symbolic power by the magistrate.

More importantly, the destruction of furniture may be seen as necessary in the battle over public space, both physical space and the space of the republic. By the public destruction of the opponent's chair, one could establish one's dominance over the public sphere.

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PAINTING SIGNS IN ANCIENT POMPEII

Contextualizing *scriptores* and Their Work*

EEVA-MARIA VIITANEN

Introduction

The painted wall inscriptions in Pompeii and Herculaneum are an almost unique type of evidence from the Roman world. Some 3270 texts have been found inside the city walls of Pompeii and about 95 on the tombs outside the walls.¹ Most of these texts are electoral notices (ca. 2450) and advertisements of gladiatorial games (*edictum munerum*) (ca. 100). The content of other painted texts varies and includes captions for images, greetings, poetry, and insults among other subjects (ca. 700). The painted texts have been used to study Pompeian elections, prosopography, and gladiatorial games among other topics,² and recently, their appearance and materiality have also been examined.³ The practice of painting signs has also been discussed based on the contents of the texts. Lists of painters, or *scriptores*, have been created using the almost 50 (about 1,5% of all) texts signed by using a name in the nominative and the verb *scripsit* / *scribit*, usually abbreviated as *scr*.⁴ However, systematic analyses of the painters and their work also considering the materiality of the texts on the walls of Pompeii have not been conducted.

* My sincere thanks to Mrs. S. Viitanen-Vanamo for the language check.

¹ Only about 10 painted texts in the *Corpus Inscriptiorum Latinarum* IV have been found in Herculaneum, Boscoreale, and Stabiae.

² For example, Willems 1887; Della Corte 1965; Castrén 1975; Franklin 1980 and 2001; Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980; Mouritsen 1988; Chiavia 2002.

³ Fioretti 2014; Baratta 2016; Opdenhoff 2019.

⁴ Term *scriptor* occurs commonly in modern scholarship but is not used in Pompeian inscriptions. On painters see De Marchi 1916; Magaldi 1929–1930, 49–76; Franklin 1978; Baratta 2016. Discussions also in Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980, 122–24; Mouritsen 1988, 31–32; Chiavia 2002, 86–94; Fioretti 2014.

The current perceptions of painters and their work were formulated already in the early 20th century mainly by Attilio De Marchi and Emilio Magaldi, and relatively little has been added by later studies.⁵ The painters are commonly regarded as professionals employed to paint all kinds of texts. A workshop (I 7,16) for *scriptores* has been identified based on painted texts found on the walls inside the house.⁶ However, some signatures mention other professions for the painters suggesting painting could also be a secondary activity. Painting notices possibly involved more than one person at a time as the texts name for example a *dealbator* (limer) and a *lanternarius* (lantern holder). Mentions of the lantern holder and of painting notices in the light of the moon have led to conclude that the work was done at night. Nighttime makes sense also regarding texts asking not to paint notices or threatening painters with misfortune – they were not always wanted.

The aim of this paper is to collect and analyze data related to the painting of signs in Pompeii starting with how the painters can be identified in the texts. The signatures are essential, but the lists of painters also include names that do not appear in signed texts. What arguments have been used for identifying painters? The second part concerns the social and archaeological contexts of the painted texts. The general distribution of the texts has been established previously, but the conventions of painting have not been analyzed. The last section focuses on the styles of the texts – is it possible to identify distinctive scripts? Do they relate to places, people, or both? The current perceptions need to be re-evaluated based on the results of these locational and paleographic analyses.

Most painted texts have disappeared with the plasters covering the façades of the buildings and observing them directly is rarely possible. Details described in the publications are often minimal and limited primarily to the content of the text. Consequently, old photographs and drawings are crucial for this study. Images are mostly limited to the east–west oriented main street of Pompeii, Via dell'Abbondanza, and other parts of the town excavated in the 20th century, mostly in the southeast.⁷ Chronologically, the paper concerns the last two decades of Pompeii before its destruction in 79 C.E. Most of the painted texts

⁵ See above note 4 for relevant literature.

⁶ Della Corte 1965, 320 No. 650.

⁷ Most importantly, Spinazzola 1953 and Varone – Stefani 2009. See also Curuni – Santopuoli 2007. An invaluable online resource, Pompeii in Pictures (<https://pompeiiinpictures.com>), also contains old photographs.

are probably from the period after the earthquake of 62 C.E. and few painters are mentioned in the earlier texts.⁸

How to identify a *scriptor*?

More than forty individuals have been named as painters in previous research – the evidence and references are listed in Table 1. The attributions are usually based on their names appearing in the nominative case with the verb *scripsit / scribit* in all kinds of painted texts. Most of these are electoral notices and *edicta*, but four other signed texts also exist. In addition, some of the names identified as painters in *edicta* appear in the nominative case without a verb. Some of the names never appear with *scripsit / scribit* or in the nominative case in the *edicta*. Although the basic method of identification seems to be clear, it has seemingly been applied in different ways.

The electoral notices are usually short and formulaic. They feature the name of the candidate, the office he was running for, generic praise, and/or support expressions. If there are other names, they are most commonly in the nominative case. The names in the nominative are usually accompanied with a verb indicating support of the candidate (most commonly *rogare*) – over 600 cases (ca. 25 %). The other verb is *scripsit / scribit* which features only in some thirty notices. A notice for Cerrinius Vatia features most of the elements: *M(arcum) Cerrinium Vatiam aed(ilem) dignum rei | Messenio rog(at) scr(ipsit) Infantio cum Floro et Fructo et | Sabino hic ubique*.⁹ If a name in the nominative appears without a verb, the likely interpretation should be a supporter rather than a painter. This has been the conclusion drawn for every name on its own apart from Astylus and Iarinus (see below).¹⁰ Physically, the expressions for support and painting are usually located at the end of the notice and they are written with smaller letters than the name of the candidate.

⁸ Viitanen forthcoming a.

⁹ Translation of *CIL* IV 230 in Cooley – Cooley 2014, 178 F74: “Messenio asks Marcus Cerrinius Vatia for aedile, worthy of public office. Infantio wrote with Florus, Fructus and Sabinus here and everywhere.”

¹⁰ Though, see Gafio in Table 1. Franklin (1978, 55) seemingly regards all the texts with the names of painters and/or *ubique* as signed.

The *edicta* are often longer and more complicated texts than the electoral notices, but they do not commonly include other names in the nominative apart from the painters. There are some exceptions, two greetings and two acclamations, where a name in the nominative appears as part of those phrases.¹¹ In addition to the full signatures, there are two names, Magus and Ocella, which appear without a verb and isolated from the rest of the text (Table 1). Ocella is inside a letter D in *dedicatione* at the beginning of the text. The case of Poly(---) is slightly ambiguous because the case ending is not included, but both times the four letters cannot be part of any other phrases and have been placed inside large letters similarly to Ocella's name (Table 1).¹² Interpreting these cases as painters seems plausible. Aemilius Celer and Infantio are the only painters to sign both electoral notices and *edicta* which could be considered to support their professionalism.¹³

Some texts by Papilio could combine the conventions used in electoral notices and *edicta* (Table 1). He signs three electoral notices with *scripsit / scribit* and is a supporter in two others. In further two notices, Papilio's name is written without a verb and his role remains uncertain, but they are more likely to indicate support than making.¹⁴ In addition to these, three texts feature another person as a supporter and Papilio without a verb.¹⁵ In this last group, Papilio's name could be interpreted as a signature similarly to announcements for gladiatorial games. The other known painters have not used this kind of phrasing.¹⁶

The contents of painted texts beyond electoral notices and *edicta* resemble graffiti in their variability and informality.¹⁷ These texts include four cases of names in the nominative with *scripsit / scribit* (Table 1). Asciola and Geminus sign a sexual invective together. Melicertes / Certimeles has left behind

¹¹ See Cunclus and Paris in Table 1. Greeting *CIL* IV 7991 with Gavellius in the nominative.

¹² This interpretation is probably verified by *CIL* IV 10925 where the signature of Claudius Primus is inserted inside a large O in an acclamation.

¹³ Cf. Mouritsen 1988, note 120.

¹⁴ For example, *CIL* IV 7298: *L(ucium) Ceium Secundum | Ilvir(um) o(ro) v(os) f(aciatis) | Papilio*.

¹⁵ For example, *CIL* IV 9829a: *Amarantus Pompeianus rog(at) Papilio*.

¹⁶ *CIL* IV 10966: *Epidius Pamphilus rog(at) | Acestes* is the only other certain case, but Acestes is otherwise unknown. A supporter and Infa(---) occur in *CIL* IV 239, but the text cannot be emended with certainty.

¹⁷ Cf. Fioretti 2012, 418–20. For a division of graffiti content, see Lohmann 2017, 136–9.

a signature and a signed greeting. Livius Severus is featured only in a signature. These have sometimes been interpreted as informal advertisements for the skills of the painters,¹⁸ but the names have not been found in other painted texts or graffiti. They do not seem to participate in the making of the more formal texts and as such should probably be regarded similarly to the persons signing graffiti occasionally – they probably did not paint signs regularly.

The expression *hic et ubique* (here and everywhere) has also been regarded as an indication of painters.¹⁹ The interpretation imagines painters busily working all over Pompeii. The complete phrase appears in only one painted text, the electoral notice for Cerrinius Vatia mentioned above (p. 287), and six times in graffiti.²⁰ *Ubique* on its own is part of five electoral notices and three *edicta*, but its associations are clearly to supporting the candidate or as part of other phrases.²¹ *Hic et ubique* is an expression borrowed from letter writing and used mainly in greetings in Pompeian contexts.²² The presence of *hic et ubique* or *ubique* cannot be used to identify painters.

The names Astylus and Iarinus never occur with *scripsit / scribit*, but both feature in lists of painters (Table 1). Their identification as painters is based on both names having been found in workshop I 7,16 regarded as a base for painters.²³ Astylus's name appears in the nominative case with the text *Papilio v(ir) b(onus)* (good man) on the same wall in one of the small rooms – Papilio is a painter known from other texts.²⁴ Astylus also dedicates an acclamation to Aelius Magnus in the courtyard. Iarinus is the target of sexual invective written below

¹⁸ Chiavia 2002, 87–8.

¹⁹ Magaldi 1929–1930, 57–8.

²⁰ Magaldi also mentions notice *CIL* IV 7980 with *Celer f. ubique*, but the *f* is probably an expression of support rather than making – *facit* is used regularly. Graffiti: *CIL* IV 2393, 3926, 4120, 7755, 8556, and Giordano 1966, 80 No. 34.

²¹ In *CIL* IV 343, *ubique* in a greeting. As part of support phrases in *CIL* IV 485, 7240, 7980, and 9880. For *edicta*, see *Incertus* 5 in Table 1; in *CIL* IV 1184 *ubique* possibly as part of the main text; in *CIL* IV 7991 in a greeting. Also in two painted greetings (*CIL* IV 652, 653) and in a text with uncertain meaning (*CIL* IV 7384).

²² Castrén 1982. Cf. Mouritsen 1988, note 120.

²³ Della Corte 1965, 320 No. 650–4.

²⁴ *CIL* IV 7248. The male face with a phallus nose next to the texts (Langner 2001, No. 305) could suggest either a comic or an abusive tone.

this acclamation.²⁵ Many other texts, including one full election notice, were painted on the walls of the courtyard.²⁶ These have been interpreted as samples for customers to choose from or painters honing their skills. Photographs suggest practice as the likely interpretation – all texts are stylistically similar and cannot be regarded as samples.²⁷ The reason why the various names have been written on the walls remains unknown. They could indicate inhabitants, but also equally likely visitors or other somehow important persons.²⁸

Outside the workshop, Astylus is featured in the role of supporter or probable supporter. He even receives two rare recommendations to vote certain candidates and that gives him some prestige. The scripts of four of the notices featuring his name are so different that they were likely produced by different painters.²⁹ Iarinus features in mostly fragmentary texts difficult to interpret, but there is one notice where he is a supporter without any doubt.³⁰ The interpretation of the workshop as a base for painters is supported mainly by the painted texts in the courtyard. Electoral notices are occasionally found inside private houses, but this collection is larger and more varied than any other known case which supports the traditional interpretation. The presence of Papilio, a known painter, affords a connection to other painters, but it is not known why his name appears in the house. The workshop could have served painters, but the evidence for Astylus and Iarinus excludes them from that company.

The identifications of painters based on the contents of the texts depend on the type of text. The combination of the nominative name and *scripsit / scribit* is necessary when it comes to electoral notices. The expression is usually placed at the end of the texts. In the *edicta*, a simple nominative is sufficient assuming

²⁵ *CIL* IV 7243.

²⁶ *CIL* IV 7244–7247, 7249. See also Tychicus in Table 1.

²⁷ Varone – Stefani 2009, 88–89.

²⁸ Cf. graffiti writers and their motivations discussed in Lohmann 2018, 329–58.

²⁹ Varone – Stefani 2009: *CIL* IV 7243 on pp. 86, 88–89, *CIL* IV 7464 on pp. 156–57, *CIL* IV 7794 on p. 288, *CIL* IV 9831 on p. 115. As a comparison Infantio's signed and supported notices which are similar (Varone – Stefani 2009: as supporter *CIL* IV 7191 on pp. 63–66, as painter *CIL* IV 7658 on pp. 246, 249–51; also *CIL* IV 7618 with *Infan*[---] on p. 233 could be his).

³⁰ Earinus is the usual form of the name (Solin 2017, 250 No. 2b) and *CIL* IV 7387 *Earinus rogat* could also be Iarinus. However, as Iarinus is used several times in the unusual form and Earinus only once, they should perhaps be considered as two different men.

that it is clearly not part of some other phrase, usually an acclamation or greeting. The names in the nominative in the *edicta* are sometimes placed inside large letters. The cases discussed also suggest the importance of using visual and contextual evidence to evaluate interpretations previously based solely on the textual content.

Painter activity in Pompeii

The list of painters in Pompeii diminishes to some 30 persons after the methods for identification described above have been applied rigorously (see Table 1 Part I). Four painters remain unknown because their names have not been preserved. Moreover, seven names are known only partially. Only one painter uses a family name in addition to a *cognomen*, Aemilius Celer.³¹ Most are known only by their *cognomen* which sometimes limits the possibilities of identifying their other activities within the textual evidence of Pompeii. For example, Sabinus and Secundus are so common that it is impossible to connect texts to a specific person if the family name is not mentioned. On the other hand, Infantio and Papilio occur almost exclusively in painted texts, and these can be assigned to the two painters with relative certainty.³² Issus is generally regarded as a name and he signs a notice for the candidate Cerrinius Vatia (Table 1). However, it is more likely to be a local version of *ipse*, in which case the signatures could be considered to mean ‘I wrote (this) myself’³³ – perhaps a joke by the candidate

³¹ Aemilius written backwards as *suilimeA* (*CIL* IV 660, 660a, 7494) has sometimes been regarded as Aemilius Celer (Panciera 2011, 59; Solin 2017, 259 No. 9b). However, *suilimeA* never appears with a *cognomen* whereas Aemilius Celer is referred to with the whole name or the *cognomen*. In addition, Aemilius Celer appears only on one street in Region IX whereas *suilimeA* is found mostly in the central parts of Pompeii. They are more likely two different men. Infantio could be C. Nisius or Calvisius (*CIL* IV 485), but both readings and person remain uncertain (Chiavia 2002, 77 nota 115).

³² *Infans* (*CIL* IV 2974, 7374) and *Infanticulus* (*CIL* IV 7665) have been regarded as referring to Infantio (for example, Franklin 1978, 55 note 4; Baratta 2016, Tab. 1), but it is uncertain if *infans* is a name. In *CIL* IV 7374, *Infans* is a supporter with Hinnulus, a known painter, which could be considered to support the interpretation, but also here the connection to Infantio is weak. Kajanto 1965, 448 maintains that Infantio features 11 times in Pompeii and these do not include *Infans* or *Infanticulus*.

³³ Väänänen 1937, 113–14.

or supporter. Corrado has sometimes been regarded as a name, but the phrase is probably not a normal signature and *corrado* is likely to be a verb rather than a name.³⁴ Most of the names appear more than once and only Ascaules, Ataude, and Florillus do not appear in other texts (Table 1). The following two sections focus on the relationships between painters, people, and places in Pompeii.

Chronologically, the *edictum* signed by Magus is probably the earliest signed text. Its exact date cannot be determined, but it was painted on a plaster layer which features also an Oscan painted text probably from the 1st century B.C.E. Both texts were covered with another layer of plaster with later notices.³⁵ Assigning candidates to annual elections is impossible, but some can be deemed to be earlier or later with relative certainty. The candidates with signed notices range from Claudius Verus probably from the 60s C.E. to two of the presumed candidates for the last elections in 79 C.E., Cuspius Pansa and Popidius Secundus.³⁶ Aemilius Celer signed notices for Claudius Verus, Staius Receptus, and an *edictum* for games organized by Lucretius Satrius Valens, all of which could be earlier than the 70s.³⁷ The duumvirate campaign for Epidius Sabinus can be dated from early to mid-70s based on references to Suedius Clemens, an imperial agent in the city probably in the early part of the decade.³⁸ Epidius's connection to Paquius Proculus and Vettius Caprasius Felix dates the activity of Ascaules and two unnamed painters probably to the earlier part of the decade. Ascaules signed a notice for Vettius's *aedilis* campaign which is probably earlier than the early 70s campaign for *duumvir* with Epidius Sabinus. Aemilius Celer's activity could be tentatively considered earlier than most of the other painters' who signed notices for candidates who can be dated to the 70s.

³⁴ See *Incertus* 5 in Table 1. TLL *c.v.* *corrado*, maybe jokingly 'writing (and) erasing everywhere' which could refer to whitewashing the walls before painting the signs. Cf. Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980, 79–80.

³⁵ Varone – Stefani 2009, 258. The Oscan text is *eituns* Vetter 28. The later plaster layer in Spinazzola 1917, 259. Another possibly early signature is *CIL* IV 10925 by Claudius Primus also on an earlier plaster layer, but there is no evidence to suggest a date for the earlier plaster layer.

³⁶ On dating wall inscriptions, see Viitanen forthcoming a. For the candidates, see Chiavia 2002, 126–40.

³⁷ For the *edictum*, see Mouritsen – Gradel 1991.

³⁸ Stefanile 2016 fixes Suedius Clemens in Pompeii in the early 70s based on a previously unnoticed overlay. This changes the date of Epidius Sabinus's *duumvir* campaign to early 70s instead of late 70s (old dates in Chiavia 2002, 135).

It is not known who was responsible for designing and executing the campaigns.³⁹ It seems likely that the painters were professionals, and that money was needed to pay for their work. Candidates themselves could have paid for their campaigns or then the supporters could have at least participated in the costs. It has also been suggested that the painters might have been proactive: when the candidates were announced, they would have immediately painted some notices to attract business for themselves – the candidate might have paid a notice even if he had not ordered it.⁴⁰ Many of the painters were active as supporters and it is possible that the supporters also painted their notices – some signed their work, some did not.

A hundred candidates can be identified with certainty and most of them ran for the office of *aedilis* with *duumvir* campaigns accounting for some 950 and 500 notices, respectively. Predictably, most of the signed notices were painted for campaigns for the office of *aedilis*. The number of notices per candidate varies from one to more than 120. The number of notices does not seem to be significant for occurrence of signed ones – the only known notice for Statius Receptus was signed by Aemilius Celer and none of the 120 notices for Helvius Sabinus has a signature. The number of signed texts is small, but the electoral notices of more than fifteen candidates were signed.

Cerrinius Vatia is known from some 70 notices for his *aedilis* campaign and six different painters signed notices for him: Florillus, Florus, Fructus/Fructus *pycta*, Hinnulus, Infantio, and Sabinus (Table 1). Some of them worked together: Florus and Fructus sign together twice, one of these with Infantio and Sabinus. Infantio also signs a notice for Cerrinius on his own. As mentioned above, the signature of Issus could be interpreted to mean that Cerrinius painted it himself. This could be a fact, a joke, or perhaps negative campaigning based on some shady supporters for Cerrinius.⁴¹ Fructus and Fructus *pycta* (boxer)⁴² sign notices for Cerrinius and this is likely to be the same Fructus – two painters with the same name does not seem plausible. Four of the six painters seem to represent a workshop, but each man could also sign notices on his own. Two

³⁹ Mouritsen 1988, 31–32, 47 and Chiavia 2002, 89–90, 240 for speculations on how the campaigns might have worked.

⁴⁰ Chiavia 2002, 89.

⁴¹ *CIL* IV 576 *furunculi* (little thieves) and 581 *seri bibi* (late drinkers).

⁴² TLL *c.v.* *pycta*.

were seemingly working unrelated to the others. None of the painters supported Cerrinius and their work cannot be regarded as a voluntary contribution to the campaign.

Two other candidates, Postumius Proculus and Popidius Secundus, have more than one signed notice (Table 1). Postumius's campaign for *aedilis* consists of some 30 notices and four painters possibly worked on it. The names of only two have survived, Hinnulus and Porcellus. The notice painted by Hinnulus was a joint one for Cerrinius and Postumius. Hinnulus also supported Postumius in another notice. (Table 1.) Porcellus did not sign other notices but he supported Lucretius Fronto and Helvius Sabinus in two other texts (Table 1). Popidius Secundus also ran for *aedilis* and his notices were painted by Infantio and Papilio (Table 1), but the name in the third text has not survived. Popidius Secundus features in almost 60 notices and the notice painted by Infantio is a joint one with Cuspius Pansa. Neither painter supported Popidius but were active on behalf of other candidates.

Some notices also contain names of supporters in addition to the signature and 13 of the painters signed such work – their role in these texts is seemingly limited to painting (Table 1). The case of Papilio was discussed above and it suggests that in certain situations, a name in the nominative in an electoral notice could also be a signature. Paris signing a notice for and supporting Suettius Certus at the same time is a unique case.⁴³ Seven of the painters supported candidates but did not sign those notices. In these cases, the supporter could also be regarded as the painter, but the interpretation remains uncertain. Hinnulus, Mustius, and Paris supported the candidate they signed notices for – could they have painted some notices without payment?

The notices for Cerrinius indicate that painters worked in groups and the texts also mention different tasks for the participants: whitewashing, holding a lantern, and lending a general helping hand (Table 1). It has also been assumed that someone was holding the ladder.⁴⁴ Florus, Fructus, Infantio, and Sabinus seem to have co-operated (Table 1). In addition, Dion and Onesimus were limers, respectively for Ataude and a painter whose name remains unknown (Table 1). Secundus also had a team, possibly Victor doing the whitewashing and Vesbinus

⁴³ *CIL* IV 821 *scribit Paris idem rogat*.

⁴⁴ Based on *CIL* IV 7621 where the lantern holder was also holding the ladder.

as a general helper (Table 1).⁴⁵ Aemilius Celer and Mustius state in their notices that they were working on their own, not in a group (Table 1). These could indicate exceptional situations worth mentioning. Aemilius Celer has sometimes been regarded as “the leader of the painters”⁴⁶ because his two names suggest free status, but there is no evidence for connections between him and the others. In addition, he might have been active slightly before most of the others. Hinnulus signs alone but supports with Papilio indicating a connection between the two painters. Papilio’s name was also found in the painters’ workshop creating a possible connection to Astylus and Iarinus, but as these two are not painters, a team cannot be hypothesized.⁴⁷

The evidence for the campaigns with multiple painters indicates that more than one painter or team could work on one campaign.⁴⁸ It is possible that more painters were needed for a big campaign to be set up quickly – the time for campaigning before voting was not long, probably less than a month.⁴⁹ The assumption that supporters regularly painted notices seems unlikely based on the presence of supporters with painter signatures. The supporters could paint notices occasionally, but most of them were probably painted by someone else. However, the painters did have a double role: they worked for the campaigns but could also support candidates independently. The content of the notices varies for each candidate, for example, no signatures in Helvius Sabinus’s massive campaign. This could be intentional: whoever ordered the work might have requested for certain content or forbidden others. The material does not answer the question concerning design and execution of the campaigns – both candidates and supporters, alone and/or together, could have been active.

⁴⁵ Vesbinus features as a supporter in the notice *CIL* IV 636 signed by Ascaules suggesting a connection.

⁴⁶ Chiavia 2002, 88. The recently published Claudius Primus (see Table 1) is now a second example of a full name for a painter.

⁴⁷ Iarin[---] is part of the notice signed by Paris suggesting a connection (*CIL* IV 821). The name can be emended to Iarinus, but there could have been more.

⁴⁸ Mouritsen 1999, 517 supposes that one painter or a team was responsible for all the notices in a campaign. See also below the analysis of scripts.

⁴⁹ Stavely 1972, 143–49.

Painters in the cityscape

Turning now from content to space and contexts. Most of the painters known from signatures were working inside the city walls – no one is attested both inside and outside the walls.⁵⁰ The tombs outside the Nuceria Gate south of Pompeii feature many electoral notices and *edicta*, but the names of the candidates and organizers of games do not occur inside the walls. It seems that this area was used mostly for events and elections taking place elsewhere, Nuceria, Puteoli, and Herculaneum among them. It remains uncertain whether the three painters signing texts in that area came from Pompeii or elsewhere (Table 1 Part III) – either option seems equally plausible. The early *edictum* signed by Magus advertised for games at Puteoli inside the walls and he could also not be from Pompeii. Sexti[---] signed a text outside the Herculaneum Gate and in that area candidates are familiar from the city suggesting he could be Pompeian. Although the numbers of texts and painters are low, the division between work inside and outside the walls seems clear.

The distribution of signed texts inside the city walls matches the general distribution of painted texts fairly closely: the painters were active in every part of town (Fig. 1). This kind of scattered distribution is expected if the painters worked professionally for different candidates. Relatively few signed notices have been found in the most popular areas, particularly in the central part of Via dell'Abbondanza. It is possible that notices got regularly replaced by new ones in the most popular locations, whereas in the side streets the texts and signatures survived longer.

The distributions of notices by painters with more than one signed text differ from each other (Fig. 2). Infantio's signatures can be found scattered in different parts of the city, whereas Florus, Fructus, and Papilio signed texts in smaller areas. Aemilius Celer's signatures are all on one street in Region IX. When the notices where the painters support candidates are added (eight cases), these three patterns become even clearer. Some remain in limited areas – Aemilius Celer, Mustius, and Porcellus. Some covered a larger section of the city, such as Fructus and Hinnulus. Papilio's supporter notices are distributed far more widely than his signed ones. The smaller patterns tend to occur in the central parts of

⁵⁰ Claudius Primus inside the city walls and Prim[---] outside (see Table 1 for references) could be the same person, but the latter is fragmentary and the *cognomen* could be also something else.

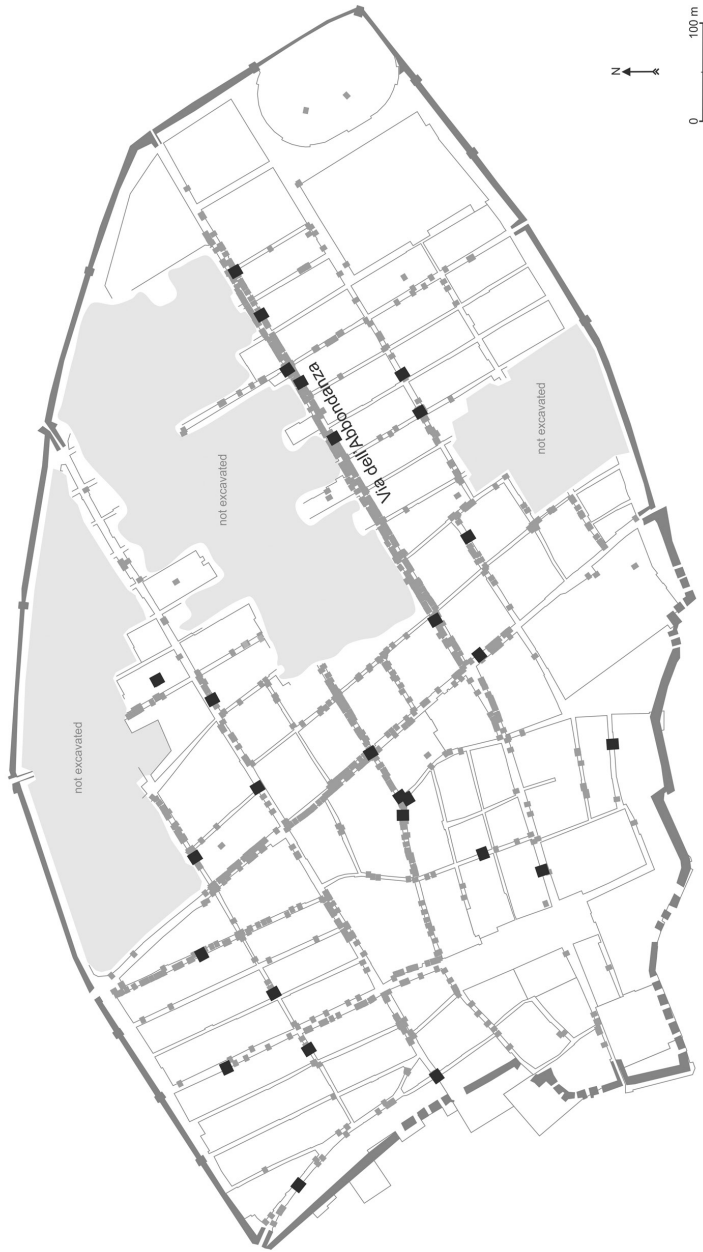


Fig. 1: The distribution of electoral notices in Pompeii with grey squares. The locations of signed notices marked with black squares. (Map by author.)

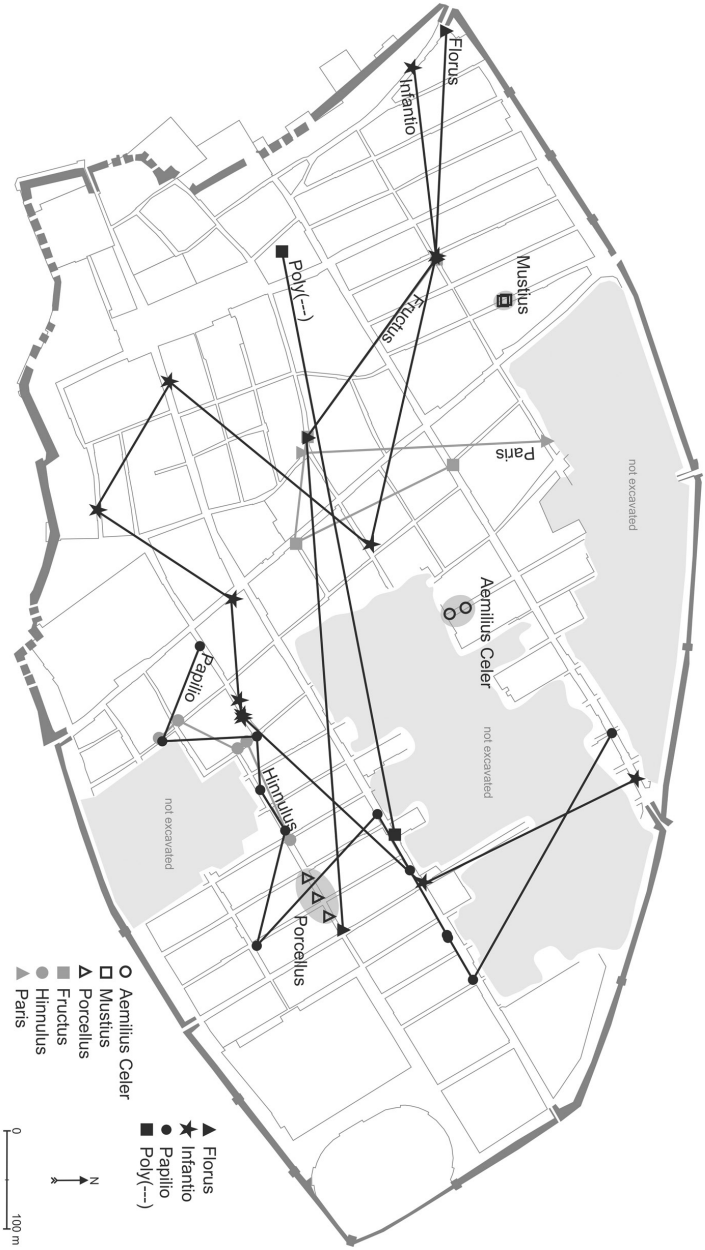


Fig. 2: The distribution of different activities of the painters in Pompeii. Limited areas with black open signs, medium distances with grey signs, and long distances with black signs. (Map by author.)

the city and the ones with long distances closer to the walls. *Scriptores* had access to locations beyond their own houses because of their professional activity and they were able to use their connections also for supporting other candidates.

The patterns of painter and supporter activities are similar⁵¹ and this could suggest that some supporters painted their own notices, particularly the ones active in limited areas. The most obvious case is Mustius who declares his profession as *fullo* (fuller) and signs one notice (Table 1). He is a supporter in another notice on the same façade but cannot be found elsewhere. Fructus *pycta* (boxer) could be another case although he is likely the painter with the same name (Table 1). The question of the professionalism of the painters was raised earlier on based mostly on Mustius, but also considering the availability of work.⁵² The election period was short and there seems to have been few other regular jobs for painting signs available. Having other ways to earn a living in addition to the seasonal painting job seems a necessity.

The question of professionalism can also be approached by analyzing the conventions and processes of painting based on the locations and the appearance of the notices. Using photographs and other data available it was possible to reconstruct the placement of notices on 17 façades on the Via dell'Abbondanza (four depicted in Fig. 3).⁵³ The façade drawings make tangible how some locations were not used at all and others were used repeatedly despite all the façades being in the most popular areas for electoral notices.

The notices are painted with red or black paint over a whitewashed surface – whitewash was commonly used even on a light-colored plaster surface.⁵⁴ The whitewash could be applied over a stone or masonry surface, usually brick or combination of small stone blocks and brick. The plasters covering the façades were often painted in a simple manner: a high red socle, commonly reaching 1,5 to 2 m above ground level, and an unpainted or white surface above this. Sometimes the socle was painted with other colors and featured divisions into

⁵¹ See Viitanen forthcoming b.

⁵² Della Corte 1965, 167–9 No. 307.

⁵³ There are 25 façades east of the Via Stabiana. The reconstruction drawings cover locations for some 550 notices (23% of all).

⁵⁴ The early electoral notices from the 1st century B.C.E. were painted with red color directly on tuff ashlar (cf. Sakai 1993). The earlier Oscan texts were also usually painted directly on stone, but at least Vetter 28 was painted on plaster on the façade of house III 4,2–3.

panels similar to the contemporary wall painting styles.⁵⁵ In some cases, the façades were decorated with images, most commonly deities and other religious subjects, but some pictures related to the activity of the shop or workshop have also been found.⁵⁶ The decoration style was rarely uniform on the entire façade of a city block; the changes occur along property borders. Even the height of the red socle could be slightly different for adjacent properties. This made it possible to intuitively understand which notices belonged to which house in most cases. (Fig. 3.)

Along the Via dell'Abbondanza most of the electoral notices were painted on the upper parts of the walls: on the unpainted/white surfaces (ca. 2/3) and on the upper part of the socle (ca. 1/3) (Fig. 3). Consequently, most of them were located at or above 1,5 to 2 m above ground level. In the side streets, the notices could be painted also slightly lower. Above the socle, the notices could be painted in two or three rows on top of each other, and the rows were often divided into irregular columns. Usually only the top 50 cm of the socle in one or two rows was used despite plenty of wall surface available below. If the socle was divided into panels, their borders were often used as limits for the width of the notices. The preference for heights at eye level or above heads of most adults suggests that good visibility was wanted – the notices could be seen and read without hindrance from anywhere. In the streets with less foot traffic slightly lower levels worked equally well. The height would also effectively prevent vandalism of the notices, but this seems less important considering that many notices were at lower levels also. There is little evidence for defacing the notices or even graffiti being scratched on them.⁵⁷

The sizes of the notices varied according to space available: they could be fitted onto a 30-cm wide doorpost or they could be more than 4 m wide on a long wall surface. In the usual arrangement there are notices in at least one row above the socle top and one below it. The most popular façades along the Via dell'Abbondanza often feature one larger notice in the center with smaller ones

⁵⁵ See Spinazzola 1953, *passim*.

⁵⁶ Catalogue in Fröhlich 1991.

⁵⁷ In three cases, the name of the supporter has been covered with whitewash or paint: Zmyrina in *CIL* IV 7864, Cuculla in *CIL* IV 7841, and the word *popule* in *CIL* IV 9870. In *edictum* *CIL* IV 7995, *Neronis* is treated similarly. Some 40 graffiti have been recorded in the whitewashed areas in streets where the notices are at low level.

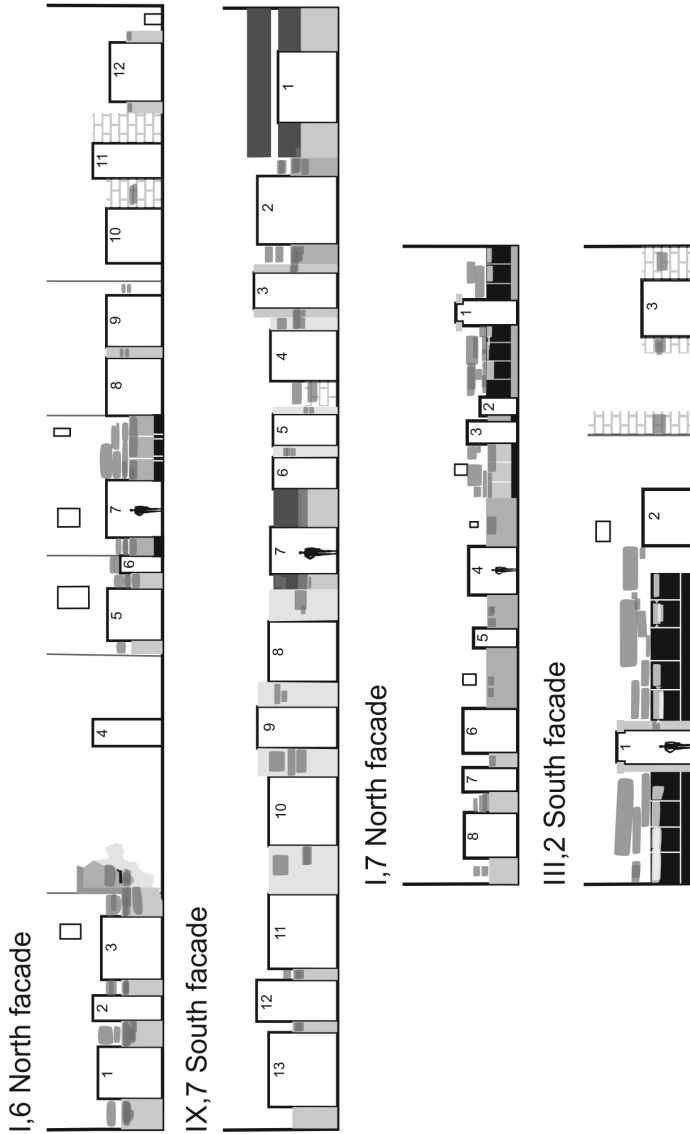


Fig. 3: The façades of four city blocks on the Via dell'Abbondanza showing the locations of painted texts on them. The drawings are not to scale representations, but proportions were maintained as close as possible. Grayscale tones used do not refer to real colors (apart from black) but are varied to indicate changes in the decoration of the façades. The dark grey areas on IX 7 indicate painted images. The raster with rectangles represents masonry surfaces. (Drawings by author.)

arranged around it. If the wall surface was between two doors, the notices tend to be neatly aligned to one of them, usually 2–3 rows of notices. The notices right before the next door were not organized in neat rows and columns and there is often a gap between the texts and the door. The neat alignment could indicate the property which was responsible for the notices getting painted. On many façades, the same spots were used 2–4 times in different elections and the old texts were covered with layers of whitewash (ca. 130 cases). These tend to be located right above the socle or on the socle. The notices were not randomly painted on the façades, there were designated areas for them. The situation was different in the side streets where there was often plenty of space available and little competition for it. Consequently, neat organization and layering of notices on one façade was not needed.

The whitewash probably served more than one purpose. It was used on light and dark surfaces suggesting that making red or black text visible was not its only function. It covered old notices but was also used over previously unused surfaces. The whitewash moistened the surface making the painting process easier and the paint to adhere to the wall better. In addition, the fresh white surface indicated clearly that the notice was new, especially on a façade with more texts.⁵⁸ The whitewash could be just a few brushstrokes barely covering what was underneath or a neatly outlined thick surface. Sometimes *tabulae ansatae* were painted, but not very often. The size of the whitewashed area varied – it needed to cover at least a possible old notice but did not have to be exactly the size of the text intended to be painted on it. Sometimes the notice did not quite fit the area, sometimes there was enough space for another notice.

The width of the notices is reported for some 870 of them. The average is about 75 cm, half are between 60 and 120 cm wide, the rest divided almost equally into smaller and larger ones. The layout varies: most are in one or two rows (some 1000 and 1100, respectively).⁵⁹ The name of the candidate was almost always painted with large letters in the beginning or at the top and the rest of the text was considerably smaller indicating a hierarchy in the text – the important

⁵⁸ I am indebted to architect and DSc Anu Koponen for sharing her expertise on painting walls and answering my questions on the use of whitewash. I also owe her the idea of the visibility of a new notice on fresh white surface.

⁵⁹ Cf. Fioretti 2014, 57 who maintains that they feature almost always more than one row.

parts were larger.⁶⁰ The total height varied according to the number of rows and the size of letters between 2 and 70 cm, most tended to be 20 to 50 cm high.⁶¹ The *edicta* are usually wider than the notices as they usually feature one phrase (name of the organizer, *pro salute*, or *dedicatione*) in very large letters and the rest in one or more rows below and/or around the larger phrase.

Painting the notices neatly in straight rows could have been done by incising or drawing guidelines in the whitewash, but these cannot be observed in the photographs of electoral notices or *edicta*.⁶² For many of them, the socle border probably functioned as a natural guideline. Yarn attached to the plaster could have been used and this would not leave observable traces. In very many cases it is possible to see the row(s) rising or dipping down indicating that the text was painted without a guideline.

The process of painting seems to have been mostly this: first a space needed to be found, the spot was then whitewashed, and lastly the text was painted. The text was most likely painted on wet whitewashed surface, and it might have been necessary to wait for the surface to moisten properly. Variation in the thickness of both whitewash and paint can be seen in the photographs. Drip marks of whitewash and paint have sometimes been interpreted as indications of rush jobs, but they could also simply mean thinner paint than what was generally used. The height of the locations means that the work often required a stool or a ladder – relatively few notices could have been painted standing on the sidewalk. The notice where the lantern holder is told to hold the ladder is located by the architrave of a doorway about 3 m above ground level.⁶³ If the text were of average width, one position would probably have sufficed to paint the entire notice, but the length of some texts indicates that the ladder or stool needed to be moved. The necessity to use a stool or a ladder could also mean that nighttime might have been preferred for having less traffic on the narrow sidewalks. However, this

⁶⁰ Fioretti 2014, 58–59.

⁶¹ Measurements collected from *CIL IV*. Fioretti 2014, 57 mentions letter heights between 10 and 80 cm.

⁶² Incised or painted guidelines occur in three texts featuring multiple rows of small letters – a precise execution was seemingly wanted. They are a rental announcement for Iulia Felix (*CIL IV* 1136), a list of names of possible religious magistrates (*CIL IV* 7807), and a text on a water tower in Herculaneum (*CIL IV* 10489).

⁶³ *CIL IV* 7621, doorway III 2,1 east side.

raises the question of light needed to do the work. Could a *lanternarius* standing at ground level provide enough light to paint a notice 3 m above ground level? A lantern could of course be attached to the upper part of the ladder and another person might not have been needed for the job. Most of the work could probably be done by one person, but two might have been faster and more efficient – for example, one whitewashed in advance and then helped the other to paint the notices.

Negative attitudes and practices

The examination of the locations and the painting process can also be used to explore some common perceptions about wall inscriptions and their making. A small number of inscriptions from around the Roman world beg writers of all kind to leave buildings alone or threaten them with dire consequences for painting or scratching texts. These have been interpreted to mean that painted texts and graffiti were generally unwanted and had to be done in secret. However, these warnings occur predominantly on burials and cemeteries where the owners of the monuments could not control the situation unlike house owners inside the city walls.⁶⁴ In Pompeii, the notices occur in highly visible places along the main streets and on large private houses possibly with guards. It seems unlikely that notices could have been painted secretly even in the middle of the night.

It has been previously suggested that anyone could have freely painted on any façade.⁶⁵ If this were the case, it could be expected that in such popular areas as along the Via dell'Abbondanza every façade would feature notices. However, this did not happen. Notices are found more commonly on the façades of large private houses than on workshops.⁶⁶ A small number (ca. 35) of electoral notices have been painted inside private houses and in these cases, a permission was obviously needed. Moreover, public buildings were only rarely used despite their typically good locations for visibility – only 52 electoral notices have been found on them. It seems more likely that the inhabitants of the houses controlled

⁶⁴ Kruschwitz 2010 lists 22 cases and ten requests or threats are from burials. Four are probably from inside city walls (no. 5, 13, 15, maybe 21). Eight describe other attitudes towards writing.

⁶⁵ Mouritsen 1988, 58–59.

⁶⁶ Viitanen – Nissin 2017.

what could be done to their façades and that the candidates/supporters wanted a connection to the houses and the people associated with the properties.⁶⁷ The regularity in the ways the façades were painted suggests that conventions of where and how to paint on each house were distinct and adhered to by the painters.

Painters have also been accused of indifference, or even vandalism, for painting notices over images on the façades.⁶⁸ However, a survey of the locations of the more than 90 façade paintings shows that this occurs in only one place, the workshop IX 7,6–7. A small painting depicting woolworkers has been whitewashed and painted over with two notices. A third notice was made in another painting on the same façade so that the text was placed between the people depicted but not disturbing them.⁶⁹ Elsewhere, two notices have been placed on the edges of paintings and in three further cases, the whitewash partially covers the edge of the painting.⁷⁰ Defacing pictures is so rare that the only known case was likely done with permission.

The analysis of placement and layout of painted texts supports some of the old hypotheses such as working in pairs or small groups for speed and efficiency. Work at night seems also plausible based on the need to use stools or ladders and for the time the work took. The process was divided into different phases and time was needed for the wall to be ready for work as well as for the painting itself. Illumination could have been a slight problem at night, but not an obstacle. The assumptions that the notices were unwanted and that painting them could not be controlled inside the city walls are not supported. The conventions of painting signs were strong, they were followed, and they make sense in different kinds of contexts from busy main streets to more isolated locations.

⁶⁷ Inhabitants deciding whose name appears on the façade could also explain lack of competing candidates painting over each other's notices.

⁶⁸ For example, Mouritsen 1988, 58.

⁶⁹ Façade paintings based on Fröhlich 1991. *CIL* IV 7843–7844 on the painting, 7838 in the painting with text between images.

⁷⁰ Notices in a painting: *CIL* IV 348 at VI 13,6–7 and 7810 at IX 7,1. Whitewash partially over the edge of a painting: *CIL* IV 7430–1 at I 12,3, 7435–6 at I 12,5, and 7491 at II 1,1.

Exploring scripts in Pompeii

The last section moves even closer to the texts by examining scripts used in them. Rustic capitals were the most common script and features generally long and narrow letters with varying thickness of brush strokes and distinct serifs. It is not a uniform style as letters were painted usually without guidelines. In an ideal case, it might be possible to identify painters by their script. However, it is not known whether the painters aimed at personalized styles reproduced through their work – a team or a workshop could also have determined the script styles used by individuals. Painting without guidelines is already bound to produce some unintended variation. It is also possible to find letters painted in seemingly distinctive ways which then occur with different scripts – for example, the oblique strokes of the letter Y rising above other letters like a palm tree with long curving lines on both sides (Fig. 4).⁷¹ However, as individual styles were an essential part of many crafts in the Roman world, it can perhaps be assumed that Pompeian painters and/or workshops had their own distinct scripts.⁷²

The rustic capitals were not the only script used in Pompeian painted texts. In the early electoral notices from the 1st century B.C.E. simple sans-serif capitals were used.⁷³ A similar, but slightly wider and squarer typeface was also used, for example in the *edictum* signed by Magus. This kind of lettering appears on earlier plaster layers also in other contexts⁷⁴ and it is possible that it was used simultaneously with the rustic capitals. Rustic capitals were the preferred script during the last decades of Pompeii and it was first introduced probably by the 30s C.E.⁷⁵ Some other scripts also occur even in the last phase, such as small cursive-like texts or sans-serif capitals in large brushstrokes.⁷⁶

⁷¹ Different versions of the letters B and G also occur with different scripts.

⁷² For example, the Fourth Style wall painting workshops in Pompeii in Esposito 2009.

⁷³ Cf. Fioretti 2014, 53–4.

⁷⁴ See Magus in Table 1. A stylistic comparison by Fioretti 2014, 54 nota 82 to *CIL* IV 9956 could date Magus to early part of 1st century C.E. Other texts include *CIL* IV 733 in Greek and 7124–5 in Latin.

⁷⁵ Fioretti 2014, 53–6.

⁷⁶ Cursive-like *CIL* IV 7305a–g (Varone – Stefani 2009, 98–100). *CIL* IV 7691 is similar but with clearer serifs (Varone – Stefani 2009, 264–5). Large brush capitals in *CIL* IV 7796 (Varone – Stefani 2009, 288). Cf. Fioretti 2012, 419 nota 34 for a list of unusual scripts.



Fig. 4: Letter Y painted in a similar way in two different scripts. (Originals extracted from Varone – Stefani 2009, 115, 408.)

The analysis of styles was conducted by comparing repeated sections in the notices and *edicta*. This is usually the name of the candidate as the rest is often merely two ligatures such as AED OVF lettered similarly in very many cases. The material consists of more than 200 images covering texts for almost 50 candidates. Five or more images of different notices could be found for 17 candidates and 1–3 images of names for almost 30 other candidates. In addition, texts for candidates with the same family name or *cognomen* were compared. *Infantio* is the only painter with more than one signed and/or supported notice available.⁷⁷ The focus was on two questions: firstly, whether there was variation in the notices on the façades of different houses and secondly, whether notices for individual candidates were written in one or more styles.

In most notices, the names of candidates were usually painted with large lettering and the rest with smaller. This applied also to texts in one row: the name is large and followed by the rest of the information divided into one to three rows

⁷⁷ See above note 28.

of small text not exceeding the height of the name. The smaller texts contained the office the candidate was running for, a general support phrase, and the names of supporters and/or painters. The size indicated the most relevant part, and the rest was not as important. The large letters were also painted with more detail than small ones. The details in how the lines were painted (straight or curving), how the stroke width varied, the height and width of the letters, how the letters were spaced, how different letters were shaped, and how the serifs were done can differ considerably between notices. Less distinctive detail was used in smaller texts and they tend to be relatively similar in style. This could depend on the skill of the painter, but also the size of the brush probably mattered. The similarity of the smaller texts makes it difficult to compare the names of the supporters and painters.

A general visual comparison of the scripts used in the façades where more electoral notices appear is enough to establish that different styles do occur. For example, the façade of the *taberna* of Asellina (IX 11,2–4) features more than ten notices which were mostly written in different scripts (the part between doors 3 and 4 in Fig. 5). Some of the texts could have been painted by one person, for example the two notices for Lollius in the west and middle piers. But the third notice for Lollius between doors 3 and 4 is different: wider spaces between letters, less careful and more curving lines, different serifs (Fig. 6). In another example, the notices on the façade of *fullonica* of Stephanus (I 6,7) are all painted with slightly curving lines and narrow spaces between letters



Fig. 5: The façade of IX 11,2–3 displaying six electoral notices, all with different scripts. (Image used by permission of Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e il Turismo – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.)

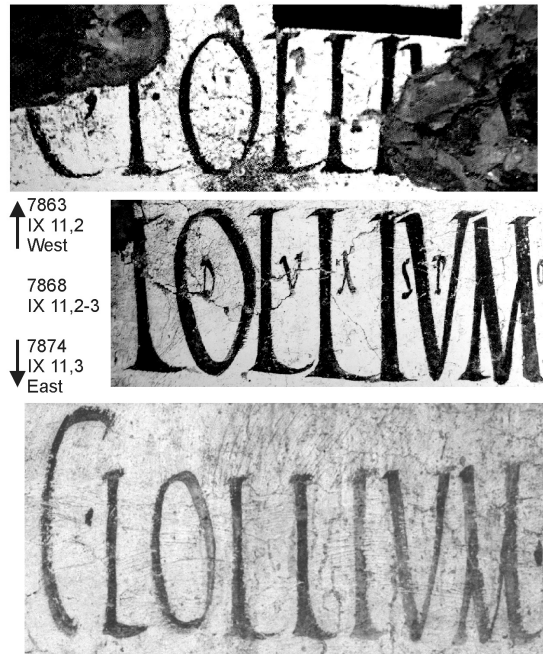


Fig. 6: Three electoral notices from the façade IX 11,2–4 for Lollius Fuscus. Two possibly painted by one person, the bottom text by a different painter. (Originals extracted from Varone – Stefani 2009, 423–424, 429.)

(Fig. 7).⁷⁸ However, the details of many notices could mean different painters despite the general similarities. It cannot be known who was responsible for the general aesthetic impression – it could be one painter (an inhabitant?) or many painters working similarly at the request of the inhabitants of the house. In most cases, the stylistic diversity is the norm and many painters worked on one façade.

The analysis of notices for different candidates also reveals variety. In all cases it seems obvious that more than one painter worked on each candidate's campaign – this concurs with the information provided by the signatures. Most

⁷⁸ The two supported notices at the top and bottom left side end in ROG exactly alike (particularly the letter G) suggesting that one painter did both.



Fig. 7: The façade of I 6,7–8 displaying eight electoral notices with somewhat similar appearance. Details reveal probable separate painters, but the overall similar impression is unusual among the Pompeian evidence. (Image used by permission of Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e il Turismo – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.)

of the texts come from campaigns for only one office and most of these involved many notices. Photographs of campaigns for different offices exist for Audius Bassus and Iulius Polybius. Audius is known only from six notices and they are from campaigns for *aedilis* and *quinquennalis*, with probably time between them (Fig. 8). The scripts are so different that two painters must have been at work. Iulius Polybius's notices are for *aedilis* and *duumvir* campaigns. Also in his case both campaigns featured multiple painters using different scripts. It is assumed that the candidates ran for an office only once and that the notices all belonged to one campaign.⁷⁹ It is possible that the notices represent more campaigns

⁷⁹ The catalogues of Mouritsen 1988 and Chiavia 2002 *passim*.



Fig. 8: The name of Audius Bassus painted with two different scripts – CIL IV 7613 is from his aedilis campaign and 7704 from quinquennialis campaign. (Originals extracted from Varone – Stefani 2009, 233, 269.)

for one office and that the different scripts are related to them. Neither textual nor contextual evidence provides enough support for identifying one or more campaigns for one office.

The distribution of the signed notices showed that the size of one painter's activity area varied from one street to the entire city. These patterns can perhaps also be seen in the distribution of scripts. Albucius Celsus's campaign for *aedilis* included 80 notices and images of 12 of them could be found (Fig. 9). It is possible to discern three painters who featured more than once, and two others known only from one instance. The notices by the painters with more than one text were on the Via dell'Abbondanza, but also in the quieter side streets and outside the city walls. The concentration of the evidence to Via dell'Abbondanza is problematic, but in addition to Albucius, there are also other cases where one script could be found in different parts of the city.

The results of the analyses on scripts confirm the activity of quite many painters in the last years of Pompeii. Although it was not possible to try and

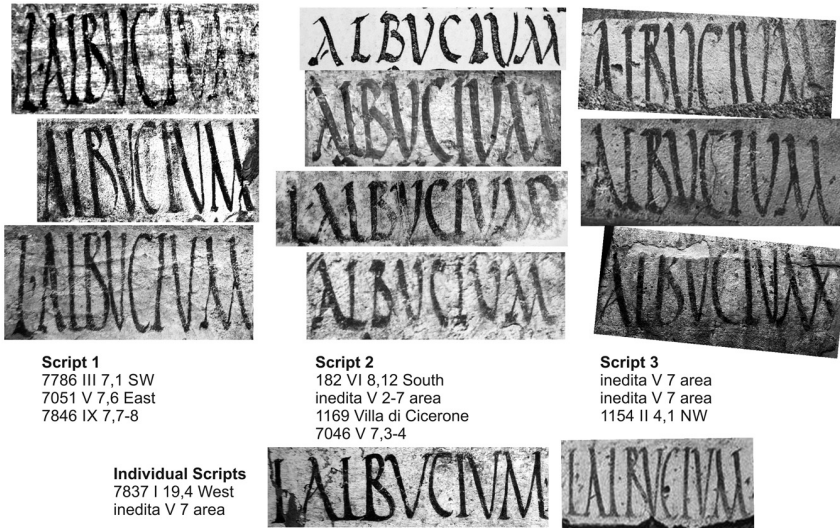


Fig. 9: The campaign for aedilis of Albucius Celsus featured at least three painters responsible for more than one notice as well as four others with only one notice photographed. (Originals extracted from CIL IV 182, Varone – Stefani 2009, 173, 286, 309, 311, 408, 515, the unpublished examples downloaded from the social media channels of Parco Archeologico di Pompei.)

identify painters working for different candidates on this occasion, the current results indicate that it was common for more than one painter to paint notices in one context and that more than one painter probably worked for one campaign. The notices had to get up on the walls relatively quickly and for a campaign with dozens or even more than a hundred notices, this would have required more than one painter. Neither house inhabitants or candidates seemed to have preferred painters or workshops with uniform style. The different scripts could belong to different members of one workshop, but this cannot be verified – and if this were the case, there was no uniform workshop style. The evidence for the geographical distribution of painters based on style is limited but suggests that there were no limitations for working in different parts of the city.

The skills needed for painting legible and neat notices suggest a fairly high level of professionalism. The painters needed to know the techniques of painting, conventions of how to paint notices and *edicta*, and have access to materials and tools. The work for the campaigns had to be done quickly and efficiently and experienced painters could do that. It has been suggested that the sign painters could also have worked on wall paintings and this would make sense based on this analysis.⁸⁰ However, although most painters seem to have been skilled, there are also those whose texts feature wobbly lines and letters randomly varying in size with little attention to detail. The notices written in a cursive-like hand in the façade of house I 8,15⁸¹ appear to be the work of one person and this could be interpreted as activity of the inhabitants of the house in support of their candidates. Although most of the work seems to be on a professional level, its seasonal character does not exclude work by those not painting signs regularly as perhaps also shown by Mustius *fullo* signing a notice.

Conclusions

The amount of evidence directly related to the painters of Pompeii is at first glance small – about 50 signed notices. But combining those notices with other texts associated with painters themselves, candidates, and other persons, and placing all of them in the social, geographical, and archaeological contexts reveals much more of painting signs and painters than the texts on their own do. However, lack of detailed data and images in the publications made the analyses difficult. A good photograph is essential for verifying location, script style, and even content of the texts. The available evidence cannot provide answers to many of the questions concerning the organization of election campaigns but analyzing the evidence from multiple perspectives aids in understanding what questions could be answered.

A stricter methodology applied to identifying painters and combined with visual evidence of scripts excludes some names from the lists of painters presented in previous research. Furthermore, activity inside and outside walls raises questions on the relationship of some painters with Pompeii – they could

⁸⁰ Della Corte 1965, 167–9 No. 307.

⁸¹ See above note 74.

have come from neighboring cities. It is also possible to observe some variation in the activity periods of the painters, but apart from Magus who can be much earlier, most painters were active in the latter part of the 1st century C.E.

Painting signs required skills and know-how that most Pompeians probably did not have. Most of the notices were likely painted by experienced, possibly professional painters. However, both textual and visual evidence suggests that also non-professionals, probably supporters, sometimes painted notices. It is also clear that the painters had a double role in the elections as they also supported candidates. Sometimes the painters signed notices for and supported one candidate, but more commonly they supported other candidates.

The general distribution of notices is focused on main streets where they were painted high on the walls to ensure good visibility. This visibility in addition to regularity of placements and repeated use of select locations do not support the old assumptions of an unwanted activity done in secrecy. The places for electoral notices were controlled most likely by the inhabitants of houses. Working at night seems plausible to avoid foot traffic disturbing painters working on detailed scripts on a ladder.

Both textual and visual evidence suggest that more than one painter/team worked on most campaigns. Furthermore, households had no preferences towards certain painters, as many different scripts can be observed on most façades. However, different scripts could represent members of one workshop and indicate that no “workshop style” was aimed at. It seems unlikely that the texts produced by members of one workshop could be identified. Further work on scripts could identify individual painters working for campaigns of different candidates.

The results suggest that the process of producing painted signs in Pompeii was not simple and uniform – the active agents consisted of individuals and teams, professionals and amateurs. The organization of the campaigns cannot be reconstructed, but it seems likely that those processes were equally diverse and involved candidates, supporters, house owners, and painters in varying degrees and formations.

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Part I Painters				
Name	Reason	Signatures	Supporter	Other possible texts
[---]cina	nom + scr PR	PR 1165 scr. [---]cina		
[---]sius	nom + scr? PR	PR 222 s[---] sit [---]sius dealbatore Onesimo		
Aemilius Celer, P.	nom + scr PR 2, EM 1	PR 3775 scr. Aemilius Celer, 3820 scr. Aemilius Celer; EM 3884 scr. Celer, scr. Aemilius Celer		Person? Celer supporter PR 7333, 7334. EM 9977 ememded Ce[ler scripsit], but C and E in large letters, not a likely signature. OP 3790, 3792, 3794; GR 5325, 5328
Ascaules	nom + scr PR	PR 636 scrib. Ascaules		
C[---]	nom? + scr PR	PR 6621 scripsit C[---]		
Claudius Primus	nom + scr OP	OP 10981 scr. Claudius Primu[s]		Same as Prim[-] in 9971? (see below)
Florillus	nom + scr PR	PR 803 scr. Florillus		
Florus	nom + scr PR 2	PR 230 scr. Infantio cum Floro et Fructo et Sabino hic ubique, 581 scr. Florus cum Fructo	9877 Fundilius Eugamus cum Floro suo rog.	Role? PR 95 Florus. GR 2223, 3097, 4299, 4298c, 4299, 4378, 4387, 4392, 7339, 8153c, 8861a, 8816 (Florus gladiator?)

Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
	Pothinus	SCR Postumius Proculus		A, E, H
[--]sius, Onesimus		SCR Epidius Sabinus, Marius (Rufus), Paquius Proculus, Vettius Caprarius Felix		A, E, F, G, H
	Vicini	SCR PR Claudius Verus, Staius Receptus. SCR EM Lucretius Satrius Valens		A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980
	Menecrates, Vesbinus	SCR Vettius Caprasius Felix		A, C, E, F, G, H
		SCR Obellius Firmus		A, C, E, H
				CIL IV 4.2
		SCR Cerrinius Vatia		A, C, E, F, G, H
Florus, Fructus, Infantio, Sabinus	Fundilius Eugamus, Messenio, seri bibi universi	SCR Cerrinius Vatia. ROG Lucretius Fronto	Hic et ubique	A, C, E, G, H

Name	Reason	Signatures	Supporter	Other possible texts
Fructus = Fructus <i>pycta?</i>	nom + scr PR 2; nom + scr PR	PR 230 scr. Infantio cum Floro et Fructo et Sabino hic ubique, 581 scr. Florus cum Fructo	934 Fructus cu[pit?]	OP 3599; GR 1250, 1875, 2126, 2244, 2245, 2245a, 2409c, 3324=5042, 3539, 4151, 4471, 4473, 4513, 8171, 10033.4
Hinnulus	nom + scr PR	PR 9851 scr. Hinnulus	2993da Innulus rogat, 3367 Hinnulus cum Papilione rog.	Person? Role? 7373 Hinn(ulus?) rog., 7374 Infa(n)s nec sine Hinnulo. OP 2993zβ? GR 8985
Infantio (C. Nisius/ Calvisius Infantio?)	nom + scr PR 6, EM 1	PR 120 scr. Infantio, 230 scr. Infantio cum Floro et Fructo et Sabino hic ubique, 709 s[c]r. Infantio, 785a s[c]r. Infantio, 984 scr. Infantio, 7658 Infantio scr.; EM 7343 scripsit Infantio	1226 Infantio rogat, 3296=3680 T. Genialis Infantio rog., 7191 Infantio rog. cum suis, 7348 Infantio cupit	Person? Role? 239 Miscenia rog. Infa[---], 485 rog. Lassi cum [F]abio et Crimio et C. Nisio/Calvisio? [In] fantione ubiq(ue), 789 scr. Infa[---], 7618 Valens fac(it) et ille te fecit Infa[---]. GR 1226, 1314a, 1316
Magus	nom EM	EM 7994 Magus		
Mustius fullo	nom + scr PR	PR 3529 Mustius fullo facit et dealbat scr. unicus	3527 Pupius Appuleia cum Mustio vicino f(acit) et Narcissus vos roga[t	

Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
Florus, Fructus, Infantio, Sabinus	Capito (pycta), Messenio, seri bibi universi	SCR Cerrinius Vatia. ROG Marius Rufus	Hic et ubique; other profession?	A, C, E, F, G, H
	Euxinus, Iustus	SCR Cerrinius Vatia, Postumius Proculus. ROG Ceius Secundus, Postumius Proculus, incertus		E, F, G, H
Florus, Fructus, Infantio, Sabinus	Incertus, Fabius Eupor, Messenius, Scymnis, Trebis	SCR PR Ceius Secundus, Cerrinius Vatia, Cuspis Pansa, Popidius Secundus, A. Postumius. SCR EM Popidius Rufus. ROG Albucius Celsus, Helvius Sabinus	Hic et ubique	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H
		SCR EM Capinia?	On an old plaster	D, G, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980
	Sodales?	SCR Pupius Rufus. ROG Pupius Rufus	Other profession?	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H

Name	Reason	Signatures	Supporter	Other possible texts
Ocella	nom EM	EM 7993 Ocella		OP 1093
Papilio	nom + scr PR 3	PR 7418 scr. Papilio, 7465 Papilio scr., 7536 scr. Papilio	1157 Papilio rog(at), 3367 Hinnulus cum Papilione rog(at)	Role? 1080 Verus innoce(n)s facit Papilio, 9829a Amarantus Pompeianus rog. Papilio, 10925 Successus cliens rog. Papilio, 7251 Papilio, 7298 Papilio. OP 7248a
Paris	nom + scr PR	PR 821 scribit Paris idem rogat	7051 Paris rogat	Role? 1179 Maio quinq(uennali) feliciter Paris (well- wisher). EM 1179 (greeting). OP 148, 330, 1085, 3013, 3609, 7367. GR 23 times
Philo[---]	nom? + scr PR	PR 7027 scr. Philo V[---]		
Poly(---)	nom? EM 2	EM 1177 Poly(---), 7992 Poly(---)		
Porcellus	nom + scr PR	PR 9925 scr. Porcellus	9919 Porcellus cum suis rog., 9922 Porcellus rogat	GR 2347
Protog[---]	nom + scr PR	PR 2975 scr. Protog[---		

Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
		EM Alleius Nigidius Maius	Inside O in Dedicazione	B, D, G, H, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980
	Lollius Synhodus cliens	SCR PR Calventius Sittius Magnus, Popidius Secundus, Secundus. ROG Ceius Secundus		C, D, E, F, G, H
		SCR Suettius Certus. ROG Albucius Celsus, Casellius Marcellus, Suettius Certus		A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980
		SCR incertus		A, C, E, G, H
		EM incertus		B, C, E, G, H, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980
		SCR Postumius Proculus. ROG Helvius Sabinus, Lucretius Fronto		F, G, H
	Diadumenus?	SCR Lucretius		A, C, E, F, G, H

Name	Reason	Signatures	Supporter	Other possible texts
Sabinus	nom + scr PR	PR 230 scr. Infantio cum Floro et Fructo et Sabino hic ubique		Person? Sabinus as supporter in 360, 629, 768=1030 (dissignator), 880, 969, 1048 (copo?), 1049, 9880. GR 40 times
Secundus	nom + scr EM	EM 1190 scr. Secundus dealbante Vic(tor) e adstante Vesbino (red) em(p)tore [--		Person? 558 Numisius Iucundus com Secundo et Victore rog., 840 Euhode perfusor cum Secu[---], 878 Secundus rog. OP 343; GR 65 times
Sexti[----]	nom? + scr EM	EM 1200 scr. Sexti[---]		
Incertus 1	scr PR	PR 1158 scr[---		
Incertus 2	scr EM	EM 1178 scr.		
Incertus 3	scr PR	PR 3738 scrib[it---		
Incertus 4	scr PR	PR 974 scr.		
Part II Members of teams				
Name	Reason	Signatures	Supporter	Other possible texts
[---]lius		PR 7934 [---] lius adstitit		
Onesimus		PR 222 s[---] sit [---]sius dealbatore Onesimo		GR 17 times

Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
Florus, Fructus, Infantio, Sabinus	Messenio	SCR Cerrinius Vatia	Hic et ubique	A, C, E, F, G, H
Secundus, Vesbinus, Victor		SCR Suettius Certus		A, C, E, F, G, H, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980
		SCR EM incertus		E, G, H, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980
		SCR Paquius Proculus, Vettius Caprarius Felix		A, E, H
		SCR EM Alleius Nigidius Maius		E, H
	Fustius	SCR Popidius Secundus		E, H
		SCR Postumius Proculus		A, E, H
Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
				E
[--]sius, Onesimus				A, B, C, E, G

Name	Reason	Signatures	Supporter	Other possible texts
Vesbinus		EM 1190 scr. Secundus dealbante Vic(tor) e adstante Vesbino (red) em(p)tore [--	636 Menecrates et Vesbinus rog. scrib. Ascaules	
Victor		EM 1190 scr. Secundus dealbante Vic(tor) e adstante Vesbino (red) em(p)tore [--		Person? 558 Numis- ius Iucundus com Secundo et Victore rog., 818 Africanus rog. cum Victore. OP 652, 653, 674, 7855; GR 14 times
Part III Not from Pompeii?				
Name	Reason	Signatures	Supporter	Other possible texts
Ataude	nom + scr EM	EM 9968b scr. Ataude dealbante Dione		
Prim[---]	nom? + scr EM	EM 9971b scr. Prim[---]		Same as Claudius Primu[s] in 10981? (see above)
?Incertus 5	scr EM	EM 9968d scr. corrado ub(ique)		
Dion		EM 9968b scr. Ataude dealbante Dione		

Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
Secundus, Vesbinus, Victor	Menecrates	ROG Vettius Caprasius Felix		A, B, C, E, G
Secundus, Vesbinus, Victor				A, B, C, E, F, G
Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
Ataude, Dion		SCR EM Celer?		E, G, H
		SCR EM incertus		E, G, H, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980
		SCR EM incertus		E, H, Solin 1973, 265, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980, 79–80
Ataude, Dion		SCR EM Celer?		E

Part IV Probably not painters				
Name	Reason	Signatures	Supporter	Other possible texts
Asciola	nom + scr OP (invective?)	OP 7497 scribit Asciola cum Gemino		
Geminus	nom + scr OP (invective?)	OP 7497 scribit Asciola cum Gemino		
Livius Severus, L.	nom + scr OP (signature)	OP 2993a L. Livius Severus scribit		
Melicertes	nom + scr OP 2 (greeting, signature?)	OP 2993n Melicertes scribit, 7186 Certimeles scribis		GR 8023
Incertus 6	scr OP	OP 7149 scri(b)it [
Part V Not painters				
Name	Reason	Signatures	Supporter	Other possible texts
Astylus	Connection to workshop I 7,16?		7525 Astylus cup[it], 9831 Astylus rog., 10940 Astylus rog. Recommendations 7464 Astyle dormis, 7794 Astyle dormis	Role? 423 Astylus sum, 10941 Astylus. OP 7243, 7248b
Cunicl[--]	Misread greeting in EM 9983a Cunicl(us) Luceio sal(utem)			

Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
Asciola, Geminus				
Asciola, Geminus				
				A, B, C, E, G
			Inverted name	A, B, C, E, G
Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
				D, E, F, G, H
		Cumius?		G, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980

Name	Reason	Signatures	Supporter	Other possible texts
Gafio	Nom inside a Q in a PR - more likely supporter			Role? 9961 Gafio
Iarinus	Connection to workshop I 7,16?		223 Iarinus rog.	Person? Role? PR 124 Iarinus[---], 821 Iarin[---], 1092 C. Iun. Iarinus, 7837 Earinus rogat. OP 7243; GR 10 times
Issus	nom + scr PR, OP (signature), but not a name? (ipse?)	PR 234 scr. Issus; OP 225 scripsit Issus		
Istmus	Charcoal text 2994 scripsit Istmus, not painted			
Tychicus	Connection to workshop I 7,16?			
<p>ABBREVIATIONS: EM = edictum munerorum, announcement for gladiatorial games; GR = graffito, scratched text; NOM = nominative case; OP = other painted text; PR = programmatum recentum, electoral notice; ROG = rogator, supporter; SCR = scripsit, includes signature</p>				
<p>SOURCES: A = CIL IV,2 p. 775; B = De Marchi 1916; C = Magaldi 1929-1930; D = Della Corte 1965; E = Franklin 1978; F = Mouritsen 1988; G = Chiavia 2002; H = Baratta 2016</p>				

Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
		Q. Fabricius		H
				D, E, F (against), G
		SCR Cerrinius Vatia		A, B, C, F, G, H, Väänänen 1937
				E, G
				D, E, H

Table 1: List of Pompeian painters and evidence related to them. Part I includes the probable painters. Part II lists the members of teams mentioned. Part III features the painters from the area outside the Nuceria Gate who might not be from Pompeii. Part IV lists persons signing only other texts than electoral notices and edicta. Part V lists names that have been regarded as painters previously, but the evidence does not support the interpretation.

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF ANCIENT GREEK AND LATIN

Review Article

MARK JANSE

The sociolinguistic study of Ancient Greek and Latin is a relatively recent phenomenon.¹ This is not to say, of course, that the social contexts in which Greek and Latin were used have been ignored until the advent of modern sociolinguistics and historical sociolinguistics as separate disciplines. Of course we all know that the Greeks and Romans were well aware of the differences between languages, dialects and sociolects. The Greeks had dedicated verbs to refer to speaking foreign languages and different varieties of Greek: βαρβαρίζω, σολοικίζω, ἑλληνίζω, ἀττικίζω, αἰολίζω etc. Similarly, the Romans distinguished between *sermo latinus* and lower varieties referred to as *sermo vulgaris*, *sermo plebeius*, *sermo cotidianus* or *sermo rusticus*. The study of Biblical Greek and Vulgar Latin occasioned comparisons with the higher or ‘classical’ varieties and so on. In recent years, the sociolinguistic study of Latin is intimately connected with the name of the undisputable giant in this field, J.N. Adams.² The sociolinguistic study of Greek cannot be associated with the name of a single scholar, but recent work is conveniently summarized in various chapters in

¹ This is a review article of: James Clackson, *Language and Society in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2015, xiv, 204 pp. ISBN 9780521140669. £19.99. It was originally solicited by another journal, but due to consecutive health issues it was finished too late to be included there. I apologize to the editors and also to my friend and colleague James Clackson for the unduly delay, but I hope my comments illustrate my respect and interest in the work under review and may help to further improve future editions of it.

² Cf. Adams (1982; 2003; 2007; 2013; 2016); Adams – Janse – Swain (2002); Adams – Vincent (2016) as well as many separate case studies. I feel fortunate and privileged to be allowed to count Jim Adams among my dearest friends in the academic world.

Bakker (2010), Horrocks (2010) as well as Giannakis (2014). For Latin we have Clackson (2011) as well as Clackson and Horrocks (2007).

James Clackson (henceforth: JC), Professor of Comparative Philology at the University of Cambridge, is a well-known expert in Indo-European and Latin linguistics, with a particular interest in the sociolinguistics of Latin and the sociology of language in the Roman World.³ He has written a very accessible and timely introduction to the relationship between language and society in Greek and Roman Antiquity. Its main purpose is to explore “how ancient languages and language use can function as a window onto the history of the ancient world” (p. 1), with special attention to the Greek and Roman civilizations between 800 BC and AD 400. The book is part of the CUP series *Key Themes in Ancient History*, “designed in the first instance at students and teachers of Classics and Ancient History, but also for those engaged in related disciplines” (p. [ii]). JC himself states that he wanted “to ensure that the text might be understood by an undergraduate student or even an educated layperson” (p. xiii). It is important to keep the intended audience in mind when reading or, in this particular case, reviewing a short work of such formidable scope, which without any doubt is also of great interest for historical sociolinguists less familiar with the sociolinguistics of Greek and Latin.

The handsome little book is very well organized in six coherent chapters, written in a very entertaining and engaging style. The first chapter, ‘The linguistic ecology of the Mediterranean’, discusses what and especially how little we know about the various languages in the period under discussion. As JC explicitly admits (p. 3), maps 1.1 and 1.2 (inserted between pp. 82 & 83), depicting the language situations around 500 BC and around AD 400, can only be understood to be very approximative, given our extremely limited knowledge, based as it is on the available written sources, both literary and, in the case of the majority of the languages other than Greek and Latin, epigraphic, in combination with toponomastic evidence and stray references by ancient writers. JC discusses the pitfalls of especially the last two types of indirect evidence, taking the examples of ancient Liguria, Crete and Cyprus (pp. 3ff.). The main point of the maps, however, is to illustrate the spectacular spread of Greek and Latin at the expense of innumerable local languages, many of which we only know by name. The

³ See especially Clackson (2011; 2012a; 2012b; 2015) and the numerous excursions on sociolinguistic issues in Clackson – Horrocks (2007).

following are treated in more or less detail: Cydonian, Elymian, Eteocretan, Eteocypriot, Etruscan, Gaulish, Iberian, Lemnian, Lepontic, Libyan, Ligurian, Lusitanian, Lydian, Mysian, Oscan, Pelasgian, Phrygian, Rhaetic, Tartessian, Tyrrhenian. The genetic relationship of only a few of these has been secured: Gaulish and Lepontic (Celtic), Oscan (Italic), Lusitanian (Celtic or Italic), Lydian (Anatolian) and Phrygian are Indo-European languages, but the identity of the other languages is either entirely unknown or heavily debated. Here, as elsewhere, JC takes into account insights of modern (socio)linguistics, as in his discussion of the distinction between ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ and associated problems in the Greek and Latin terms for linguistic varieties (pp. 11ff.), language origins and language change with due attention to so-called ‘mixed’ languages (pp. 16ff.), and the correlations between language diversity and variation and ecological factors (pp. 25ff.). JC mentions the ‘mixed languages’ of Crete mentioned in Homer (*Odyssey* 19,172–3, quoted on pp. 7 & 11) and the ‘mixed barbarians’ mentioned in Plutarch (*Bravery of Women* 247a, quoted on p. 11).⁴ As a modern example of a mixed language he quotes Michif (p. 17), but an example much closer to the topic of the book is Cappadocian, a Greek-Turkish mixed language (Janse 2002, 359ff., with the very relevant quote from Kontosopoulos 1994, 7).

Chapter 2, ‘States of languages/languages of states’, deals with questions of language planning, particularly standardization and purism. It starts with the case of Old Persian, in particular the trilingual Behistun (Bisitun) inscription, written in Elamite, Babylonian Akkadian and Old Persian cuneiform.⁵ The inscription records the achievements of the Achaemenid King Darius I (r. 522–485 BC), who claims to have created the script for this particular purpose. Some space is devoted to the use(s) of Old Persian cuneiform in the Achaemenid administration alongside Elamite and Aramaic, the latter destined to become the administrative lingua franca of the ancient Near East. He concludes that it cannot be considered a standard language in the modern sense of the word and proceeds to enumerate established criteria (pp. 35ff.). JC then applies these criteria to Classical Latin as

⁴ See Janse (2002, 333ff.) for more examples of ‘mixed languages’ in Antiquity, including the ‘Old Oligarch’ on the ‘mixed language’ of the Athenians (quoted in a different context by JC on p. 53).

⁵ The Behistun inscription is comparable to the Rosetta Stone in that the decipherment of Old Persian allowed for the decipherment of Akkadian and Elamite and, eventually, of other Near Eastern languages written in cuneiform such as Sumerian, Hattic, Hurrian, Urartian, Hittite and Luwian, the last two being (Indo-European) Anatolian languages like Lydian.

a standard language (pp. 37ff.), tracing its origins back to the second century BC, with purists such as Lucilius and Accius, until the establishment of the notion of *Latinitas* or ‘(pure) Latin.’ The codification and promulgation of Classical Latin proceeded “as much by example as by prescription” (p. 38), the writings of Caesar and Cicero eventually becoming models of *Latinitas*. The expansion of Classical Latin is illustrated with the creation of a technical vocabulary largely based on and adapted from the Greek (p. 39). The final stage of standardization is what JC calls the “[s]peakers’ internalization of the notion of a ‘correct’ Latin” (*ib.*) and its concomitant condemnation of other varieties as low(er), corrupt and indicative of lack of education, intelligence, pedigree and even morality.

JC moves on to Greek, starting with its oldest script, Linear B, which is comparable in its (restricted) uses to Old Persian cuneiform (pp. 33ff.). He discusses the situation in the archaic and classical periods with its proliferation of regional dialects and subdialects, which even used local variants of the four major alphabets (pp. 44ff.). The situation is complicated by the use of literary dialects which do not seem to correspond with any single and often even mix several dialects, Homer being just one of the best-known examples. Even the Classical Attic of the fifth and fourth centuries BC had different varieties, termed ‘literary’ and ‘conservative’ by Horrocks (2010, 64, quoted on p. 52), the former represented by the tragic playwrights and Thucydides, the latter by the orators and Plato, whose speech is closer to the local vernacular. The “creeping Ionicization” (p. 54) of what was later called ‘Great Attic’ eventually led to the establishment of the κοινή or ‘common language’, which JC considers, “in some respects, the Greek equivalent to a standard language in the Hellenistic and Roman periods” (p. 56). The κοινή would eventually level most of the Ancient Greek dialects, with the exception of Laconian which is used alongside the κοινή in dedications at the sanctuary of Artemis and which partially survives in present-day Tsakonian (p. 55). All the other Modern Greek dialects derive from the κοινή or its regional varieties. Cappadocian and Pontic, for instance, have retained many features of the Asia Minor Greek κοινή (Horrocks 2010, 113f.).

The discussion of Atticism, the puristic movement determined to purge the language of κοινή elements (p. 57f.), anticipates chapter 3, ‘Language and identity’, which starts with a brief discussion of the interaction of Welsh and Irish Gaelic with English in Wales and Northern Ireland as a prelude to the linguistic choices of communities and individuals as part of their construction

of identity in the face of Greek and Roman conquest and colonization (pp. 63ff.). JC discusses the example of Favorinus, a sophist born in Gallia Narbonensis, who boasted a triple identity: Roman, Greek and Gaulish (pp. 67f.). It would have been helpful to make the distinction more explicit in terms of political, cultural and ethnic identity. This could have been illustrated further with the division of the Roman Empire in 395, unfortunately just outside the time frame JC set for himself, when the Byzantines continued to call themselves Ῥωμαῖοι ‘Romans’ to assert their political identity, even though culturally as well as linguistically they were Greeks. The fourth-century Cappadocian Church Fathers Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus all assert their Cappadocian identity, culturally as well as linguistically, with stray references to the indigenous Cappadocian (probably Anatolian) language as well as to their peculiar Greek accent, which Gregory of Nazianzus characterizes as ἄγροικος ‘rustic’ (Janse 2002, 356). Cappadocian is one of several languages that survived beyond the fourth century in Asia Minor, in addition to Galatian (Gaulish) and Phrygian, both mentioned by JC (Janse 2002, 350ff.).⁶

The chapter continues with a discussion of various cases of language contact which JC rightly discusses in terms of diglossia in the sense of Fishman rather than bilingualism or even plain “counter attacks” (p. 69ff.). Oddly enough, the term ‘diglossia’ does not appear in the text, although it is listed in the index (p. 201) with references to pp. 70 and 92, where the difference between High and Low varieties is explained.⁷ It is a missed opportunity that he chose to illustrate the phenomenon with Arabic instead of Greek, even though Ferguson’s classic article (1959) on diglossia included the case of Modern Greek, where before the creation of Standard Modern Greek in the twentieth century (dubbed κοινή by Greek linguists), a reconstructed archaic form of Greek called καθαρεύουσα ‘purifying (language)’ was called into existence in the nineteenth century as the High variety to purge the language from forms associated with the Low variety, the natural development of spoken vernacular Greek called δημοτική ‘popular’

⁶ JC wrongly assumes that the Cappadocians mentioned in the biblical passage known as the γλωσσολαλία ‘speaking in tongues’ of the Apostles (*Acts* 2,4ff, mentioned on p. 29f.) were among the peoples who were “probably speaking Greek at this date” (p. 55 fn. 28), i.e. the first century AD, whereas we have evidence that they were not (Janse 2002, 349ff.).

⁷ The adjective ‘diglossic’ is mentioned between quotation marks on p. 161 (see below, p. 349).

– a situation comparable to the rise of Atticism in the first century BC.⁸ It is therefore wrong to claim that “the language situation in ancient Greece has no clear modern counterpart” (p. 58), as the tension between H and L varieties continues in the Byzantine and modern periods (Holton 2010, 542ff.; Horrocks 2010, 262ff.).

JC presents examples of the use of languages other than Greek and Latin in special domains, such as Etruscan instead of Latin in the sphere of divination (the so-called *disciplina Etrusca*, p. 71ff.). The next section discusses the use of other Italian languages, especially during the ‘Social War’ of 91–88 BC, where the use of Paelignian, an Oscan variety, has been wrongly interpreted as a sign of resistance to the Romans, as JC convincingly argues (pp. 75ff.). The, admittedly rare, existence of bilingual inscriptions is the subject of a balanced discussion in which JC carefully shows “what they can, and what they cannot, tell us about the communities and individuals who commissioned and composed them” (p. 78). His main interest is in the erection of bilingual inscriptions as identity markers (pp. 78ff.). The use of Eteocypriot (instead of the local Cypriot Greek dialect written in the same syllabic script) in a Cypriot inscription from the late fourth century BC written also in ‘Great Attic’ and of Gaulish in an Italian inscription from the second century BC written also in Latin are clear examples. The use of minority languages or Low varieties marks the identity of the commissioners, whereas the use of ‘Great Attic’ instead of the local Cypriot Greek dialect and of Latin is dictated by the desire to get the message across to the outside world. The very few extant trilingual inscriptions usually serve the same purpose but usually with an additional political agenda, like the monumental inscriptions of the Persian kings Darius I and Shāpūr I, the latter written in the third century BC in Middle Persian, Parthian and Greek. JC, however, also discusses (pp. 81ff.) a trilingual Sardinian inscription from the second century BC commissioned by a (Greek?) slave, written in Latin, Greek and Phoenician and dedicated to Asclepius Merre (Merre possibly being the name of a local Sardinian deity and Asclepius being rendered with its Phoenician equivalent Ešmun).

The rest of the chapter is devoted to the best documented case in the ancient world: Greek and Latin bilingualism (pp. 87ff.). JC discusses the use and prestige of Greek in the Roman world, epitomized in the emperor Claudius’ quip

⁸ See Horrocks (2010, 438ff.) and especially Mackridge (2009). The term διγλωσσία ‘diglossia’ was coined in 1885 by the Greek writer Emmanouil Rhoidis (Mackridge 2009, 27ff.).

utroque sermone nostro ‘in both of our languages’ (Suetonius, *Life of Claudius* 42) which became a commonplace in the Roman Empire captured in the set phrase *utraque lingua* ‘in both languages’ (p. 88).⁹ He sets out the stages from the largely monoglot early Republic to the largely bilingual Empire, carefully distinguishing between the different domains and registers in which Greek was used and accepted and, indeed, acceptable (pp. 88ff.). JC again refers to the diglossic situation in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire without using the term, emphasizing that both Greek and Latin were High varieties, even though Latin is not widely attested in the inscriptional record (pp. 92ff.). He concludes that even though identity has often been dismissed as having lost all explanatory salience, many of the examples discussed in this chapter show that the linguistic choices of communities and individuals in Antiquity are demonstrably “part of their self-identification and self-definition” (p. 95).

Chapter 4, ‘Language variation’, starts with musings about the problems inherent in working with historical data (pp. 96f.). Writing itself imposes restrictions on the range of variation and only a very small percentage of the (predominantly male) elite was literate, ranging from 5-10% during the Classical period in Greece and 20–30% during the Late Republic/High Empire in Rome. Another problem is the relative sparseness of the available evidence, even though Greek and Latin are of course far better documented than any of the languages spoken on their territories. The next section, ‘Studying linguistic variation’ (pp. 97ff.), contains an elaborate discussion of Labov’s classic study on the social stratification of (r) in New York City, emphasizing once again the difficulties of applying modern linguistic theories based on spoken language to ancient language variation in written sources (p. 103). JC discusses the case of Cicero, an individual speaker/writer of Classical Latin who not only commented on his own speech habits but was also the object of the observations of many other Latin speakers/writers after him (p. 103ff.). Cicero remarks that he writes his letters *plebeio sermone* ‘in the language of the plebs’, that is in colloquial style (*Letters to Friends* 9,21,1), as opposed to the more formal register of his civil court cases, but JC rightly highlights the pitfalls of contrasting different written genres in terms of formal and informal registers (p. 104). He also mentions the often underestimated

⁹ It may be noted that the catch phrase *utraque lingua* is the main title of at least three publications on Greek-Latin bilingualism (Dubuisson 1981; Nicolas 1996; Fögen 2003) and *utroque sermone nostro* of another (Torres Guerra 2011).

impact of the manuscript tradition, which may have ironed out colloquial features not corresponding to the classical norm (p. 105). The variation encountered in real autographs such as the innumerable Greek letters written on papyrus may reveal idiolectal idiosyncrasies, as shown by Evans (2012), but deviant spellings are sometimes no more than plain mistakes against the highly conservative Greek orthography clearly ill-suited to the language of the Post-Classical, Byzantine and modern periods, as JC argues at some length (p. 106ff).

He then turns his attention to the representation of language variation in literary texts. Ancient Greek comedy is an important source for diastratic and diatopic variation, especially in the plays of Aristophanes p. (109ff.), whose ‘languages’ (*sic*) have been studied in great detail by Willi (2003).¹⁰ Aristophanes represents women, non-Athenian Greeks, and foreigners (“barbarians”, p. 113) as speaking different varieties of Greek.¹¹ With respect to other aspects of sociolinguistic, especially diastratic variation, JC is rightly very cautious: “in Aristophanes’ comedies linguistic characterization is generally not continuous” (p. 111). As an example, he discusses attempts at interpreting the variation in dative plural endings in *Clouds* in terms of ‘rustic’/‘conservative’ vs. ‘urbane’/‘innovative’ and concludes that “the variation represented by Aristophanes probably does not correspond to any real-life variation in the streets and marketplaces of Athens” (p. 112). Interestingly, Aristophanes himself, in a famous fragment, distinguishes three different social varieties: διάλεκτον ἔχοντα μέσην πόλεως, οὐτ’ ἀστείαν ὑποθηλυτέραν τ’ οὐτ’ ἀνελεύθερον ὑπαγροικότεραν “having the middle-of-the road speech of the city, neither the more refined effeminate variety, nor the more slavish country one” (fr. 706 - quoted in translation on p. 113). It should be noted that the distinction between ἀστεῖος and (ὑπ)άγροικος ‘(somewhat) rustic’ (compare Gregory of Nazianzus’ use of ἄγροικος, discussed above on p. 337) corresponds with the Latin use of *urbanus* vs. *rusticus* (p. 118).

“[A]n unparalleled source for language variation in Latin” (p. 116) is Petronius’ novel *Satyrica* from the first century AD. The language of the freedmen in the *Cena Trimalchionis* ‘Banquet at Trimalchio’s’ the largest extant fragment of

¹⁰ See also Willi (2002; 2010b).

¹¹ For Aristophanes’ characterization of Greek dialects other than Attic see Colvin (1999); for the representation of male speech in Aristophanes, on which JC is skeptical (p. 113), see now the recent article by McDonald (2016); on the Greek concepts of βάρβαρος ‘barbarian’ and βαρβαροφωνέω / βαρβαρίζω ‘speak like a barbarian’, whether ‘speak a foreign language’ or ‘speak bad Greek’, see Janse (2002, 334ff.).

the *Satyrica*, offers “the clearest indication from the ancient world of the speech of the sub-elite” (*ib.*). The language of the freedmen “is so far removed from Classical Latin that when the *Cena Trimalchionis* was published in 1664, on the basis of a single manuscript, many scholars thought that it was a later forgery or pastiche, and passages were thought to reveal an original French or Italian version, imperfectly translated into Latin” (p. 115). Non-standard features include the use of periphrastic constructions to express the future and the confusion of case and gender (*ib.*, cf. p. 121). A hilarious case of hypercorrection of rustic speech is immortalized in Catullus’ poem 84, where a certain Arrius is ridiculed for hypercorrect *h*-popping to mask his *h*-dropping (p. 117). JC quotes only half the poem, so the reader misses the punchline: *cum subito affertur nuntius horribilis, | Ionios fluctus, postquam illuc Arrius isset, | iam non Ionios esse, sed Hionios* “when suddenly a horrible message arrives that the Ionian Sea, ever since Arrius went there, was no longer Ionian but Hionian” (84,10–12). My late professor of Latin literature (who taught Classical, not Late Latin, to be sure), being a speaker of an *h*-dropping Flemish dialect, like myself, in a desperate attempt to mask his accent, unwittingly reversed the joke by saying that “the Hionian Sea, ever since Harrius went there, was no longer Hionian but Ionian”, turning Arrius into a Roman Harry instead of the “Roman ’Arry” of the “Englished” title of Sir Richard Francis Burton’s translation of the poem (1894).

Hypercorrect *h*-popping was condemned as *rusticus* (as opposed to *urbanus*) by well-educated scholars like Nigidius Figulus, a contemporary of Catullus (p. 118). As a matter of fact, *h*-dropping must have been well underway in the classical period (Allen 1978, 43ff.): intervocalic *-h-* was regularly deleted in words like *mī* < *mihi* ‘to me’, *nēmo* < *nē hemo* ‘no man: no-one’,¹² *nīl* < *nihil* ‘nothing’ even in the speech of classical authors and hypercorrect *h*-popping/dropping appears in orthographic variants such as (*h*)*umerus* ‘shoulder’ (cf. Sanskrit *ámsa-*, Greek *ῶμος*, Gothic *amsa*), (*h*)*umor* ‘moisture’ and (*h*)*umidus* ‘wet’ (by popular etymological connection with *humus* ‘earth’ according to Varro, *On the Latin Language* 5.24) and (*h*)*arena* ‘sand’ (cf. Archaic Latin (*h*)*asena*, Faliscan *fasena*). By the end of the fourth century AD, *h*-dropping is not only accepted by Augustine (*Sermons* 1,18,29) but its pronunciation is actually considered “pedantic and overly reliant on trying to reproduce the speech of a former era” (p. 120; see

¹² *Hemō* is the older form of *homō*: *hemonem hominem dicēbant* “they used the say *hemō* for *homō*” (Festus 89,8).

also p. 148). Not surprisingly, none of the Romance languages have preserved the original Latin *h-* except in artificially reconstructed orthographies such as French *homme*, Spanish *hombre* from Latin *homine(m)* (accusative, not nominative).¹³ The chapter ends with a discussion of the notion of ‘Vulgar Latin’ which has been uncritically transferred from “the language of the sub-elite in the Roman” world to “later stages of Latin”, as in the title of the biannual conferences on “Vulgar and Late Latin” (p. 119, cf. p. 120ff.). The chapter concludes, programmatically: “The challenge for the historical sociolinguist is twofold. First, to work out which variations in our texts correlated to real variations in speech; and second, to try to understand whether ancient communities interpreted these speech differences as indicative of social background or status” (p. 122).

Chapter 5, ‘Language, gender, sexuality’, starts with a quotation from an oration by Dio Chrysostom (first-second century AD) in which he criticizes the inhabitants of the city of Tarsus in Asia Minor for habitually ‘snorting’, an unpleasant sound which he compares to the female voice (φωνή) when uttered by men: “[S]upposing certain people should as a community be so afflicted that all the males got female voices and that no male, whether young or old, could say anything man-fashion, would that not seem a grievous experience and harder to bear, I’ll warrant, than any pestilence?” (*Orations* 33,38, quoted on p. 123). This is interpreted as if men speaking with a female voice had lost “a distinctively male speech pattern” (*ib.*). Although the quotation is intended to introduce the following sections on female and male speech, JC here misses the mark, as Dio is obviously referring to voice qualities and not to speech patterns, as is clear from the continuation of the oration, not quoted in the book: “But who are they who make that sort of sound? Are they not the creatures of mixed sex [i.e., androgynes - MJ]? Are they not men who have had their testicles lopped off?” (33,39). The Greek word for ‘sound’ used here is ἦχος, which clearly refers to the quality of the voice (φωνή). A modern analogy of men speaking with female voices would be the (Monty) Pythons playing women (or playing women who impersonate men, as in the stoning scene from *Monty Python’s Life of Brian*).¹⁴

¹³ JC claims (p. 90) that *elephantus* is taken from the Greek genitive ἐλέφαντος (nominative ἐλέφας), but *panthera* from the accusative πάνθηρα (nominative πάνθηρ). It is safer to assume that both were based on the accusative or on the stem of the oblique cases. The accusative was the basis of the nominative formations in the later stages of Greek and also of Latin and the Romance languages.

¹⁴ To Dio’s credit, it should be stressed that he did not think that the female voice in itself was offensive to the ear: “And yet to speak with female voice [γυναικῶν φωνή ‘women’s voice’] is to speak with

The next section is devoted to female speech. Once again, Greek comedy is an important source of information on, as JC quite rightly emphasizes, “ancient (*male*) ideas of the characteristics of female speech” (p. 125 - italics mine, MJ). Already in chapter 4, JC presented an example of female speech in the case of one woman correcting another who inadvertently swears “by the two goddesses” (Demeter and Persephone) while practising to take the part of a man in the Assembly (Aristophanes, *Assemblywomen* 156ff., quoted on p. 110). In the present section, JC presents an example of female speech uttered by a man disguised as a woman to infiltrate a woman-only festival who is asked to try on a party dress: νῆ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ἡδὺ γ’ ὄζει ποσθίου “by Aphrodite, it has a nice smell of weenie” (*Women Celebrating the Thesmophoria* 254, quoted on p. 125). The female characteristics of this Pythonesque scene are the oath “by Aphrodite” (instead of “by Apollo”, the male equivalent) and, according to JC, also the use of the word ποσθίου, a diminutive form of ποσθή, here translated as “weenie”. Ποσθή is not really “the vulgar word for penis” (p. 126), which is πέος, but refers to “a small member or a young boy’s member” (Henderson 1991, 109). JC claims that “the joke surely lies in the incongruity of the obscenity coming from a woman’s mouth” (*ib.*), but the man is not yet impersonating a woman, as he is still in the presence of his kinsman Euripides and Agathon, two famous Athenian playwrights. JC’s interpretation is intended as a rebuttal of the traditional understanding of the use of ποσθίου “to be a slighting or affectionate reference to the manhood of the notoriously effeminate poet Agathon” (*ib.*), but Henderson notes that “[t]he pederast Agathon’s clothes smell sweetly of [ποσθίου] ... because of his predilection for small boys” (1991, 109). The use of the diminutive is in any case not just “a vain attempt to feminize the vulgarity” (*ib.*), as recent studies on female speech in Greek (Bain 1984) and Latin (Adams 1984) “show that ancient observations about feminine preference for diminutive forms ... were borne out in the comedies” (p. 128; cf. Fögen 2010, 322).

The discussion of particular forms of address which have been associated with female speech ends with an inconclusive “we can’t be certain that in the same circumstances women would employ a particular phrase any more than men” (p. 127). Yet it would have been helpful to compare Latin examples such

human voice [ἀνθρώπων φωνή ‘humans’ voice’], and nobody would be vexed at hearing a woman speak” (*Orations* 33,38). Aristotle (*Generation of Animals* 5,7,786b–787a) considers the deep voice of men as opposed to the high voice of women as the mark of a nobler nature (*sic*).

as *anima (mea)* ‘my soul, life’ with its Greek counterparts ζωή (μου) ‘my life’ and ψυχή (μου) ‘my soul’, both attested in Greek (*sic*) by Martial (*Epigrams* 10,68) and Juvenal (*Satires* 6,195) and explicitly associated with female speech. Dickey (1996, 187) quotes Theocritus (24,8), where a mother addresses her two babies with the Doric equivalent as ἐμᾶ ψυχᾶ.¹⁵ A comparison with later stages of the Greek language would have been instructive, as the use of such terms of endearment is particularly frequent in Modern Greek female speech, where next to ζωή μου and ψυχή μου the diminutive forms ζούλα μου and ψυχούλα μου are used perhaps even more frequently (in addition to a host of similar diminutive forms such as αγαπούλα μου ‘my darling’, καρδούλα μου ‘my heartlet’ etc.). The use of Greek in the Roman Republic and early Empire was a prerogative of well-educated men and a marker of “advanced male solidarity” (Swain 2002, 164), but on the other hand “Greek was typically the language on the lips of prostitutes (many of whom may have been Greek), and Greek phrases were considered titillating in a young lover” (p. 136, with reference to Adams 2003, 360f.), as in the examples from Martial and Juvenal (the latter quoted and discussed on p. 136f.).

This leads JC to a discussion of the correlations of language choice and gender in situations of societal bilingualism in the Roman world. The last speakers of the native languages almost invariably appear to be women, because “[i]ndigenous languages typically survive longer in the domain of the household, while the new or dominant language prevails outside the home, in the market, the factory, the law court and the town hall” (p. 130f.). The best documented case is the use of Coptic almost exclusively by women after the fourth century AD, discussed at some length by JC (p. 131ff.). As a modern analog to the Egyptian case JC mentions the use of Romani by women in bilingual communities in Northern Greece as opposed to men, who “use codes which mix Romani and Greek” (p. 130, with reference to Matras 2002, 245f.). A Modern Greek analog is Cappadocian, which in several villages in southern Cappadocia was used almost exclusively by women (Janse 2002, 358). Cappadocian also provides a female analog to Chambers and Trudgill’s NORMs or “nonmobile, older, rural males” (1998, 29, quoted by JC on p. 130): the most archaic and conservative variety of Mišótika, the only surviving Cappadocian dialect in present-day Greece, is spoken by SERFs (sedentary, elderly, rural females).

¹⁵ This example is to be distinguished from the use of ψυχή by men to address other men (Dickey 1996, 186)

The final section of chapter 5 is devoted to ‘Obscenity’ (see Janse 2014a for a recent survey). JC discusses some of the difficulties in finding English equivalents for ancient obscenities. A case in point is the verb βινέω (sometimes spelled βεινέω) with its doublet βενέω, which “seems to have had the same force and flexibility in Greek as *fuck* does in English” in the words of Henderson (1991, 151, quoted on p. 138). This is refuted by JC, who points out some of the different uses of the English verb, e.g. *fuck!* or *fuck off!* and some of the, admittedly rare, legal uses of the Greek verb (p. 138f., but discussed in much greater detail in Bain 1991, 57ff.). With respect to the latter, he refers to the Alexandrian lexicographer Hesychius (5th–6th c. AD) who recorded the verb in the laws of Solon (p. 139). It would have been useful to quote the entry in full: βεινεῖν· παρὰ Σόλωνι τὸ βία μίγνυσθαι, τὸ δὲ κατὰ νόμον ὀπύειν, i.e. in Solon’s laws βινέω means ‘to have violent (βία) intercourse’, whereas ὀπύω means ‘to have legal (κατὰ νόμον) intercourse’ (my translation). The various words used in the Hesychian entry seem to contradict JC’s claim that “there is no parallel for the English system of a high-register word next to the obscenity” (*ib.*). The mediopassive verb μίγνυμαι (and not the active μίγνυμι, p. 139) is one of the “more general terms ... used to refer to intercourse” (*ib.*). However, the verbs βινέω and ὀπύω are here clearly opposed to one another. Bain concludes that “it is clear that [βινέω] is at all periods a comprehensive term for intercourse” (1991, 59), e.g. βινεῖν βούλομαι ‘I want to fuck’ (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 934, said by Cinesias (Greek Κινησίας), one of the sex-desperate husbands with the punning name associated with the synonymous verb κινέω ‘move’, hence ‘fuck’). De Lamberterie derives the verb on the basis of the doublet βενέω from *g^wen-, the Indo-European word for ‘woman’, and thinks its original meaning was ‘take to wife, marry’ (Chantraine 1999, 1384; rejected by Beekes 2010 *s.v.*).

From a semantic perspective, an interesting comparison can be made with the verb γαμέω ‘take to wife, marry’ or ‘marry in lawful wedlock’ (Liddell – Scott 1996 *s.v.*). The verb has taken on the exclusively obscene meaning ‘fuck’ in Medieval and Modern Greek, including some uses akin to the English verb, e.g. (αἱ) γαμήσου ‘(go) fuck yourself, fuck off’ or γαμώτο ‘(I) fuck (it)’, for which some early attestations are usually identified: Αἰγισθος ὑπὲρ μόρον Ἄτρεΐδαο | γῆμ’ ἄλοχον μνηστήν ‘Aegisthus beyond destiny took the wedded wife [Clytaemnestra] of the son of Atreus [Agamemnon]’ (Homer, *Odyssey* 1,35f.); [Κασσάνδραν] γαμεῖ βιαίως σκότιον Ἀγαμέμνων λέχος ‘Agamemnon will take

[Cassandra] by force to be an illicit paramour' (Euripides, *Trojan Women* 44).¹⁶ It is doubtful whether γαμέω already had its later sense in these examples, in which case the semantic development of γαμέω from 'take to wife' to 'take a wife' in the sense of 'fuck' is a counterexample to "the 'Allan-Burridge law of semantic change': 'Bad connotations drive out good', i.e. euphemistic replacements of obscenities come to take over the primary meanings" (p. 140). Another counterexample is Ancient Greek πέος 'cock, dick, prick', "the vulgar *vox propria* [with] shock value" (Henderson 1991, 108), which has become the high-register equivalent of the vulgar πούτσος or πούτσα in Modern Greek (Janse 2014a, 80). The Latin word *pēnis* < **pes-nis*, etymologically related to Greek πέος < **pēs-es* and Sanskrit *pās-as-* 'penis', underwent a similar development and became the high-register equivalent of French *bitte*, Italian *cazzo*, Spanish *polla*, Romanian *pulă* etc.

The final chapter 6 deals with 'The languages of Christianity'. The first section discusses the first Bible translations and their importance. JC mentions the Latin translation known as the Vulgate and made by Jerome around 400 as well as the earlier Latin versions collectively called *Vetus Latina* (p. 145), but the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures known as the 'Translation of the Seventy' or Septuagint (Lat. *Septuaginta*, Gr. Ἑβδομήκοντα) is not mentioned here but only briefly in the next section (p. 153), despite its being the earliest Bible translation, its peculiar originary legend, its explicit translation poetics and its importance for our knowledge of the κοινή (Janse 2002, 338ff.). Hebrew, Greek and Latin were considered the three *linguae sacrae* 'sacred languages' by the seventh-century scholar Isidore of Seville (*Etymologies* 9,1–2, mentioned on p. 147). Several translations are the first and sometimes also the only witnesses of ancient languages such as Gothic or 'Caucasian Albanian', the language of an ancient people unrelated to the Balkan Albanians, fragments of which were recently discovered on Georgian palimpsests at St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai peninsula (p. 144). Sometimes the translations prompted the invention of new scripts, such as the Gothic alphabet invented by Wulfila in the fourth

¹⁶ It should be noted that ἄλοχος is etymologically related to λέχος and literally means 'bedfellow', which explains why Clytaemnestra is referred to as Agamemnon's ἄλοχος μνηστή 'wedded bedfellow' and Cassandra as Agamemnon's σκότιος λέχος, literally 'dark, secret bed', i.e. 'illicit bedfellow'.

century (p. 144),¹⁷ the Armenian and possibly also Georgian and Caucasian Albanian alphabets by Mesrop in the same century (*ib.*), the Glagolitic alphabet by Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century, and the Cyrillic alphabet possibly by disciples of the brother saints in the same century (*ib.*). The section continues with an overview of other local languages used to spread Christianity and the “apparent tolerance of linguistic diversity” on the part of early missionaries such as Augustine with respect to Punic (p. 147), although JC emphasizes the fact that the Bible was never translated in languages “outside the boundaries of imperial control” (p. 148) and actually “widened the franchise of the Latin language” (p. 149, quoted from Brown 1968, 92).

The next section addresses the linguistic situation in first-century Palestine and the question of the languages of Jesus (see Janse 2014b for a recent survey). The written record indicates that Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and Latin were used at the time, but almost certainly for different purposes and audiences. Latin was the “language of imperial power” (p. 151), whereas Greek was the “second language of the imperial administration” (*ib.*) and without any doubt the first language in the eastern provinces (Janse 2014b, 239). Greek was the major *lingua franca* in the eastern Mediterranean next to Aramaic, the home language of the Palestinian Jews and the native language of Jesus, who is quoted as speaking Aramaic on occasion in the Gospel according to Mark, including the cry from the cross (p. 153f.).¹⁸ Jesus is addressed as ῥαββουνί, the Greek transcription of Aramaic *rabbūnī* ‘rabbi’, by Mary (*John* 20,16) and by the blind man Bartimaeus (*Mark* 10,51), whereas he is consistently addressed by the apostles as ῥαββί, the Greek transcription of Hebrew *rabbī* (Janse 2014b, 240).¹⁹ Both Aramaic and Hebrew are referred to in Greek with the adverb ἑβραϊστί, which is translated by JC as ‘in Hebrew’. Elsewhere I have argued that ἑβραϊστί does not mean ‘in Hebrew’ but rather ‘in the language of the Hebrews’ (Ἑβραῖοι), which could be either Aramaic or Hebrew (Janse 2014b, 240). The trilingual sign

¹⁷ Wulfila, whose name means ‘Little Wolf’ in Gothic, is correctly dated to the fourth century on p. 144, but erroneously to the third on p. 169.

¹⁸ The cry from the cross (*Mark* 15,34) is an Aramaic rendering of *Psalms* 22,1, transmitted in various Greek transcriptions in the majority of the witnesses with the notable exception of the fifth-century Codex Bezae (D), which presents a Greek transcription of the Hebrew text.

¹⁹ The name Βαρτιμαῖος is preceded by its translation: υἱὸς Τιμαίου ‘son of Timaeus’, the latter being a Greek name, the former a hybrid formation containing the Aramaic word *bar* ‘son’ (Hebrew *bēn*).

on the cross (*John* 19,20, mentioned as an example of a trilingual inscription by JC on p. 81) was written ἑβραϊστί ‘in the language of the Hebrews’ (Aramaic or Hebrew), ῥωμαϊστί ‘in the language of the Romans’ (Latin), and ἑλληνιστί ‘in the language of the Hellenes’ (Greek). In this respect it is interesting to compare the seventh-century Byzantine version of the three languages by Maximus the Confessor (*Mystagogia* 60): ῥωμαϊκά ‘in the language of the Romans [i.e. Greeks of the Eastern Roman Empire]’ (Greek - see above, p. 337), λατινικά ‘in the language of the Latins [i.e. the Romans]’ (Latin), and συρικά ‘in the language of the Syrians’ (Syriac, i.e. Aramaic). Jesus’ native tongue was Galilean Aramaic, which was ridiculed in the Talmud for its incomprehensibility (p. 153). As a matter of fact, Galilean is already presented in the New Testament as a distinctive Aramaic dialect, as when Peter is accused of being one of Jesus’ apostles: ἡ λαλία σου δῆλόν σε ποιεῖ ‘your accent gives you away’ (*Matthew* 26,73). There are, however, numerous occasions where Jesus would have had to speak Greek with his interlocutors, such as the ‘Greek Syro-Phoenician’ woman near Tyre (*Mark* 7,24ff.) or Pontius Pilate (*Mark* 15,1f.), both mentioned by JC, who is absolutely right in rejecting the idea that Jesus would have known Latin (p. 154). Another occasion would have been Jesus’ preaching in the Decapolis, a flourishing centre of Hellenistic culture (*Mark* 7,31ff.), which is the scene of the demon expulsion into a huge herd of pigs (*Mark* 5,1ff.; *Matthew* 8,28ff.), “arguably one of the most comic scenes in the NT” (Janse 2014b, 239).

The next section discusses the question whether ‘Christian Greek’ and ‘Christian Latin’ were separate varieties. JC rightly stresses the fact that the writings of the New Testament exhibit different stylistic levels, the language of the Gospel according to Luke, who may also have been the author of *Acts*, being “closer to the administrative standard Greek (the *koinḗ*)” than the other gospels (p. 157) and the language of Paul’s epistles including “literary flourishes not found in the gospels” (p. 155). As Christian authors began engaging in polemic with pagans, they also started defending the lower register of the language of the Scriptures as being the language of fishermen (Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones* 5,2,17) or sailors (Origen, *Against Celsus* 1,62, cf. Janse 2007, 647). The Greek Church Fathers, on the other hand, increasingly shifted towards “a more formal, Atticizing language, away from the more colloquial and contemporary language of the gospels” in an attempt to make themselves understood by the intellectual elite of the time (p. 158; see the discussion of Atticism above on p. 336). JC

observes a similar movement in the language of the Latin Church Fathers, with the notable exception of, again, Augustine (p. 159ff.). He concludes that “Greek- and Latin-speaking communities had become ‘diglossic,’ accustomed to deal in a different variety for written composition and formal occasions from the language of the street” (p. 161). From this perspective, there is no point in distinguishing separate varieties such as “Christian Greek” or “Christian Latin” (p. 163).

The final section of the chapter is devoted to the impact of Christianity on the local languages in the Roman Empire. JC discusses the case of Aramaic, particularly the Syriac dialect which “came to be the vehicle for a substandard corpus of written literature (mostly, but not entirely, Christian)” (p. 165). The reason for its survival may be that “there was already a literary culture in the kingdom [of Osroene - MJ] before it came under Roman control” (p. 166). The first Bible versions in Syriac were probably translations of the Hebrew Scriptures and Syriac was also the language of the teachings of Mani, the third-century founder of Manicheism (*ib.*). The fact that Greek continued to be used as a lingua franca in the eastern provinces is taken as evidence that “language does not seem to have been utilized as a political tool in the local tussles with central authority” (*ib.*). The rise of Coptic in the third century is another case in point (p. 167). Turning to Latin, JC rightly emphasizes the fact that one cannot deduce from the written records “that the spoken languages themselves did not continue to be spoken, particularly in out-of-the-way areas or close-knit communities” (p. 169). He concludes that “there is no secure way of knowing the date of the triumph of Latin in the west, whereas it can be stated for certain that the Arab invasions from the seventh century on cut short the story of Greek in the east” (*ib.*). This is not entirely correct: “During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there were large and, for the most part, prosperous Greek communities throughout the Near and Middle East, *I kath’imas Anatoli* (Our East) to use the evocative Greek phrase” (Clogg 2013, 78f.). Particularly in Asia Minor, Greek remained the official language after the Arab invasions and still was the first language of many Greek-Orthodox Christians in the early twentieth century before the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey in 1923–1924, especially on the west coast and the Dodecanese islands (the latter occupied by Italy from 1912 until 1947), and in Pontus and Cappadocia (Janse 2008, 120ff.).²⁰

²⁰ Witness the huge amount of Greek loanwords in Turkish (Tzitzilis 1987).

The conclusion is entitled ‘Dead Languages?’, a question which is answered in the affirmative by JC: “All the languages discussed in this book are ‘dead languages’, an expression that neatly encapsulates the truism that languages live in the minds and mouths of their speakers” (p. 171). He reiterates the important point that “it is often much more difficult to match writing to speech than is assumed in some works on ancient languages and linguistics” (p. 172). He rightly concludes on a positive note: “provided the researcher is aware that written language is not identical to speech, it is nevertheless possible to use the methods of modern linguistics to gain some insight into ancient verbal behaviour” (p. 174).

The book ends with a ‘Bibliographic essay’ (p. 176ff.), which gives a useful, though selective, survey of the ‘sources’ and a selection of (exclusively English) titles in sociolinguistics and historical sociolinguistics. It is of course easy to criticize any author’s selection, but there is one conspicuous omission: Brill’s three-volume *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics* (Giannakis 2014), specifically designed to be used by non-classical linguists who are not familiar with the Greek alphabet (all Greek examples have been transliterated, to the frustration of many a contributor). The *EAGLL* contains a wealth of information on every imaginable topic in Greek linguistics, including numerous entries on sociolinguistic topics such as ‘Accommodation’, ‘Aischrology’ (profane and obscene language), ‘Ancient Greek sociolinguistics and dialectology’, ‘Attitudes to language’, ‘Bilingualism’, “‘Christian’ Greek”, ‘Diglossia’, ‘Forms of address and sociolinguistic variation’, ‘Language contact’ (with separate entries for particular cases such as JC’s contribution ‘Greek and Armenian’, and separate entries on loanwords, both in and from Latin and Greek), ‘Language policies’, ‘Politeness’, ‘Register’ and many others.

In addition to this bibliographic essay, the book would have been even more useful if JC had added ‘Suggestions for further reading’ at the end of each chapter with references to the most relevant publications. I have already mentioned J.N. Adams as the single most important figure in Latin sociolinguistics and dialectology, and the attentive reader will have learned this from the frequent references to his work, but it would nevertheless be serviceable to make this point at the end of each chapter. And although this book is obviously intended primarily for an English readership, it will and definitely should be more widely read, so it would seem appropriate to include (more) non-English titles. After all,

the standard reference grammars for Greek and Latin were all written in German and listed as such in the bibliographic essay (p. 176).

A few remarks are in order in view of the intended readership (see above, p. 334). The transliteration of Greek is nowhere explained, although it obviously follows Allen (1987), including accents and vowel length. The same system is used in the *EAGLL*, which contains a useful table in the introduction. The transliteration is generally consistent - I have found only one inconsistency: Ancient Greek {v} is transliterated as {γ} in *symmákhos* (*sic*) instead of *súmmakhos* ‘combatant, ally’ (p. 107; compare *psúllos/psúlla* ‘flee’ on p. 58).²¹ Sometimes, the reader is expected to be a bit more classically educated than “the educated layperson” (p. xiii). To quote just a few examples (which could be multiplied): the Aetolians are mentioned on p. 50, but Aetolia does not figure on maps 2.1 and 2.2; Caesar’s *Trēs Galliae* ‘Three Gauls’ (*Gallic War* 1,1,1) may not be familiar to everyone; the general reader will probably know who Marcus Aurelius is (if only because his name was systematically mispronounced Marcus *Orillus* in Ridley Scott’s 2000 movie *Gladiator*), but would s/he know Fronto (p. 127)?

I hope that these critical remarks show the interest with which I have read JC’s important and welcome introduction to a booming field of research which should be of interest to sociolinguists and historical sociolinguists alike. May some of them find their way in a future revised edition for which, I am sure, there will be both a market and a demand. On a personal note, I believe that the book would benefit from paying a bit more attention to the continuity of the Latin and especially the Greek language, as I have indicated on several occasions. Many of the issues discussed have close parallels in the modern languages and it is profitable for both classicists and students of the latter to keep this in mind. There is no better way to make this point than to compare the extraordinary history of the Greek language and its speakers by JC’s predecessor in Cambridge, Geoff Horrocks (2010).

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²¹ The transcription of the Aramaic examples on p. 154 is incorrect: *talitha qum* (ταλιθα κουμ in the Greek version, *Mark* 5,41) should be *ṭalīṭā qūm*, ‘*Abbā*’ (ἄββᾶ in the Greek version, *Mark* 14,36) should be ‘*abbā*’ (Janse 2014b, 240). The Aramaic spoken in Mel Gibson’s 2004 movie *The Passion of the Christ* (mentioned on p. 154) is not Galilean or some other ancient Aramaic dialect, but loosely based on Chaldean Neo-Aramaic.

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SPATIAL THEORIES AND THE STUDY OF ANCIENT (ROMAN) URBANISM¹

Review Article

KAIUS TUORI

Introduction

In the last decades, the notion of space has been centered in studies on the ancient world, following trends that have been equally influential in the human sciences in general. The aim of this review article is to take stock of this remarkable and growing intellectual turn, its methodologies, theoretical frameworks, topics of interest and future prospects. As a sample, it will analyse a selection of prominent recent works that have introduced the spatial dimension in studies of antiquity and highlight their main contributions and drawbacks. In doing so, it attempts to chart how the toolbox of spatial theories has been used and what the future may hold.

The works surveyed are Amy Russell's *The politics of public space in Republican Rome* (2015), Daniel Gargola's *The Shape of the Roman Order: The Republic and Its Spaces* (2017), Carlos Machado's *Urban Space and Aristocratic Power in Late Antique Rome (AD 270–535)* from 2019, and Christopher

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Dickenson's *On the Agora: The Evolution of a Public Space in Hellenistic and Roman Greece (c. 323 BC – 267 AD)* from 2016.²

This is by no means an exhaustive list, but rather a sample skewed towards my own interests in the spatial representations of the public sphere. However, these studies employ very different approaches and methodological tools. Russell's award-winning work focuses on the public-private distinction in Late Republican Rome with some references to other cities in Italy. The individual chapters concentrate on themes such as the forum, the basilica, sacred spaces and the uses of art in making statements, with a distinct interest in individual agency. In contrast, Gargola seeks to understand how space was conceptualized and how spatial orientation informed and guided action in the Roman republic. Machado's book focuses on senatorial aristocracy in Late Antique Rome, a period in which the retreat of imperial power coincided with the rise of Christianity, a territory already staked by the likes of Peter Brown and Richard Krautheimer. If the emphasis of Russell and Gargola is on the rise and expansion of an imperial capital, Machado looks at a city in decline and abandonment that is also the site of massive ecclesiastical building programs. Machado's work is divided into sections on urban space, the uses of space and the development of private space.

Dickenson's book is the most expansive in scope, investigating the evolution of the agora and public space in general in Greece over a period of nearly six centuries. In comparing these works, the aim is primarily in discussing different ways of doing research with the toolbox of spatial theories and the various advantages and drawbacks that they entail.

In the following, we will first discuss what the spatial turn is and what it means for investigations into the past. We will explore how these approaches have thus far been used in the study of the ancient world in general. Then, we turn to our sample studies and explore how they position themselves against this background and how they use space and spatiality as tools or even aims.

What is the spatial turn?

There is no single definition of the spatial turn or how spatial theories are to be

² Russell 2015; Gargola 2017; Machado 2019; Dickenson 2016.

used, but there are numerous different sources and methodological foundations. Some of the main sources are the works of Marxist geographers such as Edward Soja, David Harvey and Doreen Massey, who began to investigate how issues such as class could be studied through their spatial manifestations.³ One of the basic premises of spatial theories has been a Gramscian notion of structural power. Theories such as those by Michel Foucault or, more specifically, Henri Lefebvre argue that the built environment acts as a kind of petrified social structure.⁴

Within historical studies and studies of space in past societies, there is something of a monotonic focus on using the theories of Henri Lefebvre. One of the most important features of the spatial approach developed by Lefebvre is the focus on how people experienced space and how those experiences differed. His view was that space is not only constructed but also experienced through a social and cultural prism.⁵

In historiography, there are also clear linkages to the Annales school of history, which emphasizes the role of structures and long term (or *longue durée*) developments such as changes in urban or rural spaces. Thus, seminal texts such as Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou* (1975) or Fernand Braudel's *La Méditerranée* (1949) sought to present space as a central factor, or even an actor, in lieu of short-term surface level activities.⁶

Within historical studies, we may group interest in spatial theories as focused on three main aspects: power, symbols and memory. The aspect of power is conceptually fairly self-explanatory as it investigates how power relations may be examined in urban environments and in their usages. For example, palaces have a function of projecting power while public spaces may be used to demonstrate the lack of centralized power or hierarchies.⁷

³ The standard history may be read in works such as Arias – Warf 2009. For a short introduction to Harvey's multi-layered thinking on the concept of space, see Harvey 2004.

⁴ Especially famous examples are the coercive uses of space such as the Panopticon. Foucault 1977.

⁵ Lefebvre 1991. On Lefebvre, see Merrifield 2006.

⁶ Both Le Roy Ladurie and Braudel have had a later resurgence due to translations into other languages.

⁷ These constitute the first generation of studies (the "Monuments of Power" style), which explore in a Foucauldian manner how constructed space may be used for social control and coercion.

The symbolic aspect is tied to the aspect of power in that it includes the meanings that are attached to objects such as statues or monuments. Monuments act as placeholders for values, and their prominence is a sign of the esteem in which those values are held, but how the audience, for instance, the people read it and what kinds of emotion they link to it is up to them.⁸

The aspect of memory and the construction of public memory are the final interlinked concepts, i.e., the reference to the past. Pierre Nora's famous idea of the *lieux de mémoire* is fundamental here as it illustrates how places may be given meanings that are wholly independent of their original function or intent. Nora's work mainly referred to places where historical events took place or where they were believed to have taken place.⁹

A particularly interesting aspect of the use of spatial approaches is the revelatory potential they have with regard to the blind spots of written sources, such as gender or marginalized groups, such as slaves. Their existence and significance can be revealed through their visibility in domestic or communal spaces.¹⁰

There are equally interesting specific usages of spatial thinking in historical work, such as the theory of the middle ground, initially coined in 1991 by Richard White to illustrate the creative ambiguity and communicative license that enabled peaceable commerce and interaction between indigenous inhabitants and settlers in the Great Lakes area. Striving for mutual accommodation and understanding in this setting, the middle ground became both a term for a geographic area and for the mode of being that sought to avoid domination and marginalization.¹¹

In historical studies, the spatial turn is mostly used as a way to gain a novel approach to materiality. It involves emphases on space as the realm of and mirror to power, as the locus of symbols and as the realm of sites of memory and representation.

⁸ Boschung – Hölkeskamp – Sode 2015.

⁹ Nora 1984–1992.

¹⁰ This is something that followed directly from the Marxist roots of the theory, but as Russell demonstrates, following up on this idea is not simple. However, F. Mira Green has demonstrated how the archaeology of domestic settings can provide clues to power relations.

¹¹ White 2011.

Has there been a spatial turn in ancient studies?

The beginning of the use of the spatial turn in studies on the ancient world in general is difficult to pinpoint since there are numerous alternatives. One could begin with the works of Ray Laurence, especially his *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society* (1994), which displayed the idea of analyzing urban activities in their spatial context by utilizing the wealth of material from Pompeii. Laurence established connections between activities and movement, the development of the city and its identity, its social and economic spheres and the daily rhythm of life.¹² Laurence was, or is, part of a larger group of Pompeianists who seek to write the history of Roman urbanism. David Newsome, his doctoral student, has continued his work by studying movement and traffic, while others have expanded into issues such as soundscapes and sightlines.¹³

A methodologically different approach was taken by the practitioners of spatial syntax analysis, such as Michael Anderson, Michael Grahame and Hanna Stoeger, who were inspired by the work of Hillier and Hanson. Their works have utilized computer models to determine how people moved in cities or even in houses.¹⁴

Another starting point could be the approach taken by Diane Favro. Her studies, primarily *Augustan Rome* (1996), have explored how ancient Romans experienced their city and its change in the building programs of Augustus. The central concept of her study is the urban image, a concept borrowed from Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City* (1960), and its transformation.¹⁵ In a similar way, recent scholars, such as Harriet Fertik, have explored the way power dynamics are present in spatial environments.¹⁶

Since Lefebvre is just one of the numerous French theorists on space and spatiality, it comes as no surprise that there are many French applications of

¹² Laurence 1994. Laurence's study coincided with other important works, such as Wallace-Hadrill 1994; Zanker 1998.

¹³ Laurence – Newsome 2011. Other Pompeianists that are interested in spatial matters include, e.g., Berry 2007; Flohr 2013; Ellis 2018; Viitanen – Nissin 2017.

¹⁴ Hillier – Hanson 1984; Grahame 2000. However, this methodology has received much criticism. See, e.g., Simelius 2018, 42–43.

¹⁵ Favro 1996; Yegül – Favro 2019.

¹⁶ Fertik 2019.

these theories to the study of the ancient world. Therefore, another starting point could be, for example, the work of Claude Nicolet or Mireille Corbier, who have utilized the concepts of power and knowledge in their analysis of the Roman public sphere.¹⁷

Issues of space have loomed large even in German scholarship. Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp's studies on the Roman Republic and its public sphere, Annette Haug's work on ancient urbanism and the work of the massive Topoi project (where one needs to mention only Susanne Muth among many) have been hugely significant.¹⁸

When speaking of an emphasis on space and a spatial view, the question arises whether there is much of a difference between avowedly spatial studies and topographical studies that combined historical and archaeological aspects long before trendy monikers and the invention of the whole concept of a spatial turn. Notable topographical studies have been conducted by household names such as Filippo Coarelli and Mario Torelli.¹⁹

Naturally, the works mentioned above have mostly been on Roman urbanism. The ancient world was mostly agricultural in nature as has been pointed out in the studies of Diane Spencer.²⁰ Equally important are the emphases on cartography and the conceptualization and visualization of space. These emphases can be found in the works of, for example, Richard Talbert and Kaj Brodersen.²¹

In the same vein, the centrality of Rome needs to be re-evaluated, as is done, for instance, in Hans Beck's work on localism (*Localism and the Ancient Greek City-State*). There has also been a surge of spatially themed works on ancient Greece.²²

¹⁷ Corbier 1987; Nicolet 1991.

¹⁸ Hölkeskamp 2004; Hölkeskamp – Stein-Hölkeskamp 2006; Haug – Merten 2020. On the Topoi project (2007–2017), see www.topoi.org.

¹⁹ The greatest monument to this approach is the massive Steinby 1993–2012 (11 volumes and a series of *supplementa*). See also Carandini 2011.

²⁰ Spencer 2010. On landscapes in literature, see Skempis – Ziogas 2014.

²¹ In addition to their own work, both Talbert and Brodersen have promoted larger collaborations on ancient cartography, such as the Ancient World Mapping Center. Talbert 2019; Brodersen – Talbert 2004.

²² de Jong 2012; Skempis – Ziogas 2013; Purves 2010.

In this respect, the study of public and private spheres in the ancient world is also interesting. From this aspect, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, Joanne Berry and many others have studied the experience between domestic and public spheres. The public-private distinction, i.e. the semi-permeable and often confusing line between what may be understood as being in the private sphere and what that meant, is an issue taken up by scholars such as Andrew Riggsby, Annapaola Zaccharia Raggiu and Laura Nissin, among others.²³

In addition to the works referred to here at length, there are numerous others who taken up the spatial theme have within the last decade. For instance, Michael Scott's *Space and society in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (2012) utilizes different spatial theories to analyse a series of case studies in ancient Greece and Rome.²⁴ One of the most self-conscious, theoretically ambitious works to come out recently is Fitzgerald's and Spentzou's edited volume *The Production of Space in Latin Literature* (2018), which explores spatial dynamics in Roman literature. Its introduction is a veritable cornucopia of references to seminal works ranging from Lefebvre to Michel de Certeau and Soja.²⁵

There is also a clear post-colonial strain of scholarship that challenges the notions prevalent in earlier studies regarding ethnicity. In Britain, for instance, these works have questioned ideas such as the racialized boundaries between Romans and barbarians, leading to heated online conflicts.²⁶

In short, there has been a fairly large and diverse output of spatial studies on the ancient Mediterranean world. These studies have bridged the disciplinary boundaries of classics, history and archaeology, although they do demonstrate clear continuities from earlier works. In a number of additional studies, the spatial aspect is almost invisible and is not even mentioned in the titles of these studies. However, very few of these engage with the theory beyond a few footnotes that acknowledge both first and second tier theories before moving to other subjects.

²³ Laurence – Wallace-Hadrill 1997; Riggsby 1997; Zaccaria Raggiu 2005; Nevett 2010; Hales 2003; Dickmann 1999; Carucci 2008; Bowes 2010; Nissin 2016; Tuori – Nissin 2015.

²⁴ Scott 2012.

²⁵ On literary representation, see also Larmour – Spencer 2007.

²⁶ Tolia-Kelly 2011.

What theoretical and methodological tools are used?

Because of the difficulty of distinguishing between studies that merely claim to utilize spatial theories and those that actually do, it is perhaps beneficial to start by discussing the theoretical and methodological foundation of this new crop of studies. Do they simply repackage topographical approaches, or do they achieve something new?

The demand of openly stating one's theoretical pedigree may be misleading. As someone once said, it is hardly relevant to spend sixty pages of an introduction to explain what this or that trendy French theorist really meant if one does not actually apply their theories to the sources, to the research material itself. In most of the works mentioned above, the main references are to second tier theories, the field-specific applications of theories such as Lefebvre's.

The works at hand may be divided into two groups based on theory: the theoretical introducers and the implicit theory users. Among the first group, Russell has a full section (Russell 2015, 16–24) on methodology that situates her work in relation to the development of spatial theories from Lefebvre onwards, giving theoretical nods to Foucault, Harvey, Soja, Tuan, Rapoport and Casey. She mentions, e.g., Laurence, Spencer, Hillier and Hanson, Favro and others as her predecessors. She describes her approach as behavioral with the aim of tracking ancient behavior since ancient feelings are hard to grasp. She combines Favro's pathways with Riggsby's and Zaccharia Raggiu's behavioral public-private definitions to examine how different actors behaved in public spaces.

Machado's section on methodology is fairly developed (Machado 2019, 18–24), but he begins by referring primarily to great names from topographical studies, such as Coarelli or Zanker. Of the first level theorists in geography and cultural studies, Charles Withers and Michel de Certeau are mentioned in addition to the almost compulsory reference to Lefebvre. Machado also has a productive way of explaining parallels. For example, when discussing imperial visits to households, he compares them to Elizabethan England and the way that royal visits shaped the political geography of Tudor England (Machado 2019, 228), or when he discusses the public functions of domestic places by Romans in comparison to that of Indian local administrators during the Raj (Machado 2019, 252–53).²⁷

²⁷ The closest comparison to Machado's study is Wallace-Hadrill's (1994) references to 19th century English manors.

In contrast, implicit theory users rely more on doing than showing. Since Gargola's interest is in the conceptualization of space, it would be reasonable to assume that his methodological apparatus would be different from others. Of course, many of his references are to studies on constitutionalism and constitutional law, but even he is not immune to the necessary reference to Lefebvre (in the French original) as well as to Hillier and Hanson. What he does add is a reference to anthropological work, primarily M. E. Bloch. All in all, Gargola's theoretical framework is mostly one that is assumed rather than explained, outlined as it is in just a single page (Gargola 2017, 2).

Dickenson also includes his share of Lefebvre, but not in his section on methodology *per se*. Instead, methodological observations and references to the main exemplars of earlier literature are located in the "previous literature" section (Dickenson 2016, 16–31). Though he does not cite much theory, key concepts that he uses, such as experienced space, betray at least a second-hand reading of the geographical theory. However, he approvingly cites Alcock on the lack of suitably preserved sites in Greece that would enable the kind of "hi-tec spatial analysis" (Dickenson 2016, 22) that has been done, for instance, in Pompeii.

While the aims of these works are quite different, their stated theoretical allegiances are remarkably similar. Thus, Russell discusses behavior within spaces, Gargola analyses how space and the things in it were conceived of and Machado examines how history happens in urban spaces. Dickinson, for his part, is primarily interested in spaces and only secondarily in what happened in them. This difference is mostly due to main sources that each scholar uses. Dickinson focuses on archaeological remains, while the others rely more on written sources. This brings us to our next issue: the field of study.

How are they situated: classics, history, archaeology or topography?

Disciplinary alignment still plays a crucial role even in our inter-, post- and transdisciplinary times. Institutional affiliation and cited and emulated research often reveal what field of study the author thinks his or her research belongs to.

As mentioned above, Dickenson's book is quite easily and clearly categorized as archaeology. The others fall within different types of history or classical scholarship in general. Gargola's study is the clearest historical work

of them all with its classicist emphasis on language. His emphasis is on how the outside world is conceptualized and understood through the Roman political, conceptual and legal framework. Machado's study is also very historical. His characters move in the spaces of Late Antique Rome rather than in the city itself, and decline/transformation of Rome becomes an actor in its own sense. Russell's work situates itself as history, both political and feminist, but in practice, it falls within the topographical approaches of combining written and archaeological sources.

Even though such a distinction of disciplinarity is easy to make, it does not mean that it is self-evident. All works belong to a group whose authors could easily find a home within a traditional classics department and therefore to a larger inbetweenness of ancient studies writ large.

Are they interested in the spatial aspects of politics, economy, religion and social relations?

The onus of each book reveals its stated allegiances. Most studies on Roman public space are focused on politics. Economic interests are rare outside of works on space that are specifically focused on economics, such as the studies by Ellis and Flohr mentioned above. Religion and social relations have a similar specialist tendency. Typically, studies on religious space concentrate on religious change and promotion, and studies on social change focus on the domestic sphere or marginalized groups.

Dickenson's study is the most politically minded of them all in its interest in upper level developments. The characters he deals with are rulers, cities and states, with the individual and her life far from the focus. The economic aspect, quite significant in relation to the agora, receives little attention. For Machado, all of these facets of life are basically the same: politics, economy, religion and social relations represent different aspects of the playing field of the aristocratic competition. Thus, even developments in the domestic sphere, such as the gradual disappearance of the aristocratic domus, are fundamentally issues of economic and political change.

Even for studies that attempt to approach the activities taking place in the private sphere, it remains difficult due to the emphasis of the literary sources on the public arenas. Gargola's approach is basically a combination of political and legal history in which religion and social relations matter mostly for their influence on political history, particularly in public rituals and ceremonies.

However, he does discuss how the individual acted in the framework provided by different rules. Russell's emphasis, clearly to her dislike, is on the elite men who dominated the public sphere and political life of the Roman republic and on the sources that we have of them. Economy is largely absent, but cultic life and social relations have a central role, although they are viewed only through the lens of the elite men and their activities in the public space.

The different emphases on the smaller or larger scale of things are, of course, often contingent on the content of the sources, but more importantly, they are dictated by the stated or unstated practice of writing about the past. Studies on the ancient world are, by their very nature, dependent on the sources, on their availability and character. This means that, while one would want to hear a plurality of voices, sometimes those voices cannot really be heard, and the questions that emerge from reading modern theories remain unanswered.

How is space seen?

The way that space is understood and conceptualized is another major distinguishing factor. Is space seen as static or fluid? Is it an arena where things happen or a place defined by movement, memories or traditions? This is a remarkably interesting way of looking at an author's analytical process.

This is also an aspect of research in which disciplinary focus leads to startlingly different results. Dickenson's space is the built environment, the agoras of Greek cities, which appear almost completely depopulated in comparison to the others' concepts of space. His focus is on buildings, their history and function.

If Dickenson's starting point is existing remains and his focus is to reveal their development and functions, the others are more interested in the actor's perspective. Gargola tries to understand space as the Romans conceived of it, how they thought about it, and how it influenced and informed their polity and its change. His notion of space is deeply constructivistic, where both the polity that is Rome and the groups and individuals that comprise of it make their own space and time in the sense that it is formed by "their movements, their experience, their memories and their traditions." According to Gargola, "Romans viewed their political order spatially through the lens provided by their city and its magistrates" (Gargola 2017, 224). The outside world was where magistrates

operated, signalled by their departures and arrivals, their preparation to take action or their return in triumph. There was a clear bifurcation between the city, with its clear rules, and the set boundaries and space beyond, where rules mattered little, except for the roads that tied them to Rome.

If Gargola seeks to find out how Romans thought about space, Russell's stated emphasis is on movement in spaces. She dwells on how building is used to alter the dynamics of space and power, for example, when Pompey was forced to return home when the Senate took to its chambers (because he was not a member) led Pompey to build his own curia for the Senate. Russell's enduring interest is in the public/private dichotomy and in its construction through a cross-historical understanding.

Machado's view of power dynamics and their representations are almost Foucauldian: "Just as the power of a late Roman senator was of a very different magnitude from that of Roman emperors (or, later, Ostrogothic kings), houses and places were political centres of different scales" (Machado 2019, 252). The insides of houses and palaces were sets that operated as props in which actions took place, persons were hidden from pursuers, and imperial hierarchies were reinforced through the acts of ordering and waiting.

The way that space is approached and conceptualized is revealing even when it is given very little attention. For example, Eva-Maria Lackner's monumental study of the Republican fora discusses at length the role of architecture in the creation of communities and their political ideologies. As Baker put it in his review, "fora ultimately became a medium that both cultivated and reinforced social rules and relationships in the Republican period." However, Lackner does not explicitly elaborate on the theoretical underpinnings of this argument.²⁸ This is typical of works that are deeply embedded in a disciplinary foundation, or worse, in a practical description in which the meaning of methodological reflection is buried behind practice.

Any mention of gender?

Aspects of gender and the discussion on groups apart from the elite male worldview have been some of the great promises of novel methodologies, whether

²⁸ Baker 2011.

they be critical Marxist social sciences or studies on race or gender. This is one of the reasons why I was quite excited about reading the works through this lens. However, it was not to be. In movies or other works of fiction, the Bechdel test of female characters asks whether there is a scene in which two female characters talk with each other and do not talk about a man. If these books were made into movies, they would all fail this test.

As a work that explicitly defines itself as feminist, Russell's book attempts to rise above the male-dominated written sources, but moments of frustration shine through: "we are forced to search for any scrap of evidence for the experience or even the presence of women" (Russell 2015, 179).

Gargola and Machado do not deal with women except as statisticians. The same may be said of Dickinson.

Of course, public space is stereotypically a field from which women are often assumed to be excluded, and Roman sources quite explicitly state that they are. The cornerstone of this assertion is the jurist Ulpian's statement in this regard in *Digest* 50,17,2. However, in both social and legal historical studies on women in the economic and social worlds, this assertion has been clearly demonstrated to be false in the lived experience. Why is this then the case in studies on public space?

How do they illustrate space?

Discussing space with mere words is a futile exercise. Images feed the imagination of the reader and enable the message to be conveyed much more effectively, especially when that message seeks to repeal firmly held underlying assumptions. The use of images is also a question of emphasis. Social scientists using quantitative data or even historians of demography tend first to look at tables in an article since they are of primary interest to them. The same can be said of figures and maps for historians of architecture.

Though her work is primarily based on written sources, Russell attempts to use illustrations and maps for more than just pictures. There are three purpose-made maps of Rome and its forum and a total of 21 illustrations featuring architectural reconstructions, photographs of sites, coins, paintings and the like. Most of the reconstructions are reproductions, with some original

works. Despite this effort, the narrative is clearly based on texts and reliant on the written sources. The other Classics/historical studies have the same trait. Machado's book has an almost equal amount of illustrations, containing 2 maps and 21 reconstructions or photographs. They are all reproductions of illustrations that have previously appeared elsewhere. Gargola has a total of six maps, all of which are made for his volume.

However, even the most archaeologically disposed of the lot is primarily based on text. Dickenson has the most plentiful set of illustrations, with 51 maps, pictures, reconstructions and other images, but most of them are repurposed material from earlier studies.

In comparison to earlier works, such as Favro's *Urban Image*, which have attempted to integrate images to make the argument, the use of second-hand illustrations is a slight disappointment. While Favro, in the style of architects, emphasizes illustrations and conveys her argument through them, the four authors discussed here use images as secondary material to illustrate the text.

What directions could spatial theories lead to in ancient studies?

The works discussed here have been published within the last four years by the time of writing, and thus, in the glacial pace of academic publishing, should be considered the latest word. Regarding future prospects, there are also numerous ongoing book projects and conferences that will undoubtedly bring new inspiration.²⁹ Based on the works at hand and the knowledge of the ongoing projects, what is the future of spatial studies on the ancient world?

What I have learned in my earlier inquiries into the history of science is that, like the Newtonian laws of motion, scientific inquiry has inertia that slows down the adoption of new ways, but that inertia also keeps it moving once in motion. In his keynote address at the Auckland conference on space and

²⁹ The recent Auckland conference, titled *The Spatial Turn in Roman Studies* (University of Auckland, January 22–24 2020) and organised by Amy Russell and Maxine Lewis, will undoubtedly produce a new set of publications. Upcoming books include Dunia Filippi's edited volume *The Spatial Turn and the Archaeology of Roman Italy: New Perspectives in the Study of Urban Space* (forthcoming in the Taylor & Francis series *Studies in Roman Space and Urbanism*) and Miko Flohr's edited volume *Urban Space and Urban History in the Roman World*, as well as Samuli Simelius' upcoming book, *Pompeian Peristyle Gardens*, based on his PhD thesis.

ancient studies in January 2020, Ray Laurence envisioned how the language of space is reproduced across the Roman Empire and discoverable in almost every aspect such as epigraphy, language or architecture. What are then the theoretical and practical issues that have not yet been tackled and which of them could prove to be useful in the coming years?

Of the issues that have been discussed in spatial theory, many have been incorporated in works on the ancient world, for instance, spatial representations, the discussion on movement and access, ideas on perception and the way it has been conditioned. Even the notions of rhythm and temporality have gained some attention. When speaking of future directions, one is always in danger of self-obsession, of raising only one's own ideas as the way forward. What I will attempt to avoid is just that, at least to some extent, and instead focus on some of the potential avenues to be explored, based on an admittedly shallow understanding of space and spatiality.

There are two larger aspects on which I would like to focus: the theoretical and the practical. Within theoretical discussions about the ancient world and spatiality, the concept of space is used in a very general sense as I have hopefully demonstrated. This has led to some ambiguities, for instance, in the potentially fruitful distinction between “hard” infrastructure logistics and “soft” imaginations and their spatiality. Especially in the Roman world, with the Roman habit of projecting power through both infrastructure, such as roads and military installations, and the Roman appeal to the imaginary, this distinction could yield interesting results. Another undiscussed issue is the separation of space and place, with regard to which there has been an immense theoretical debate, which has rarely been communicated to ancient studies, for instance in the sense of place-making as a form of cultural meaning-creation.³⁰

On the theoretical side, numerous analytical tools have yet to have larger purchase, let alone practical application. While their effects have certainly been noted, the distinctions on scope and scale have not been addressed. On the issue of scale, for example, ideas of locality could be complemented with notions of verticality. Theories of flat ontologies, which maintain that objects that are imagined may be as “real” in their being as physical objects, could be put to use in analyses as the ancient world had an immensely rich sense of objects that inhabited mostly or only the shared imagination, for instance, in

³⁰ One of the few to utilize the space/place distinction in ancient studies is Spencer 2010.

myth and religion. Equally, the actor-network theory, or ANT, which examines things primarily through their relations to each other, has yet to receive much attention.³¹ Since the move out of essentializing models in understanding culture has strengthened, it is important for a matching a move to take place away from essentializing definitions of spaces and toward recognizing the plurality that the ancient world exhibited, as has occurred in anthropology.³²

Due to the political focus of much of our sources, topology or the relative or flexible notions of geography could be very interesting for the analysis of how power distorts, stretches and obscures distance and relations between places. To borrow a term from social sciences, locating regimes had a pervasive impact on the ancient world, which means that spatial logic was backed by power.³³

Another approach of great potential in ethnographic research is the use of feminist geography, or the general focus on the marginalized, such as immigrants or asylum seekers.³⁴ This is an area in which the silence of written sources can be complemented by material finds, but such approaches are not easy as Russell's example demonstrates. A similar possibility is the utilization of practice theory, for instance, Schatzki's theory of social sites. Social sites are places in which social orders, practices, agency and daily social life happens, and practice theory allows us to understand the interlinkages between these constitutive factors that underlie so much of the activities in public places.³⁵

When discussing public spaces, there is a wealth of theoretical and practical work that could be mined for insights. The legal, social, political and symbolic ownership of public places and the private infringement on them is a theme that has resonance both in ancient and contemporary studies. The notion of public space as political space, both as a space of deliberative action but also of insurgence, is something that could be fruitfully theorized across the temporal spectrum. Access to public space and its restrictions as well as the potential for interaction can be approached from different angles, from boundaries that are physical, social, symbolic or legal. These boundaries may exist for some and not

³¹ Much of the attention that it has received may be traced back to the work of Bruno Latour.

³² Gupta – Ferguson 1992.

³³ For an introduction to topology, see Paasi 2011.

³⁴ Mountz 2011.

³⁵ Schatzki 2002.

for others, as plural, porous or blurred.³⁶ All of this is, as a phenomenon, readily familiar to those interested in Roman or Greek public spaces, the fora and the agora, and in the ways that access to them was controlled.

A practical theme that could have significance is the use of imagining. Especially in Roman archaeology, the use of GIS, photogrammetry and 3D applications has become commonplace, but their implications for research have yet to be fully realized. The new Virtual Modeling of the Great Marble Map of Rome project on the Forma Urbis is a good example of the possibilities that are open.³⁷ As is obvious from the four books and their illustrations as well as almost all other recent books on the topic, very little truly new work has been conducted in images.

At this point, the frustrated classicist or classical archaeologist may wonder what practical benefit the theoretical emphasis may bring. We have archaeological sites and their study, but these do not enable the voices of the inhabitants or the users to inform us about what they thought about space, or if there are voices, we cannot really ask questions that they do not answer. At the opposite end of the spectrum, we are in possession of texts that recount movement in spaces that, quite often, we know next to nothing of. Again, we cannot do surveys or ask the ancient Greeks to fill out questionnaires.

Conclusions

During the last three decades, the spatial turn has become a household term in studies on the ancient world. In the four recent works that were discussed here, it is simultaneously apparent how much the issue of space has become a key analytical tool for understanding the public sphere in the ancient world as well as how much work there is still to be done.

³⁶ For examples, see Amin 2008; and Carmona 2015. For an urban history approach, see Gadeyne – Smith 2016, who note that the defining traits of public space are ownership, accessibility, and assembly (Gadeyne – Smith 2016, 2).

³⁷ Led by Elizabeth Wolfram Thill at IUPUI, the Antiquities Administration of Rome and the Ancient World Mapping Center, see <https://awmc.unc.edu/wordpress/mapping-the-classical-world-since-1869-past-and-future-directions-scs-annual-meeting-2019-papers/5-romes-marble-plan-progress-and-prospects-elizabeth-wolfram-thill/>.

While some of the theorists discussed above have a tendency to write vacuous prose that is very hard to understand unless one is really passionate about critical theory, there is usually a point buried under the references to Deleuze. Quite often, theory helps to point out interesting junctures and gain a sensibility of phenomena that have earlier been overlooked.

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AUTORI VARI: *Silvio Panciera (1933–2016). In memoria di un maestro. Riflessioni, Roma, 21 marzo 2017.* Opuscula epigraphica 18. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2019. ISBN 978-88-7140-942-9. 110 pp. EUR 18.

Alcuni brevi scritti, originariamente presentati in un colloquio tenutosi a Roma nel marzo del 2017, sono qui dedicati da colleghi e amici alla memoria di Silvio Panciera (1933–2016), rinomato specialista di iscrizioni latine e cattedratico di Epigrafia e Antichità Romane presso l'Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza" dal 1973 fino al suo ritiro dall'insegnamento nel 2006. Al raduno si è discusso di diversi argomenti che illuminano la vita e l'opera di Panciera, compreso del suo ruolo come organizzatore e coordinatore di studi epigrafici sia in Italia sia a livello internazionale, dei suoi contributi alla redazione e alla raccolta di materiali epigrafici latini in formato tanto cartaceo quanto digitale, nonché dei suoi grandi meriti come studioso e insegnante. I saggi pubblicati forniscono anche diversi ricordi personali e note biografiche d'interesse.

Ecco gli autori e i loro testi: C. Zaccaria, "La prima formazione e gli studi su Aquileia e la regio X"; W. Eck, "Der Supplementband zu CIL VI"; J. Scheid, "Silvio Panciera. Entre épigraphie, religion et topographie culturelle"; G. Camodeca, "Epigrafia e informatica: EDR (Epigraphic Database Roma)"; C. Carletti – A. E. Felle, "Epigrafia e informatica: la storia del progetto EAGLE e EDB"; M. Mayer i Olivé, "Silvio Panciera y la Association Internationale d'Épigraphie grecque et latine"; H. Solin, "Silvio Panciera e gli studi finlandesi"; C. Virlouvet, "Silvio Panciera e gli studiosi francesi"; A. Ferraro, "Il professore universitario"; V. Morizio, "Gli anni dello schedario di CIL VI. Omaggio a Silvio Panciera a cura 'della vecchia guardia'".

Si tratta soprattutto di un tributo a un collega e maestro, con particolare riferimento alle principali attività editoriali e organizzative da egli svolte. Quindi non si dà conto dell'attività scientifica di Panciera, di cui si può ottenere una panoramica approfondita consultando la raccolta dei suoi scritti in tre ampi volumi pubblicata nel 2006 (per conto della stessa Quasar). Se tuttavia gli articoli del presente volume descrivono Panciera come ricercatore in vari campi, alcuni lettori forse si aspetterebbero di trovarvi anche un quadro conciso dello svilupparsi del suo profilo accademico. È chiaro che un epigrafista di ampio respiro, che si occupa della preparazione di un corpus, e di tanto altro, deve affrontare materiali iscritti di diversissimi tipi, tuttavia avrebbero potuto essere evidenziati

in modo più sistematico i temi di ricerca particolarmente importanti per Panciera. Oltre all'epigrafia della città di Roma e alle iscrizioni sacre, si pensi, ad esempio, alle varie istituzioni municipali e coloniali dell'Italia romana, alla prosopografia senatoria ed equestre nonché al mondo dei soldati. Anche senza tali enfasi, però, il libro mostra ottimamente non solo la versatilità e la capacità di Panciera di trascendere i confini delle diverse discipline, ma anche e soprattutto la sua abilità di collocare un'iscrizione in un contesto storico. La trasmissione di queste doti agli studenti attraverso un devoto insegnamento ha contribuito a garantire che la ricerca nel settore dell'epigrafia romana rimarrà su solide basi per molto tempo a venire.

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Seneca the Elder and his Rediscovered Historiae ab initio bellorum civilium. New Perspectives on Early-Imperial Roman Historiography. Edited by MARIA CHIARA SCAPPATICCIO. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2020. ISBN 978-3-11-068585-5. IX, 425 pp. EUR 129.95.

In den letzten Jahren ist die Forschung zu dem fast gänzlich verlorenen historiographischen Werk des älteren Seneca und zur Historiographie des frühen Prinzipats durch einen Fund bereichert worden, der unter einem gewissen Vorbehalt als spektakulär gelten darf und der den Anlass zu einer Tagung in Neapel (Anfang Juni 2018) und somit auch zu diesem von Maria Chiara Scappaticcio herausgegebenen Tagungsband gegeben hat: Valeria Piano hat einen auf einem Papyrus der *Villa dei papiri* in Herculaneum (*P.Herc.* 1067) überlieferten Text als das einzige (mehr oder weniger erhaltene) Exemplar der *Historien* des älteren Seneca identifiziert und in der *editio princeps* (2017) der Forschung zugänglich gemacht. Auch in diesem Sammelband ist dieser Text als Fragment (F) 3 unter den Testimonien und Fragmenten abgedruckt (S. 355–368). Ansonsten sind von diesem Werk – abgesehen von einem Testimonium (T 1: Sen. *vita patr.* fr. 15 Haase) – nur zwei kurze, in der Nebenüberlieferung tradierte Fragmente überliefert, als deren Autor auch Seneca d.J. diskutiert wird (F 1: Suet. *Tib.* 73,2; F 2: Lact. *inst.* 7,15,14). Valeria Piano beschreibt die Wiederentdeckung und Entzifferung des neuen Papyrusfundes in einem eigenen Beitrag („A ‘historic(al)’ find from the library of Herculaneum: Seneca the Elder and the *Historiae ab initio bellorum civilium* in *P.Herc.* 1067“, S. 31–50). Dabei hat insbesondere die *scriptio* die Forscherin dazu veranlasst, die Identifizierung des Textes mit den *Historien* des älteren Seneca vorzunehmen, wohingegen die vorige Forschung dazu tendierte, auf diesem Papyrus die Überreste einer *oratio in senatu habita ante principem* des Lucius Manlius Torquatus zu sehen.

Wenn gleichwohl ein gewisser Vorbehalt ausgesprochen werden muss, dann liegt dieser in dem Zustand der papyrologischen Überlieferung begründet, da sich alle Leser*innen der *editio princeps* und des hier rezensierten Bandes der Tatsache bewusst sein sollten, dass weder der rekonstruierbare Haupttext noch die *subscriptio* ganze Passagen, Sätze oder Wörter umfasst. Vielmehr kann man von Glück sprechen, wenn einzelne Wörter aus einzelnen Buchstaben rekonstruiert werden können. In der Tat lassen die in einem gewissen Abstand überlieferten, wenn auch nicht eindeutig identifizierbaren und zur *subscriptio* gehörigen Buchstaben die Schlussfolgerung plausibler erscheinen, dass der Text einem *Lucius Annaeus Seneca* (*L* [-] *Annae*[i] · *Senec*[ae]) zugeschrieben werden muss. Ferner ermöglichen die in der zweiten Zeile der *subscriptio* befindlichen Tintenreste die Rekonstruktion des Titels (*Ab* [-] *iniitio* [-] *b[ello]rum* [-] *civilium*).

Diese Identifizierung kann aber nicht als sicher gelten, und mit noch größerer Unsicherheit ist die Frage verbunden, ob man in einer ausgefallenen dritten Zeile *Historiae* als weiteren Teil oder sogar Hauptbestandteil des Titels annehmen sollte. Tiziano Dorandi führt in seinem Beitrag über die lateinischen Papyri in der *Villa dei papiri* in Herculaneum („Un libro dell' *Ab initio bellorum civilium* di Seneca il vecchio e il fondo latino della biblioteca della Villa dei Papiri a Ercolano“, S. 51–73, v.a. 65f.) nicht zwingende, aber gute Gründe für die Annahme an, dass *Historiae* nicht Teil des Titels ist bzw. diese Annahme zumindest keinen Rückhalt in der *subscriptio* findet, sondern am Ende der zweiten oder in der dritten Zeile der *subscriptio* ein Zahlwort postuliert werden sollte, das die für uns unbekannt angegebene Zahl enthält, um das wievielte Buch des Werkes es sich handelt. Ein Argument besteht darin, dass Seneca d.J. das Substantiv voranstellt, wenn er in dem einzigen Testimonium der *Historien* (T 1) das historische Werk seines Vaters erwähnt (*Quisquis legisset eius historias ab initio bellorum civilium* [...]).

Alle in diesem Tagungsband versammelten Beiträge sind auf ihrem jeweiligen Gebiet relevant und werfen ein neues Licht auf die *Historien* des älteren Seneca innerhalb der frühkaiserzeitlichen Historiographie – dies gilt auch für den Aufsatz von Lewis Sussman, der zwar 1972 verfasst, aber bislang nicht veröffentlicht worden ist („The Lost *Histories* of the Elder Seneca (1972)“, S. 143–194). Biagio Santorelli schließt diesen Beitrag, der viele Facetten der *Historien* des älteren Seneca – bisweilen etwas redundant – beleuchtet, an den neuesten Stand der Forschung an (S. 195f.).

Die Herausgeberin gliedert den Band i.W. in drei Teile, indem in einem ersten Teil („Introduction(s)“, S. 1–28) zwei einleitende Beiträge präsentiert werden (Maria Chiara Scappaticcio: „When tiny scraps cause new chapters of Latin literature to be written“, S. 3–8, mit einer Begründung der Gliederung und einem Überblick über die in dem Band versammelten Aufsätze; Timothy J. Cornell: „Roman historical writing in the age of the Elder Seneca“, S. 9–28). Hierauf folgen diejenigen Beiträge, die sich eher mit dem neuen Fund und dem Ertrag für die Erforschung der *Historien* des älteren Seneca beschäftigen („Part I: Seneca the Elder's *Historiae ab initio bellorum*

civilium: Integrating New Discoveries with Old Knowledge“, S. 30–196). In einem dritten Block werden diejenigen Aufsätze präsentiert, die eher allgemein einen Blick auf die frühkaiserzeitliche Historiographie werfen und dabei auch das Geschichtswerk des älteren Seneca berücksichtigen („Part II: Seneca’s *Historiae* in Context: New Perspectives on Early-Imperial Roman Historiography“, S. 198–353).

Während es bei Monographien zu anderen Autoren bzw. historischen Werken zweifelhaft erscheinen könnte, dass ein gleichberechtigter Teil integriert wird, in dem primär die entsprechende Gattung in ihrer Epoche situiert wird („Part II“ umfasst ebenso wie „Part I“ sieben Aufsätze), erscheint es im Fall der *Historien* des älteren Seneca sinnvoll, vielleicht sogar geboten, diese Perspektive zu ihrem Recht kommen zu lassen, da der neue Fund – zumindest in seiner jetzigen Konstitution – die sonstige Überlieferung zwar um einzelne Wörter, nicht aber um größere Zusammenhänge bereichert. Ein Appendix (Testimonien und Fragmente, S. 355–368), die Bibliographie (S. 369–394), ein Bildverzeichnis (S. 395) und ein Verzeichnis der Tabellen und Graphiken (S. 397) sowie die von Mariafrancesca Cozzolino erstellten Indices, v.a. ein ausführliches Stellenregister (S. 399–420), beschließen dieses Buch.

Der Zustand der papyrologischen Überlieferung bedingt, dass die Identifizierung von P.Herc. 1067 sowie die weitere, in diesem Band präsentierte Forschung zu den *Historien* des älteren Seneca in den meisten Fällen keine sicheren Ergebnisse gewährleisten kann. Stattdessen ist von vornherein klar, dass nur unter größter Vorsicht einige plausible Hypothesen formuliert werden können (und man sich vor enthusiastischen Phantasien hüten muss), die sich zumeist auf die weitere Überlieferung stützen und annäherungsweise einen Eindruck davon vermitteln, welchen Zeitraum Seneca d.Ä. in seinem Geschichtswerk dargestellt hat und welche Charakteristika es auszeichnen. Die Autor*innen der in diesem Tagungsband veröffentlichten Beiträge zeigen i.d.R., dass sie sich dieses methodischen Problems bewusst sind, und formulieren ihre Ergebnisse mit der nötigen Kautel.

Es ist der Überlieferungslage geschuldet, dass sich die Beiträge größtenteils auf die anderen beiden Fragmente (insbesondere die als F 2 in Lact. *inst.* 7,15,14 erstmalig bei einem Historiker überlieferte Vorstellung von den Lebensaltern des Römischen Reiches) und das eine Testimonium stützen, wohingegen der neue Papyrusfund (F 3) nur punktuell ausgewertet wird. So finden sich in diesem Sammelband mehrere Aufsätze, die quellenkritischen Fragen nachgehen. Cynthia Damon („Looking for Seneca’s *Historiae* in Suetonius’ *Life of Tiberius*“, S. 123–142) untersucht die *Historien* des älteren Seneca (v.a. F 1) als mögliche Quelle für Suetons Tiberius-Vita mit Blick auf die *decuriae equitum* und in der Hinsicht, dass die *Historien* eher Caligula-freundlich und Tiberius-feindlich waren und daher in der Folgezeit kaum rezipiert wurden. Olivier Devillers („La place de Sénèque le Père parmi les sources possibles des *Annales* 1–6“, S. 235–258) setzt sich mit Tacitus’ Quellen auseinander und sieht die *Historien* des älteren Seneca als eine subsidiäre Quelle für die

Regierungszeit von Augustus und den Beginn von Tiberius' Regentschaft. Chiara Renda („Di *aetas* in *aetas*: considerazioni sulla storiografia di Seneca Padre e Floro“, S. 315–328) behandelt die *Historien* des älteren Seneca, deren dargestellter Zeitraum nach ihrer Einschätzung 133 v.Chr. begann, als Quelle für Florus, der ebenso wie Seneca d.Ä. die Geschichte Roms in mehrere Lebensalter einteilt, aber darin abweicht, dass er den Übergang von der Republik zum Prinzipat nahezu als Höhepunkt beurteilt.

Ferner widmen sich einzelne Beiträge stilistischen Gesichtspunkten. Stephen P. Oakley („Point and periodicity: the style of Velleius Paterculus and other Latin historians writing in the early Principate“, S. 199–234) analysiert mehrere Stilmerkmale (poetisches und archaisches Stilregister; periodischer Satzbau; pointierter Stil und weitere Bezüge zur Deklamation; Prosarhythmus; Sallust und Livius' Stil), um einen Einfluss v.a. von Sallust und der Deklamation auf die Historiographie unter Augustus und Tiberius nachzuweisen. Chiara Torre („Seneca vs Seneca: generazioni e stili a confronto tra oratoria, filosofia e storiografia“, S. 293–314) setzt sich mit dem Stil (v.a. dem Prosarhythmus) von Papirius Fabianus auseinander, den sowohl Seneca d.Ä. (contr. 2 praef.) als auch Seneca d.J. (epist. 100) in einem literarischen *memoir* porträtierten.

Mehrere Aufsätze sprechen die Frage an, ob die *Historien* mit der *sedditio Gracchana* (133 v.Chr.) oder mit dem Bürgerkrieg zwischen Caesar und Pompeius (49 v.Chr.) beginnen, und kommen zu unterschiedlichen Ergebnissen (auch bei der Frage nach der Bedeutung des Plurals *bella civilia* in T 1). Neben anderen Beiträgen ist hier zu nennen: Giancarlo Mazzoli „*Unde primum veritas retro abiit*. Riflessioni sull'inizio delle *Historiae* di Seneca Padre“, S. 87–100). Eine derartige Polyphonie ist als eine anregende Diskussion anzusehen, da die Überlieferung keine eindeutige Schlussfolgerung zulässt. Eine ähnliche Diskussion kreist um die Frage nach der Bedeutung von *veritas* bzw. der Aussage *unde primum veritas retro abiit* (T 1).

Einen weiten Fokus auf den Inhalt weisen zwei weitere Beiträge auf. Arturo De Vivo („Seneca Padre, Tacito e Germanico“, S. 259–276) rückt Germanicus in das Zentrum seiner Untersuchung, in der er unter Berücksichtigung von entsprechenden Stellen in den *Kontroversien* und *Suasorien* die These vertritt, dass Seneca d.Ä. Germanicus negativ dargestellt hat. Antonio Pistellato („Seneca Padre e il ‚canone dei tiranni‘ romani: una questione di famiglia?“, S. 277–292) geht der Frage nach, inwiefern Seneca d.Ä. u.a. mit seinen gegen Alexander den Großen gerichteten Äußerungen zu einer allmählichen Konstituierung eines Kanons der Tyrannen beigetragen hat (in bewusst nicht-chronologischer Reihenfolge behandelt der Autor Flavius Josephus, Quintilian, Lucan, Seneca d.J., Seneca d.Ä. und Cicero).

Eine sich auf den neuen Papyrusfund konzentrierende Analyse liefert Maria Chiara Scappaticcio („*Historiae ab initio bellorum civilium*: Exegetical Surveys on the Direct Transmission of Seneca the Elder's Historiographical Work“, S. 75–86). Sie beleuchtet den Inhalt von P.Herc. 1067

mit einigen Beobachtungen zu (nahezu allen mehr oder weniger) entzifferbaren Wörtern oder Ausdrücken, zu denen auch *Tiberius* gehört, weswegen sie annimmt, dass die Handlung um diesen Kaiser kreist: *prudencia; bellum in Gallia; dies Iunius; Haterius; poculum; Augustus; adoptio*.

Anstelle einer ausführlichen Besprechung aller einzelnen Beiträge sollen im Folgenden drei Aufsätze vorgestellt werden, die teilweise als repräsentativ gelten können, sich durch eine besonders klare Fragestellung, eine ebenso reflektierte Methodik und/oder überzeugende Ergebnisse auszeichnen. Zu diesen Beiträgen zählt der bereits erwähnte Aufsatz von Timothy J. Cornell, in dem der Autor die (zumeist fragmentarisch überlieferten) Geschichtswerke der Zeitgenossen des älteren Seneca (v.a. zwischen Augustus und Caligula) und die Probleme analysiert, mit denen sie konfrontiert waren. Besonders empfehlenswert für die zukünftige Forschung zur frühkaiserzeitlichen Historiographie, aber auch für andere Forschungsfelder ist die konsequente Berücksichtigung und prägnante Formulierung des überlieferungsbedingten Umstandes, dass es aus unserer Perspektive und in einem Abstand von ca. 2.000 Jahren i.W. drei Klassen von Geschichtsschreibern und -werken gibt (S. 18): bekannte und überlieferte Autoren bzw. Werke („known knowns: things we know we know“); Autoren, von denen wir kaum mehr als Testimonien und/oder Fragmente haben, die bezeugen, dass sie ein Geschichtswerk geschrieben haben („known unknowns: things we know we don't know“); und Autoren bzw. Werke, von denen wir gar nichts wissen („unknown unknowns: things we don't know we don't know“).

Als Experte auf dem Gebiet der Historikerfragmente zeigt Cornell nicht nur, dass es in dem von ihm untersuchten Zeitraum viele Geschichtsschreiber und -werke gegeben hat, die der zweiten Kategorie zuzuordnen sind und als Autoren differenziert werden können, von deren Werken wir eine sehr dürftige Kenntnis haben („poorly or very poorly known unknowns“). Zu ihnen zählen u.a. Fenestella, Clodius Licinus, Cremutius Cordus und Asinius Pollio – der Beitrag von Cornell schließt mit einer Liste der 28 fragmentarisch überlieferten Geschichtsschreiber, die zwischen 30 v.Chr. und 40 n.Chr. gewirkt haben (S. 27f.). Cornell gelingt es auch durch den Überblick über und die Analyse der Historikerfragmente, das weit verbreitete Klischee zurückzuweisen, dass die römische Historiographie mit dem Übergang zum Prinzipat zum Erliegen gekommen sei.

Emanuele Berti, ein ausgewiesener Deklamationsexperte, setzt sich in seinem Beitrag („*Semina belli*. Seneca il Vecchio e le cause delle guerre civili“, S. 101–122) mit den vom älteren Seneca diskutierten Gründen für die Bürgerkriege als einem literarischen Topos auseinander. Er führt Argumente für die These an, dass Seneca d.Ä. in seinen *Historien* – ähnlich wie in der *praefatio* zu seinem rhetorischen Werk (*contr.* 1 praef. 6–10) – mehrere und ähnliche Gründe für den Aufstieg und den Niedergang des römischen Staatswesens bzw. der praktischen Beredsamkeit dargestellt hat, nämlich das Walten des Schicksals, das alles, was seinen Höhepunkt erreicht hat, kollabieren lässt, und – möglicherweise als dessen Konkretisierung – den Wohlstand und die mit ihm einhergehenden

Begleiterscheinungen. Hierin erkennt Berti Anklänge an Sallusts historiographische Werke (v.a. die Archäologie des *Catilina* und die fragmentarisch überlieferte *praefatio* der *Historien*), in denen in ähnlicher Weise *luxuria* und *desidia* als treibende Faktoren der spätrepublikanischen Politik identifiziert werden, die auch bei anderen Historikern (Livius, Velleius Paterculus) zu den topischen Gründen für die moralische und politische Dekadenz geworden seien.

Angesichts der Tatsache, dass Seneca d.Ä. in seinem rhetorischen Werk (*contr.* 2,1,10f.) ein ungewöhnlich langes Stück aus einer Deklamation des Papirius Fabianus zitiert, in dem dieser in einem *convicium saeculi* gegen den Reichtum und den von ihm verursachten Mord und Totschlag wettet, hält es Berti für möglich, dass Seneca d.Ä. in seinen *Historien* das Thema des moralischen und politischen Niedergangs auf eine ähnliche Weise behandelt hat. In Lucans Behandlung der Gründe des Bürgerkriegs zwischen Caesar und Pompeius (Lucan. 1,67–182) sieht Berti nicht nur Bezüge zum älteren Seneca (zu *contr.* 1 praef. 7 und zu F 2 der *Historien*), sondern auch zu Sallust und zur *Kontroverse* des Papirius Fabianus. Seiner Ansicht nach weisen alle Indizien darauf hin, dass die *Historien* des älteren Seneca das fehlende Glied waren, das die in einem rhetorischen Kontext entwickelte Idee von der durch den Luxus verursachten und im Bürgerkrieg gipfelnden politischen Dekadenz historiographisch fruchtbar gemacht und an Lucan vermittelt hat.

Dem möglichen Einwand, dass eher Livius als Seneca d.Ä. Lucans Quelle war, begegnet Berti mit dem Gegenargument, dass Florus (*epit.* 2,13,8–17) zwar ebenso wie Livius (vgl. *periocha* 109) der Darstellung des Bürgerkriegs zwischen Caesar und Pompeius eine Diskussion seiner Entstehung vorangehen lässt, dass er aber keine moralischen Gründe anführt. Hieraus folgert Berti, dass Florus und Lucan (am Anfang seiner Darstellung: Lucan. 1,67–157) wahrscheinlich dieselbe Quelle für die Schilderung des unmittelbaren Anlasses des Bürgerkriegs benutzt haben, nämlich Livius' Geschichtswerk, und dass hierin keine weiter zurückreichenden moralischen Ursachen des Konfliktes diskutiert wurden. In der Behandlung der moralischen Dekadenz (Lucan. 1,158–182) hänge Lucan aber von den *Historien* des älteren Seneca ab.

Berti beschließt seinen Beitrag mit der Beobachtung, dass sich an mehreren Stellen von Florus' *Epitome* der direkte Einfluss der *Historien* (v.a. in der *praefatio*, in der Florus dasselbe biologische Entwicklungsmodell des Römischen Staates entwirft) und der *Pharsalia* feststellen lasse und dass sich Senecas Behandlung der Gründe für den Bürgerkrieg in eine historiographische Entwicklung zwischen Sallust und Florus eingliedere, in der es sich durch seinen rhetorischen Charakter auszeichne, wie die möglichen Kontaktpunkte zu Papirius Fabianus' *convicium saeculi* zeigten.

In diesem quellenkritischen Beitrag lässt Berti den *Historien* des älteren Seneca, v.a. der Passage über die Gründe für den Bürgerkrieg, einen möglichen Platz in der Entwicklung der römischen Historiographie zukommen. Angesichts der vielen unbekanntenen Größen, die Cornell in

seinem Beitrag beleuchtet (S. 9–28), sollte aber betont werden, dass Seneca d.Ä. und die anderen Historiker bzw. Autoren an einem Diskurs partizipieren, der möglicherweise in der vorgeschlagenen Form der literarischen Abhängigkeit rekonstruiert werden kann. Die Annahme der einzelnen Abhängigkeiten und die hieraus gezogenen Schlussfolgerungen sind möglich, aber nicht zwingend.

John W. Rich behandelt in seinem Beitrag („Appian, Cassius Dio and Seneca the Elder“, S. 329–353) das Geschichtswerk des älteren Seneca und seine möglichen Bezüge zu Appian und Cassius Dio. Rich erklärt programmatisch, dass er es vorzieht, anstelle von vermeintlichen Gewissheiten plausible Erwägungen vorzuschlagen. Seine Vorsicht bei der Untersuchung der Fragmente zeigt sich u.a. daran, dass seines Erachtens der neue Papyrusfund (F 3) lediglich zeigt, dass die *Historien* des älteren Seneca veröffentlicht worden sind und dass die von seinem Sohn verfasste Biographie *De vita patris* wohl als Einleitung zu dieser Publikation fungierte. Andere Schlussfolgerungen präsentiert Rich explizit als Ergebnisse der Analyse von Texten, die keine definitive Entscheidung zulassen. Trotzdem gewinnt der Leser den Eindruck, dass diese Resultate nicht nur durch eine gründliche Sichtung der Primär- und Sekundärliteratur gewonnen sind (Rich verfolgt die Debatte über T 1 bis zu Niebuhr zurück), sondern auch bei weitem plausibler sind als vorige Forschungsergebnisse.

Seiner Ansicht nach waren die *Historien* des älteren Seneca eine allgemeine Römische Geschichte (in T 1 wird der Gegenstand des Werkes als *res Roman<as>* bezeichnet), die mit dem Bürgerkrieg zwischen Caesar und Pompeius begannen, beinahe bis zum Ende seiner eigenen Lebensspanne reichten und dem fest etablierten Muster eines Werkes über die Taten der Römer zu Hause und im Krieg entsprachen, das einen begrenzten Zeitraum der jüngeren Geschichte abdeckte. Es wies wahrscheinlich viele Gemeinsamkeiten mit den historischen Werken seiner Zeitgenossen Asinius Pollio, Cremutius Cordus und Aufidius Bassus auf, da all diese historiographischen Werke mehrere Bücher umfassten, ähnliche Ausgangspunkte hatten und ihr Material in traditioneller Weise annalistisch nach dem Konsulatsjahr organisiert war. Obwohl die *Historien* des älteren Seneca möglicherweise Florus' Quelle für die biologische Metapher der Zeitalter Roms gewesen sein könnten, gebe es keinen guten Grund für die Annahme, dass sein Geschichtswerk als Modell für die gänzlich andersartigen strukturellen Merkmale diene, die die Werke von Florus und Appian auszeichnen. Für den caesarisch-triumviralen Bürgerkrieg sowie für die Regierungszeit von Augustus und Tiberius könnten die *Historien* des älteren Seneca als eine der Quellen des Cassius Dio gedient haben. Cassius Dio könnte sie insbesondere als Informationsquelle über die Politik des kaiserlichen Hofes benutzt haben.

Seneca d.Ä. leitet in der sechsten *Suasorie* die Behandlung der Historikerfragmente über Ciceros Tod mit den Worten ein (Sen. *suas.* 6,16), dass diese – anders als die Deklamationsexzerpte – etwas Solides und Wahres beinhalten (*solida et verum habentia*). Der Zustand der papyrologischen Überlieferung verhindert es (zumindest bislang), dass die Forschung zu den *Historien* des älteren

Seneca auf einer vergleichbar soliden Grundlage geschieht. Die in dem rezensierten Band enthaltenen Beiträge spiegeln den Stand der Forschung wider, die sich sozusagen eher noch in den Startlöchern befindet und sich größtenteils auf die in der Nebenüberlieferung tradierten Fragmente (und das eine Testimonium) stützt, wohingegen der neue Papyrusfund (F 3) nur punktuell ausgewertet wird bzw. werden kann. Es bleibt zu hoffen, dass die künftige Forschung zu den *Historien* des älteren Seneca die in diesem Band veröffentlichten Thesen und Hypothesen bestätigen wird und/oder neue Einsichten in den Inhalt von P.Herc. 1067 generieren wird (Valeria Piano kündigt auf S. 355 bereits eine Neuedition von F 3 an). Dieser Papyrus erlaubt nur sehr eingeschränkt eine Entzifferung seines Inhalts. Insofern ist dieser Tagungsband eher eine Dokumentation des *status quaestionis*, die den neuen Fund – soweit möglich – hinzuzieht und einen Ausblick auf eine weitere Erforschung der *Historien* des älteren Seneca zu erkennen gibt.

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HENNING HASELMANN: *Gewässer als Schauplätze und Akteure in den Punica des Silius Italicus*. Orbis antiquus 53. Aschendorff Verlag, Münster 2018. ISBN 978-3-402-14461-9. 339 S. EUR 44.

This monograph is a revised version of the author's doctoral thesis from 2017. It is the most comprehensive intratextual study on the narrative functionalisation of waterscapes in Silius Italicus' *Punica* to date. The volume is well-argued, clearly structured, and has been meticulously edited. It comprises an extensive introduction (pp. 11–51), four thematically arranged chapters (pp. 53–297), a brief conclusion (pp. 299–301), an extensive bibliography (pp. 303–331), and two indexes (*index locorum*: pp. 333–338; *index aquarum*: pp. 338–339). The author provides preliminary summaries for three of the four chapters (except the final chapter) in addition to the main conclusion. He also offers his own German translations for all passages cited from Greek and Latin sources, rendering the volume more accessible to a broader audience.

The introductory chapter (pp. 11–51) starts with a brief overview of the general frequency and nature of references to waterscapes in Roman epic. Bodies of water are much more often mentioned in the *Punica* (272 references in 12202 verses: i.e. one every 44.86 lines) than in the other canonical Roman epics, with the exception of Lucan's *Bellum Civile* and its detailed description of the Nile (one reference every 32.48 lines). The *Punica's* internal distribution of waterscapes is representative of the epic tradition in general – among the 84 references to different types of waters in the *Punica* rivers by far constitute the largest group with 70 references. Haselmann diligently

acknowledges the absence of an ancient theory of water(scapes) and justifies the application of modern narratological concepts to ancient texts in general and Silius' *Punica* more specifically. Merging the concepts of topography and topothesis, the study adopts a broad definition of the term "Gewässer", including creeks, swamps, springs, rivers, and lakes (but not the sea) that played an important role in the Second Punic War, like the Battle of the Trebia in December 218 or the Battle of Lake Trasimene in June 217, as well as in literary *topoi* and narrative set-pieces of waterscapes, such as the *locus amoenus* or bodies of water in mythical digressions, most notably the five rivers of the underworld. Haselmann expertly summarises the plethora of publications on the concept and functionalisation of space in ancient literature as well as the most influential scholarship on water- and landscapes in the *Punica* (pp. 29–39), Virgil's *Aeneid*, and Lucan's *Civil War* (pp. 39–41). Given Silius' frequent allusions to the battle between Achilles and the personified river Scamander in *Iliad* 21 as well as Ovid's significant impact on Silius' portrayal of *loca amoena* and their transformation in particular, the additional inclusion of Homer's and Ovid's epics in this specialised literature review would have been beneficial for the reader. Haselmann's overview of the most prevalent functions of waters in ancient literature is sensibly restricted to the most pertinent examples for the *Punica*: He discusses bodies of water as natural borders and obstacles, as well as cultural, philosophical, religious, historical, geographical, military, political, ethical, and psychological dividing lines, and scrutinises water(sides) as personified agents or settings – especially for battles – and places that activate the memory of past events. He highlights, moreover, the functionalisation of waterscapes as structuring devices (e.g. the scenes at the Ticinus and the Tutia create a frame around Books 4–12), recurrent epic structures, such as ekphrases (e.g. the Rhône, Durance, Ticinus, Bagradas, and Aufidus) and aetiological digressions (e.g. the narrative about the premature death of Thrasymennus in the context of the Battle of Lake Trasimene), or as sources of inspiration for water symbolism and metaphors (e.g. the progress of the war is likened to the ebb and flow of the tide and Hannibal expresses his vision for capturing Rome with the image of the Tiber in chains). Another important function included in Haselmann's analysis is Silius' use of waters as indicators of a character's nationality (cf. the helpful overview of names on p. 110 n. 323). Some otherwise unknown characters are named after rivers or introduced with reference to their local rivers, most notably the Tyrrhenian soldier Fibrenus, who is portrayed as an encouraging example of Roman *virtus* during the Romans' defeat at the Trebia. Haselmann convincingly shows how variable Silius is in his creative treatment of these central water motifs and narrative patterns. The Flavian poet consistently makes minor modifications to ensure that the easily recognisable individual (water)structures are never exactly the same. For example, the *leitmotif* of the river or lake that turns red with the blood of fallen soldiers and becomes blocked by their corpses and weapons is varied in several ways – at times it is completely clogged and therefore forced to flow backwards (Trebia), at other times it is only partially blocked (Lake Trasimene), or

the personified river decides to flow backwards because it feels unprepared for the present challenge (Ticinus). To accommodate for these diverse functions of water(scapes) in the *Punica*, the author systematically analyses the most significant recurring themes and scenes involving water in a close reading in chronological order in Chapters 2–5.

Chapter 2 (pp. 53–89) examines the functionalisation of rivers as borders and the characterisation of the two war parties and their leaders via their respective approach to these obstacles. The vast majority of rivers are presented as natural borders the Carthaginians have to overcome. They can generally be divided into two groups – borders that can be successfully crossed, like the Ebro, Rhône, Durance, Ticinus, and Po, and those that cannot be surpassed, like the Tiber and Anio. Two rivers stand out because of their divergent functions and descriptions from the rest: 1. The Ebro is primarily a military and political border, and, by extension, an ethical dividing line between *fides* and *perfidia*, whose crossing is equivalent to a declaration of war. This is why the Ebro and the violation of the Ebro Treaty are referenced repeatedly throughout the *Punica* and even form a frame around the entire narrative (Sil. 1.643–645 and 17.635–642). 2. The Ticinus receives special attention as the first battle site in Italy. It is initially described as an Italian *locus amoenus* before being transformed into the Carthaginians' bloody battleground (see Chapter 3 below). As Haselmann cogently argues, Silius' omission of the historiographically recorded efforts of the Romans to build a bridge over the river can probably also be assigned to his greater priority to stylise the Ticinus as a peaceful *locus amoenus* and to highlight its one-sided destruction by the Carthaginians. This also corresponds to the epicist's general tendency to depict the Carthaginians' river crossings at great length and characterise them as violations of the *status quo*, whereas he only mentions the corresponding endeavours of the Roman army in passing or compresses them to a successful result. Analogously, Hannibal's ease, speed, and ruthlessness with which he invades and destroys the Italian *loca amoena* are repeatedly stressed and contrasted with the behaviour of the Roman generals in the First and Second Punic War. Regulus' respectful approach to the Libyan Bagradas river is recalled by Marus, a veteran of the First Punic War, as an *exemplum fidei* in contrast to Hannibal's *perfidia* (Sil. 6.169–173), and Scipio's own passivity in these scenes in the Second Punic War (the Roman general vanishes into the background, rendering the Roman crossings a collective effort) is contrasted with the singular narrative focus on Hannibal's agency and leadership in the same situation. In one instance, Scipio is even actively prevented from violating an Italian waterscape by divine intervention. When he threatens and is about to punish the Trebia for its presumed treacherous support of the Carthaginians, Scipio is stopped from committing *nefas* against the Italian river by the gods who set the river on fire and cleanse it.

The third chapter (pp. 91–154) focuses on the transformation of waterscapes from Roman *loca amoena* to Carthaginian *loca horrida*. Haselmann's analysis of the Italian Ticinus and the Libyan

Bagradas, which are compared in long ekphrases that highlight their joint function as representatives of their respective country's, people's, and leaders' general character and attitude to the existing divine order, necessarily results in some overlap with Chapters 1 and 2. The Ticinus is described as a *locus amoenus* and an emblem of Italian virtue, whereas the Bagradas is characterised as a *locus horridus* that bears many similarities to the underworld rivers and represents the stereotypical Carthaginian *perfidia*. The author shows in great detail that Silius not only builds on, but further develops Ovid's *locus amoenus* scenes, in particular his technique of using the undisturbed landscape as an ominous narrative marker for imminent violence, as well as Virgil's description of his infernal rivers in *Aeneid* 6, which the Flavian poet greatly expands.

The fourth and by far the longest chapter (pp. 155–269) scrutinises the individual battles that take place at rivers and lakes in the *Punica* in chronological order: 1. The Ticinus as a river of blood and setting for the first battle on Italian soil, 2. the confrontation between Scipio and the Trebia before the backdrop of its famous Homeric model, the battle between Scamander and Achilles, 3. Lake Trasimene with the aforementioned aition of the lake's name, the story of Thrasymennus, 4. the appearance of Dido's sister Anna and the river Aufidus, which only plays a minor role in the Battle at Cannae and is stylised as a border between the dead and the living, closely resembling the Silian and Virgilian underworld rivers. The author, however, starts his analysis with a detailed discussion of Juno's powerful hate monologue (Sil. 1.42–54), which offers a highly selective, pro-Carthaginian preview of the outcome of these battles and already establishes *leitmotifs* such as the blood-red, clogged rivers at the start of the epic. Haselmann's close reading of these passages is undoubtedly one of the strengths of this volume. Particularly stimulating are two discussions: 1) of Anna's problematic dual allegiance – because of her status as a Carthaginian native who is worshipped as a river goddess in Italy – and her wasted potential as an intermediary between both war parties; 2) of the disputed complicity of the personified Italian river Trebia, who is coerced by Juno to attack the Romans, but is characterised as hostile and indifferent to Roman suffering by the narrator and, by extension, the Roman standpoint he represents.

Chapter 5 (pp. 271–297) examines the function of waterscapes as places that activate memories of the past for the Carthaginians and Romans alike and that can become firmly ingrained in the nation's collective memory (e.g. the Romans' infamous defeat at Cannae). In the *Punica*, waters that have a commemorative function primarily establish a connection between the First and the Second Punic War. One particularly striking example Haselmann discusses is Hannibal's novel reaction to the scenes from the First Punic War displayed on the Temple of Liternum (Sil. 6.655 *belli ... monumenta prioris*). He orders his soldiers to destroy this memorial of Roman success and envisions a Carthaginian monument with decorations celebrating his own victories in the Second Punic War. Hannibal's attempts perpetually to erase the painful memory of the Roman victories

are, however, destined to fail. Scipio's success ensures that most land- and waterscapes of the Second Punic War eventually become places of remembrance for the Romans despite Hannibal's best efforts to claim them for the Carthaginians, and the Roman triumph over the Carthaginians is permanently preserved by Silius' epic.

All in all, this volume is a well-researched literary study about the semantic functionalisation of space in ancient epic in general and waterscapes in Silius Italicus' *Punica* more specifically. Haselmann demonstrates in great detail that watersides do not only serve as background descriptions and settings for warfare, in particular Roman defeats which appear to be inextricably linked in the *Punica*, but that personified and semantically charged bodies of water also hold a key to the interpretation of Silius' historical epic and his very creative and variable treatment and expansion of these firmly established epic (water)structures.

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Variation within and among Writing Systems: Concepts and Methods in the Analysis of Ancient Written Documents. Edited by PAOLA COTTICELLI-KURRAS – ALFREDO RIZZA. LautSchriftSprache / ScriptandSound 1. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017. ISBN 978-3-95490-145-6. 384 pp. EUR 98.

The volume in focus is the first part of a new series, LautSchriftSprache | ScriptandSound. The series focuses on the study of writing systems, naturally centring around historical language situations as they are the "birthplace" of writing systems of very different kinds.

The origins of the volume lie in a conference of the same name as the volume series, LautSchriftSprache (ScriptandSound; Verona 2013), which was the third one in the series. Twenty-one papers out of those presented in the conference have been published in the volume. The volume therefore presents an impressive collection of languages, and the topics range from the writing systems used in the Middle East to Iceland, from ca. 2nd millennium BCE to the 20th c. CE. Included are e.g. Luwian hieroglyphs, Mesopotamian and Hittite cuneiform, Linear A and B, Old Italian, adaptations of the Etruscan alphabet to serve the various languages of pre-Roman Italy, Icelandic, Old and Middle High German, Old English, and Ossetic. A bit surprisingly, however, the volume contains no writing systems from Asia (or Egypt), which would have made a nice contribution to the study of logograms and ideograms. Nor is there a single article on Arabic, which is one of the

best reference examples of a consonantal writing system. Clearly, the volume being based on the conference papers, researchers of these languages were not present in the conference, and hence this apparent oversight could be remedied in the future with more volumes on future conference outcomes.

However, the true richness of the volume does not lie in the collection of languages and their writing systems discussed, but on the analysis concerning the different structures of writing systems and their fit with the (morpho-)phonological structures of other languages, when borrowed (“the perfect fit”). Of special interest regarding this concept are Bauer’s chapter on the development of the orthophonic spelling of Icelandic, which was very similar to the creation of the Coptic alphabet from the Greek one, and Consani’s discussion on Linear B. In addition, the volume takes steps in discussing connections between historical writing systems and modern language studies. One example of this is a nice article on child writing samples, which, when compared with e.g. runic writing, display similar tendencies of omitting pre-consonantal nasals, apparently connected to a bottom-up spelling universal.

There are other volumes that discuss the same type of connections between phonology and orthography, for example *Scripts and Literacy: Reading and Learning to Read Alphabets, Syllabaries and Characters*, eds. I. Taylor – D. R. Olson, Dordrecht 1995, and *Second Language Writing Systems*, eds. V. Cook – B. Bassetti, Clevedon 2005. However, as the editors Cotticelli-Kurras and Rizza point out in the introduction, the aim of this volume is research of writing systems in a multifunctional context, i.e. not limited to the differing writing systems (e.g. consonantal vs. alphabetic, grapheme-based vs. logographic, etc.). Indeed, the volume also includes studies on the chronology of the development of writing systems, studies on writing support, and cultural context, to mention a few. In this way, the volume certainly brings in something novel to the field, and is a welcome addition to the more traditional approach to research on writing systems.

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JUAN SIGNES CODOÑER – JOSÉ DOMINGO RODRÍGUEZ MARTÍN – FRANCISCO JAVIER ANDRÉS SANTOS: *Diccionario jurídico bizantino: griego-español. Sobre la base de la Introducción al derecho del patriarca Focio y de las Novelas de León VI El Sabio*. Colección Derecho Romano y Ciencia Jurídica Europea, Sección Nexum, 12. Editorial Comares, Granada 2019. ISBN 978-84-9045-789-4. LXXXI, 544 pp. EUR 48.

This work is a Greek-Spanish dictionary of Byzantine-era legal vocabulary. It is the first of its kind in any modern language. Thus, it is of obvious interest to all those who work with Byzantine legal sources, whether their main interest lies in legal history or in language history, and whether they themselves are writing in Spanish or not.

Legal sources and legal language, in general, are often regarded as hard to approach for the non-initiated. Byzantine law – which, in essence, can be described as Roman law expressed in Greek – is by no means an exception; rather, to the contrary. So far, the absence of a dedicated dictionary has certainly been one of the most obvious challenges facing anyone consulting these sources. Thus, the publication of this new dictionary is very much to be welcomed.

The book includes, in addition to the alphabetical dictionary entries themselves (p. 1–544), an introduction that presents the work, its sources, and the methodology used by the authors (p. xi–xxiv), a list of abbreviations together with an explanation of the graphic conventions used (p. xxv–xxvi), and, as an extra feature, a so-called *Parte analógica con campos semánticos* (p. xxvii–lxxx). This is a list of the words included in the dictionary grouped by semantic field, on which more below. The book comes unassumingly in the form of a paperback but still makes an elegant and polished overall impression. Among other things, proofreading appears to have been carried out very carefully, with almost no typos catching my eye (however, in the entry on βoηθeia, in line 7, βηeiaç should be corrected to βoηθeiaç).

As is already apparent from the subtitle, the dictionary is based on (only) two primary sources of the late 9th to early 10th century and thus on a relatively small sample of the whole textual mass that is preserved. One of these sources is the *Eisagoge*, that is, the Introduction to Law of the patriarch Photius, a work that is also known as the *Epanagoge*. The other source is the Novels of Emperor Leo VI ‘The Wise.’ The authors have gone through these two sources in full. Further sources that have been used as comparative material and that sometimes appear in the dictionary are the *Prochiron* (probably the precursor to the *Eisagoge*, although the textual history is disputed), and, more sporadically, the *Ecloga*, Justinian’s *Corpus Iuris Civilis* and Theophilus’ Greek paraphrase of Justinian’s Institutes. The most notable absence is that of the *Basilica*, the Greek equivalent to the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* and by far the largest source of Byzantine law. The authors themselves readily acknowledge (p. xiii) that the dictionary can thus only be regarded as a ‘primera aproximación’ to Byzantine legal vocabulary and by no means exhaustive. However, one can perfectly understand their choice: even with this more manageable source base, the finalization of the dictionary has been a tremendous effort.

The main question for the user, perhaps, is whether the restriction to two sources detracts from the dictionary’s practical value in any significant way. Needless to say, someone reading, for instance, the *Basilica* or the *Scholia Basilicorum* will, sooner or later, come across words or meanings

of words that are not covered by the lexicon (for instance, the words ἄνομος and χαμαιδικαστής are absent). But even so, the dictionary covers so much ground that I believe users are much more likely to find the word they are looking for than not. Probably the main exception to this is Latin loanwords – I counted ‘only’ 61 lexical loans from Latin in the *Parte analógica*, which is far from the ca. 1000 individual Latin words that appear in Theophilus’ Paraphrase alone, as counted by L. Burgmann (‘Λέξεις ῥωμαϊκαί. Lateinische Wörter in byzantinischen Rechtstexten,’ in *Lexicographica Byzantina*, eds. W. Hörandner – E. Trapp, Wien 1991, 62). This quite simply reflects the differences in style that can be found between various works. (I am here leaving aside the question of how many of the mentioned ca. 1000 words are actual, integrated loanwords ‘worthy’ of being incorporated in a Greek dictionary in the first place, and how many remain unintegrated loans or represent outright code-switching.) In any case, users confronted with Latin loanwords not included in the dictionary should, in most cases, find the answer they need in Latin dictionaries.

It should also be noted that the authors’ choice of their sources is wise in that the two works are of quite different natures, also as regards their language, so that they complement each other well. While the *Eisagoge* represents technical legal writing with a relatively ‘down-to-earth’ style, Leo’s Novels, as is typical of that genre, have much higher rhetorical aspirations, something that is usually also reflected in the vocabulary used (for instance, a preference for avoiding lexical loans from Latin). Therefore, these two sources, combined, give an insight into two different registers of legal language, and thus, a good ‘approximation’ of the Greek legal language of the time as a whole. A further register that, unfortunately, is not accounted for is the language of the documents from the legal practice, such as court proceedings or private contracts. But for the Middle Byzantine period, on which the dictionary focuses, the source base regarding legal practice is much shallower than for the Early Byzantine period, for which numerous documentary papyri survive, so that the authors cannot really be faulted for not incorporating that register as well.

Obviously, as this is a juristic dictionary, it does not include every single word that appears in the two sources. In addition to basic words such as καί, some other groups of words are also omitted, even if they appear in the sources used, including administrative words such as ἐπαρχος or ὑπατος. Reasons for leaving out this or that group of words are explained in the introduction (p. xviii–xix). That being said, the authors’ scope is quite broad, which I find good. In addition to words that any reader will immediately recognize as being ‘legal,’ such as δικαστήριον or νομοθετέω, the dictionary includes many words that are not specialized in themselves, but which have, among other meanings, juristic meanings as well that apply in certain contexts, or words that form part of specialized collocations or locutions. Examples of such words are ἄγω, ἔχω and οἰκία – all words that, at first thought, one would not necessarily expect to find. In addition to the technical uses of such words, common ones are also included in the dictionary. While this somewhat inflates the

dictionary's size, I agree with the authors (p. xv) that it is important in that it makes it possible to understand the special uses better.

The individual entries are clearly structured. When a word has several meanings, these are divided into numbered sections. In each section, a Spanish translation of the relevant meaning is given first. It is followed not just by references to, but by quotations of the relevant passages from the sources, and these quotations are always accompanied by Spanish translations, something that I think any user will appreciate. Every relevant passage is included, except in cases where an 'etc.' indicates that only a selection of passages is presented (this mainly happens with very widely used words). Sometimes the sections are further structured by subheadings, which renders longer sections in particular more accessible (see, for instance, the entry on γάμος, consisting of a single section that is more than two pages long, but which remains manageable thanks to the subheadings). At the end of each entry or section, there is a reference to the semantic field to which the authors have assigned the word or the meaning and that can be looked up in the *Parte analógica*.

In fact, this *Parte analógica con campos semánticos* is one of the most interesting features of the dictionary. It is a 54-page-long list of the words included in the dictionary, grouped by the semantic fields to which the authors have assigned them. Modeled on a comparable list that is included in the *Diccionario ideológico de la lengua española* by Julio Casares (Barcelona 1959), this is not a standard part of dictionaries. As mentioned, each dictionary entry (or section thereof) refers, at its end, to a semantic field (expressed in Spanish). For instance, the word νεαρά is assigned to the semantic field 'texto jurídico.' By looking up that heading in the *Parte analógica*, one can find related substantives such as βιβλίον, κώδιξ, or ῥητός, followed by related verbs such as συντίθημι. There are also cross-references between the semantic fields. For instance, 'texto jurídico' refers to the related fields 'documento' (including words such as ἀπόδειξις or συμβόλαιον) and 'ley' (including words such as διάταξις and κανών). While the definitions of the semantic fields and the assignments of the words to them are obviously, to some extent, subjective – for example, couldn't νεαρά also be classified under 'ley'? –, this list certainly provides a helpful and interesting way of exploring the composition of the vocabulary. Thus, it renders the dictionary more than just a tool for answering the question of what a particular word means; it encourages and facilitates more in-depth study.

Some words in the *Parte analógica* are specially marked. For instance, loan words from Latin are marked by bold format, making it easy to find them quickly and, for instance, to assess their share in the total vocabulary. A small sidenote on this: As is often the case in works relating to Byzantine legal language, the attention to Latin influence is here limited to lexical borrowings (such as δεκρέτον < *decretum*), while semantic borrowings from Latin are not marked as such. An example would be the word πρόκριμα (listed under the heading 'perjuicio' on p. lxiv), which is a loan translation of

the Latin *praeiudicium* (cf. my analysis in *Römisches Recht auf Griechisch*, Helsinki 2018, 79–88). In this list, however, the word is not marked as representing Latin influence, as the authors have only marked lexical borrowings. While this is totally acceptable as such, and the analysis of the origins of the words goes beyond the scope of this dictionary, I suggest that if a more exhaustive dictionary of Byzantine legal Greek is to be produced in the future, it should also pay attention to the identification of semantic loans from Latin.

To sum up, despite its limitation to two sources, this dictionary is a well-produced and most helpful tool that anyone working on Byzantine legal history or Byzantine legal language is sure to appreciate.

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WOLFGANG GÜNTHER: *Inschriften von Milet. Teil 4. Eine Prosopographie*. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2017. ISBN 978-3-11-045484-0. XVII, 676 S. EUR 149.95.

Im Jahr 2013 erschien der Band V.B des *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGPN)*, wo das Namenmaterial von Milet bearbeitet wurde. Der Verfasser des vorliegenden Werks, der an der Arbeit um Milet maßgeblich teilnahm, legt jetzt sein eigenes, XVII + 676 großformatige Seiten umfassendes Opus Magnum vor. Es handelt sich um ein hervorragendes Werk, das für lange Zeit ein unentbehrliches Mittel in der griechischen namenkundlichen Forschung bleiben dürfte. Wenn auch *LGPN* weiterhin seinen Wert behalten wird, bietet Günthers Buch doch schon mit seinen prosopographischen Beiträgen einiges mehr.

Den Hauptteil nimmt das alphabetische Namensverzeichnis ein. Es folgen drei Anhänge: Verzeichnis des Stephahephoren; Auswärtige Didymeensieger, deren Namen nicht mehr erhalten sind; Inschriftenkonkordanzen. Den Kern des Werks bildet der prosopographisch angelegte und alphabetisch geordnete Namensindex. Die römischen Bürger werden nach dem Gentilnamen geordnet (anders als in *LGPN*) und unter dem betreffenden Cognomen steht ein Verweis auf den Gentilnamen. Für ein Werk wie das vorliegende ist dies zweifellos eine gute Entscheidung (wenn in *LGPN* anders verfahren wird, liegt das an der unterschiedlichen Anlage der beiden Werke); aber warum wird Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ unter Καῖσαρ angeführt? Dagegen ist die Ordnung innerhalb eines Gentilnamens überraschend, da die alphabetische Ordnung nach dem Vornamen und nicht nach dem Cognomen vorgenommen wird; dies entspricht nicht der normalen Praxis in Indizes epigraphischer Editionen.

Günther hat das fast unüberschaubare onomastische Material vollständig erfasst. Obwohl das Buch als Teil der *Inschriften von Milet* erschienen ist, war er auch darum bemüht andere Namensquellen zu finden, und hat sogar auswärtige Personen, etwa römische Kaiser aufgenommen, wenn man für sie persönliche? Beziehungen zu Milet nachweisen kann; sie werden fett gedruckt und sind dadurch leicht zu unterscheiden. Es dürfte schwierig sein, etwaige Lücken in den Namenslisten zu finden. Es lässt sich nur eine einzige Inschrift aus Leros anführen, einer Insel, die zum milesischen Territorium gehörte, deren sonstige Inschriften Günther jedoch berücksichtigt hat: Th. Wiegand, *AM* 36 (1911) 294 Nr. 3 Θαρσαγόρα, χρηστέ, χαίρε und τὸ ἡρώων Φιλοπόνου τοῦ Θαρσαγόρου. Beide Namen sind sonst in Milet bekannt. Ferner sei auf *Milet* VI 3, 1417 hingewiesen, wo ein Μ(ἄρκος) Ἀν[τώνιος Ἀγα]θάγγελ[λος] belegt ist (die Ergänzung scheint mir sicher); Günther scheint auf ihn auf S. 2 ?? anzuspielen, der Beleg fehlt aber unter Ἀντώνιος (diesen verdanke ich Urpo Kantola).

Eine Achillesferse griechischer epigraphischer Editionen ist die Akzentuierung nichtgriechischer, zunächst lateinischer Namen. In Übereinstimmung mit der üblichen Praxis der Epigraphiker (und der Papyrologen) schreibt Günther z. B. Φῆλιξ, da aber das *i* im Latein lang war, sollte man besser Φήλιξ schreiben. Ferner schreibt Günther mit der Mehrheit der Forscher Σεκούνδος, da aber das *u* in der Mittelsilbe von *Secundus* kurz ist, wäre zu erwägen, ob man nicht besser Σεκούνδος schreibt. Doch sollte man hier eher einen rezessiven Akzent herstellen und Σέκουνδος schreiben (zur Frage vgl. P. Probert, *Ancient Greek Accentuation* [2006] 135). Zudem sei noch darauf hingewiesen, dass *Quintus* normalerweise Κόντιος wiedergegeben wird. Dies nimmt keine Rücksicht auf die reelle Aussprache, weswegen die Schreibung Κοίντιος eingeführt werden sollte. – Epichorische Namen schreibt Günther normalerweise ohne Akzent; diese jetzt auch in *LGPN* eingeführte Neuerung ist sehr willkommen. Auf lateinische Namen sollte diese Praxis nicht ausgedehnt werden, wie es gelegentlich vorgeschlagen wurde. – Zur Akzentuierung griechischer Namen: Günther schreibt 290 Ἠγέμων, wobei man besser Ἠγεμών vorzieht (so auch Bechtel *HPN* 513).

Schließlich noch einige Einzelbemerkungen. 442: Μεσσάλλα wird von Günther für L. Vipstanus Poplicola Messalla gehalten; wahrscheinlich war er eher Messalla Vipstanus Gallus (*PIR*² V 690). – 512 streiche Πηξίδημος, der ein *nom fantôme* wäre; der Mann steht richtig 532 unter Πηρηξίδημος, der Name ist auf der Münze kaum verlesen??, sondern verschrieben (dazu vgl. W. Leschhorn, *Lexikon der Aufschriften auf griechischen Münzen* II, Wien 2009, 756). – 588: Da Λεύκιος Τορκουάτος Λευκίου υἱός zweifellos L. Manlius Torquatus war, hätte man unter *Manlius* wenigstens einen Hinweis auf den Mann erwartet, da Günther römische Amtsträger sonst stets nach dem Gentilnamen ordnet. – Der Band ist mit größter Sorgfalt redigiert worden. Druckfehler und Ähnliches sind äußerst selten anzutreffen: 554 unter Γάιος Σήμιος Ἀττικός: *CIG* 3932, nicht 2894.

Im Ganzen haben wir es mit einem grundlegenden Werk zu tun. Philologen, Linguisten und Historiker haben in ihm ein bisher nicht gekanntes Arbeitsmittel an die Hand bekommen. Für die milesische Prosopographie und Onomastik hat Wolfgang Günther ein Werk geschaffen, das für lange Zeit die unentbehrliche Grundlage für weitere Studien bildet.

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Colonie e municipi nell'era digitale. Documentazione epigrafica per la conoscenza delle città antiche. Atti del convegno (Macerata, 10–12 dicembre 2015). A cura di SIMONA ANTOLINI – SILVIA MARIA MARENGO – GIANFRANCO PACI. Ichnia 14. Edizioni TORED, Tivoli 2017. ISBN 978-88-99846-03-9. 799 pp. EUR 150.

Substantial and heavyish, this volume consists of the acts of a colloquium held in Macerata in 2015. From the introduction by Gianfranco Paci it appears that the colloquium was held at the conclusion of a research project referred to as “PRIN 2010–2011”, the letters PRIN standing for “Progetto di Rilevante Interesse Nazionale”, financed by the Ministero dell’Istruzione, dell’Università e della Ricerca (MIUR). Such projects are financed for a period of three years. A three-year-project can, however, be renewed, for the Marche region (with Macerata as its capital) has benefited from two preceding PRIN periods (p. 7f.). But before getting back to the relevance of the region here, it is worth observing that what the project is dealing with is evidently the compilation of the extremely useful epigraphical database EDR. Somewhat surprisingly, there is no mention of the EDR in the introduction, and it is not very often referred to explicitly elsewhere (but see e.g. pp. 301, 363, 383, 493). Moreover, references to the EDR are not necessarily used in citing inscriptions (thus e.g. in S. Sparagna’s contribution on p. 577ff.). On the other hand, the fact that we are dealing with the database and its evolution is clearly reflected in the use of the expression “era digitale” in the title of the book. To get back to Marche, the structure and the extension of the PRIN grants does not emerge clearly from the Introduction (obviously meant to be an introduction to this particular volume rather than to the nature and details of the PRIN system). On the one hand, in the beginning of the Introduction, Paci seems to speak of project PRIN 2010–2011 as being concerned with much, if not most, of Italy (the aim of this PRIN was the “informatizzazione del patrimonio epigrafico d’età romana in Italia”), and the contributions in the volume deal with many different regions of Italy. On the other hand, as mentioned above, the Marche region is said to have been accorded three successive three-year PRIN grants, and there are other mentions of individual universities or institutions as operating on

their own (the University of Florence, p. 8, cf. p. 493; the Universities of Pisa and Milano, p. 301; the University of Genova, p. 363; the “unità di Perugia”, p. 657). Moreover, in the interesting overview (p. 8) of what has been done for the EDR in regions around Italy, work in some regions, Marche and Liguria being singled out, is nearing completion, whereas work on the digitalisation of inscriptions has yet to begin, e.g. in Emilia, Calabria and Sicily (the mention of Emilia is striking, as the University of Bologna is known for its epigraphical studies). It thus seems that PRIN grants are, or at least can be, accorded to projects involving several universities but are in practice often divided into sub-grants allocated to individual universities (or, as in the case of Pisa and Milano, partnerships of two institutions) with personnel interested in doing the job.

The introduction also includes other interesting details, for instance the memorable and not easily translatable description of the digitalisation of inscriptions as a project that is “fattibile, realizzabile” and “irrinunciabile” (p. 8) – but without rendering the *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* dispensable (p. 9).

As for the book itself, there does not seem to be much talk of digitalisation after the Introduction; in fact, the contributions seem for the most part to represent the normal type of epigraphical publications. There are altogether 28 papers and four “posters”, all in Italian and by Italian scholars; the most prominent members of the Italian epigraphical community are well represented among the authors. There does not seem to be a point in assessing all the contributions in this context, but I would like to mention here those which struck me as being of special interest from my personal point of view. S. Antolini publishes (p. 17ff.) a dedication to Mithras from Cerveteri by *[Mem]mius Placidus heliodromus* (a rare expression denoting the “sesto grado dell’iniziazione mitraica”, p. 23) *sacratu a Curtio Iuvenale patre* (now *AE* 2017, 450). The author, noting that there are also other possibilities (*Mummius Nummius* etc.) settles for *[Mem]mius* as the nomen because of early Memmii in Caere. Note also the third-century senator C. Memmius Caecilianus Placidus (*PIR*² M 460), although this man seems to be from Africa and is thus probably not relevant. P. Buongiorno studies (p. 35ff.) the senatorial Glitii from Falerii (with stemma on p. 40) and suggests that the author, perhaps called L. Glitius Gallus, of a *lex Glitia* mentioned in the *Digest*, could have been consul in AD 21 or 22. In his contribution, G. Camodeca publishes (p. 47ff.) several late Republican funerary inscriptions from Cumae (now *AE* 2017, 233ff.), many with interesting names (e.g. *Calinei(us)* no. 3, *Folceni(us)*, an archaic form of *Fulcinius*), once again adding to our knowledge of Roman Cumae, formerly a somewhat neglected site.

N. Cassieri and G. L. Gregori (re)publish (p. 89ff.) two painted inscriptions from Formiae, the first already in *CIL* X (6076). The second (published by Gregori), on a wall of a building in Mamurra, is of great interest, as it appears to have been a list of soldiers, many of them described as centurions (but other ranks are also mentioned, e.g. *armatur(a)* in l. 14), all with the nomen

Val(erius), which fixes the date to *c.* AD 300. One of the men seems to have the cognomen *Aureliol(us)*, which is not attested elsewhere (but cf. *Fabiolus Luciolus Marciolus Valeriolus*, Catullus' *Veraniolus*, etc.). G. Di Giacomo studies (p. 127ff.) the imperial estate at Albano, observing that not everything can, as is usually the case, be attributed to Domitian. M. Giovagnoli (p. 235ff.) assigns to *Cereatae Marianae* three inscriptions formerly thought to have come from Rome (namely *CIL* VI 31859 recording C. Numisius Verisimus [sic], a Roman knight) or from *Verulae* (*AE* 1973, 197 and 196). Giovagnoli also offers useful remarks on the city in general. In their article on the epigraphy and the cults of the *ager Aricinus*, M. G. Granino Cecere, D. Nonnis and C. Ricci discuss several interesting inscriptions. Note especially p. 280–283 on the archaic inscription mentioning a gift to *Hercules* (*[H]erclē dederō [--- do]no(m)*) but also stressing that this happens because *plebe(s) iousi(t)* (*CIL* I2 2659). According to the authors, the document, dated to the early fourth century, could be connected with the construction of the emissary of the *lacus Albanus*, dated generally to the same period, the *plebe(s)* being that of Rome itself. F. Mainardis presents a revision of the text of the decree from Pola in honour of Q. Mursius Plinius Minervianus (*Inscr. It.* X 1, 84). As for line 26, which ends with *[---] us adfectioni* followed by a *vacat*, clearly indicating that the text will be moving on from the proposition to the decree proper, I think that the dative does not need to be corrected to a genitive as proposed by Mainardis (“*[--- ob insignia ei]us adfectioni(s)*”) but can be kept by assuming that the proposition ends with a formulation of the type *[gratias agere (or esse agendas etc.) ei]us adfectioni* (this suggestion is already cited in *AE* 2017, 494).

In a contribution also mentioning in passing the movie *Pulp Fiction*, S. Orlandi provides (p. 383ff.) an account of the background of *Italia Epigrafica Digitale*, described (p. 386) as a “periodico anomalo” because it was meant to be published “più volte nel corso del tempo” but “con cadenza non regolare” (see <https://ojs.uniroma1.it/index.php/ied/index> for the contents). G. Paci's contribution (p. 391ff.) is the definitive edition of the inscriptions found in the excavations, especially those of 1956–57, which were not previously very well documented (details of this being provided here), concerning the amphitheatre of *Urbs Salvia*. The most important are obviously the inscriptions of the senator L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus, ordinary consul in 81 and the builder of the amphitheatre, of which the best preserved two (p. 404–9 no. A[1]–[2]), mentioning *Silva* in the nominative, have been known since their publication by Werner Eck in 1970 (cf. p. 401 n. 18). But there were many more inscriptions set up by *Flavius Silva* all over the amphitheatre. Paci lists (p. 409–40 no. B [1]–[31]) 31 different fragments, some of which may, however, belong to the texts, partly fragmentary, published in 1970, or to other fragments. The original number of the inscriptions by *Silva* cannot be ascertained (p. 421). On p. 427, the author discusses the possibilities of restoring the nomen of *Silva's* wife, the cognomen of whom is known to have ended in *-milla*. Combining several fragments which seem to preserve parts of the wife's nomen, one could arrive at a name of the type **Nattiena*, which, however, does not really

seem plausible. The article also includes the edition of other inscriptions found in the amphitheatre, e.g. those inscribed on individual seats published by Paci in 2014 in *Lepigrafia dei porti* (by mistake referred to as “Paci 2006” in the bibliography), and an inscription mentioning a man with apparently the unattested nomen *Sexil[ius]* (p. 443; if one could read *Sexid[ius]*, one could compare the nomen *Σεξιδῖος* in Metropolis in Asia, *AE* 2009, 1404–1408). There is also an edition of two inscriptions in honour of Silva from elsewhere in Urbs Salvia, one of them being previously unpublished (p. 447f.).

The subject of M. C. Spadoni’s paper (p. 553ff.) is the epigraphy of Perugia in the period of the change from Etruscan to Latin, as reflected especially by nomenclature; the inscriptions referred to as unpublished (p. 556, 557) are now available in *Suppl. It.* 30 (2018). In an interesting paper, I. Tantillo, an authority on late antique epigraphy, studies (p. 615ff.) an acephalous honorific inscription from Aquinum, *CIL* X 5426, surely from the fourth century, which consists of two parts. The first is a description of the honorand of which only the last word has been preserved (*[quod* (v. sim.) ----] *iuuaverit*). The second part sets out the reactions of the *populus* of Aquinum to the same honorand’s merits: *huic universus populus Aquinatium tabulam aeneam patronatus traditam, sed et statuam perpetuabilem cum pictura{m} similitudinis eius hoc in loco ad perenne{m} testimonium censuer(unt)* (note the constructio as sensum) *constituendam*. The honorand thus receives not only a *tabula*, but also (for *sed et* cf. e.g. *ILS* 1909. 6530. 6623. 7218. 7221 etc.) a statue and perhaps more (cf. below). Because of *traditam* rather than *tradendam* it seems that the *tabula* had already been presented to the honorand (but see p. 619). As for the expression *statuam perpetuabilem* (a hapax) *cum pictura{m} similitudinis eius*, Tantillo (p. 621ff.) suggests, though not excluding the interpretation that this is simply a reference to the statue (thus also B. Díaz Ariño & E. Cimarosti, *Chiron* 46 [2016] 323f.), that the phrase could be interpreted as meaning two separate objects, a statue on one hand and an “honorific portrait”, probably located close to the statue, on the other. This interpretation, which according to Tantillo himself represents an isolated and exceptional case (p. 627), does not really seem plausible to me for reasons mentioned by Tantillo himself on p. 621, but also for instance because there seems to be no point in separating the *statua perpetuabilis* from the *pictura similitudinis eius*. Not only the *pictura* but also the statue should have been a representation of the honorand’s *similitudo*, i.e. his outward appearance (in this period, statues representing persons only symbolically were still unknown). In my view, *pictura* is here simply used in the sense of “rendering”, “representation”, without necessarily implying painting, the whole phrase expressing about the same idea as e.g. *statua perpetuabilis repraesentans similitudinem* (i.e. *conspectum* v. sim.) *eius*. Be that as it may, this article contains a valuable note (p. 625f. n. 46) on collecting inscriptions that refer to both statues and *imagines*.

C. Zaccaria discusses (p. 634ff.) an architrave from Aquileia (*I. Aquileia* 450) belonging to a monument in honour of Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius set up by the Aquileians and

mentioning (in the ablative) the governor Valerius Adelfius Bassus. A very similar architrave, dedicated to Gratianus, Valentinian and Theodosius, and set up by L. Valerius Septimius Bassus, who seems to have been Adelfius Bassus' father, is known from Rome (*ILS* 782).

The volume finishes with some contributions called “posters”. L. Benedetti presents an overview of the *signacula* in the museum of Perugia, some of them unpublished. As for the seal p. 669 no. 28 = *CIL* XI 6712, 46, the reading *Q. Pl(---) Tr(uttedi) pi(storis?)* should be corrected in *Q. Pl(ani) Tr(uttedi) Pi(i)* (cf. G. Camodeca, *Epigraphica* 81 [2019] 643ff.). A. M. Corda and A. Ibba discuss (p. 685ff.) the epigraphy of Sardinia (ca. 1600 Latin inscriptions) in general and offer a number of corrected readings based on observations during the work for the EDR (p. 699, I do not think it would be useful to correct *C. in C. Germanus Valens* to *C(laudius)*; p. 704f., a discussion of *CIL* X 7514, where I am sure Felix and Impetratus are both the sons of the freedman and that we must understand *f(iliorum)*). The contribution of A. Gallo on Luceria (p. 735ff., with a list, without references, of all attested local magistrates, 757f.) is followed by the last article of the book, an assessment, with an extensive bibliography, by F. Mainardis and C. Zaccaria of the epigraphical studies by the “laboratorio dell’epigrafia” of the University of Trieste, dealing with NE Italy east of, and including, Aquileia. This contribution, which is of great interest, includes a table illustrating the progress of the publication of the *Supplementa Italica* volumes on this area (p. 768), from which one learns that at least four separate *Suppl. It.* volumes on Aquileia are being prepared for publication, one of them, vol. II on emperors, senators and knights, mainly by German scholars connected with Heidelberg. One wonders how many volumes are planned, for the fourth volume in preparation is on the *Magistratus municipales*, and hundreds of funerary inscriptions also need to be included at some point. In any case, the fact that work is done on Aquileia is a very good thing, for the volumes published by Brusin in the early 1990s are not really adequate. An interesting table on p. 770 informs us about the progress of the epigraphic database EDR in this region; it appears that in the case of most cities, the work is almost done and that it is only Aquileia where about half of the existing inscriptions still need to be added to the database.

At the end of the book, there are useful abstracts in English of all articles (but not of the posters). To conclude, I found this volume to be of great interest, not only because of the many important contributions but also because it is a splendid illustration of the vitality of epigraphic studies in Italy.

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Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editum. Vol. IX: *Inscriptiones Calabriae Apuliae Samnii Sabinorum Piceni Latinae.* Suppl. pars I: *Regio Italiae quarta.* Fasc. I: *Samnites – Frentani.* Edidit MARCO BUONOCORE. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2018. ISBN 978-3-11-062796-1. LVIII, 418 pp. EUR 239.

Volumen IX *Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum* a Mommseno conscriptum editum est a. 1883; nunc denique rerum Romanarum studiosis praesto est supplementi eiusdem voluminis fasciculus primus, qui continet titulos Samnii et Frentanorum, id est partem meridionalem regionis Augusteae IV. Ita in hoc fasciculo invenimus urbes Italiae inter Telesiam, civitatem Samnitium maxime ad meridiem sitam et Ortonam, civitatem Frentanorum maxime ad septentriones sitam (cf. laterculum civitatum infra). Fasciculus secundus continet terras Marrucinorum Paelignorum Vestinorum, tertius Marsos et Aequos (hi fasciculi iam sunt editi), quartus continebit Sabinos, quintus indices (v. p. 1253). Haec omnia sibi facienda sumpsit Marco Buonocore (infra “B.”), homo rerum epigraphicarum non ad regionem IV tantum pertinentium sed in universum peritissimus, cui rerum Romanarum studiosi omnes non solum gratias agere sed etiam gratulari debemus. Regiones quae continentur in *Corporis* vol. IX aliae, id est regiones II, V, VI, pertinebunt ad alios inscriptionum studiosos, quibus fasciculi Buonocoriani sine dubio exemplum dabunt.

Liber hic initium capit a Praefatione (p. LXXIII–VI), quae mihi videtur esse legenda vel ideo, quod ex ea facile apparet, quanti laboris sit corpus huiusmodi conscribere (id quod apparet etiam ex bibliographia), quantusque sit numerus earum eorumve, qui ad opus perficiendum auxilium suum praebuerunt. Sequitur (p. LXXIX–CXXII) Conspectus primum auctorum et deinde periodicorum sive aliorum operum abbreviate laudatorum, et in fine partis eius, quae praecedit ipsam editionem titulorum Explicatio notarum eadem, quae etiam in aliis *Corporis* voluminibus recentioribus invenitur, scripta a J. Krummrey (p. CXXIII–IV).

At iam transeamus ad ipsum corpus sive potius supplementum corporis (p. 849–1252), quod totum divisum est in capitula haec: Samnitium Telesia, Allifae, Saepinum, Fagifulae, Bovianum Undecimanorum, Terventum, Aesernia, Bovianum Vetus, Aufidena, Trebula, Samniticae incertae; Frentanorum Buca – Uscosium, Histonium, Iuvanum, Cluviae, Anxanum, Ortona; sequitur ut hoc fasciculo contineantur addenda ad numeros corporis Mommseniani 2194–3011 et 6295–6315. Tituli autem novi sunt 6420–6973 (Samnitium 6420–6881, Frentanorum 6882–6973), ita ut appareat numerum titulorum novorum esse fere 550. Hi omnes tituli cum veteres tum novi quomodo capitulatim sint distributi ex hac tabula intellegi potest, in quam numeros sumpsit ex conspectu huius fasciculi p. LXXI–LXXII (titulorum falsorum et alienorum ratio infra non est habita):

Capitulum	CIL IX (1883)	Ibid. add.	CIL IX S. (2018)
L. Telesia	2194–2317	6295–6303	6420–6511
LI. Allifae	2318–2437	6304–6306	6512–6568
LII. Saepinum	946 . 2438–2559	6307–6309	6569–6659
LIII. Fagifulae	2553–2627	---	6660–6672
LIV. Bovianum Undecimanor.	2521. 2524. 2560–2584	---	6673–6715
LV. Terventum	2585–2627. 2772–2790	---	6716–6755
LVI. Aesernia	2628–2769	---	6756–6848
LVII. Bovianum Vetus	2770–2794	---	6849–6854
LVIII. Aufidena	2795–2822	---	6855–6877
LIX. Trebula	2823–2825	---	6878–6880
LIXa. Samniticae incertae	---	6310–6311	6881

LX. Buca-Ucosium	2826–2834	6092. 6312. 6408	6882–6896
LXI. Histonium	2835–2943	6313	6897–6935
LXII. Iuvanum	2949–2979	6314	6936–6961
LXIII. Cliviae	2960. 2969. 2971. 2980–2994	---	6962–6971
LIV. Anxanum	2995–3010	---	---
LV. Ortona	3011	6315	6972–6973

Numeris crassioribus usus sum ibi, ubi numeri titulorum capitulis singulis attributi quodammodo discrepant a serie numerorum naturaliter per se crescente. Hoc factum est praesertim ideo, quod tituli editi a Mommseno inter titulos civitatis alicuius a B. attributi sunt civitati alii; ita inter Saepinates iam invenimus titulum 946 editum a Mommseno in capitulo quodam alio, sed qui repertus est loco dicto Ielsi, quem locum pertinere ad territorium Saepinatium iam constat. Translationibus (ut ita dicam) similibus explicantur etiam numeri quidam alii. Quae cum ita sint, dolendum aliquantum est praefationes ad capitula singula, in quibus fines et territoria singularum civitatum (at etiam alia multa, e.g. studia recentiora pertinentia ad ipsas civitates earundemque magistratus et in universum ad res epigraphicas) explicari potuissent, omnino deesse.

Capitula omnia ad singulas civitates pertinentia continent primum “Addenda et corrigenda”, scilicet ad titulos cum falsos tum genuinos iam propositos in corpore Mommseniano et deinde “Titulos novos”, id est titulos repertos aut certe primum editos post a. 1883 (in capitulo LXIV pertinente ad Anxanum tituli novi non proponuntur). Non solum tituli “novi” omnes, si etiam nunc exstant, sunt depicti photographice, sed etiam tituli multi iam editi in corpore Mommseniano (e.g. Tesesini 2199. 2213. 2215. 2217. 2219. 2223. 2230–1. 2234. 2236–7. 2239. 2241. 2248. 2250. 2255. 2268.

2278. 2283–4. 2286. 2289–90. 2294. 2303. 2305. 2310, Saepinates 2438. 2440. 2449. 2453–4. 2469 (= 6610). 2471, Histonienses 2835. 2837. 2842. 2843–4. 2845–6. 2849. 2852. 2853–4. 2856. 2858–9. 2860. 2861–2. 2864. 2866. 2869. 2871. 2874. 2877. 2879–80. 2881. 2884–7. 2891. 2893–4. 2896. 2900. 2903–4. 2912. 2919–20. 2923. 2936. 2938. 2940–42. 2944–5); ad quosdam titulos photographice hic non depictos observatur imaginem inveniri in Archivo Corporis (i.e. *CIL*) Electronico (ACE), ita e.g. ad 2855 (*ILS* 5501).

Quod ad bibliographiam attinet, ad quosdam titulos laudantur etiam libri editi a. 2018 (e.g. *Epigraphica* 80 [2018] ad n. 6816), id est eo ipso anno, quo hic fasciculus prodit, id quod mihi videtur paene mirum. Id facile apparet, B. legisse et laudavisse fere omnia, quae ad titulos illustrandos pertinere possint (quosdam libros raros in commentariis memoratos B. ipse inspicere non potuit, cf. e.g. ad 6542, 6626a, 6642, 6807). Interdum tamen mihi videntur laudari quaedam, quae omitti potuissent; e.g. ad titulum Fabii Maximi n. 2337 laudatur etiam C. Bruun, in *Mediterraneo e la storia* 166, sed Bruun ibid. (adn. 92) obiter tantum memorat tres titulos eiusdem Maximi, qui facile inveniuntur e.g. in *PLRE*. In quaestionibus praesertim ad linguam Latinam pertinentibus saepissime refertur ad ea, quae scripsit M. G. Tibiletti Bruno in *Abruzzo* 9 (1971; hoc opusculum in bibliographia non memoratur), e.g. ad 2235 [I2 1747] de *ludeis, turris* acc., *faciundas coerarunt*, at cum hanc ephemeridem non putaverim facile inveniri extra Italiam, melius fuerat ut puto laudare manualia omnibus nota res tales tractantia, praesertim cum multa dicta a Tibiletti Bruno mihi videantur spernenda vel omnino ignoranda (e.g. 2528 “*Plotiae pro Plautiae suspicatur*” Bruno; 3008 “*Pollae pro Paullae non excludit*” Bruno; 6315 Bruno “non excludit, quin nomen Ninnii ad formam Ninii reducendum sit”). Neque puto in bibliothecis facile inveniri opusculum quod scripsit E. Pais in *Atti Reale Accad. Arch. Napoli* 6 (1918), saepius laudatum de nominibus gentilicis.

Ut iam veniam ad ipsos titulos, monumenta inscripta multa, quae Mommsen vel eius adiutores, praesertim Dressel, etiamtum inspicere potuerunt, iam perierunt (e.g. tituli Telesini 2194. 2196. 2198. 2201–7. 2206–7 etc., Allifani 2324. 2328. 2331, Saepinates 2441–2. 2447. 2456–8, Aesernini 2751. 2755. 2764, etc.); etiam tituli quidam editi saec. XX iam perierunt (e.g. 6580. 6857). Contra notandum est hoc, multos titulos, quos Mommsen cum adiutoribus inspicere non potuerat, re vera etiamnunc existere totos aut certe partim, e.g. 2276. 2279. 2325 (= 6513). 2327. 2329. 2349. 2353. 2356. 2359 (= 6523). 2376. 2411. 2439. 2446. 2497. 2522. 2529. 2532. 2555. 2553 (= 6660). 2587. 2692 (= 6774). 2854. 2907. 2953. 2956. 2964. 2971; ita memorabiles, ut sumpti sint inter titulos propositos a Dessau in *Inscriptionibus selectis*, inter eos sunt 2854. 2956. 2964. Quod ad titulos “novos” attinet, sunt satis multi, qui non leguntur in *Année épigraphique* vel in aliis editionibus plus minus notis, ita ut multis lectoribus hic primum omnino innotescant. Saepius agitur de fragmentis vel de titulis in universum minoris momenti, at nota e.g. titulos Allifanos 6527 C. Naevoleii C. M. I. Chresti *August(alis) Allif(is), quaest(or)is August(alium)* et 6545 hominis sine cognomine memorati

cum filio cognomine praedito; Saepinates 6569 dedicatum *Iovi Libero*, 6572 Commodi, 6578 Pii, 6579 Gordiani [*libe*]ratis auc[toris, o]r[bi]s [restituto]ris, 6581 Helenae matris Constantini, *aviae dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Caess(arum) beatissimorum, uxoris* (sic) *divi Constantii*, 6583 et 6584 Fabii Maximi rectoris Samnii, 6587 Lupi cuiusdam, rectoris Samnii minus noti saec. IV fere medio, item multos alios titulos Saepinates (titulos quosdam Saepinates non inveniri in *AE* inde partim explicatur, quod tituli propositi a M. Gaggiotti in *Athenaeum* 56 [1978] non videntur esse recepti in *AE* 1978); Aeserninos 6768 IIIIviri *Aeserniae* et 6776 VIviri Augustalis *Aufidena* (abl. pro loc.), Cluviensem 6966 memorantem *socios* quosdam *Vedianos*. Numerus titulorum usque ad a. 2018 nusquam editorum, qui sunt plerumque fragmenta, non est magnus.

Ad titulos omnes cum Mommsenianos tum novos adduntur commentarii necessaria explicantes et bibliographiam praebentes (de qua v. iam supra); quibusdam titulis intellectu paulo difficilioribus additur versio Italica. Quod ad lectiones ipsorum titulorum attinet, ut saepe fit in titulis in *Corpore* saec. XIX editis retractandis, lectiones et/aut interpretationes multorum titulorum a B. correctae sunt, id quod mihi liceat hic illustare exemplis quibusdam. **2332** (= 6562): titulus a Mommseno inter titulos imperatorum relatus re vera est titulus Christianus episcopi cuiusdam. **2449**: v. 2 inscriptus est in litura, in v. 4 potest fuisse *mo[enium]*. **2461** (= 6586): titulus non intellectus a Mommseno vindicatur Turcio Aproniano patrono Saepinatium (saec. IV). **2469** (= 6610): cognomen "*Subincanus*" corrigitur in *Sublucanus*. **2529**: *Sargiania* pro "*Sarciana*", quod nomen iam delendum esse apparet. **2532**: *Perulae*, non *Perullae*. **2566**: pro "*consuli / Pannoniarum*" legendum est id quod expectaveris, *consula[ri]*. **2760**: pro *L. Deiio* (sic) legitur *L. Papiro*; sequitur ut nomen *Deius* sit delendum. Cf. etiam e.g. **2454**, **2536**, **2587**. In **6859** B. se corrigat ipsum.

In universum dicendum est B. munere suo functum esse optime, cum lectiones titulorum et commentarii ad eosdem mihi videantur esse omni laude dignos. Sunt tamen quidam tituli, de quibus quaedam ut puto observari possunt, et ita iam de iis videamus (nota me, ex bibliothecis exclusum cum haec scribo, referre ad ea tantum, quae in hac editione leguntur; sequitur, ut inter ea, quae infra scribam, possint esse multa iam ab aliis proposita). **Telesia**. **2207** [---]os. XI[---]: nescio an possit cogitari de aliis quibusdam supplementis, e.g. [*vixit annos XL*] ---]. **2209** ("litteris bonis"): [---] E:AVG[---] ---] *Caesaris* [---]: [*pro salute*]e vel. sim." B., qui hunc titulum attribuit aetati imperatoriae incipienti: at cum formula *pro salute* inveniatur aetate potissimum paulo posteriore et cum nomina imperatorum rarissime incipiant vocabulo *Augusti*, ego potius cogitaverim e.g. de mentione Augustae cuiusdam (cf. *Sabinae Augustae* n. 2202) eiusque mariti. **6436**: in titulo aetatis fere Augusteae cogitaverim potius de ablativo *leg(ione)* VI. **6454**: "forma antiquior" *Laenates* (nom.) inscripta mihi videtur esse pro *Laenatis*, quae est forma antiquior cognominis *Laenas*, cf. nominativos *Ardeatis Arpinatis Tiburtis* apud Catonem (et M. Leumann, *Laut- und Formenlehre* p. 345sq.). **6456** pro *flendusque per [saecula]*, quae verba metrum non respiciunt, praetulerim *flendusque [per aevumst]*,

quod supplementum memoratum in commentario proposuit M. Massaro. **Allifae. 2339:** quod ad hunc titulum Q. Tarronii Felicis Dextri c. v. observatur, “Avus maternus fuisse videtur Tarronius Pisoninus in tit. qui sequitur”, id sine dubio est corrigendum in “Avus ... Tarronii Pisonini”, cum titulus 2340 Pisonini, mortui annorum duodeviginti, sit aetatis multo posterioris. **2346:** apparet Aquillium Rufum in cognomine filii C. Aquillii Flori eligendo imitatum esse Aquillios Floros senatorii ordinis (cf. C. Aquillium Florum consulem 259 a. C. et *PIR*² A 989–993). **2356:** Naevoleia Procula *Labeonis* mihi videtur esse filia Naevoleii Rufi. **2385:** nota cognomen libertae esse omissum in titulo saec. I p. C fere medii. **2421** (item 6615): valde gaudeo, quod B. iam mecum (*Arctos* 27 [1993] 95–101) consentit de interpretatione abbreviationis (e.g.) *L. f. f. Saepinum*. **2438,** tabula Saepinas praefectos praetorio memorans: v. 14: addenda mihi videtur coniunctio <cum> ... *quererentur* (*subinde = saepe*), cf. v. 20 *et cum*. V. 17: verbum videtur excidisse, e.g. <*retineant*>. V. 19: *neesse habeamus etiam scribere:* haec verba mihi videntur esse paulo corrigenda, e.g. in <*et cum*> *neesse haberemus* (at cf. v. 20 *perseverent*) *etiam <atque etiam>* (i. e. *saepius*) *scribere*. In versione Italica p. 952 non bene intellego versionem verborum *per itinera callium* “sui luoghi stessi (delle controversie)”, cum his verbis omnino indicetur locus, ubi conductores iniuriam accipiebant (*per itinera callium fere = per calles*). **2515** *Anteros* non est corrigendum. **2518:** cum ad titulum de nomine *Ninnii* referatur ad non minus tres scriptores, addi potuerat scripturam *Taddii* (pro *Tadii*) reperiri in hoc solo titulo. **Saepinum. 6593** *L(ucio) Neratio ... Prisco ... co(n)s(uli) ... ex testamento / Hymeti lib(erti)* “titulus sepulcralis viri ordinis senatorii”; at cum dicatur *ex testamento Hymeti lib(erti)* (non *ex testamento Hymetus lib(ertus)*), apparet agi de testamento liberti, non ipsius Prisci, ita ut concludendum sit heredes Hymeti ex testamento eiusdem monumentum posuisse in honorem patroni. De morte Prisci ex hoc titulo nihil discimus (contra titulus 6595 potest fuisse sepulcralis Neratii Marcelli, cum eum posuerit uxor Marcelli). **6626a** [*Zosimo Manliae* [*Fadillae disp.*]: eadem fortasse Manlia Fadilla *PIR*² M 164. **6632:** nomen *Firivii* hic primum memoratur. **Bovianum Undecimanorum. 6692** *L. T. Q. Helvis L. f. Vol.:* de nominativo *-is* (et *-eis, -es*) cf. E. Dupraz laudatum ad 2617 (*filis* nom.), item *Tadis fratre[s]* Cluviis 6967. **6701:** *Staius* (non “*Statius*”). **6703** “saec. II p. C.”: mihi litterae videntur esse aetatis paulo antiquioris. **Terventum. 2596:** ego non laudaverim ea, quae scripsi *Arctos* 48 (2014) 509, cum ibidem nihil dico de interpretatione huius tituli. Contra in libro meo de praenomine (*Die römischen Vornamen*, 1987) p. 296 hunc titulum laudo inter titulos, in quibus memorantur patres libertini generis cognomina habentes cum filiis cognomine carentibus, id quod aetate antiquiore interdum invenitur. **Aesernia. 6815:** nomen *Pulflanius* sive *Pulflanus* fortasse ductum est ex nomine loci alicuius **Pulf(u)lae* (cf. *Fagifulae*). **6822** *L. Vibius L. f. M. n. Gallus frater L. Vibi L. f.:* Hunc titulum tractavi *Vornamen* p. 294 ideo, quod mihi mirum videbatur inveniri fratres eodem praenomine praeditos, de quibus unus habuit cognomen, alter eodem caruit. Ibidem memoravi praeter titulos quosdam similes etiam titulum Bovianensem 6853, quem posuit C.

Socellius Sex. f. Vol. Celer **C.**, Q. *Socellis Sex. f. fratribus*. **6824** [---] *dio K(aesonis) f(ilio)* [---]: saec. I p. C. medio posse cogitari de praenomine antiquissimo *Kaesonis* non crediderim, neque quod inter finem nominis et vocabulum *f(ilio)* inscriptum est habet formam litterae *K*, inscriptum enim est fere *IC*. Quid subsit, ignoro. **Aufidena**. **2803**: ego de saec. IV potius cogitaverim cum *PLRE* I p. 24 Severus 23 (“?IV”). **2806**: cum in commentario sermo sit de nomine non raro *Pontii*, addi potuerat nomen *Venaecii* in Italia inveniri in hoc solo titulo (in Hispania invenitur bis). **2818** (ex Pighio): cognomen Sicinii *P-POR* mihi videtur corruptum; intellegi posse *P(ubli)por* non puto. **Histonium**. **2847**: cum sint qui putent (cf. “ut vulgo assumitur” *PIR*; C. Letta, *Athenaeum* 95 [2007] 947sq.) praenomen C. Hosidi Getae (legati Claudii in expeditione Britannica etc., *PIR*² H 217), memoratum apud solum Dionem, esse corrigendum in *Cn.*, ita ut Geta hic idem sit ac Cn. Hosidius Geta *PIR*² H 216, reputari fortasse potest, num quod in initio huius tituli (memorantis legationem in Britannia etc.) traditur, “*CIV.....ID.....*”, possit intellegi *CN. [HOS]ID[IO ...]* (de lectione *civ[i]* non cogitaverim). **2853** “Post 148 p. C. n.”: potius 138? **2855** “Alteri parti saec. I post medium p. C. n. tribuenda, fortasse post 79”: at ex mentione *divi Vespasiani* apparet titulum sine dubio attribuendum esse annis post a. 79. **6898** (titulus dedicatus Q. Fuficio Cornuto consuli suffecto a. 147): “post a. 150 p. C.”: at cum in hoc titulo non memoretur legatio Moesiae Inferioris qua functus est Cornutus post consulatum (certe a. 152, *ZPE* 208 [2018] 229–36), non video, cur hic titulus non possit esse positus iam ipso anno consulatus vel paulo post. **6900** (tabula patronatus a. 384): ut fit in tabulis huius temporis, verba saepissime difficiliter intelleguntur, si omnino intelleguntur. Emendationes quasdam, quamvis sint omnes incertae, item observationes quasdam mihi hoc loco offerre licebit (omnia autem nullo modo corrigi possunt). V. 2 *vivas felicem et venerabilem seculo!* Accusativi fortasse possunt quodammodo explicari sumendo scriptorem tituli in unum miscuisse hortationem et exclamationem. V. 3: versio “i decurioni degli abitanti della città di Cluviae Carricinatorum” non bene respondet verbis [*u*] *niversi Cluvi<e>nse Carricini*. V. 3–4 (... *Carricini consilium [sib?]i hab'e`ntes*) ... *id cum universa ferentis* (i.e. *re*) *ferentes*; sequuntur verba dicta in consilio): “(in assemblea) con il consenso di tutto il popolo ... riferiscono quanto segue (“quanto segue” respondens ut puto vocabulo *id*)”: ego autem rettulerim verba *cum universa* (ubi ego addiderim e.g. <*plebe*> vel potius <*plebs*>, cf. infra) non ad *consilium* sed ad *ferentis*; praeterea non excluderim *id* esse inscriptum pro *et* (cf. *it = et* in eodem versu), ita ut hoc loco sit dictum mutatis mutandis fere haec: “*et cum universa <plebs?> ferentes* (pluralis secundum constructionem ad sensum; de participio cf. *habentes*)”, i.e., cum verbum finitum omnino desit, “rettulerunt”. V. 5–6: *quanta sit claritas tantaque benignitas[que] Aureli Euagri: tantaque sine dubio corrigendum in quantaque* (cf. fortasse *quantos et quales* pro *tantos et tales* in tabula Amiternina anni 325 AE 2015, 370). V. 6 et 7: *huius intellegendum est cuius*. V. 11 *huius offeramus*: fortasse intellegendum *huic* (vel potius *ei*). Ibid. *ortato sibi honore*: his verbis videtur respondere versio “un honore che egli stesso aveva richiesto”; at observationes huiusmodi de desiderii ipsorum patronorum

in aliis tabulis patronatus non inveniuntur et cum sequantur (v. 11sq.) verba *patriam ... amare ac diligere non desi<na>t* (ita sine dubio corrigendum id quod inscriptum est *desit*), non excluserim verba (*h*)*ortato sibi honore* dicta esse pro *hortante se honore* Cluviensesque voluisse dicere se sperare (inter *offeramus* et *ortato* fortasse addendum est <ut>), ut honor (scil. patronatus) Euagrium hortetur, ut non desinat amare patriam. V. 11sq. verba *patriam civiumque Cluviatum (amare)* mihi videntur esse corrigenda aut in *patriam civium Cluviatum* (de *que* delendo cf. *omnium{que}* in v. 13) aut in *patriam civesque Cluviates*. V. 14 *felicem diem = felici die*. V. 15: *claritati censori(a)eque candori* videtur esse dictum pro *claritati censori(a)e candorique* aut *candor* scriptori tituli fuit femininum (cf. Francogallice *la candeur*). V. 17: *dignabitur*: futurum hoc loco sine dubio exprimit non quod Euagrius re vera facturus est sed quod Cluviates sperant eum esse facturum. Ibid.: *h[oc patronatu]* post *sobpleto* (= *suppleto*, versum “ricevuto”) bene B. **Iuvanum. 2974**: Bene B. vidit in v. 4 legendum esse *patri*, non *patro[no]*. Non video, cur in eodem versu litterae *P. C.* non possint intellegi *p(atrono) c(oloniae)*; de *p(onendum) c(uraverunt)* (Mommsen) hoc loco, id est inter cognomen et *patri*, nullo modo putaverim posse cogitari. **Anxanum. 2998**: vocabulum *[t]ribus* hoc loco quid significet cum non facile intellegatur, videndum, num possit cogitari de indicatione diei (e.g. *[Kalendis Septemb]ribus*).

In fine operis sunt indices nominum, cognominum, imperatorum et tabellae synopticae, ex quibus apparet, ex quibus libris tituli novi sint sumpti. Ut iam observavi supra, indices generales in fasciculo quinto sequuntur. Opus totum, si versiones Italicas exceperis, scriptum est lingua Latina optima aetatis quae facile intellegitur (errores paucissimos, fortasse plerumque attribuendos typhothetae, observavi; e.g. in 6429 lege potius “in quattuor vers<ib>us”; in 6462 fortasse addendum est “<eo>” ante *Trebia*; 6587 “adderi” pro *addi*; p. 1253, ubi sermo est de indice generali, verba “(Indicem ...) fasciculo quinto ... editurus est” fortasse corrigenda sunt in “in fasciculo quinto ... editurus sum”). Ut concludam, dico hoc: Marcus Buonocore erexit monumentum aere perennius, rerum Romanarum studiosis non solum gratissimum sed etia utilissimum. Me fasciculos qui sequuntur mox in manibus habiturum esse spero.

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CARLO SLAVICH: *La collezione epigrafica della Casa Museo dell'Antiquariato Ivan Bruschi di Arezzo*. Opuscula epigrafica 19. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2019. ISBN 978-88-7140-972-6. 113 pp. EUR 25.

Il presente volume consiste in un'edizione della collezione delle antiche iscrizioni conservata presso la Casa Museo dell'Antiquariato Ivan Bruschi di Arezzo, raccolta verso i primi del Novecento a

ornamento della dimora di un nobile marchigiano, il conte Francesco Vitali di Fermo (1856–1927). Buona parte delle iscrizioni è urbana e inedita. Nell'introduzione, intitolata impropriamente 'La storia della collezione' (si parla anche di altre cose che della storia della collezione), l'autore tratta le genesi della raccolta, con particolare riferimento al 'Museo Vitali' di Fermo. Queste pagine si leggono con interesse e profitto: abbiamo a che fare con rapporti collezionistici molto complessi, alle radici dei quali l'autore ha il merito di essere penetrato. Tra l'altro ha dimostrato (p. 31) che nella collezione si trovano epigrafi locali di Fermo o del Piceno in generale solo in modo eccezionale, mentre la maggioranza sono materiale urbano. Alla fine delle note introduttive l'a. tratta brevemente alcuni aspetti quali materiali, supporti, prosopografia, onomastica e formulario.

Segue l'edizione stessa, in sostanza ben fatta e occasionalmente munita di osservazioni (nell'edizione si incontrano qua e là lievi incongruenze). Mi sia permesso di fare alcuni commenti in merito.

Nr. 1: Le integrazioni restano assai incerte; invece di *mat[er ---] fil(io) [---]* è possibile anche *mat[ri ---] fil[ius -ia]*. In 1 oltre a MAC è possibile anche MAG, e viene in mente il gentilizio *Magius -ia* o il cognome *Magnus -a*.

5. L'a. scrive *Pomponia sp(uria) f. Pallas*, invece di *Sp(uri) f.* come si suole scrivere. Gli editori di testi epigrafici dovrebbero raggiungere un accordo s u come rendere SP-F nell'edizione. Io sono decisamente del parere che si debba scrivere *Sp(uri) f(i)lius* o *f(ilia)*, parere condiviso da Olli Salomies, la massima autorità di prenomi romani (cfr. anche le sue osservazioni in *Röm. Vornamen* 50–55).

8. *CIL X 5099* non proviene dal frusinate (Frosinone dista da Atina circa 30 km), ma dall'atinate (*in agro Atinati* Mommsen), e non si può dire che sia "attribuita al territorio di Atina", ma è atinate a tutti gli effetti.

10. Non è il caso di dubitare dell'autenticità del frammento. EGN potrebbe per es. indicare l'ex patrono di Eros, cioè *Egnatianus*. – 3 *fec(it)*.

14. Neanche qui dubiterei dell'antichità del frammento.

20. Le integrazioni sono sbagliate; un funzionario *regionis Calabriae et Apuliae* sarebbe un nonsenso. L'a. vede nel frammento un cursus senatorio, ma quale? *Procurator* non era titolo senatorio. Piuttosto abbiamo a che fare con un frammento di un epitaffio di gente comune, e il defunto poteva essere per es. un *Petronianus*.

24. Su *Bithus* è peculiare il riferimento al mio Namenbuch in luogo per es. del recente *Onomasticon* di Dana.

42. Poiché nell'iscrizione sembra comparire il cognome *Honorina*, come giustamente pensa l'a., la datazione proposta alla fine I/II secolo è troppo alta, trovandosi questo cognome nel novero delle nuove formazioni provviste del suffisso *-ius -ia* che non vennero in uso comune prima del III secolo; e infatti tutte le attestazioni di *Honorina* appartengono all'età imperiale inoltrata e sono per

la maggior parte cristiane (Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 280; *Arctos* 44 (2010) 241; aggiungi ancora *AE* 1992, 1080a; 2010, 1233; A. Zettler, *Offerenteninschriften auf den Mosaikfußböden Venetiens und Histriens* (2001) 220). *Honorius -ia* compare anche come nome gentilizio, ma qui è chiaramente cognome.

45. L'a. tratta largamente i rapporti prosopografici tra Calpurnii e Nonii, che apparirebbero nell'iscrizione, ma che in realtà restano senza fondamento, mentre non sciupa una parola sullo strano andamento del testo in 4 *parie<te>m parte dexterioem*, dove ci si aspetta *parietis partem dexterioem*.

46. A proposito del nome della dedicante *Antonia Vitalis* l'a. fa notare che "non poteva mancare un(a) Vitalis nella collezione del conte Francesco Vitali". Anche se *Vitalis* era un cognome assai popolare; non è da escludersi che Vitali davvero avrebbe comprato l'epigrafe in base al cognome della dedicante: abbiamo altri casi di tale procedimento, per es. nella collezione epigrafica della famiglia nobile Longhi, proprietaria del castello di Fumone nel Lazio meridionale, è visibile il desiderio di trovare iscrizioni contenenti l'elemento onomastico *Longus* o un altro nome da esso derivato (H. Solin, *Epigraphica* 54 [1992] 92 sg.). Tuttavia, nella collezione fumonese si trova un manipolo di nomi della famiglia *Longus*, mentre *Vitalis* è un solitario caso nella ricca collezione del conte Vitali.

49. La grafia *recuevit* (se così è da leggere; la cattiva foto non permette un controllo) non sta per *requiescit*, come afferma l'a., ma per *requievit*; il perfetto è comunissimo in epigrafi paleocristiane.

52. Secondo l'a., il genitivo *Nonies Pompeias* starebbe per *Noniae Pompeiae*. Meglio dire che dietro di esso si cela *Noniaes Pompeiaes*, una forma di genitivo che si trova non di rado nei nomi di donne di gente comune nella documentazione epigrafica (una buona raccolta è in A. Hehl, *Die Formen der lat. 1. Dekl. in den Inschriften*, Diss. Tübingen 1912).

53. La grafia Παουλ- si incontra in iscrizioni dell'Asia Minore e dell'Egitto, dunque in regioni dove la gente non sempre parlava greco come prima lingua.

54b. La foto, scattata senza la richiesta luce radente, non permette di stabilire la giusta forma del gentilizio, se *Fillia*, *Fellia* o *Fflia*, come vorrebbe l'a. – L'a. contesta la mia classificazione del cognome *Stilbe* da στῖλβη, e vorrebbe vedervi il nome di una delle Naiadi. Se ne può dubitare, trovandosi questo nome rarissimamente nella letteratura classica, certo non era una figura nota nelle cerchie romane (ne mancano menzioni nella letteratura latina).

83*. Non si capisce, perché questo pezzo, che comprende una citazione dei Salmi, dovrebbe essere un falso. Piuttosto si tratta di un prodotto post-antico, senza intenzione di falso.

Negli indici è successa un'inavvertenza. Nella loro prima parte le cifre della colonna destra sono sbagliate. Dopo un po' di lavoro di detective, ho scoperto che i numeri si riferiscono alle pagine del libro e che devono essere aumentate di due: così il passo di Ausonio si trova a p. 38, e non a p. 36. Nell'indice delle fonti letterarie saltano agli occhi le abbreviazioni *Gv.* e *Sal.*, ambedue poco

appropriate: *Gv.* vuol dire il Vangelo di Giovanni, e *Sal.* i Salmi. Di altri refusi ne ho trovati pochi: p. 19 *Wunderkammer* e non *Wünderkammer*; p. 28, seconda riga dal basso: che cosa vuol dire il punto doppio dopo “Delle due l’una” (forse manca qualcosa)?; p. 63 su 53 scrivi ἀξίω e non ἀξίω; p. 66 su 57 scrivi *Pompulia(e)*.

Chiudono il volume le foto che non sono sempre ottimali (chi le ha scattate doveva servirsi in più casi della luce radente).

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BASSIR AMIRI: *Esclaves et affranchis des Germanies: Mémoire en fragments. Étude des inscriptions monumentales*. Redaktion: JOHANNES DEISSLER. *Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei* 41. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016. ISBN 978-3-515-11088-4. IX, 249 pp. EUR 44.

The aim of this book, somewhat cryptically stated on the title page to have been “edited” by J. Deißler (this is not really explained in the Remerciements on p. [V]), is to study the slaves and freedmen attested in the two German provinces in the first three centuries AD (p. 7) and their “insertion dans la cité et le système institutionnel” (p. 15), the sources consisting of “monumental” (cf. the title; p. 11 etc.), i.e. “normal” inscriptions as contrasted with the *instrumentum domesticum*. Seeing that the source material consists of only 229 inscriptions mentioning 286 persons (p. 14) – for comparison, observe that the 1970 monograph by A. Daubigny on slaves and freedmen in Narbonensian Gaul registers altogether 946 persons (p. 14) – the subject does not seem too promising. This is especially true as a similar fairly recent study already exists, with Belgica being added to the two Germanies, namely the book by L. Lazzaro, *Esclaves et affranchis en Belgique et en Germanies romaines* (Paris 1993). This is referred to in the introduction (p. 13), but in the bibliography it is awkwardly placed under the “Sources épigraphiques” (p. 221) rather than under the “Sources modernes”. However, Lazzaro’s book is more than twenty years older than this study, and was in need of revision (apparently also by visits to several relevant museums, p. 14) and supplementation by recently published texts. It must also be admitted that although there may not be much in the book that could be regarded as absolute novelties, the author does provide some interesting observations. Moreover, although there may not be much to work on, the author himself, even though he occasionally stresses that his material is not abundant, seems optimistic about this material’s potential at least in some cases. Note e.g. his observation on p. 199, “les Germanies offrent un champ d’étude particulièrement riche pour approcher l’augustalité”.

The book consists of five chapters of unequal length. The first (I, p. 17–49) is in the introduction said to aim at the establishment of a corpus of slaves and freedmen. Section 1 is on the “indication du statut juridique”; here we find a detailed analysis of terms such as *libertus*, *servus* or *patronus*, attention being paid e.g. to whether *libertus* is abbreviated or not and whether the term is used without, or accompanied with, the mention of the patron. (In my view, it is somewhat misleading to cite on p. 22 n. 66 *CIL* XIII 8558 as mentioning a *lib(ertus)* without mentioning the patron, for the patron Secundus is mentioned in the beginning of the text; as for *CIL* XIII 5079 discussed on p. 24, surely Postum(ius) Hermes *lib.* is a freedman of Postum(ius) Hyginus.) This section ends with observations on imperial freedman (1.4). In section 2, the author deals with nomenclature as an indication of servile status. Single names are a problem, for peregrines also used just one name. According to the author, only Greek single names clearly point to a slave, whereas in the case of other names there should be additional indications of a person’s exact status (p. 31). In section 3, Amiri studies professions pointing to servile status; the last section 4 is something of a summary. On p. 43 (cf. p. 204), he observes that the man in *CIL* XIII 5012 is the only *sevir* (Augustalis) who confesses he is a *lib(ertus)*, and correctly stresses that this is because he is the freedman of none other than the senator Valerius Asiaticus.

Chapter II (p. 51–71) deals according to the title with the “évolution temporelle” of the presence of slaves and freedmen in the Germanies, but concentrates mainly on the dating of the inscriptions, with subsection 1.1. on dated inscriptions and subsection 1.2. on the possibilities of dating inscriptions on the basis of names, formulas and monument types (on p. 59, *Veter* needs to be corrected to *Vetus*; for the correct form see p. 103). Questions of dating are also discussed in subsection 2.1, with observations on the significance of the abbreviation *l.* as contrasted with *lib.* Amiri observes (p. 65), surely correctly, that the abbreviation with just one *l.* seems to have been in use only until about the end of the first century (a bit later in Langres). As for *CIL* XIII 8558 (... *Secundus ... Luciliae M. l. Palladi, M. Lucilio Blando lib(erto)*), with both *l.* and *lib.*, the author’s explanation (p. 66), namely that *lib.* could be explained by the men’s military background, seems a bit far-fetched; there is simply a certain difference between saying “... *M(arci) l(iberto) Rufo*” and “... *Rufo lib(erto)*”. In subsection 2.2. (p. 67), the chronological distribution of inscriptions of slaves and freedmen is expressed in numbers; it appears that the majority of these texts dates from the first two centuries, the Severan period and the third century being less well documented.

In chapter III (p. 73–90; in this chapter, there is something wrong with the numbering of the sections), Amiri studies the geographical distribution in the Germanies of the slaves and freedmen, their presence in inscriptions clearly being an urban phenomenon (p. 79). On p. 82, he observes that freedmen are much more often attested than slaves in the inscriptions of the important centres of

Langres (capital of the *Lingones*), Mainz and Köln, and moreover that the slaves that are attested in these centres tend to be imperial, rather than “normal” slaves.

Chapter IV, the longest one (p. 91–175), deals according to its title with the “identity” of slaves and freedmen, but this sounds perhaps a bit too grand, for in fact this chapter is on rather down-to-earth matters. In section 1, the author examines names, with subsection 1.1. dealing with freedmen’s nomina (and paragraph 1.1.1 also with the evolution from the *tria nomina* to the one-name-system). From p. 99 one learns that 74% of non-imperial nomina are of the type “Italien non patronymique” and only 1% “indigène”; this can surely be used as a confirmation of the fact that slavery was above all an urban phenomenon. In section 1.2, the author studies the cognomina (of freedmen) and the “idionymes” (of slaves). Among slaves, Greek names are much more common than among freedmen (p. 103), a fact which seems in need of explanation. In paragraph 1.2.3. on “La valeur des *cognomina* et des idionymes”, the author seems to attach too much importance to the *meaning* of particular cognomina (cf. e.g. p. 112, cognomina denoting “la douceur, la modestie, la gentillesse” etc., p. 113 on Greek cognomina indicating “qualités morales ou sociales”), when it would surely have been more useful to compare the names attested in the Germanies with the names attested for freedmen and slaves in general in the Roman world. As for *Modestus*, it is not altogether correct to say that the name in general has a “connotation servile” (p. 112), for this cognomen is attested in several senatorial families (see *PIR*² M p. 303); and more could perhaps be said e.g. of *Cimber* (“laisse supposer une origine indigène”, p. 113), a name which surprisingly is not extremely uncommon in Italy. In section 2, the author surveys the “identité familiale” of slaves and freedmen; subsection 2.1. is on mentions of female slaves and freedmen; 2.2. on the age at death attested for the same (the oldest freedman is the man in *CIL* XIII 7238, who died at the age of 70); 2.3. on the designation of spouses (*coniunx uxor contubernalis* etc.). This is followed by an annex (not mentioned in the table of contents) listing all names/cognomina attested for slaves and freedmen, divided into Latin, Greek and indigenous names. In the case of names that could be either male or female, the gender could have been specified (e.g. *Fidelis* is quoted twice, the first attestation being male, the second female). Moreover, seeing that some names (e.g. *Modestus*) are attested both for freedmen and slaves, I think that all names should have been enumerated in just one list. Section 3 deals with “social and cultural identity”, with subsection 3.1. on the background of the patrons, subsection 3.2. on the liaisons of slaves and freedmen with free persons and on the obligations (“devoirs”) of slaves and freedmen towards their patrons. Section 3.3. deals with the way sentiments are expressed in funerary inscriptions, either by the use of expressions of the type *dulcissimus* or by poems. Interestingly, the author observes on p. 157 that the oldest person commemorated by a metrical inscription was only thirty years old; an urge to write a poem thus seems to have arisen mainly in the case of a young deceased. This chapter is rounded off by a section

on “professional identities”, i.e. a study of the professions attested for slaves and freedmen; the most commonly attested activity is that of a *dispensator* (p. 164; on p. 161, the *puer* Xant(h)ias in *CIL* XIII 7756 seems to have been a *notarius* rather than a “musicien”).

In the last chapter, chapter V (p. 177–212), the author studies the religion of the slaves and freedmen, with observations e.g. on the gods mentioned in the votive inscriptions and on the imperial cult. There is also a paragraph (2.2.2.) on the *seviri Augustales*, of whom the majority seem, however, to have been freeborn. At the end of the book, there is a conclusion (which ends with the observation that the slaves and freedmen that appear in the inscriptions must belong to something of an elite) and a bibliography. To conclude, it seems clear that all possible aspects that can be extracted from our sources on slaves and freedmen in the Germanies have been accorded at least a paragraph in this book; the problem is that the material is so meagre and heterogeneous that it does not seem possible to arrive, on the basis of this material, at “spectacular” results. On the other hand, there is some material, and obviously this material must be used, and Bassir Amiri has done exactly this, producing a competent study illustrating what we can ascertain about the condition of slaves and freedmen in the Germanies in the first three centuries.

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Etruscology. Two volumes. Edited by ALESSANDRO NASO. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2017. ISBN 978-1-934078-48-8. XXIV, 1844 pp. EUR 359.95.

During the last seven years three major commercial publishing houses have produced large compiled works on Etruscology (Routledge in 2013, Wiley Blackwell in 2018, and this work by De Gruyter in 2017). This testifies to the wave of new information about the Etruscans and their culture, but also to the rise of a new generation of scholars. Hopefully, it also reflects a growing general interest in this people. It also shows that while a few decades ago, one scholar could cover the whole area of Etruscology in a single book, that is not possible anymore.

This work by Naso and 73 other writers is not intended for a general audience, but for scholars and advanced students. It covers practically all domains of scholarship, from DNA studies to metallurgy, from analysis of ancient literary sources to the latest archaeological discoveries. It is a reference book with bibliographies for every article and has rather good indexes. These articles not only compile the status of our knowledge today, they also provide many new facts. However, one can question the purpose of such a large work. In the context of almost 2,000 pages, the new results may

be in danger of being shadowed, especially when, in the future, much of the contents are inevitably likely to become outdated.

One can guess what a gigantic effort it has been for the editor to get the work finished, shepherding the large group of authors around the world to keep to the limits of time and length. We must clearly congratulate Alessandro Naso for his zeal. As a result, we have a package of the best available knowledge on the Etruscans. Everything starts with the choice of contributors, of whom half are scholars from Italy and the other half from the rest of the world. Naso states in the introduction that most of these scholars belong to the “third and fourth generations of Etruscologists” – a good starting point for a work with a long life expectation – and that many scholars were invited to write on subjects that were new to them, “to augment their interest and to avoid routine chapters”.

However, in my opinion the structure of the work was not altogether successfully planned. The first volume is a kind of Micropedia, starting with the methodology, and then covering three special issues, politics and society, religion, and technique and technology. The second volume is the Macropedia, starting with a historical review, which divides Etruscan civilization into five periods, and then moves on to the topographic description of Etruria, and finally discusses Etruscans outside Etruria. With such a structure, the work cannot avoid a certain amount of repetition. These repetitions can be explained by the different authors changing their point of approach, but the same number of pages would have been better used in one deep, many-sided discussion of each theme. I shall take an example from my special field, epigraphy and language – which to no surprise I consider essential for understanding many sides of the culture, religion and society. E. Benelli has been responsible for this side – a good choice. But his contribution is divided into two, the method (13 pages) and the alphabets and language (29 pages), which are a long distance from each other. Inscriptions and language are naturally discussed in other articles, too, but as there is no general index, relevant passages are not easily found.

In fact, Etruscan epigraphy and language get 42 pages of the work, whereas “Etruscans outside Etruria” take up almost 400 pages. There are of course numerous special works on the Etruscan language, and *Etruscology* is no doubt the largest and best presentation of the spreading of Etruscan culture and trade with different parts of Europe. However, for a reference book to be balanced, I cannot consider this proportion successful. My second small note concerns the illustrations of the work. Black-and-white photographs of low resolution, and drawings and maps are included in the articles, but not as many as one would expect in a modern work. There are also small-sized colour photographs, though these are not in the articles, but in an appendix near the end of the second volume. Figures given there are linked to articles in Volume 1 and the figure text is minimal. The function that these figures serve is by no means clear, the colour plates could have been left out, and the articles could have had more illustrations.

It may well be that not many persons read these two volumes from cover to cover, but they are an endless source of fresh information and exemplify the vigour of modern Etruscology.

Jorma Kaimio

LENNART GILHAUS: *Statue und Status. Statuen als Repräsentationsmedien der städtischen Eliten im kaiserzeitlichen Nordafrika*. Antiquitas 1 – Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte 66. Dr. Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2015. ISBN 978-3-7749-3973-8. VIII, 432 S. EUR 89.

The aim of this interesting book, a revised version of a Bonn University dissertation of 2014/5, is to study honorific statues in Roman Africa or, to be more precise, in the province of *Africa (proconsularis)* (p. 6 n. 32) between 31 BC and AD 284 (p. 5) as a means of the self-representation of the local elites. The representatives of these elites appear on the one hand as honorands, i.e. as persons represented by statues, and on the other as dedicators of statues of other persons, e.g. of emperors or governors. The aim of the book is of course made pretty clear by the title itself, but the author explains himself in more detail in the Introduction (p. 1–10), where the exact aim of the book is formulated as follows (p. 3): “The objective of this study is to reconstruct the structuring (*strukturierend*) elements and characteristics of urban societies and particularly of their elites on the basis of the practice of setting up statues” (*anhand der Praxis der Statuenaufstellungen*). To some readers, this may sound not only pretty grand but perhaps also somewhat vague, but the fact is that at least after its introductory parts (which may retain some elements of a German historical dissertation) the book proves to be an informative and useful study of various aspects of the setting up, and the presence, of honorific statues in some particularly important and interesting cities of Roman Africa.

The introduction includes an overview of modern studies of the phenomenon of the honorific statue from an historical and cultural (rather than from an art-historical) viewpoint in general. Here the author twice points out the importance of N. Africa as the subject of such a study (p. 4f., 9) without ignoring its problems (p. 7). This is followed by a chapter (ch. 2) on the urban elites of the Roman period. Some readers may find this chapter somewhat theoretical and the author’s German rather demanding here and there. Others, especially those who simply wish to find out how, why and where statues were set up without having to deal with Max Weber’s or some other thinkers’ views, may be worried about the programmatic approach with four components outlined by the author on p. 16 and its possible implementation. However, once the book gets down to real business the exposition is straightforward and is based on the analysis of the sources rather than on considerations of a more theoretical nature.

The following chapter (3, p. 17–47) is dedicated to a presentation of the “general framework” (*Rahmenbedingungen*) of the study, consisting of sections on urbanism (*Städtewesen*) in N. Africa in the Hellenistic period and on the consequences of the fall of Carthage. It also deals with Roman rule in Africa in the late Republican period (note that only eight Latin inscriptions are known from the period preceding 31 BC, p. 39 and 40). These sections are most interesting, although I’m not sure everything that is presented here is of immediate relevance for the understanding of what is said in the main part of the study. Finally, there is a section (3.3, p. 41–7) on the “administrative framework” (*Administrative Rahmenbedingungen*) of urban life in N. Africa in the imperial period. This shortish section deals mainly with Roman colonisation in Africa and the promotion of cities to the status of *municipia* and *coloniae* and, on the other hand, with the activities of governors, most often attested as dedicators of buildings (p. 45).

The longest chapter (4, p. 49–292) consists of the study proper, divided into two sub-chapters (4.1 and 4.2) and numerous sections and sub-sections. Sub-chapter 4.1 (p. 49–162) deals with both the honorands of statues and with those who erected statues in honour of others. The names of the ten sections discussing various groups (emperors, high officials, etc.) associated with statues do not reflect this division into honorands and dedicators very clearly, but section 4.1.7 on local office-holders and priests is divided into sub-sections on “recipients” of statues (4.1.7.1) and on those who set up statues (4.1.7.2). Other sections deal either exclusively or at least mainly with “recipients” (thus obviously the sections on emperors and other representatives of the upper classes; for persons of equestrian status mainly receiving, but in some cases *setting up* statues, see p. 87 and 134), or with dedicators of statues (in the sections on slaves and freedmen and in that on associations and the local *populus* as dedicators). Section 4.1.9 differs from the other sections inasmuch as it does not deal with a certain group of people receiving or setting up statues but with “statues (set up) on grounds of personal connections” (*aufgrund persönlicher Nahbeziehungen*). We thus have here observations on statues set up in honour of persons described e.g. as relatives or schoolfellows or patrons (p. 141). In this chapter (and in the catalogue 6.3, cf. below), monuments from a large number of N. African cities, i.e. not just from the cities discussed in ch. 4.2, are taken into consideration.

The exposition now moves on to ch. 4.2, “Space and Representation” (p. 163–292), in which the author’s focus is on the sites of honorific statues within an urban context in a few selected N. African cities suitable for an approach of this type. There are subchapters on statues placed in fora, theatres, baths, administrative and commercial buildings, and temples (4.2.2–4.2.6); each of these five subchapters contains two to four sections dealing with the situation in some selected cities. Lepcis Magna appears in all five subchapters, Bulla Regia in three, Carthage and Sabratha in two. Cities appearing only once are Hippo Regius (in 4.2.4 on baths), Madauros and Thugga (in 4.2.3 on

theatres), and Sufetula and Uchi Maius (in 4.2.2 on fora). A further subchapter (4.2.7) is dedicated to other sites “in Lepcis Magna and elsewhere” (“elsewhere” apparently meaning Sabratha, p. 289), with observations on statues in circuses, amphitheatres, nymphaea, along streets, etc. However, there are apparently not very many of such statues, and some statue bases may have been reused in sites in which they were not originally placed (e.g., *IRT* 706, found in the Severan nymphaeum, p. 285). This chapter includes maps of city centres and plans of individual buildings.

Ch. 5 consists of two concluding subchapters, both with a number of interesting observations. 5.1 is on the “social functions” of honorific statues in African cities. 5.2 is on the connection of “epigraphic culture” with “social practice” (*Epigraphische Kultur und soziale Praxis*), with observations e.g. on the “epigraphic habit” (a reference to MacMullen’s famous article on p. 298) and on the proliferation of honorific statues in the second century reflecting the “Aufwärtsmentalität” (possibly something like a “mentality striving for upward mobility”; p. 301) of the local elites. At the end of the book, there is a long chapter (6, p. 305–79) with three annexes. 6.1 is on the “criteria of the identification” of Latin inscriptions on statue bases in N. Africa, the point being to differentiate between inscriptions belonging to statue bases and other types of inscriptions (building and votive inscriptions, etc.). Most of the criteria discussed are related to the appearance of the stones themselves, but there are also sections on the “Formular” of the inscriptions (p. 310ff.) and on the possibility of dating honorific inscriptions. 6.2 (p. 317–20) deals with the statues of Apuleius as described mainly by the author himself. The longest section, 6.3 (p. 321ff.), contains a catalogue of the monuments discussed in ch. 4.1 which, as mentioned above, covers N. African cities in general, not just the cities studied in ch. 4.2. This catalogue is divided in about the same sections (i.e., emperors, high officials, etc.) as ch. 4.1, and each entry consists of an entry number, a reference to the publication of the inscription in question, a description of the honorand(s) (e.g., “proconsul”) and of the dedicator(s), the city and the date. Within each section, the entries are arranged according to the date, not geographically. The section on local office-holders (6.3.6) is the largest one, with 323 entries, to be contrasted e.g. with 232 statues of emperors (6.3.1) and with just one statue of a provincial quaestor (6.3.2.3), set up, as one would expect, not by a city but by a group of *amici*.

My impression is, then, that this is an important book by a qualified scholar, covering as it does hundreds of inscriptions, many, if not most, of them of great interest, and studying them from all possible angles. This book is an important contribution not only to the study of N. African honorific epigraphy, but also to the study of the topography of a number of important cities. However, I must add that there are no indices at all, neither about persons nor on cities or inscriptions. This is a pity, for there are certain to be persons interested in knowing about the statues erected in a certain city in addition to the cities studied in ch. 4.2. Others might want to know more about certain inscriptions, taking advantage of the many notes in ch. 4.1, which are a mine of information on

individual inscriptions. In order to find out about these and other details, one has, then, to browse through the relevant chapters. This, however, may not necessarily be a bad idea.

To its credit, this book is notable for its overall lack of errors. I did observe some, however. On p.119 we find *Egatius* instead of *Egnatius*, and there are some misspelt names in the bibliography (e.g. “Ceccioni” instead of Cecconi, p. 392). I observed a mistaken interpretation of *CIL* VIII 11115 on p. 139 n. 507, where the honorand, a man of equestrian rank, is said to be the *patruus* of the two dedicators calling themselves imperial freedmen (*Augg. lib[er]t[i]*). That would be an unusual scenario; but what we read (in l.11) is in fact not *patruo* (dative) but *patrui* (nominative), and the two freedmen are the uncles of the equestrian honorand, said to be *domo Ro[ma]*. As he is called L. Septimius Malchio Fortun[a]tus, one can surely conclude that his father, the brother of the freedmen, had also been an imperial freedman, namely a freedman of Septimius Severus and Caracalla and that we have here another instance of an imperial freedman’s son attaining equestrian rank. There are also some details I wondered about, such as the point of the observation on the *clientes* on p. 146 (“der Rang der *clientes* war offenbar immer deutlich niedriger als der des *patronus*”) and the use of the term “*vorchristlich*”, which I think normally refers to the centuries before Constantine, in (apparently) referring to the period BC (p. 186). But these are, relatively speaking, trifles, and I can thus conclude by congratulating the author on the one hand and by presenting my excuses for the delay of this review on the other.

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Brill’s Companion to the Reception of Aristotle in Antiquity. Edited by ANDREA FALCON. Brill’s Companions to Classical Reception 7. Brill, Leiden 2016. ISBN 978-90-04-26647-6. XV, 512 pp. EUR 182.

Andrea Falcon has edited a fine companion on the reception of Aristotle in antiquity. To my knowledge, this topic has not been previously studied in a single comprehensive collection. Besides, there are areas such as the early Christian reception in which not much earlier research has been done thus far. That is why the companion is and will be an important source for anyone who wishes to form a conception of the breadth and depth of Aristotle’s impact on his successors and critics. Furthermore, since Aristotle, together with Plato, was a figure who could not be easily overlooked by any serious philosopher of the time (or any time), a study of his reception gives a valuable overview of most of ancient philosophy.

In the Introduction, Falcon outlines the main lines of reception, making cautious qualifications based on the present contributions. He notes, for instance, that even if Aristotle did not play a major role in the Hellenistic era, the Epicureans and the Stoics benefitted from his thought much more than F. H. Sandbach conceded. There was a change in the first century BC, when an interest in Aristotle's thinking and works arose not only within Peripatetic circles, but also outside them. This was the time when Andronicus of Rhodes produced the putative edition or rather a catalogue of Aristotle's works, including the school books that were not intended for the general public, and which we nowadays know as the *Corpus Aristotelicum*. This was also the time when the engagement with Aristotle took the form of writing philosophical commentaries, a style in which much of the philosophy was done ever since antiquity (and even beyond that up to the present). As Falcon reminds the reader, Alexander of Aphrodisias was the most influential commentator. His commentaries were very much read even among Platonists. What the Platonists shared with Alexander was his selective engagement with Aristotle. Like Alexander, they more or less overlooked Aristotle's biology. Galen was a notable exception. Unlike Alexander, many Platonists such as Porphyry, Iamblichus, Syrianus, Proclus and Simplicius appropriated and incorporated certain Aristotelian ideas into a Platonist framework. Alcinous can perhaps be singled out because he appropriated the whole of Peripatetic logic and attributed it to Plato. However, as Falcon emphasizes, none of the aforementioned Platonists applied Aristotelian thought in a uniform way. That is why each philosopher requires consideration in his own right, as is done in the present companion.

The companion is divided into three parts: the Hellenistic reception of Aristotle, the post-Hellenistic engagement with Aristotle, and Aristotle in late antiquity. The post-Hellenistic engagement is further divided into two sections: the Peripatetic tradition and beyond the Peripatetic tradition. In the Introduction, Falcon raises some problems concerning this periodisation and justifies his divisions. All that he says is reasonable, but in the end, the divisions are merely signposts for the reader who browses the contents of the companion. None of the individual chapters is based on the periodisation, because each of them is much more limited in its range than any of the suggested divisions and constitutes a self-standing contribution to the topic. Eleven chapters focus on one or two philosophers, and the rest outline either a single philosophical school in some time, such as Peripatetic ethics in the First Century (by Georgia Tsouni), or a group of philosophers or a phenomenon construed by some other criteria, such as the ancient biographical tradition (by Tiziano Dorandi), *Aristoteles Latinus* (by Christophe Erismann), and early Christian philosophers (by George Karamanolis).

The companion consists of 23 chapters. In the following, I will look more closely into some chapters, choosing one or two from each part of the companion. My intention is to make some observations from the point of view of an Aristotle specialist. I should like to emphasise that my

choice of the chapters is not based on any judgment on their relative value in the companion. I only wish to give some idea of the diversity of the papers.

David Lefebvre introduces the reader to Aristotle's immediate successors in the Peripatetic school. Lefebvre begins by making some critical observations on earlier views about the alleged "decline" of the school: the lack of an overall approach, the narrow focus on historical and empirical research, and the increasingly naturalistic, materialistic, and mechanistic commitments. He singles out for more detailed consideration five philosophers: Theophrastus of Eresus, Strato of Lampsacus, Lyco of Troas, Aristo of Ceos, and Critolaus of Phaselis. The first two receive a proper discussion, whereas the latter three are treated, understandably, very briefly, with some observations on the titles of their works, and on the descriptions of their views in later authors. That Lefebvre focuses on Theophrastus and Strato is well justified, considering the evidence that we have on these thinkers. He points out that Theophrastus is the only successor to Aristotle whose work testifies to a "global research project" (p. 17). Indeed, Theophrastus extended Aristotle's research programme in many areas, including botany and logic. Lefebvre divides Theophrastus' work into three large blocks: (i) physics, logic, botanical treatises; (ii) history of physical doctrines in *Physical Opinions*, (iii) *Metaphysics*. Lefebvre makes interesting remarks about each, but I failed to see why he did not treat logic separately and with more emphasis. Even if he mentions Theophrastus' contributions to hypothetical syllogistic and modal logic in a footnote, that is, to my mind, disproportionate to a two-page discussion of Theophrastus' *Metaphysics*, which is characterised as a "farewell address to metaphysical studies" (p. 20). However, I found the discussion of Strato and the impact of the loss of Aristotle's library to the school very illuminating.

Myrto Hatzimichali discusses Andronicus of Rhodes and the construction of the Aristotelian Corpus. Hatzimichali introduces the reader to a well-known ancient story about the loss and rediscovery of Aristotle's works that we find in Strabo's *Geography* 13.1.54 and Plutarch's *Life of Sulla* 26. She then sets the story in context, ancient and modern scholarship alike, focusing on the role of Andronicus of Rhodes. In agreement with earlier scholarship, she argues that there is no evidence that Andronicus pursued textual criticism. Instead, Andronicus' contribution was to organize the corpus and to discuss questions of authenticity. The way in which he organized the corpus proved to be very influential and is in evidence still today, even if most of his successors were not convinced about his argument that the *De interpretatione* and Chapters 10–15 of the *Categories* were not authentic. In the course of the discussion, Hatzimichali makes several interesting observations about Andronicus' work, including his impact on the perception of what is the "essential Aristotle" (p. 93), namely the esoteric or acroamatic writings that constitute the Corpus as we know it today.

Galen is well known for his admiration and development of Hippocrates and Plato, but R. J. Hankinson shows that this applies to Aristotle, too. He discusses Galen's debts to Aristotle and his

divergences from him in four areas: logic and demonstration, physics and metaphysics, physiology and embryology, and psychology. Hankinson shows that Galen's understanding of scientific demonstration is predominantly Aristotelian, but there is one thing in which Galen proceeds even further, namely relational inferences (e.g. $A = B$, $B = C$, therefore $A = C$), which are not treated in categorical syllogistic. According to Hankinson, Galen's elemental physics is based on Aristotle's, and so is his distinction between active and passive potentialities, even if Galen criticises Aristotle's definition of time as being inconsistent. Galen also rejects Aristotle's view that every generated thing is destroyed at some time. Furthermore, Hankinson points out that Galen rejects some key ideas in Aristotle's physiology, embryology and psychology, for instance, his claims that the gall-bladder is a useless residual, that the female does not supply form to the foetus, and that the main function of the brain is cooling. The overview that Hankinson gives is impressive. As a reader, I would have expected to be told briefly why Galen considers the soul to be undiscoverable (p. 253), because that would have helped to understand the contrast between Galen's and Aristotle's methodologies in the study of nature. Hankinson has discussed the matter extensively elsewhere. In the present chapter, he says nothing about Galen's efforts in textual criticism, but Hatzimichali (p. 97) discusses this aspect of Galen's work. A cross-reference to Hatzimichali would have been helpful to those readers who might not otherwise read her chapter.

Plotinus criticizes Aristotle's thought extensively, but it is not entirely clear which Aristotle he is in fact criticizing, and what he makes of the Peripatetic views that he does not reject outright. In the past fifty years, many scholars have based their responses to these questions on a careful study of *Enneads* 6.1–3 (*On the genera of being*). However, Sara Magrin questions this approach and argues that since Plotinus approaches Aristotle's views in different ways in different contexts, one should not try to give a systematic interpretation of Plotinus' reception of Aristotle's doctrines. Instead, she suggests, one should make an attempt to see how Plotinus pursues his philosophical study. Magrin argues that it is because of his philosophical method that Plotinus is engaged with Aristotle's philosophy. In fact, Magrin suggests that Plotinus shares Aristotle's method as it is presented in *Metaphysics* 3.1 and commented on in detail by Alexander of Aphrodisias (*In Metaph.* 171.14–172.2). The method is the analysis of *aporiai*, which requires the examination of different philosophical opinions on the subject matter under investigation. Given that, Magrin argues, Plotinus is interested in studying Aristotle's views because his method requires him to consider relevant views, including Aristotle's. That means, for instance, that Plotinus did not primarily wish to show that the problems that are inherent in Aristotle's views can be resolved within his own Platonist framework. There is no doubt that this interpretation will raise discussion among Plotinus specialists. What I found somewhat puzzling was the way in which Magrin contrasted Plotinus with Aristotle and Alexander. She says: "Aristotle does say that an *aporia* is like a knot and that one needs to know what this knot is in order to be able to

untie it, but neither he nor Alexander in his commentary [on *Metaphysics*] ever suggests that, even if the *aporia* remains unsolved, the mere knowledge of what is problematic in it is useful. This is Plotinus' own view, and it is, of course, quintessentially Socratic, for it is the view that one needs to know that one does not know in order to have any hope of attaining some positive knowledge." (p. 274). Magrin may be right about the value of unsolved *aporiai* for Aristotle and Alexander. However, I was wondering if Aristotle and Alexander could possibly agree that knowledge of one's own lack of knowledge is a starting point of any inquiry. Even if the two do not conceptualize the starting point of inquiry in terms of the knowledge of lack of knowledge, they agree that we start with one type of knowledge, namely knowledge of facts, and proceed to another type of knowledge, namely knowledge of the causes of those facts. That implies that in the beginning we do not know the causes, and we realize that we do not know them, or else we do not start the inquiry.

Unlike his master Plotinus, Porphyry had a tendency to see Plato and Aristotle in harmony, a view which became popular, though not universal, among late ancient commentators (exceptions include Themistius and Philoponus). Riccardo Chiaradonna does not deny this general picture, but considers it too simple. In his contribution, he focuses on Porphyry as a first Platonist commentator on the *Categories*. Additionally, he makes observations on his other writings, such as the *Life of Plotinus* and *Isagoge*, and compares and contrasts his philosophical approach with those of Ammonius Saccas and Plotinus. In opposition to Jonathan Barnes and Sten Ebbesen, Chiaradonna argues that Porphyry's logic, as outlined in the extant short question-and-answer commentary on the *Categories* and the *Isagoge*, is not independent from ontological commitments (p. 325). According to Chiaradonna, Porphyry considered the *Categories* chiefly as a work of semantics, but also took it to supply a correct account of sensible beings. This is, then, how Aristotle's work provided a starting point for the study of logic and metaphysics which, however, has to be supplemented by a Platonist approach to intelligible beings. Chiaradonna finishes his chapter by considering the sources and impact of Porphyry's reconciliatory interests, for the former especially Ammonius Saccas, and for the latter Hierocles of Alexandria. He convincingly considers plausible Heinrich Dörrie's hypothesis that Porphyry's lost book on the agreement between Plato and Aristotle is a major source for Hierocles' account of Ammonius' teaching in a lost treatise *On Providence* that is partly preserved in Photius (pp. 332–33).

To conclude, I think that the companion as a whole is a substantial addition to literature on Aristotle's reception. Due to the subject matter, each chapter requires some basic knowledge of the Aristotelian corpus and the philosophers discussed. That is why the companion is most useful for advanced students who wish to acquaint themselves with the topic as a whole or some part of it. It is likely that many readers will want to use the companion selectively. That is possible because each chapter is independent of the others, and the companion includes a general index and an *index*

locorum. In the Introduction, the editor passes the following judgment: “In my view, the value of any companion, including this one, lies in its capacity not only to collect and synthesize existing scholarship but also to open new avenues of research and to show what remains to be done in a field of study” (p. IX). As a reader, I can agree with this judgment in general and in this particular case.

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FRANCESCO MASSA: *Tra la vigna e la croce. Dioniso nei discorsi letterari e figurativi cristiani (II–IV secolo)*. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 47. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2014. ISBN 978-3-515-10631-3. 325 pp. EUR 62.

This monograph by the Italian scholar Francesco Massa (henceforth F.M.) represents the result of his PhD thesis, discussed at the École Pratique des Hautes Études de Paris and at the Fondazione San Carlo di Modena. The focus is on the Greek god Dionysus – not merely the deity related to vines and wine, but above all the deity of cosmic dynamism – and his variegated connections to Jesus Christ. The similarities between Dionysus and Christ have been pointed out by Christian and Pagan writers from the first centuries onward: they were both born from a supreme god and were bearers of crucial innovations in life and in religion. They were also both killed violently and were then reborn and raised to heaven. Dionysus was, moreover, also – so to speak – *unus et trinus*, if we think of Nonnus of Panopolis’ *Dionysiaca*, in which Zagreus, Dionysus and Iacchus/Bacchus appear. The latter, from which derives the verb *bakkhéuo*, is often related to Maenadism and its rituals, as for example E.R. Dodds, *HThR* 33.3 (1940), 155–176 notes. There are also similarities with other ancient gods or heroes, such as Asclepius and Herakles. F.M. retraces the information not only at the level of literary sources, but also at the level of figurative representations, offering a complete sketch of the issues. His field of investigation is limited to the period from the II to the IV century AD, but he often wanders with ease among other historical periods, taking the reader on a journey of cultural mediation.

In taking a general look at the work’s structure, we will for practical reasons follow its order. I agree with what Nicole Belayche points out in the preface (pp. 5–7) that the great merit of the author is the attention he gives to a very variegated problem without using outdated functional oppositions, such as the dichotomy between Paganism and Christianity. Instead he chooses a new path for research based on the communication channels between these two subjects. Their great similarity – we no doubt anticipate this – is wine (along with its uses and values), while the two crucial matters of the study are the contacts between these two possibly competing cults and their definitions of

identity. Wine, indeed, was a very important element not only in daily life, but also at the level of cultural representations (being set in opposition to other substances, like milk and honey). Especially in Roman society, there were strict laws that controlled its consumption (for instance by women, see M. Bettini, *Affari di famiglia*, Bologna 2009, Ch. 9).

The purposes of the book are defined by F.M. in the Introduction (pp. 15–46): his aim is to illustrate the dynamics and the reasons for literary and iconographic representations of Dionysus in Christian production from the II to the IV century AD. The task is accomplished in two steps: the first clarifies the “value” of religion in the ancient Greek world, while the second is a historiography of the researches from the end of the nineteenth century up to our times. In such a way, we can draw a mental map of the *status quaestionis* directly from the opinions (often these are real ideologies) of many scholars. It is significant that F.M. has decided to begin in this way, because he accurately gives his interpretation of ancient religion as related to a specific *ethnos*, as did Belayche before him, and we can see it from the words of the first Christian authors, who considered their religion as the “third pole” between Paganism (the *Gentiles*) and Hebraism. Among the many positions explored by F.M. those worth mentioning are Burkert’s (the expression “Mystery religions” is not satisfactory though, because the rites of Demeter and Dionysus were well known to everybody), Loisy’s, Lagrange’s and Jeanmaire’s, without forgetting the contributions of the Italian scholar Macchioro, who pointed out the affinities between Zagreus (the Orphic Dionysus) and Christ.

In the first chapter (*Quale Dioniso per i cristiani?*, pp. 47–80), F.M. explores the many nuances of Dionysus, starting with the definitions given by Diodorus Siculus and Cicero, and then indicating the peculiarities of the myths about him. The author, it seems, could have added the passage of Plutarch (from *The E of Delphi*, 388 E–F) about the transformative power of this god. In the second part, F.M. discusses the meaning of words like *sparagmós*, *omophagía*, *mystérion* and *teleté*, which were essential in the reciprocal accusations between Pagans and Christians. Christians, for example, were accused of being eaters of their own god (*theophagía* and *omophagía*). The focus on Orphism and on the rites related to Dionysus until the Byzantine age (for instance the Brumalia) emerges as the most interesting topic. The chapter offers a complete section about the tragedy *Bacchae* and its influence both on Dionysian and Christian imagery: the anonymous tragedy *Christus patiens* – to which the last chapter is devoted – is very close to the Euripidean work in many ways and F.M. offers an updated *status quaestionis*.

We see in the second chapter (*Tra Dioniso e Cristo. Analogie riconosciute, analogie negate*, pp. 81–120) how quickly the new religion took its first steps in a *koiné* not only of rites and ceremonies, but also of expressions and visual representations. The similarities I have already highlighted were immediately adopted to contrast the new religious phenomenon or to defend it, in a tight polemic of accusations. The attention is focused on Justin (who spoke of *imitatio diabolica* to explain the

resemblances between Paganism and Christianity), Clement of Alexandria (who stressed the inferiority of pagan thinking in the search for God), and Firmicus Maternus. The latter, who lived in the fourth century AD, still adopts the strategy of *imitatio diabolica*, associating Dionysus and Evil with the image of the snake; we can see that at this chronological period the purpose was increasingly to weed out to its very roots the remaining traces of Paganism. This is particularly interesting, because traditional religion was resistant. In this sense, we could also include the example of Emperor Julian (361–363 AD), who met a Christian priest from Troy who still honoured the statue of Hector. The fascinating relations between ancient heroes and Christian saints have been studied in Italy by G. Guidorizzi and M. Fumagalli Beonio Brocchieri in *Corpi gloriosi. Eroi greci e santi cristiani* (Roma – Bari 2012).

In the third chapter (*Dioniso e la costruzione del linguaggio letterario e iconografico cristiano*, pp. 121–155), the terminology referring to groups and ritual associations, such as *thiasos*, is analysed on the basis of its use by ancient authors. The strategy adopted by these writers (those already mentioned, but also Origen and John Chrysostom) was to re-semanticize words and expressions in order to give them new meanings, often close to the original ones, and to build their own identity in contrast with their “enemies”.

The fourth and fifth chapters (*Interpretazioni cristiane (I): da Alessandria ad Antiochia*, pp. 157–201, and *Interpretazioni cristiane (II): divinità tra le vigne e infanzie divine*, pp. 203–261) are devoted to the iconography and motifs visible both in Pagan and Christian supports, like frescoes and mosaics (especially those of Syria and Egypt), daily objects and, above all, on the sarcophagi. The wine and the grapes, with their meaningful value, are quite often at the centre of the representations. The sarcophagi were usually decorated with putti picking grapes or with Dionysus in triumph among the wild beasts (like Orpheus). Even the porphyry sarcophagus of Constantina, the daughter of Constantin I, is adorned with the motifs of harvesting putti. The same motif, along with maenads and griffins, is on another sarcophagus – not mentioned by F.M., but still interesting – the one of the Lombard Duke Faroald I of Spoleto (sixth century AD).

The volume is accompanied by many citations, most of them carefully translated by the author; the bibliography is wide and updated, while the images are only in black and white. I found some minimal (and negligible) mistakes, e.g. one typing error on p. 17, footn. 11 («era è molto ampio») and a wrong quotation from the *Acts of the Apostles* (XXVI: 28, not 21) on the same page. In my experience, only a few books on such a vast subject manage to be so complete and clear. The work of F.M. is destined to remain unsurpassed for a long time to come.

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Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von ca. 200 v. Chr. bis zum Beginn der Kaiserzeit. Bearbeitet von R. MALCOLM ERRINGTON unter redaktioneller Mitarbeit von ISABELLE MOSSONG. Die Staatsverträge des Altertums 4. Verlag C. H. Beck, München 2020. ISBN 978-3-406-02696-6. XXI, 663 pp. EUR 86.

This is a publication that consists of a massive collection of sources, and the approaches that it employs and the demands that it meets are many. It is relevant, accurate and consistent in its selection, presentation and edition of the material. The compilation, an addition to a series in which the previous volumes appeared in the 1960s, seeks to present a comprehensive collection of state treaties from the ancient Greek and Roman world between the third century BCE and the reign of Augustus. In total, the volume contains 217 treaties (no. 747 is divided into 747 and 747a for reasons that are not explained nor evident) organized chronologically.

From a historical perspective, the period and the material are highly interesting and important because they cover the first sustained influence of Rome on the Greek East, the diplomatic activities between Greek and Hellenistic states and between Rome and Carthage during a tumultuous period. The material mostly consists of treaties of alliance, peace treaties and contracts of various forms, often involving border disputes or other local quarrels between citizens of different polities. The issues addressed in the treaties range from minor affairs to whole states jockeying to position themselves before, during and after wars, and they reflect the struggles between the great powers that were not in short supply at the time.

The presentation is approachable but somewhat unfortunately unbalanced, mostly due to the decision to include minor references to treaties mentioned in historical works on an equal level with epigraphically attested works. While the volume is neat and easy to follow, it may be misleading due to the wildly different levels of reliability and preservation. Original sources, such as epigraphical sources, and second hand sources, such as accounts by historians, are simply in different categories. Thus, for example, treaty no. 639 between Pharnaces I of Pontus and the Galatians from ca. 185 BCE is simply a one line quotation from Polybios 25,2,4 on how all previous treaties will be revoked. The quotation is followed by two references to further literature and a small commentary about the historical context. In contrast, treaty no. 644 between Miletos and Heracleia from the following year is a text preserved on a sizable marble stele found in the Delphinion in Miletos. It, as well as the other epigraphic texts, is presented in a logical manner with details on the stone, references to editions, the text in Greek with epigraphic notes and its translation in German, and this presentation is followed by two pages of historical commentary. There are indexes of names, things, words and sources at the end of the volume.

The volume is very useful for all students of interstate relations, international law and diplomacy as well as the history of the period. For epigraphic analyses, there are references that will guide those who are interested further.

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KAIUS TUORI: *The Emperor of Law. The Emergence of Roman Imperial Adjudication*. Oxford Studies in Roman Society & Law. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2016. ISBN 978-0-19-874445-0. IX, 482 pp. GBP 90.

Although Roman emperors held both political, religious, and legislative powers, the state lacked specifically defined form of government. Further, the relations between the senate and the emperor were never distinctively specified. In his study, K. Tuori has succeeded to go behind these blurring elements of the Roman state and division of powers with his profound examination of imperial adjudication and its gradual development.

The main questions are, how the imperial jurisdiction developed and what kind of judges the emperors were? The historical narratives which reflected these developments are brought to the foreground of the study, and the changes and contributions of these narratives are at the scope of the study. Using these narratives and finding out how they developed as well as how the different actors – emperors and petitioners – benefitted from the narratives created by contemporary society, is a new approach to this source material.

Although the late republican world differed greatly from the practices of the high empire, the foundations for the imperial jurisdiction and jurisprudence were created during this era. Therefore the jurisdiction of Julius Caesar is an interesting research subject in chapter one. His activities were at the centre of the late republican discussions: what kind of ruler Caesar wishes to be and how he tries to find a balance between a prudent judge and a tyrant-king. Tuori takes Cicero's *Pro Ligario* under scrutiny and studies the many aspects of this defence speech.

In chapter two, Tuori proceeds to discuss the first emperor Augustus and his complex way of using the jurisdiction. Was he a lenient father figure or a monstrous tyrant, was a question already asked by the contemporaries. This dilemma is especially clearly exposed when considering the strange affair of Ovid's banishment. Tuori's clever insight into this case provides the reader new aspects of the Augustan culture, and the emperors' sovereignty. As Tuori points out, Augustus' adjudicative

power was not based on the old or traditional continuations, but it became evident through complex discourses presented by contemporary authors or Augustus himself. Beginning from Augustus, the place where the imperial lawcourt was situated, raised questions about its legitimacy and emperor's righteousness. In case the litigations took place at the imperial bedchamber instead of a public floor, it was disputed if this was a justified procedure. This theme about space and law is considered carefully throughout the study.

An insane or a mad emperor was a supreme judge of his citizens all the same. This contrast between a tyrant and a wise emperor really became evident from the emperor Tiberius onwards, as Tuori discusses in the chapter three. The topos of an insane sovereign, who is ready to murder and confiscate by virtue of his mere whim, is clearly present in the narratives from Tacitus and Suetonius to Dio Cassius and Herodian. However, these narratives developed through the time and served for different purposes, as Tuori points out in his conclusion.

The era of the Antonine emperors, and Hadrianic use of jurisdiction in particular, is the subject of the chapter four. Before Hadrian, incoherence troubled the practices of the imperial jurisdiction. Hadrian appears as a wise and deliberate judge under whose authority we find a volume of constitutions and descripts, and decisions of legal cases of various kinds. However, as Tuori's discussion reveals, the practice of how and when the emperor ruled on the cases stay debatable, and the later quotations, by jurist Ulpian for example, may have changed the emphasis in deciding which legal matters were important and which were less so. The ideal of the imperial judge was already outlined by the first century authors, like Seneca in his *De clementia*. Tuori's debate on whether Hadrian attained this ideal in his imitation of a cultivated Hellenic sovereign provides us a useful and important discussion about the so called 'good emperors' of the Antonine dynasty.

In the chapter five, Tuori analyses the Severans' exercise of power. As it becomes clear from the evidence, the convention that the court provided an arena for the emperor and his subjects to meet each other, continued during this period. As a prominent figure in the imperial politics, the empress Julia Domna rightly receives attention in Tuori's analysis. Also her philosophical circle – participated by the several contemporary jurists, poets and philosophers – is mentioned, and its influence on the Severan adjudication and legislation is considered briefly. The question of the empresses' possible contribution and influence in the imperial adjudication is not a specifically articulated theme in the study. However, this reader was delighted that this challenging topic was analysed anyhow – although cursorily.

In the conclusive chapter (p. 292 onwards) Tuori presents main findings of his study and goes through the development of the imperial adjudication. In his study, Tuori gives voice also to the citizens of the provinces in analysing the sources which introduce to us the petitioners and the suitors of provincial origin. This and the other materials are exceptionally well treated throughout

the study. The author carefully considers what the tradition and the gradually developing narratives signified for the Romans and what kind of modern conclusions might blur our understanding about the imperial jurisdiction and the emperors as the adjudicators. Chapters are well structured and text proceeds fluently. One minor stylistic detail is found in page 272, where the mother of the emperor Severus Alexander is styled in Greek Mamaia. This is indeed correct, but the Latinised formulation, Julia Mamaea, is the established formulation (maybe this is just a misprint). In an excessively detailed appendix, Tuori presents the evidence case by case. The layout of the appendix is somewhat exhausting but this probably cannot be avoided for the sake of the printing practicalities. However, the list of the legal cases provides a valuable research tool and collection of evidence for the scholars working with the questions of imperial adjudication and imperial power. Throughout the study, the illustrations provided by J. Heikonen enlighten the reader and support the treatise well by directing the reader's mind to the places where the court hearings took place or the emperors used their judicative power. All in all, this volume is absolutely worth of reading and taking as a permanent cornerstone of the history of the Roman imperial legal praxis.

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Maritime Transport Containers in the Bronze–Iron Age Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean. Edited by STELLA DEMESTICHA – A. BERNARD KNAPP. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature 183. Åströms förlag, Uppsala 2016. ISBN 978-91-7081-211-8. IX, 241 pp. EUR 60.

Stella Demesticha and Bernard Knapp have compiled a selection of 11 papers that were held at the 2016 annual meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists in Glasgow. The resulting book *Maritime Transport Containers in the Bronze–Iron Age Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean* offers a comprehensive view into the research related not only to different kinds of vessels used by the maritime economies during the Bronze and Iron Ages in the Mediterranean, but also to the ancient Mediterranean trade and trade routes themselves. Despite this review being written as much as four years after the book's initial publication, the volume is still very much up to date and quite useful for anyone interested in this field. It should be added that for a more cohesive account the monograph *Mediterranean Connections: Maritime Transport Containers and Seaborne Trade in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages* (New York 2016) is also available, written by the two editors of the present volume.

The term Maritime Transport Container (MTC) is surprisingly difficult to define. Attempts to categorise the vast assembly of different relevant vessels is a thread that runs through all the

present articles. In Chapter 1, Demesticha and Knapp give their definition of MTCs, offering some thought-provoking ideas regarding both the methodological approaches explored in the following articles, as well as the interpretative landscapes opened by the results offered by the study of MTCs. The chapter begins by approaching these questions diachronically by discussing the emergence of the phenomenon during the Early Bronze Age.

According to Demesticha and Knapp, MTCs are mass-produced vessels with a somewhat standardised capacity, intended for transportation overseas. This seems reasonable enough, but in fact multiple problems arise regarding this definition (for instance, what to think of some of the vessels being reused, or some apparent MTCs being used only locally, or the standardisation being often quite vague at best) and indeed very few of the 22 different vessel types represented in the book fit completely into all these requirements. However, these problems are also acknowledged by the authors, and indeed it seems to be the nature of the inquiry into MTCs that their actual definition is somewhat fluid and hazy.

Chapter 2 by Peter Day and David Wilson discusses the emergence of the MTC in the form of Early Bronze Age transport jars, giving a concise view of the situation through examples from Crete, Thera and Kea. Dispersion of common shapes and the influence of a few large production centres seem to prove that the interconnected maritime economies were developing already during this early period.

The next five chapters are focused on the so-called Canaanite Jars or Phoenician amphorae. The terminology is contested, but the role of this development in the later universalised amphora shape seems to be evident. Especially Chapter 4 by Tatiana Pedrazzi is geared towards more clearly defined terminology for this development.

Vessel capacities are studied by Cydrisse Cateloy in Chapter 3 and Chris M. Monroe in Chapter 5. Cateloy's paper also discusses the methodology of calculating the capacity itself. In addition to manual methods, such as water measurement and polystyrene beads, Cateloy examines various computer software available for the purpose. As a user of AutoCAD myself, I find her comment about it being time consuming somewhat strange, since I have found creating 3D solids of revolution based on pottery drawings quite fast and efficient. Of course, her main point still stands: since even the wheel-made vessels are never completely regular, one cannot reach accurate results by computer models based only on 2D drawings, compared to actual manual measurement of capacity.

Chapter 5 by Chris Monroe connects the Ugaritic textual evidence on vessel capacity to the evidence gathered from MTC finds. Rough standardisation of the vessels seems to have been the case, but Monroe's results point toward there not having been a correlation with Ugaritic or Egyptian systems of measurement. Further studies could be carried out with larger amounts of volumetric data, but tentatively the results seem rather convincing.

Scientific archaeometrical methods are present in several papers. Ceramic petrography is featured in Chapters 6, 9 and 10 (by Michael Artzy; Eleftheria Kardamaki, Peter M. Day et al.; and Paul Waiman-Barak and Ayelet Gilboa, respectively). These offer valuable input to the growing corpus of petrographical samples of the ceramics in the region, use of which is indispensable when studying the provenances of MTC finds. Petrography has increasingly been in use since the 1990s, but it has not yet reached its full potential, and the work here will continue making future studies more reliable.

Catherine Pratt's paper (Chapter 11) discusses Early Archaic trade networks by comparing Corinthian and Athenian amphora distributions. The spread of Athenian SOS and Corinthian A amphorae seems to imply a special dynamic related to the trade of liquid goods into the Sicilian colonies. The results are interesting, especially in challenging the earlier presumed supremacy of Corinth in the trade networks through the prevalence of SOS amphorae in the region. Nevertheless, it would be beneficial to see a comparison with a larger area and a larger data set, since the storage jar types surveyed here are found elsewhere, too.

Chapter 12 by Mark Lawall contains an interesting discussion on the whole concept of MTCs. In this sense it also works nicely as the closing chapter of the whole volume. The main focus is on Aegean MTCs of the 9th to 7th centuries BC, however. Interestingly for a classicist, the paper discusses briefly the role of the wine trade in the region and the possibility of detecting the origins of the concept of symposion in this trade. The introduction of symposia could have been instrumental in broadening the 'elite' in the communities, which in turn would have been an important element in the timely development of the new polis-based communities (224–225). Sadly, this train of thought is not developed further, but ample sources are provided.

Since the publication is a collection of conference papers, it is understandable that the illustrations and tables vary somewhat in style and composition. Some authors use screenshots of 3D models of the vessels, while others rely on traditional (and in my opinion more illustrative) hand drawn pictures. We shall see whether 3D modelling will challenge the use of hand-drawn illustration in the future. Otherwise the editing and visual features are functional and clear, and the overall quality of the publication is excellent.

The book manages to give a splendid overview of the recently defined and vast field of MTC studies. The scope is broad and the stakes are high, since the results have convincing implications regarding the international trade and diplomacy during the periods covered. For instance, the assumption of a highly developed and interconnected global market between Late Bronze Age superpowers seems to be central in understanding the mechanisms of the so-called Bronze Age collapse, and the study of MTCs provides a powerful tool for analysing these phenomena. Even after four years since its publication, the book is still recommended reading for Bronze and Iron

Age scholars and offers a valuable contribution to the study of ancient Eastern Mediterranean trade.

Nikolai Paukkonen

GIUSEPPINA CERULLI IRELLI: *Il mondo dell'archeologia cristiana*. Studia archaeologica 225. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2018. ISBN 978-88-913-1686-8. XIII, 686 pp. EUR 408.

Il presente libro consiste in una descrizione di testimonianze sulla presenza dei cristiani in varie parti del mondo antico. Vuole pertanto essere un lavoro di geografia storica. In due appendici vengono trattate le fonti e l'epigrafia cristiana. Chiude il volume un indice dei luoghi notevoli. Non si tratta quindi di una introduzione all'archeologia cristiana. Ma esaminiamo più da vicino la consistenza dell'opera.

Dopo una fiorita e dispersiva presentazione di Antonio Sartori di dubbia utilità ai fini della caratterizzazione dell'opera, comincia la parte centrale del volume, un prospetto generale dei luoghi che presentano testimonianze cristiane, dall'Italia ed altre regioni dell'Occidente latino ai centri dell'Oriente greco. In questa disposizione salta agli occhi che i materiali italiani vengono offerti presentando le regioni augustee in ordine inverso, cominciando dunque dalla regio XI e concludendo con Roma; difficile dire quali circostanze abbiano indotto l'autrice ad assumere tale capricciosa decisione. Non si capisce neanche bene come mai nella sezione dell'Oriente greco siano state piazzate le province danubiane quali Dalmazia o Pannonia che sono restate latine fino alla fine dell'antichità e anche oltre (poi non c'è una sillaba su Noricum o Raetia).

Nella sua breve introduzione l'a. dice che si propone di ordinare assieme le varie componenti che giocarono un ruolo nell'evangelizzazione nel mondo tardoantico, vuole dunque concentrarsi sui contesti paleocristiani. Tuttavia, si occupa spesso anche di circostanze medievali, ma in modo inconsistente.

La trattazione dei singoli centri soffre non solo di una certa superficialità, ma anche di un ineguale trattamento delle fonti a nostra disposizione; per es. delle iscrizioni cristiane si parla soltanto molto di rado e senza un programma meditato. Ma soprattutto le rassegne sono molto incomplete. Esaminiamo qui di seguito due regioni d'Italia, Lazio e Campania che l'a. dovrebbe conoscere bene (avendo studiato alla Sapienza e lavorato nella Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli).

Prima il Lazio. La lacuna più grave della documentazione è l'assenza del complesso di S. Ilario presso Valmontone, nel territorio della romana Signia, con le sue numerose iscrizioni (vedi V. Fiocchi Nicolai, *RPAA* 61 (1988-89) 71-102 e A. E. Felle, *VetChr* 38 (2001) 237-285; il corpus

delle iscrizioni sarà pubblicato da M. Kajava nella nuova edizione del *CIL X*). Altre mancanze sono per es. la catacomba di Colle S. Quirico a Paliano nel territorio della romana Praeneste (A. Ferrua, *RAC* 36 [1960] 5–18), o un cimitero suburbano a Velitrae noto da iscrizioni (*CIL X* 6635/6), e un altro cimitero nella località Sole Luna (G. Mancini, *NSA* 1924, 241, con iscrizioni; importante anche l'iscrizione *AE* 1923, 66 di Faltonia Hilaritas la quale *hoc coemeterium a solo sua pecunia fecit et huius (sic) religioni donavit*). E non trovo una sillaba della ricca documentazione paleocristiana di Formiae, tranne qualche sfuggente accenno nel confuso lemma di Caieta (Gaeta); per tacere di altro, doveva essere ricordato il complesso di S. Erasmo con un ricchissimo corpus epigrafico (vedi per es. L. Gasperini, in *Scritti storico-epigrafici in memoria di M. Zambelli*, Macerata 1978, 123–165; A. Punzo – A. G. Miele – R. Frecentese, *Il santuario del martire Erasmo a Formia*, Gaeta 1992). Parimenti Ferentinum che ci ha, tra l'altro, regalato la più antica iscrizione cristiana del Lazio (a eccezione di Roma), in cui si accenna a un edificio, forse una chiesa o una cappella, distrutta durante una persecuzione (*Suppl. It.* 1 Ferentinum 59); e in *CIL X* 5902 si ricorda una basilica cristiana. O ancora Aletrium: oltre ai primi vescovi, abbiamo la notizia, seppur incerta, di un cenobio ricordato da Gregorio Magno; e inoltre, un'iscrizione frammentaria potrebbe forse contenere un'allusione al rito del battesimo o alla dedica di un fonte battesimale (*Suppl. It.* 16 Aletrium 53). E alla fine Verulae: possiamo ricordare il rinvenimento nel 1922 di un'area cimiteriale che fa ipotizzare la presenza di una comunità cristiana in età tardoantica (*NSA* 1923, 194 [con un'iscrizione del 405], 201–203).

Taccio di altri centri dimenticati che presentano lacune in parte pur gravi e mi soffermo brevemente su Anagnina e Casinum. Nella descrizione della prima città l'a. accenna brevemente soltanto a Villa Magna (riferendosi a V. Fiocchi Nicolai, *Anagnina cristiana*, il quale tuttavia non è l'autore del libro, ma il curatore, mentre di Villa Magna tratta nel volume soltanto D. Mastroilli; ora cfr. AAVV, *Villa Magna: an imperial estate and its legacies*, Rome 2016), ma dimentica, tra l'altro, di ricordare i due ipogei cristiani alle pendici di Monte Vico (*Anagnina cristiana* 163–204). Ai due capitoli assai modesti dedicati a Casinum e Montecassino si potrebbero aggiungere molte cose, per es. il vescovo Severus con altri, o l'entourage di Benedetto di Norcia, o ancora interessanti iscrizioni paleocristiane e una grande quantità di epigrafi medievali.

Veniamo alla Campania. In modo incomprensibile manca ogni accenno ai sensazionali nuovi scavi della necropoli cristiana, comunemente chiamata cimitero di S. Ippolito, nell'antico quartiere di Capo La Torre ad Atripalda, vicino alla sede dell'antica Abellinum situata circa 3 km ad E della nuova Avellino. Questi scavi sono già ricordati in *EAA Suppl.* 1970 e *Suppl.* 1971–94, sono dunque noti agli studiosi già da lungo tempo; ora vedi il volume collettivo *San Modestino e l'Abellinum cristiana* (2012), e in esso soprattutto i contributi di M. Fariello sugli scavi e di H. Solin sulle iscrizioni cristiane. – Faccio ancora solo notare che nel capitolo su Nola – Cimitile manca il riferimento a due volumi importanti: *Il complesso basilicale di Cimitile. Patrimonio culturale*

dell'umanità? (2007) e il volume con titolo e in parte anche contenuto identico (2008); il loro uso avrebbe giovato molto al contenuto del capitolo.

L'esiguo spazio concessomi dalla redazione di *Arctos* mi impedisce di estendere osservazioni ad altre regioni. Ma già l'analisi sopra offerta evidenzia le principali debolezze del volume: soprattutto l'incompletezza della documentazione, una certa superficialità nella descrizione, l'incapacità di distinguere gli aspetti importanti da quelli meno importanti, e l'insufficiente considerazione di certi generi di fonti, come le iscrizioni. L'a. parla spesso anche di cose che non hanno a che fare con l'argomento del libro. Sembra che abbia lavorato in modo indifferente e scelto gli obiettivi della sua ricerca piuttosto con casualità. Il suo libro (così nell'introduzione) ha l'intento di fornire suggerimenti e linee guida agli studiosi. Bene, in esso non mancano materiali interessanti, ma per le debolezze di cui supra non può aspirare a diventare la desiderata introduzione per chi si occupa di cristianesimo nella tarda antichità. Per raggiungere tale scopo, l'a. avrebbe dovuto affinare il suo approccio al tema in modo considerevole, conducendo le ricerche con maggior metodo e attenzione.

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