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MARMORARE, INCRUSTARE: Lessico tecnico nell'epigrafia dell'Italia Romana*

SILVIA GAZZOLI

1. Premessa

L'evidenza epigrafica¹ relativa ad atti di liberalità finalizzati alle attività edilizie², tra le quali si possono enumerare la costruzione, la decorazione, il restauro o la ricostruzione di edifici con fini civili o religiosi, offre un quadro delle possibilità e delle risorse che erano a disposizione delle amministrazioni e dei singoli benefattori. La revisione della documentazione relativa al finanziamento di manufatti marmorei da parte dell'imperatore, delle comunità o di evergeti³ privati per edifici pubblici o parti di essi, ha permesso di identificare alcuni termini relativi all'uso del marmo per rivestimenti parietali e pavimentali⁴.

* Il presente contributo fa parte di progetto di ricerca reso possibile da una borsa post-dottorale finanziata dalla Fondazione Fratelli Giuseppe Vitaliano, Tullio e Mario Confalonieri (Milano). Vorrei ringraziare il professor Federico Russo e la professoressa Giovanna Tedeschi per i preziosi consigli e suggerimenti. La responsabilità di quanto segue è della scrivente.

¹ In questo contributo saranno analizzate principalmente evidenze epigrafiche di ambito culturale non cristiano provenienti dalle città dell'Italia romana; come termini di confronto e approfondimento verranno citate anche iscrizioni rinvenute a Roma e nelle province.

² Per una panoramica sull'attività edilizia nell'Italia romana si rimanda a Jouffroy 1986 e 1977, 329–337; Pobjoy 2000; Horster 2001. Importanti informazioni si possono inoltre trovare in studi fondamentali di carattere regionale, quali Zaccaria 1990; Engfer 2017.

³ Sull'evergetismo e sulla definizione stessa degli evergeti si rimanda come contributi principali a Panciera 1997; Veyne 1976; Bodei Giglioli 1974; Giardina 1988; Garnsey 1991; Forbis 1993. Si ritiene doveroso sottolineare che i dubbi messi in luce da Panciera riguardo alla definizione di evergete, che negli studi moderni ha assunto un "valore omnicomprensivo", sono ancora attuali.

⁴ La copertura di edifici o di superfici venne inserita da Frézouls nella quinta categoria di donazioni

Studi specifici soprattutto di stampo archeologico sull'uso di pavimenti e *sectilia*⁵ marmorei, misti o lapidei hanno permesso di tratteggiarne l'ambito cronologico e le principali caratteristiche tipologiche. La letteratura a riguardo di ambito specificatamente archeologico⁶ è concorde nel far nascere l'interesse dei Romani verso i marmi greci e asiatici a partire dalla fase delle conquiste dei territori affacciati sul Mediterraneo, e di conseguenza a farne cominciare da quest'epoca anche i primi commerci⁷. Lo stesso Cesare, a quanto riporta Svetonio⁸, durante le sue spedizioni si sarebbe dedicato all'importazione a Roma di *tessellata*⁹ et *sectilia pavimenta*¹⁰.

Non vorrei qui soffermarmi sulla sterminata e conosciuta bibliografia riguardante l'uso del marmo, in particolare dei litotipi colorati, nel mondo romano¹¹

evergetiche da lui considerate, che comprende i monumenti difficilmente identificabili e le evergesie frammentarie, che quindi andarono ad interessare solo una parte dell'edificio o della struttura che, dunque, era preesistente all'atto liberale (cfr. Frézouls 1987, 217).

⁵ La periodizzazione proposta da Guidobaldi negli anni '80 è stata successivamente aggiornata dallo stesso autore in Guidobaldi 1994, e Olevano – Guidobaldi 1994, 166–174.

⁶ Oltre alla bibliografia di approfondimento citata alla nt. precedente si veda anche Pensabene 1994.

⁷ Fondamentale Plin. *NH* XXXVI, 7 e ss. sulle figure di Mamurra, Lepido e Lucullo che per primi introdussero il marmo a Roma come elemento decorativo e strutturale nelle loro proprietà private. Sulla disapprovazione di Varrone verso questo nuovo ideale di lusso (*luxuria*) contrapposto alla modestia passata (*utilitas*) si veda Becatti 1951, 64–65.

⁸ Non manca nella narrazione di Svetonio un'attenzione critica verso l'amore per il lusso e la ricchezza testimoniati da Cesare, cfr. Svet. *Divus Iulius*, 46. Notevole è inoltre la descrizione del palazzo di Cleopatra ad Alessandria, Luc., *Phars.* 114–116 “*nec summis crustata domus sectisque nitebat / marmoribus: stabatque sibi non signis Achates / Pupuresque lapis: totaque effusus in aula calcabatur onyx*”. Per le fonti letterarie sull'uso del marmo si veda inoltre Pensabene 1994, 275–279.

⁹ Sui *tessellata pavimenta* si rimanda a Baldassarre 1994; Pappalardo – Ciardiello 2010. Una bibliografia aggiornata di approfondimento è proposta in Angelelli 2016. Per un approfondimento lessicale cfr. v. *opus tessellatum* in Ginouvés – Roland 1985, 149–150.

¹⁰ I pavimenti soprattutto se policromi, così come i mosaici, vengono inseriti da L. Homo sotto la definizione di “tecnica greca” (Homo 1976, 46–47).

¹¹ La bibliografia a riguardo è estremamente ampia ed in continuo aggiornamento. Un contributo metodologicamente fondamentale, ma datato ed in alcuni punti superato da più recenti scoperte, è Gnoli 1971 (con le sue successive ristampe). Si rimanda inoltre al catalogo De Nuccio, Ungaro 2002 che raccoglie approfondimenti riguardanti le principali tematiche dello studio del marmo antico, mentre una trattazione incentrata sui marmi di origine greca è proposta in Lazzarini 2007. Una panoramica della commercializzazione dei marmi (in particolare greci e asiatici) e delle fonti

e che affonda le sue radici nelle trattazioni di Plinio¹² e Vitruvio¹³. Il fine di questo contributo è proporre una riflessione su una tipologia di impiego, quello ornamentale per il rivestimento di superfici, di questo materiale utilizzando le varie evidenze a nostra disposizione.

Le fonti letterarie¹⁴ riguardo sia alla tecnica dell'*incrustatio*¹⁵ sia a quella della "marmoratura"¹⁶ forniscono diversi spunti di riflessione. Un riferimento obbligato è rappresentato dai lessicografi ed in particolare da Isidoro di Siviglia che nella definizione del sostantivo plurale *crustae* mette in relazione i due termini oggetto di questa indagine: *marmorati parietes (in)crustati dicuntur*¹⁷.

principali per approfondire la riflessione è raccolta nel lavoro di Russell 2013. Ulteriore bibliografia di approfondimento o confronto sarà proposta nel prosieguo del contributo in riferimento ai singoli temi trattati.

¹² Le informazioni fornite da Plinio il Vecchio del cap. XXXVI sull'uso del marmo nel mondo romano sono essenziali. Sul lessico "tecnico" di Plinio riguardo ai pavimenti si veda Gioseffi 1955, 595. Un contributo di più ampio respiro sul lessico pavimentale riconosciuto nelle fonti latine è stato proposto dallo stesso studioso qualche anno più tardi (Gioseffi 1976, 23–38). Mi preme tuttavia ricordare che l'approfondimento sui pavimenti di epoca romana alla base degli studi moderni, fondamentale per le cronologie successive, è Blake 1930. Una revisione della terminologia latina è proposta in Guidobaldi 2016, 27–48. Per l'orizzonte epigrafico greco si rimanda a Bruneau 1967, 423–446 con relativa bibliografia.

¹³ Vitruvio (VII, 1) descrive con particolare attenzione i cosiddetti *scutulata*: a riguardo si rimanda a Morricone 1980; una sintesi dell'ampio studio è proposta in un successivo contributo della stessa autrice (Morricone 1994, 283–319). Un corrispettivo greco, σκούτλωσις, è menzionato in diverse iscrizioni anche di epoca imperiale, si veda ad esempio Laitar 2001, 62–63; Pont 2010, 243; per un confronto lessicale cfr. la voce *placage* in Ginouvés – Roland 1985, 137–138. Sarebbe inoltre interessante, per approfondire un'analisi di tipo lessicale, poter disporre di iscrizioni bilingui che favoriscano una traduzione certa tra il termine greco ed il corrispettivo latino (e viceversa).

¹⁴ Numerose attestazioni sono fornite dalle relative voci del *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* e del *Lexicon Totius Latinitatis* (s.v. *marmoro*, *crusto*, *incrustatio*, *lamina*) e a queste si rimanda per una panoramica cronologica e geografica più ampia.

¹⁵ Di particolare importanza, per *incrustare*, è il riferimento al frammento di Varrone (Varro, *Men.* 533) nel quale si menzionano i pavimenti e pareti: λιθόστρωτα *pavimenta et parietes incrustatos*

¹⁶ Nella lingua italiana moderna non esiste un termine unico che traduca direttamente l'aggettivo latino *marmoratus* o il verbo *marmorare*. Marmorizzare, ad esempio, implica una decorazione ad imitazione del marmo così come il participio relativo, marmorizzato (Enciclopedia Treccani, ad v.).

¹⁷ Isid. *Orig.* 19, 13. Ritengo degno di nota ai fini di questa ricerca citare l'intero passo: *De crustis. Crustae tabulae sunt marmoris; unde et marmorati parietes crustati dicuntur. Qui autem marmora*

Il riferimento alle *crustae* è presente anche nella definizione successiva, *de lithostrotis*, con la differenziazione tra pavimenti ottenuti *cum parvulis crustis* rispetto a quelli realizzati *cum tessellis tinctis in varios colores*¹⁸. L'uso della tecnica dell'*incrustatio* per le pareti e per la decorazione di oggetti è presente anche in Plinio¹⁹; diversamente, l'impiego del verbo *marmorare* appare comunque più generico e, numericamente, conta un maggior numero di menzioni epigrafiche²⁰

secandi in crustas excogitaverint non constat. Fiunt autem arena et ferro serraque in praetenui linea premente arenas tractuque arenas tractuque ipso secante, sed crassior arena plus erodit marmoris; nam tenuis fabricis e polituris adcomodata est. In generale sull'impiego di *crustae* parietali Bruto, Vannicola 1990, 325–376. Le attestazioni del verbo *incrustare* sono caratterizzate dalla specificazione della parte dell'edificio che sarebbe stata oggetto della decorazione: in particolare AE 1972, 569 da Corinto *parietes incrustavit*. Questa necessità di specificare suggerisce che in antico il collegamento esclusivo con le pareti non fosse implicito.

¹⁸ Isid. *Orig.* 19,14. Si tratta della latinizzazione del termine greco λιθόστρωτον. Alla relativa voce del *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* esso presenta un campo semantico estremamente ampio tanto che viene tradotto come “mosaic or tessellated pavement” oppure “paved with stones” mantenendo dunque una certa ambiguità (cfr. anche v. λιθοστειγής). Sulle attestazioni di *lithostrota* in ambito epigrafico di lingua latina (ossia AE 1991, 295 = EDR032824) si rimanda a Panciera 1991, 623–632; per il greco cfr. Bruneau 1967; una visione generale è proposta in Gros 2010. Per l'identificazione con l'*opus sectile* cfr. Guidobaldi 2016 e Becatti 1961, 254.

¹⁹ Plin. *NH* XXXVI, 7. In particolare, citando Cornelio Nepote, Plinio riferisce che il primo ad utilizzare *crustae* marmoree per decorare le pareti della propria casa fosse stato Mamurra. Seguono poi M. Lepido, che utilizzò il marmo numidico e M. Scauro che per il suo teatro usò *marmorei parietes*. Per la decorazione di oggetti, in particolare vasi, cfr. Paul. *Fest. crustariae tabernae a vasis potoriis crustatis dictae* ma anche l'iscrizione *CIL* VI 610 (= *ILS* 5429, EDR168899) può rappresentare un confronto di cui tener conto.

²⁰ Brandt in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, s.v. *marmor* (*marmorare*), *marmore ornare*. Per esemplificare tale uso viene qui (e in gran parte della bibliografia a riguardo) richiamata l'iscrizione *CIL* VI 597 (= *ILS* 3534, EDR121943) che riporta le attività di restauro di edicole e are promosse dal liberto C. *Cossutius C.l. Epaphroditus*; tra queste vi era anche una *ara Silvano* che egli fece ricoprire in marmo, *marmoravit* (l.4). In questo caso la datazione consolare inserita all'ultima riga del testo permette di datare i restauri promossi dal liberto entro il 79 d.C. Una ulteriore iscrizione romana, *CIL* VI 30985 menziona diverse attività evergetiche di T. *Marius Processus*, che finanziò una statua a Silvano, una *aedes marmorata* che fece costruire *a solo* e un *templum* che fece pavimentare (*stravit*) di marmi. Più tarda è l'iscrizione sacra *CIL* VI 36868+38398 (= EDR122729), che menziona la donazione di varie decorazioni per il tempio di *Silvanus et Diana Augustis* da parte del *ensor aedificiorum Lucius Postumius Fuscianus*. Nell'elenco si possono riconoscere *aediculae marmoratae* (l.3), *sedes marmoreae* (l.4) e vari altri elementi. La datazione si pone nel pieno II secolo d.C. Un esempio particolarmente notevole, che permette anche di mettere in luce la differenza, che doveva essere ben presente negli

più che letterarie²¹. Per provare ad approfondire e a dirimere la questione, dunque, diventa fondamentale indagare l'evidenza epigrafica a riguardo, soprattutto se in connessione con il dato archeologico.

2. La decorazione litica e marmorea come *ornamentum*

Il primo punto da approfondire riguardo all'uso del marmo come elemento decorativo concerne il lessico utilizzato nelle iscrizioni. Esso appare estremamente generico e molto raramente è arricchito da indicazioni che potrebbero essere utili allo studioso moderno, come la qualità della pietra selezionata (detta anche litotipo)²² o il metodo impiegato per la messa in opera. Nella prassi epigrafica questo insieme di informazioni era taciuto, o genericamente inserito sotto la definizione di *ornamentum*. Come ha messo in luce Calabi Limentani tale sostantivo era il termine utilizzato nelle fonti letterarie, epigrafiche e giuridiche per identificare tutto ciò che appariva come non necessario “all'esistenza o al funzionamento della cosa principale”²³; nel caso delle decorazioni marmoree, dunque, dell'edificio o

antichi, tra materiale lapideo e marmoreo, è l'iscrizione da *Canania (Baetica)* CIL II 1074 (= ILS 5544; CILA II, 234), probabilmente di epoca successiva all'età flavia, che riporta il finanziamento da parte di *L. Attius Vetto, flamen* e duoviro del municipio a *Flavius Cananiensis*, e dei suoi familiari, di una struttura porticata in pietra a sua volta marmorata, *porticus lapideae marmoratae*. A riguardo si veda anche Mingoia 2004, 219–238.

²¹ Cfr. ad esempio Petron. LXXVII, 4. Nella relativa voce del *Thesaurus* si rimanda principalmente al campo semantico dell'*incrustatio*, scegliendo come corrispettivo greco il sostantivo *lithostroton* precedentemente citato.

²² Le evidenze discordanti sono state identificate principalmente in iscrizioni rinvenute in Africa e riguardano soprattutto elementi strutturali. Cfr. AE 1938, 172 (= AE 1948, 37 = IRT 467) da *Leptis Magna* che si riverbera anche in IRT 771; dalla stessa città IRT 601, datata al III d.C. Altri esempi sono AE 1937, 72 da *Maxula*, in Tunisia; CIL XIII, 4319 (= AE 1903, 271 e AE 1904, 6) da *Divodurum* in Belgica; da Italica, in *Baetica* CILA II, 392 datata tra le fine del II e l'inizio del III d.C. Un'ulteriore evidenza epigrafica con menzione del marmo, di *Cubulteria*, è CIL X 4574 (= EDR094038) da *Caiatia*, cfr. Solin 1993, 86–87 nr. 38. Ci si riserva l'intenzione di approfondire in altra sede questa tematica.

²³ Calabi Limentani 1958, 95 ss.; Marano 2011, 146–147. Non fanno parte di questa categoria, dunque, colonne, portici, paraste, *proscenia*. Si veda anche, sulla suddivisione tra *instrumentum* ed *ornamentum* Macr. Sat. III, 11, 6, in particolare riguardo all'ornamento dei templi. Un altro termine che trova numerose attestazioni nell'evidenza epigrafica è quello di *cultus*; meno presente è *decor* (cfr. Paci 2013, 245).

del monumento. Tema fondante dell'*ornare* è la *voluptas*, come ben definiscono i giuristi; in particolare Cassio in un passo²⁴ riportato da Ulpiano appare netto (D. 33. 7. 12. 16 *Ulp. 20 ad Sab.*): *ornamenti quae ad voluptatem (pertinent)*²⁵. In questa prima sentenza la definizione è efficace ma eccessivamente sintetica per identificare appigli lessicali; diversamente il giurista Paolo propone una descrizione più articolata (*De verborum significatione*. D. 50. 16. 79. 2 *Paul. 6 ad Plaut.*) *Voluptariae (scilicet impensae) sunt, quae speciem dumtaxat ornant, non etiam fructum augent; ut sunt viridia, et aquae salientes, incrustationes, loricationes, picturae*²⁶. L'inserimento in questo elenco delle *incrustationes*²⁷ consente dunque di porre con un buon grado di sicurezza all'interno dell'ornamento le decorazioni marmoree, le *crustae*. Allo stesso modo Gaio (D. 5. 3. 39.1 *Gai. 6 ad ed. provinc.*) inserisce tra le spese non necessarie per il restauro degli edifici anche, genericamente, i marmi²⁸. Un elenco che può essere avvicinato a quello proposto dal giurista Paolo è menzionato nell'iscrizione, di probabile origine ostiense ma conservata a Salerno, che riporta il legato di *T. Tettienus Felix* per *exornare* il tempio di Pomona. Questo personaggio ricorda come passaggi salienti della sua carriera l'essere stato *accensus* del proprio patrono, *L. Tettienus Serenus*²⁹ che fu console suffetto nell' 81 d.C., e l'aver rivestito funzioni tra gli *apparitores*. Nel finanziamento riportato nel testo, oltre ai pavimenti in marmo, *pavimenta marmorea*, sono compresi altri elementi di arredo e decorazione non strutturali: *fastigium inauratum, podium, opus tectorium*³⁰.

²⁴ La premessa consiste nella diversa concezione della giurisprudenza romana per i beni mobili e immobili. Si rimanda ad Arangio-Ruiz 1998. Sulla legislazione romana relativa alla decorazione si veda in particolare Murga Gener 1976.

²⁵ Essa è messa in contrapposizione alla *tutela*, che è propria dell'*instrumentum*.

²⁶ Altra fonte da prendere in considerazione è D. 7. 1. 13. 7 *Ulpianus 18 ad sab.* che trattando la giurisprudenza riguardo all'usufrutto definisce *colores picturae, marmora et sigilla* come appartenenti all'ornato della casa. A riguardo Fadda 1894, 23.

²⁷ Vd *infra*.

²⁸ Può essere utile citare l'intero passo: *Utiles autem necessariaeque sunt veluti quae fiunt reficiendorum aedificiorum gratia: videamus tamen ne et ad picturarum quoque et marmorum et ceterarum voluptariarum rerum impensas aequae proficiat nobis doli exceptio*.

²⁹ Su *T. Tettienus Serenus*, senatore romano, console suffetto tra luglio e agosto dell'anno 81 d.C., e fratello di *T. Tettienus Petronianus*, cfr. Eck 1982; *PIR*² T 97. Per il suo ruolo tra i *Sodales Augustales* cfr. *CIL* VI 1984 (= *ILS* 5025) e *CIL* VI 2185 (= *EDR*158568).

³⁰ *CIL* X 531 (= *EDR*105782) ll. 4-7: *HS L m(ilia) n(ummum) legavit / ad exornandam aedem Pomonis*

La menzione di generici *pavimenta marmorea* porta ad un secondo punto problematico, e che necessita di riflessione, ossia la rarità dei rinvenimenti di iscrizioni insieme con decorazioni non rimaneggiate già in epoca antica³¹. La possibilità di confrontare quanto riportato nelle epigrafi con i resti archeologici avrebbe potuto rappresentare un punto di maggior sicurezza nell'interpretazione di alcune forme lessicali (*lapide vario*, *lapidibus variis*³²) che si ritiene per lo meno dubbia, se non problematica, soprattutto per quanto riguarda le fasi di passaggio o compresenza tra diverse tecniche. Come è riscontrabile in base all'evidenza archeologica, nel I secolo d.C. vi fu una coesistenza delle due tipologie di decorazione, ossia quella in pietra e quella in marmo. La documentazione epigrafica a riguardo, tuttavia, non permette di riconoscere con certezza questa fase di sovrapposizione.

3. *Marmorare e incrustare*: lessico tecnico per la decorazione marmorea

Prendendo le mosse dalla già citata iscrizione di *L. Tettienus Felix*³³ è possibile riconoscere in un limitato *dossier* di attestazioni epigrafiche l'uso di finanziare insieme con elementi di arredo anche superfici decorate, come pavimenti e pareti.

/ ex qua summa factum est fastigium / inauratum podium pavimenta marm(orea) opus tectorium. cfr. Manacorda 1982, 737; Orlandi 2012, 413. Per quanto concerne l'uso dello stucco in epoca romana si veda Bettini 2001, 75–86.

³¹ Su spoglio e reimpiego dei marmi già in epoca antica cfr. Marano 2012, 63–84 e Id. 2013, 1–54; sulle indicazioni per la “tutela” dei marmi nel mondo romano, in particolare tra I secolo a.C. e I secolo d.C. si veda Cappelletti 2017 [2018]. La tutela sui marmi usati negli edifici si esprime anche nel tentativo da parte del legislatore di limitare lo spostamento o il commercio di marmi provenienti da rovine, cfr. Buongiorno 2010a, 236–244 e Id. 2010b. Rivolgendosi alle fonti giuridiche da un altro punto di vista, Homo 1976, 383–384, sottolinea come i marmi rappresentassero un valore aggiunto per l'estetica delle singole città e per questo fossero particolarmente tutelati.

³² Possono essere messe in evidenza due iscrizioni con valore d'esempio sia per l'arco cronologico di riferimento sia per il lessico utilizzato, che tuttavia verranno analizzate approfonditamente in altra sede. La prima iscrizione è *CIL X 6104* (= *ILS 1945*, *EDR154827*), da Mamurrano vicino Formia e *CIL IX 3677* (= *EDR133842*) da S. Benedetto dei Marsi e attualmente dispersa. In entrambe vengono menzionate decorazioni *lapidibus variis* oppure *lapide vario*, il che permetterebbe di proporre una decorazione ottenuta con litotipi misti.

³³ *T. Tettienus Felix* è menzionato anche nelle iscrizioni *CIL VI 31034* (= *EDR158568*) e *CIL VI 32445* (= *ILS 4971*, *EDR169956*), datate tra 101 e 102 d.C. e probabilmente successive alla dedica.

La documentazione raccolta permette in limitati casi di ottenere informazioni più dettagliate, soprattutto nel confronto con l'evidenza archeologica.

Una tra le più antiche iscrizioni che menzionano l'uso di *crustae* o lastre marmoree per decorare edifici è stata rinvenuta durante gli scavi archeologici delle cd. Terme del Grifo di *Thurii-Copia*³⁴. Essa attesta l'intervento, non definibile come evergetismo poiché attuato dall'amministrazione municipale (*respublica*), ma interessante ai fini di questo studio per la cronologia ed il lessico impiegato, per sostituire il precedente *balneum* andato in disuso. All'ultima riga conservata dell'epigrafe è infatti specificato *fecit marmoravitq(ue)*: dunque la città di *Copia* si fece promotrice non solamente della (ri)costruzione³⁵ a solo della struttura dell'edificio, ma anche della sua ricopertura con lastre di marmo. La datazione di questa iscrizione all'età giulio-claudia permette di inserire questa costruzione all'interno di una fase di trasformazioni di tipo urbanistico nella città³⁶, con nuove costruzioni come l'*Augusteum*, vari cambiamenti nell'assetto viario e l'espansione dell'area abitata. Coerentemente con questi mutamenti, dunque, nell'ottica anche di una maggiore importanza rivestita dalla città si pone la costruzione di nuove terme, più ampie rispetto al *balneum* di epoca tardorepubblicana, e riccamente adornate su diretto interesse dell'amministrazione. L'uso del verbo *marmorare* è particolarmente degno di attenzione poiché rimanda al lessico tecnico delle attività artistiche e artigianali³⁷: più precisamente, come premesso nei paragrafi precedenti, fa riferimento all'uso di decorare con incrostazioni, lamine o lastre

³⁴ ----- /*postea vetustate /consumpto balineo /respublica thermas a sol[o] /fecit marmoravitq(ue)*; per *l'editio princeps* si rimanda a Luppino 2008, 51–56; una riflessione sul contesto di rinvenimento è offerta in D'Alessio, Malacrino, 2016, 477 (= EDR171539). Sulle terme di *Copia* si veda Noyé 2018.

³⁵ Il lessico relativo alla costruzione/ricostruzione di edifici è stato indagato soprattutto in relazione ad eventi distruttivi; a riguardo si rimanda a Soricelli 2009, 525; Thomas-Witschel 1992, 152–156; Triscioglio 1998 (con riferimento a *CIL X 1781*).

³⁶ Greco, Luppino 1999, 115–164; Marino 2010; Paoletti 1994, 536–537.

³⁷ Dello stesso ambito tematico del verbo *marmorare* è anche il sostantivo *marmorarius*, che come ha ben messo in luce Russell, mostra una notevole articolazione semantica. Oltre alle attestazioni di *marmorarii*, diffusi in tutto il territorio dell'Italia Romana (si veda a riguardo la v. *marmorarius* in EAA, di I. Calabi Limentani) si può far riferimento anche all'editto costantiniano *De Excusationibus Artificium*, che associa i *marmorarii* ai *lapidarii*, agli scultori e, più in generale, agli artigiani (*Cod. Theod.* 13, 4, 2). Nell'editto dei prezzi diocleziano il *marmorarius* è citato dopo il *calcis coactor* e prima del *musaearius*, del *tessellarius* e del *pictor*; si rimanda a Russell 2013, 206 e si veda inoltre *infra*. Risulta tuttavia spesso difficile distinguere tra il *marmorarius* impresario ed il *marmorarius* artigiano alla luce della documentazione epigrafica in nostro possesso.

marmoree monumenti o parti di strutture, in generale superfici. Il verbo compare anche nell'iscrizione AE 1956, 136 da Pozzuoli che ricorda il finanziamento da parte di *C. Stonicius Trophimianus*³⁸ di un pavimento "marmorizzato" (*pa(v)imentum sua [pe]cunia [m]armorabit*)³⁹ del vano/sacello che occupava l'ambiente posto sotto la prima arcata dell'anfiteatro. Questa epigrafe, inscritta in due dischi circolari marmorei che erano posti al centro del pavimento in *opus sectile*,⁴⁰ può essere datata alla metà del II secolo d.C., quando l'edificio fu profondamente restaurato e vennero ricavati i vani sotto le arcate. La decorazione pavimentale, andata perduta, è però sinteticamente descritta nelle redazioni di scavo del Maiuri che riconobbe nel vano-sacello oltre ad un podio rivestito in marmo che poteva fungere da basamento per statue, anche un lacerto di *opus sectile* pavimentale in marmo bianco, giallo, rosso e serpentino⁴¹. La datazione della seconda fase dell'anfiteatro (la prima, di difficile definizione cronologica, viene posta tra la fine dell'età giulio-claudia e quella flavia⁴²) è stata proposta dal primo editore sulla base delle caratteristiche stilistiche dei frammenti ascrivibili ad essa e dell'iscrizione AE 1980, 235 rinvenuta presso l'edificio stesso, nella quale la *colonia* pone un ringraziamento a *Sex. Cornelius Sex.f. Quir. Repentinus*

³⁸ Il gentilizio, particolarmente raro è attestato unicamente in un'iscrizione da *Misenum* (CIL X 3362 = EDR105181 databile tra la seconda metà del II secolo e la fine del III) e una dal territorio di *Augusta Taurinorum*, più precisamente dal sito di Levone (AE 1991, 888 = EDR111520, datata alla prima metà del I d.C.). Uno *Stonicius Trophimianus*, vissuto nel I secolo d.C., è citato come dedicante di un'iscrizione funeraria per l'*alumnus Annus Baliseus* (CIL VI 38935 = EDR141331).

³⁹ *Marmorabit* da intendersi come *marmoravit*. Sull'iscrizione si veda, da ultima, Evangelisti 2011, 80 nr. 4 con bibliografia precedente.

⁴⁰ Maiuri 1955, 44–45. Le due parti dell'iscrizione erano poste rispettivamente sopra due dei quattro dischi circolari del pannello centrale.

⁴¹ Maiuri 1955, 43–44 e Demma 2004, 330. In quest'ultimo contributo si propone di riconoscere nelle immagini dello scavo conservate presso la soprintendenza una decorazione assimilabile allo sviluppo della forma "Q3pL x Q2DpL" della classificazione di Guidobaldi (cfr. Demma 2004, 331 e nt. 30. Per la tipologia Guidobaldi 1985, 171–233). L'unico identificabile con sicurezza in base a questa sintetica descrizione è il serpentino, si può inoltre ipotizzare che con marmo giallo Maiuri identificasse il numidico. Più difficile, invece, è il riconoscimento degli altri litotipi citati nei rapporti di scavo: come marmo rosso potrebbe trattarsi sia di rosso antico sia di porfido, anche se quest'ultimo era estremamente costoso e di più difficile utilizzo. Quello che viene definito da Maiuri come marmo bianco, invece, è stato riconosciuto da Demma in base alla documentazione fotografica conservata come pavonazzetto (cfr. Demma 2004, 332).

⁴² Sulla cronologia delle fasi della struttura anfiteatrale si rimanda a Demma 2007.

che probabilmente intervenne finanziariamente nel restauro⁴³. Alla luce della presenza di ulteriori vani al di sotto delle arcate dell'edificio, arricchiti da iscrizioni che fanno riferimento a *collegia* e *scholae*⁴⁴, è possibile ipotizzare una committenza mista del rifacimento corrispondente alla seconda fase dell'edificio, in parte probabilmente da riferire al precedentemente citato prefetto del pretorio e in parte alle associazioni, alle quali si sommò poi l'interesse di privati come *C. Stonicius Trophimianus*.

Riferibile ad un orizzonte cronologico più tardo è l'iscrizione rinvenuta presso il cosiddetto Mitreo⁴⁵ Aldobrandini di Ostia Antica, databile alla fine del II secolo d.C.⁴⁶, nella quale il sacerdote *Sex. Pompeius Maximus*⁴⁷ dona al mitreo l'immagine della divinità, alcuni ornamenti e si occupa di finanziare la ricopertura in marmo dei podi, detti *praesepia*⁴⁸. In questo caso i resoconti

⁴³ Cfr. Camodeca 1981, 43–56. Sulla legislazione dell'imperatore Antonino Pio per favorire l'intervento dei privati nelle opere di ristrutturazione ed abbellimento di edifici si rimanda a Russo 2021.

⁴⁴ Sono state rinvenute nei vani/sacelli al di sotto delle arcate anche altre due iscrizioni, una a mosaico riferibile al *collegium scabillarum*, ed un'altra frammentaria che doveva indicare l'appartenenza del sacello alla *schola* degli orgiophanti. Si rimanda a Evangelisti 2011, 80–81, nn. 44–46. Il sacello con l'iscrizione menzionante *Pulveris, amor scabillariorum* era decorato da un battuto pavimentale mosaicato policromo, anche questo andato disperso ma del quale Maiuri dava una breve descrizione, evidenziando la presenza di pietre rosse, nere e bianche (cfr. Maiuri 1955, 47).

⁴⁵ Nella colonia di Ostia si contano diversi luoghi di culto distribuiti in tutto il territorio, ed una trentina di devoti, con un livello sociale modesto: non vi è infatti alcun membro della classe dirigente ma solo liberti imperiali (*CIL* XIV 4315 = EDR072411), membri di corporazioni (*CIL* XIV 4314) ed un *sevir augustalis* (*CIL* XIV 4318 = EDR072312). Sul culto di Mithra ad Ostia si rimanda a Floriani Squarciapino 1962; Cébeillac-Gervasoni – Caldelli – Zevi, 2010, 185; Marchesini 2013, 419–439. Per quanto concerne gli edifici di culto rimane ancora fondamentale il lavoro di Becatti (Becatti 1954).

⁴⁶ Si veda Van Haeperen 2019, *ad v.* Ostia. Mithraeum Aldobrandini (II, I, 2) con bibliografia precedente.

⁴⁷ *CIL* XIV 4314 (= EDR106230) *et praesepia marmoravit p(edes) LXVIII idem s(ua) p(ecunia)*. Sulla pavimentazione e decorazione marmorea del mitreo Aldobrandini si rimanda a Calza in *Nsc* 1924, 70–72; Becatti 1954, 39–43. L'edificio è stato recentemente oggetto di nuove indagini, a riguardo si veda David, Melega, Rossetti 2018, 311–319.

⁴⁸ Sul termine *praesepium* la letteratura moderna concorda con l'identificazione con le strutture laterali, altrove chiamati podi, per la somiglianza con le mangiatoie. Per alcune attestazioni del termine si rimanda ad esempi in Apuleio (*Met*, IX, 11 *et cibariis abundanter instruxit praesepium*; *Met.*, IX, 13 *circa praesepium capita demersit*), Vitruvio (VI, 6, nella sezione dedicata alla costruzione di luoghi per il ricovero di animali). Si veda inoltre Serv. *Ad Aen*, VII, 17. L'iscrizione ostiense risulta

di scavo hanno permesso di riconoscere da un lato le dimensioni dell'area decorata (*pedes LXVIII*)⁴⁹ come quella dei podi, dei quali rimane la struttura, dall'altro di conservare memoria di una ricopertura in marmi che purtroppo è andata dispersa⁵⁰. La munificenza di *Sex. Pompeius Maximus* dovette essere particolarmente importante⁵¹ per gli altri membri del culto, tanto da far ricordare i suoi meriti anche in una ulteriore iscrizione, bronzea⁵², nella quale egli viene menzionato come *pater patrum*.

Un termine affine al verbo *marmorare*, ben più raro nell'evidenza epigrafica, può essere *incrustare*: esso rimanda all'azione di ricoprire superfici con *crustae*, quindi sottili lastre litiche. Le sue attestazioni sono in gran parte concentrate al di fuori dell'Italia romana, in particolare nella città di Corinto⁵³. Per quanto riguarda invece la sua presenza nella documentazione epigrafica delle città italiane, un'attestazione, invero molto frammentaria e di difficile contestualizzazione, proviene da Venosa. Si tratta dell'iscrizione *CIL IX 451* su lastra marmorea opistografa. La tradizione manoscritta riporta diverse possibili integrazioni delle lacune, in particolare di quelle che interessano la sequenza onomastica del

essere, fino ad oggi, l'unica menzione epigrafica e letteraria dell'uso del sostantivo *praesepia* per indicare i podi.

⁴⁹ Corrispondente a poco più di 20 m (utilizzando come unità di misura il piede romano).

⁵⁰ Calza (in *Nsc* 1924, 70) descrive le evidenze con le seguenti parole: "I due *podia* (...) rivestiti originariamente di marmo; di questo rivestimento rimangono lastre sottili di marmo bianco che formano l'oggetto del muricciolo stesso."

⁵¹ La ricca pavimentazione del mitreo è stata oggetto di nuovi approfondimenti. Sono stati riconosciuti nel settore centrale del vano frammenti di marmo numidico per la cornice esterna e riquadrature interne, portasanta, proconnesio, listellature in marmi verdi granitoidi, porfido verde, bigio africanato e rosso antico. Nei settori laterali invece è stata evidenziata un'alta percentuale di greco scritto con frammenti di bardiglio di Carrara. Si rimanda a David, Melega, Rossetti 2018, 312–313. Certamente per la pavimentazione si potrebbe ipotizzare una committenza di alto livello economico, soprattutto nel caso si tratti di elementi decorativi di primo impiego.

⁵² *Sex. Pompeius Maximus*, in *CIL XIV 4314* viene definito unicamente come *pater*, diversamente in questa seconda iscrizione (*CIL XIV 403* = EDR144062) egli è ricordato come *pater patrum* (si veda a riguardo Becatti 1954, 41–42). Si tratta di una lastra in bronzo nella quale viene ricordato come *Sex. Pompeius Sex.f. Maximus*, sacerdote di Mithra, *quinquennalis* del *corpus traiectus Togatensium, ob amorem et merita*. L'enumerazione delle altre cariche del personaggio, e la precisazione del suo ruolo apicale, permettono di identificare questa iscrizione come successiva rispetto alla precedente. Sulla relazione tra le due iscrizioni si veda anche Becatti 1954, 42 e Floriani Squarciapino 1962, 42.

⁵³ *IG IV 1606*; Meritt 1931, 119, Nr. 198.

dedicante. La più accreditata riconosce nel personaggio che finanziò l'*incrustatio* A. *Tituleius Festivus*, menzionato nell'epigrafe CIL IX 452⁵⁴. Dall'iscrizione si può desumere che egli raggiunse la carica di *duoviro* e che, probabilmente, si impegnò alla donazione⁵⁵ di una somma per l'*incrustatio* di parte di un edificio o di un monumento dedicato ad *Iside*. Una particolare munificenza è anche quella ricordata dall'epigrafe⁵⁶ rinvenuta a *Fidene* negli anni '30 nella quale è registrato un elenco di offerte da parte di una *magistra* del culto della *Bona Dea*, *Maria ((mulieris)) liberta M[...]*⁵⁷. Nel testo vengono menzionati diversi oggetti legati al culto ed all'arredo: *cathedra*, *pulvinar*, *vestimenta* e alle ll. 5–6 [*ex*] / *marmore III cru[stas]*. Questa precisazione viene accolta con dubbio in una delle edizioni dell'iscrizione⁵⁸, tuttavia essa ben si può inserire in un sistema di più atti di munificenza verso lo stesso edificio, vista anche la ricchezza dei restanti oggetti menzionati (tra tutti, il possibile *signum palliatum inargentatum* alle ll. 2–3)⁵⁹.

4. Conclusioni

Alla luce del *dossier* epigrafico presentato e del confronto con la documentazione archeologica conservata è opportuno proporre alcune riflessioni conclusive.

⁵⁴ L'iscrizione, dispersa, menzionava il lascito di una somma per un *convivium iuvenum* da parte di *Tituleius Festivus*; essa viene datata al II secolo d.C. cfr. Chelotti 2003, 63 *ad nr.* Una panoramica sull'evergetismo in *Apulia* con importanti riflessioni sul lessico e sulle personalità maggiormente implicate è presente in Chelotti 1996, 55–69.

⁵⁵ Sulle donazioni *ob honorem* e sulla loro natura non di "evergesie" libere, ma di impegni legati alle magistrature e ben definiti dal punto di vista giuridico si rimanda al fondamentale contributo di Melchor Gil 1994, 200–203.

⁵⁶ *AE* 2001, 738 (= EDR147310), rinvenuta in un terreno privato lungo la strada che portava verso quella che era identificata come l'acropoli di *Fideneae* (cfr. P. Romanelli in *Nsc*, 1929, 263–264).

⁵⁷ Nello stesso territorio sono state rinvenute diverse iscrizioni riferibili al culto, tra le quali CIL XIV 4057 (= EDR144614), di data incerta, che riporta due diverse munificenze *ob honorem*; sulla presenza di un luogo di culto per la *Bona Dea* nel territorio di *Fidene* cfr. Michetti 2001, 243–244.

⁵⁸ Brouwer 1989, 62–63 nr. 54 che traduce "three marble pieces of inlaid work (?)".

⁵⁹ Attestazioni di questo uso, soprattutto riguardo i pavimenti, sono confermate ampiamente nell'epigrafia musiva tardoantica di ambito cristiano, nella quale è consuetudine il concorso di più devoti al finanziamento di pavimenti mosaicati, con la precisazione dei piedi donati. A riguardo si rimanda alla ricca documentazione raccolta e commentata in Caillet 1993.

La prima particolarità messa in luce, riguardante l'uso del lessico, ha permesso di evidenziare come nel linguaggio epigrafico i riferimenti alla decorazione pavimentale e parietale marmorea siano estremamente sintetici. L'uso dei verbi tecnici *marmorare* e *incrustare* rimanda alla pratica, ben testimoniata dalle fonti, comunemente identificata in epoca moderna come *opus sectile*. Queste attestazioni concorrono a rafforzare la percezione, suggerita dalle fonti letterarie, che in antico le diverse tecniche di decorazione fossero ben distinte per il tecnico così come per il normale cittadino⁶⁰. Dirimenti in questo senso sono non tanto le iscrizioni urbane, spesso citate come *exempla* nei lessici, quanto quelle rinvenute in altri centri, che messe in relazione con la decorazione hanno favorito il riconoscimento della tecnica utilizzata.

Il gruppo di iscrizioni selezionate ha consentito, inoltre, di indagare un'altra problematica relativa alla varietà dei litotipi impiegati: l'identificazione del marmo utilizzato. Bisogna sottolineare che sarebbe stato complesso esplicitare nella formularità del dettato epigrafico le singole tipologie marmoree, essendo l'apposizione di forme e colori diversi il tratto principale delle decorazioni in *sectile*. Un testimone fondamentale nella sua unicità è sicuramente la donazione di *C. Stonicius Trophimianus*: nell'epigrafe il pavimento è genericamente definito come marmorato dal finanziatore⁶¹, mentre i lacerti rinvenuti sono caratterizzati da varietà di litotipi e forme. Tuttavia, ritengo che questo spunto possa essere ulteriormente approfondito, da un altro punto di vista, facendo riferimento non solo alla molteplicità e varietà delle componenti, ma anche alla superficie marmorizzata nella sua interezza. Sulla base di questo e degli altri casi presentati si può dunque ipotizzare, pur nella limitatezza del dato numerico, che non fosse tanto importante per la comunità riconoscere litotipi o varietà marmoree, quanto aver coscienza delle dimensioni della superficie decorata, che si traducevano

⁶⁰ Si possono citare come esempi l'*opus tessellatum* e l'*opus tectorium marmoratum*, che prevedono l'impiego di marmo (associato anche ad altri materiali) ma in altre forme. Sull'*opus tessellatum* si rimanda a Levi, s.v. Mosaico in *EAA*, 209–240; Baldassarre 1994, 435–450; Dunbabin 1999. Si veda anche *infra*. Sull'*opus tectorium marmoratum* Plin. *NH*, XXXVI, 176 *Tectorium, nisi quod ter harenato et his marmorato inductum est, numquam satis splendoris habet*. Sulle diverse ricette per l'intonaco si rimanda a Béarat, Fuchs, Maggetti e Paunier 1997. Sul lessico riferibile alle tecniche di finitura dell'*opus tectorium* s.v. *couches de finition*, Ginouvés – Roland 1985.

⁶¹ In questo caso si può asserire con un buon grado di sicurezza, grazie all'indicazione *sua pecunia*, che *C. Stonicius Trophimianus* fosse il finanziatore e non il marmista.

idealmente nel valore economico della spesa⁶². Un ulteriore spunto a sostegno di questa ipotesi è fornito dall'Editto dei prezzi diocleziano, nella sezione relativa ai prestatori d'opera che, da moderni, definiremmo dei lavori edili e decorativi. L'assimilazione, dal punto di vista della tecnica delle maestranze, tra *marmorare* e *tessellare*, che prevede dunque una stesura di elementi litici di piccole dimensioni, è riscontrabile infatti nella paga dovuta ai lavoratori⁶³. Al *marmorarius* è dovuta la stessa somma del *musaerarius* (60 denari), mentre leggermente inferiore è quella prevista per il *tessellarius* (50 denari). Si può dunque supporre che al *musaerarius* e al *marmorarius* fosse riconosciuta una maestria maggiore, probabilmente dovuta alla necessità di creare decorazioni artistiche più elaborate con elementi lapidei differenti⁶⁴.

Partendo da questo assunto si comprendono meglio, dunque, non solo l'iscrizione ostiense del sacerdote *Sex. Pompeius Maximus*, ma anche la donazione di *III crustae ex marmore* della *magistra* del culto della Bona Dea *Maria ((mulieris)) liberta M[...]*. Nel caso di finanziamenti "misti" o "parziali"⁶⁵ si può ritenere più importante da parte dei personaggi riferire non le caratteristiche estetiche o materiali dell'ornato ma le dimensioni della decorazione stessa. Allo stesso tempo, tuttavia, queste iscrizioni suggeriscono un'altra riflessione, che

⁶² A livello indicativo, tra i marmi riconosciuti nella pavimentazione puteolana si possono riconoscere anche litotipi citati nell'Editto dei Prezzi diocleziano (cap. XXXI, *de marmoribus*, ed. Giaccherio 1974), molto più tardo ma che per il commercio del marmo rappresenta un documento fondamentale. Si possono citare i seguenti prezzi: marmo numidico (o giallo antico) 200 denari, marmo lacedemone (o serpentino spartano) 250 denari, docimeno (o pavonazzetto) 200 denari. Non è compreso nella lista dell'editto il marmo rosso antico.

⁶³ Diversamente il Becatti (Becatti 1951) nella sua panoramica dei lavori legati all'arte e alla costruzione, propone una sorta di ordine di importanza tra i mestieri citati, facendolo corrispondere alla paga.

⁶⁴ Sempre dall'editto dei prezzi diocleziano, cap. VII, *de mercedibus operarium*. Diversamente Pensabene (Pensabene 2002, 190) riconosce una disparità di impegno economico tra rivestimenti marmorei e musivi dovuti allo spessore stesso delle lastre utilizzate, con un maggiore dispendio per i primi. Certamente la pavimentazione puteolana, realizzata in marmi colorati di importazione (e non in marmi bigi o bianchi) dovette risultare particolarmente costosa, ma non è possibile ricostruire le modalità di acquisto delle lastre utilizzate. Sarebbe interessante, ma non possibile alla luce della scarsità di evidenze epigrafiche rinvenute in fase con i resti archeologici, poter approfondire anche la possibilità di associazioni tra litotipi con valore economico simile oppure la presenza o assenza di tracce di reimpiego (a riguardo cfr. Angelelli – Guidobaldi 2002).

⁶⁵ Per questa definizione si rimanda a Frézouls 1987, *infra*.

putroppo a causa della limitatezza del *dossier* epigrafico in nostro possesso avrà solamente la caratteristica di uno stimolo verso nuovi possibili approfondimenti. È infatti da sottolineare che entrambi i casi ripresi nelle righe precedenti, riferiscano personaggi appartenenti a gruppi sociali o religiosi. Per questo la precisazione dell'arredo e della decorazione offerti possono rappresentare l'indicatore di un finanziamento al quale hanno concorso più personaggi, rimasti nel silenzio anche per la casualità del rinvenimento epigrafico.

Un secondo punto è dato dalla limitata diffusione delle iscrizioni con la precisazione di queste tecniche, nonostante il loro utilizzo sia documentato archeologicamente in tutta l'Italia romana e al di fuori di essa. Le epigrafi citate, infatti, si concentrano nelle città del centro e sud Italia, mentre le iscrizioni contenenti riferimenti più generici all'ornato marmoreo sono uniformemente diffuse⁶⁶. Ancora maggiore propagazione si riscontra nell'uso del pavimento ad *opus sectile*, che è riscontrabile nell'evidenza archeologica in forma più o meno frammentaria in gran parte dei centri dell'Italia di epoca romana. Sorge dunque doveroso il dubbio su questo silenzio delle fonti epigrafiche, che può essere riferito sia alla conservazione e dispersione della documentazione epigrafica, sia ad un uso lessicale ed "esposto" proprio di particolari aree geografiche e di una cultura particolarmente attenta all'espressione verbale del dato estetico.

La cronologia delle singole evidenze è strettamente legata da un lato ad eventi contingenti (la distruzione fortuita di edifici o il loro decadimento) dall'altro a momenti particolarmente attivi dal punto di vista edilizio. Il primo caso, quello di *Copia-Thurii*, come precedentemente accennato, si inserisce in una fase di grandi mutamenti architettonici per la città, nella quale si attestano importanti modifiche anche rispetto al precedente assetto di stampo greco. In una fase successiva, per il già citato anfiteatro di Pozzuoli⁶⁷, si sommano l'interesse di personaggi vicini all'imperatore⁶⁸ con quello delle associazioni locali che si

⁶⁶ Diversamente, le iscrizioni menzionanti la donazione di *opus tessellatum*, sono ampiamente diffuse in tutto il territorio, soprattutto dall'avvento della cristianizzazione. Per le epoche precedenti si possono citare *AE* 1953, 262 (= EDR073950) da Ostia, *AE* 1958, 182 (= EDR074161) da Roma; *CIL* IX 2854 da *Histonium*.

⁶⁷ Non sono note le cause dell'imponente restauro del teatro a così breve tempo dalla sua costruzione; un'ipotesi è che vi fossero problemi di tipo strutturale, ma molto probabilmente esso rientrò nel programma di riedificazioni che interessò tutto il territorio; si rimanda a Demma 2007.

⁶⁸ Riguardo l'interesse dimostrato da Antonino Pio per le città dell'Italia romana si rimanda a Segenni 2001, 355–405.

dedicarono alla nuova decorazione degli spazi a loro assegnati. In una visione d'insieme, l'evidenza epigrafica relativa alla marmorizzazione e all'*incrustatio* si pone coerentemente nella cronologia definita archeologicamente che fa coincidere l'età augustea con inizio della diffusione su grande scala delle superfici marmoree e, più in generale, dell'ornato marmoreo⁶⁹.

La selezione di iscrizioni presentate fornisce anche indicazioni sui dedicanti di queste opere: si evidenzia infatti a titolo di mera suggestione, vista la scarsità dei dati a disposizione, uno *status* non alto dei personaggi citati, diversamente da quanto si potrebbe immaginare alla luce del materiale impiegato⁷⁰. Si contano infatti membri dell'amministrazione locale (*A. Tituleius Festivus* a Venosa), di *collegia* professionali minori (*Sex. Pompeius Maximus*), *accensi* e *apparitores* (*L. Tettienus Felix*) e liberti (*Maria, mulieris liberta M[...]* a Fidene)⁷¹. In diversi casi, tuttavia, il finanziamento del pavimento è solo una parte dell'atto di munificenza, che oltretutto si limita ad una parte dell'edificio. Si vedano ad esempio il caso di *Maria* che donò insieme alle *crustae* marmoree anche oggetti di pregio per l'arredo del tempio e lo svolgersi delle cerimonie, o quello di *Sex. Pompeius Maximus*, che si fece promotore della ricostruzione dell'immagine della divinità. L'iscrizione maggiormente degna di evidenza, in quest'ottica, è quella di *L. Tettienus Felix* per la decorazione del *Pomonal*, che conserva anche memoria del lascito dedicato a tale attività. In questo caso il legato di Tettieno è particolarmente ricco e vario, ma dal punto di vista economico⁷² non trova confronti precisi nel territorio oggetto di studio. Si può citare, a mero

⁶⁹ Sulla particolare tecnica di produzione dei *sectilia* e delle *crustae* marmoree si rimanda a Guidobaldi 1985; una sintesi anche in Olevano – Guidobaldi, 1994.

⁷⁰ Nel dossier raccolto il caso dell'iscrizione delle terme di *Copia-Thurii* rappresenta un *unicum*: le supposte dimensioni della decorazione finanziata dall'amministrazione municipale (l'intero edificio termale e non una sua parte) implicarono sicuramente un dispendio economico molto più importante rispetto a quello previsto per gli ambienti menzionati nelle altre epigrafi.

⁷¹ Altre attestazioni di donazioni di pavimenti marmorei esterni al territorio oggetto di indagine portano situazioni simili: dalla *Baetica* si può citare l'iscrizione *CIL* II 1066 (= *CILA* II, 223; *ILS* 5847 riferita a sevirii), *CIL* II 1074 (duoviro). Da Roma si possono citare *AE* 1960, 61 (= EDR074237 con restauri di un sacello da parte di *magistri* della *regio III*), *CIL* IV 597 (= *ILS* 3534; EDR121943, con la munificenza di *C. Cossutius C.lib. Epaphroditus*).

⁷² Come premette Duncan-Jones l'epigrafia delle città romane d'Italia non menziona molto spesso l'entità, in sesterzi, delle spese sostenute per restauri, decorazioni e costruzioni, cfr. DUNCAN-JONES 1974, 120 ss.

titolo di esempio, la spesa per la decorazione e la pavimentazione del tempio della Fortuna ad *Interamna Nahars*⁷³ pari a 20.000 sesterzi.

In conclusione, lo studio della documentazione epigrafica relativa alla donazione di superfici marmoree ha permesso di mettere in luce non solo l'uso di una terminologia specifica, altrimenti nota solamente dalle fonti letterarie, in iscrizioni di ambito non tecnico, ma anche di corroborare l'utilizzo di queste particolari decorazioni in un'epoca precisa e con modalità ben definite.

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⁷³ *CIL* XI 4216 (= EDR131091).

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ANOTHER SPANISH *ALIENUM* IN CANTERBURY? NEW INSIGHTS ON *RIB* 2324*

THOMAS J. GOESSENS

avunculo benemerenti

Introduction

Among the collections of the British Museum there is a small Roman funerary altar, dedicated by a father to his two deceased children.¹ The monument is carved out of a single block of marble, and measures 37cm (height) by 20cm (width) by 15cm (thickness).² It has the formal characteristics of a votive altar, with an *urceus* (right) and *patera* (left) on the sides. The pediment contains a triangular *tympanum*, flanked by two rounded *pulvini*, with a circular *focus* on top. With the exception of the formulaic *D(is) M(anibus) [s(acrum)]* on the pediment, the epitaph is carved directly on the altar's shaft, which is framed above and below by bands of moulding of the *cyma recta* type.

* I am grateful to Jonathan Edmondson (York University) for his thoughts and recommendations on an early draft. Furthermore, I would also like to thank the two anonymous reviewers as their suggestions led to an improvement of this article. All remaining errors are my own.

¹ Museum Number 1951, 0203.1; *RIB* 2324*. A digital edition has been published on the website of the *Roman Inscriptions of Britain Online* (<https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/2324>), as well as in the *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg* (*EDH*) (<https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD071434>) by James Cowey.

² Both the pediment and the plinth are slightly thicker (both 15.5cm and wider (19.7cm and 20.3cm respectively) than the shaft (11.8cm thick and 17.8cm wide). The height of the shaft is 17.2cm. Both the *urceus* and the *patera* protrude from both sides of the shaft (1.8cm and 1.1cm respectively). The *patera* has a diameter of 7cm, whereas the *urceus* measures 11.6cm by 8.2cm.

There were two main issues which previous editors addressed and to a large extent agreed on: the interpretation of the unusual abbreviations and interpunctuation in the last line of the inscription (“*piēt(issimis) f(i)l(iis)*”), and



the doubt cast upon the unsubstantiated claims regarding the altar’s discovery (“around 1840 in Petham”). In this article, a different reading of the abbreviations in the last line is proposed. Furthermore, the analysis of both the linguistic and formal elements of the altar allows for a substantiated hypothesis regarding its provenance. Finally, an investigation into the previous owners reveals a possible connection with another *alienum* from Canterbury.³

Image 1: The so-called Petham Altar - RIB 2324*.

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³ The lack of any archaeological context reminds me of another funerary monument from Canterbury (RIB 2328*), which has been shown to originate from Augusta Emerita (modern Mérida) in Lusitania (Goessens 2016, 59–72). Tomlin (2015, 408) published my initial findings on this possible link.

pient(issimis) f(i)l(iis)?

In the *Roman Inscriptions of Britain (RIB)*, the text of the inscription has been edited and supplemented to the following extent:

Diplomatic

D M [S]
 C E L I E · M A X S I
 M E Q · V · A N X
 E T · E L I O · A L E X
 S A N D R O · Q V
 A N · I I X E L I V S F E
 L V M I N V S P A
 T · P I E N · T · F · L · F C

Edition

D(is) M(anibus) [s(acrum)]
 {C} *Elie Maxsi-*
me q(uae) v(ixit) an(nos) X
et Elio Alex-
sandro q(ui) v(ixit)
an(nos) IIX Elius Fe-
luminus pa-
t(er) pient(issimis) f(i)l(iis) f(aciendum) c(uravit)

The altar is slightly damaged in the top right corner, and as a result the letter S of the formulaic *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum)* is no longer extant.⁴ On the back of the plinth, there are some roughly carved letters.⁵ The letters of the inscription itself are cut in a slightly irregular actuarial script.⁶ Both the O's and Q's are oval-shaped and the undulating horizontal bars of the L's, E's, F's and T's are more resembling of rustic capitals. The letters found on the pediment measure 1.3cm, whereas they are slightly larger (1.8–2.1cm) in the text inscribed into the shaft.⁷ There are four instances of syllabification by dividing words between lines.⁸ The inconsistent interpunctuation is characterised by

⁴ This damage has been recorded by all previous editors. It seems thus that it predates the altar's first presentation to the public in 1875 (cf. *infra*).

⁵ According to Wright (1965, RIB 2324*) the letters are C? O? T. Autopsy of the altar reveals that there are in fact traces of at least four letters: C (or O), O (or possibly Q), Q and T. It remains, however, unclear when and by whom these letters were cut into to stone, as well as how they should be interpreted or supplemented.

⁶ Also referred to as 'librarian' script, cf. Edmondson 2015, 124–125.

⁷ The letters in the last three lines of the inscriptions are slightly smaller than those in the preceding four lines.

⁸ *Maxsi-me* (l. 2–3), *Alex-sandro* (l. 4–5), *Fe-luminus* (l. 6–7) and *pa-t(er)* (l. 7–8). See also Dennison 1906, 47–68; Bodel 2014, 758. The stonemason seemingly tried to make as much use as possible of

rather rudimentary *hederae*.⁹ The letter *C* at the beginning of the second line appears to be slightly rougher than the other letters in the inscription.¹⁰ This is possibly the result of an unsuccessful attempt by the stonecutter at erasing the letter. The daughter's *gentilicium*, therefore, should be read as '(A)elia', not 'C(a)elia'.¹¹ Although the latter cannot entirely be excluded, the presence of the *gentilicium* '(A)elius' in both the son's and father's name make this interpretation highly improbable. Her *cognomen* 'Max{s}ima' is commonly found in Latin onomastics.¹² The monophthongisation of *-ae* and the digraph *-xs-* instead of *-x-* for the intervocalic /ks/ are common phonetical and orthographical phenomena.¹³ Both are also present in the deceased son's name '(A)elius Alex{s}ander'.¹⁴ 'qui / quae vixit annos ...' is twice abbreviated in the exact same manner, i.e. Q V AN. Maxima was ten years of age when she passed away, Alexander eight. It should be noted that the number eight is rendered by the numeral *IIX* rather than *VIII*.¹⁵ It seems likely that both children died at or around the same time, for which reason their father commemorated them with a single monument. The father's name consists of the same *gentilicium* '(A)elius' and the *cognomen* 'Feluminus' - a corrupted Latinisation of the Greek 'Φιλουμένος' - which is only

the available space by breaking up words on the basis of how they were pronounced. The single letter enjambment in *pa/t(er)* is unusual and only attested in this inscription.

⁹ In line 2 between *ELIE* and *MAXSI*, in line 3 after *Q* and *V*, in line 4 between *ET* and *ELIO*, in line 5 between *SANDRO* and *Q*, in line 6 between *AN* and *IIX* and finally in line 8 after the initial *T*, after *PIEN*, after the second *T*, after *F* and after *L*.

¹⁰ The only other example of the letter *C* in the inscription at the end of the last line is more elegant with a clear serif in the top corner. The cutting of this letter is more resembling of the rough letters on the back of the plinth (cf. supra n. 5).

¹¹ Taylor – Collingwood 1929, 241. For the *nomen* 'Aelius', see Schulze 1991, 116 and 204, and Solin – Salomies 1988, 7. The letter *C* could also be supplemented as the *praenomen* *C(aia)*, cf. Kajava 1994, 38 and 143–147, although this seems to be less probable.

¹² On this *cognomen*, see Kajanto 1965, 275 and 1972, 28–29.

¹³ On the monophthongisation of *-ae-* in inscriptions, see Coleman 1971, 86–92; on the potentially hypercorrective spelling *-xs-* for the intervocalic /ks/, see Adams 2013, 170–171.

¹⁴ On this *cognomen*, see Lörincz – Redö 1994, 41–42; Solin 2003, 191–200.

¹⁵ The preference for the numeral *XII* might be explained due to the lack of space. In fact, the spacing in line 6 of the inscriptions suggest that the stonecutter added the numeral after the name of the father had been cut.

attested in this inscription.¹⁶ Although his social status is not mentioned, it is possible that he is an imperial freedman of Greek origin (or a descendant).¹⁷ If this is the case, the *gentilicium* would suggest the earliest approximative dating to the second half of the second century C.E.¹⁸ The lack of any *praenomina* in the inscription seems to confirm this observation.¹⁹



Image 2: Detail of the letters cut into the back of the plinth.

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¹⁶ Φιλουμένος / Φιλουμένη is well attested throughout the Greek world (224 occurrences in the online database of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGNP)* – <http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/>). For Latin inscriptions, there are in total 311 occurrences (including this one) in the *Epigraphik Datenbank Claus-Slaby (EDCS)* – <http://db.edcs.eu/>. The most common Latin transcription is *Philumen-* (172 occurrences). Other alternative spellings are *Philumin-* (65) and *Filumen-* (51). Less frequently we find *Filumin-* (11) and *Philomen-* (8), whereas uncommon forms are *Filomen-* (*CIL* VIII 17220; *ICUR* IV 10091 = *ILCV* 3024), as well as the unique *Filomin-* (*AE* 2013, 1308) and, as already mentioned, the present *Felumin-*. The name is commonly found for slaves and freedman, mostly in Rome and Italy (cf. Solin 1996, 459–460), with a few occurrences in Southern Gaul, Spain and Illyria.

¹⁷ Weaver 1972, 80–87.

¹⁸ Weaver 1963, 277.

¹⁹ Salomies 1987, 390–413.

The main difficulty in the inscription, however, is the rather problematic last line. Most editors agreed that it should be supplemented as *pient(issimis) f(i) l(iis) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*.²⁰ There should be no doubt about both *pient(tissim-)* and *f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. Yet, for the remaining letters (*TFL*), there are several objections to the generally accepted interpretation. The anomaly of *pient·t(issimis)* and *f(i)·l(iis)* could only be explained as a ‘*lapsus mentis*’ of an otherwise rather literate stonemason. The first issue is the unusual separation of *PIEN* and the letter *T*, as a result of which both the interpretation *pient(issim-)* and *pient(tissim-) t(---)* are possible.²¹ In the other lines of the inscription, the interpunctuation is used – although not in a consistent manner – to separate words or abbreviations between them, not to cause syllabification within a word or abbreviation.²² This would suggest that interpreting these letters as *pient(tissim-) t(---)* should be preferred. Furthermore, it is worth noting that most previous editors attributed this adjective to the deceased children, rather than to their commemorating father.²³ Although the epithet *pientissimus* is usually referring to the deceased, it is not uncommon as a qualification of the commemorator dutifully fulfilling the funerary honours towards the deceased.²⁴ In addition, the word order ‘*pientissimis filiis*’ is rather unusual.²⁵ This suggests that in this case the adjective

²⁰ It was suggested by Watkin (1876, 365–366) and accepted by Hübner (1881, 195) and Taylor – Collingwood (1929, 216). According to Hübner (*op. cit.*) “*sine dubio aut in lapide est FIL·F·C aut certe ita dare debebat quadratarius*”.

²¹ The *EDCS* has 104 occurrences of *pient(issim-)*, whereas there are 39 for *pient(tissim-)*.

²² Cf. note 8.

²³ As suggested by Watkin (1876, 366) and Haug (1886, 148–149). Hübner (1881, 195), as well as Taylor – Collingwood (1929, 216) tacitly avoided the issue by not supplementing the abbreviation. In the *RIB*, on the other hand, the supplemented text reads *pient(issimis)*.

²⁴ In the *EDCS*, there are 325 occurrences in which this adjective is referring to the commemorator. Regarding the word order, the analysis of the cases of “commemorator (*pater/mater/parentes*) + ‘*pientissimus*’ + deceased (*filius/filial/filii*)” have revealed no clear preference. There are 30 such cases (of which 12 have an abbreviated adjective): the adjective refers to the deceased in 9 instances (*AE* 1955, 25 and 1964, 31; *CIL* VI 13553 = XI 259 11*; VI 15876; VI 20694; VI 20725 = III 239 14*; VIII 9389; IX 305; IX 3058 = *CLE* 1479); it equally refers to the commemorator on 9 occasions (*CIL* VI 18171; VI 19945; VI 25890; VI 26329; VI 35067; VI 38691; XI 00169; XIV, 634; *IRC* I 47).

²⁵ This would be the only case in which the word order *pientissimis filiis* is present (possibly also in *CIL* XII 489, yet the reading is doubtful). The word order ‘adjective – noun’ is also uncommon in the combinations of *pientissimus* with other commemorative terminology (17 occurrences for *filius/-a*, 3 for *coniux* (m/f), 5 for *pater/mater*, 2 for *maritus/uxor*).

is more likely to refer to the commemorating father. If we accept *pien(tissimus)* rather than *pient(issimis)*, the letter *T* could be supplemented as *t(itulum)* - a form which is well attested, especially in formulaic constructions.²⁶ Hence, the last line should be supplemented as *pa/t(er) pien(tissimus) t(itulum) f(i)l(iis) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*.

This interpretation still leaves the problematic suggestion of *f(i)·l(iis)* by previous editors. Although the abbreviation *f(i)l(ius/a)* is attested – albeit scarcely – in other inscriptions, this would be the only case in which the letters are separated by means of interpunctuation.²⁷ If, however, we accept the interpuncts to be separating words or abbreviations, the last line could be tentatively supplemented as *pa/t(er) pien(tissimus) t(itulum) f(i)l(iis) l(ibens) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. This suggestion is epigraphically, however, not without its problems. It would be the only instance of the construction *titulum libens faciendum curavit* in a Latin inscription. Moreover, the adjective *libens* is, unsurprisingly, relatively rare in inscriptions of a funerary nature.²⁸



Image 3: Detail of the last line of the inscription: [TER PIEN]·T·F?·L·F·[C].

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²⁶ This abbreviation is normally found with the verbs *p(osuit)*, *f(ecit)* and – although less frequently – *f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. The latter is found in *CIL* III 3629, 3680, 4282, 8218, VII 920 (= *RIB* 2029), X 4226 and XIII 3693.

²⁷ There are only 30 occurrences in the *EDCS* of the abbreviated *f(i)l(i)-*.

²⁸ Although the adjective is present in many votive inscriptions in the formulaic *votum solvit libens merito*, it should be noted that both *libens* and *libens merito* managed to make their way into a small number of funerary inscriptions (e.g. *CIL* VI 3575, *CIL* VI 4924, *AE* 1980, 799), similarly to votive altars being used as funerary monuments. The combination of *titulum* and *libens* is only attested in two other funerary inscriptions (*CIL* III 13014 and VIII 27850).

Moreover, the autopsy of the altar reveals that the formal aspects of the first *F* in the last line do not seem to be in line with the other examples of the letter present on the altar. In fact, upon closer inspection the letter appears to be more resembling of the other examples of the letter *T*. It remains unclear, however, whether what appears to be the lower stroke of a letter *F* is down to some slight damage to the altar or discolouration of the marble, or if the stonemason did indeed intend to cut a letter *F*. If this were indeed a letter *T*, we would be left with more questions than answers. All attempts of sensibly supplementing the letters *T T L* would prove to be futile. The first *T* could again be the abbreviation of *t(itulum)*, but supplementing the following letters as *t(estamento) l(ibens)* would be problematic to say the least and impossible to justify given the age of the deceased and their relationship to the commemorator. We could, perhaps, assume that there is an unusual abbreviation. When disregarding the interpunctuation, *T T L* could be supplemented as *t(i)t(u)l(um)*. But again, it would be impossible to support it with any other epigraphic parallels.²⁹ On the other hand, the anomaly could perhaps be ascribed to an error, either in the draft of the inscription or in the cutting of the letters. An individual involved in the production of the inscription could have been unfamiliar with an abbreviation such as *titul(um)*.³⁰ Or the interpunctuation between the letters could have been the result of the fact that an earlier draft had the common formula [*s(it)*] *t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)*, which the stonemason diligently copied on the stone.³¹ A similar form of confusion resulting in unintelligible abbreviations can be found in a Latin inscription from Quinta de Marim in Portugal.³²

Most of the suggestions outlined above will remain purely speculative. They would not in any way, however, dramatically change the interpretation

²⁹ There is only one other occurrence: *CIL* VI 9162 (= *ILCV* 311; 694; 3766 = *ICUR* II 4280). In this instance, however, *titulus* refers to a church.

³⁰ *titul(-)* has 34 occurrences in the *EDCS*, mainly in inscriptions from the Danubian provinces and Northern Italy, while it is also attested in Roman Spain, North Africa, and Gaul.

³¹ A similar ‘error’ might be attested in an inscription from Mérida, in which the letters of *t(i)t(ulum)* are also separated from one another by means of an interpunct (*ERAE* 161). Another interpretation of these letters, however, is *t(itulum) t(estamento)*, as suggested by Álvarez Sáenz de Buruaga (1945, 6) and Curchin (2010, 28).

³² *IRCP* 45. In this inscription, in fact, the execution of the formula *hic situs est* and *sit tibi terra levis* by a seemingly illiterate stonemason goes completely awry. See Hübner 1872, 354–355 (n. 1), d’Encarnaçao 2016, 56–58 and 2019, 118–120.

of the altar, nor of the last line of its inscription. It remains intriguing why an otherwise seemingly competent and literate *lapicida* would cut the letters and use interpunctuation and abbreviations in the way he did in the last line of this particular inscription. As a result of what has been discussed the following revised edition of the inscription is proposed: *D(is) M(anibus) [s(acrum)] /{C} Elie Maxi/me q(uae) v(ixit) an(nos) X / et Elio Alex/Sandro q(ui) v(ixit) / an(nos) IIX Elius Fe/luminus pa/t(er) pien(tissimus) t(itulum) f(iiliis) l(ibens?) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

“a modern import from the continent”?

Not only the interpretation of the last line proved to be problematic. From the beginning, the scarce details regarding the precise circumstances of the monument’s discovery have raised more questions than answers. It is said to have come to light in the small village of Petham in Kent around 1840. It was presented for the first time at a Summer Meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute in Canterbury in July of 1875.³³ As early as the following year, when it was published for the first time by Watkin, the use of marble – a rare material in Roman Britain especially in a funerary context – raised the suspicion that the monument had most likely been imported.³⁴ A few years later, Emil Hübner suggested that it should be included in a future addendum to the seventh *CIL* volume among the inscriptions from *Portus Lemanae* (Lympne).³⁵ In 1891, Haverfield mentioned this inscription as an example of a modern import.³⁶ Taylor and Collingwood proposed a number of emendations to both Watkin’s and Hübner’s editions, yet with no mention of the monument’s provenance.³⁷ In 1948, it appeared

³³ Morgan 1875, 516.

³⁴ Watkin 1876, 365–366. He suggested that it was either a modern-day import from the continent (quoting Roach Smith), or that the altar itself was imported from Gaul in ancient times with the actual inscription having been carved locally.

³⁵ Hübner 1881, 195 (no. 622). He also reiterated Roach Smith’s claim that it was likely a modern-day import.

³⁶ Haverfield 1891, 241. He added that this particular altar had been unjustly considered a local production.

³⁷ Taylor – Collingwood 1929, 216; cf. *supra*.

alongside *RIB* 2328* (= *CIL* II 585) in the *Quarterly Bulletin* of the Canterbury Royal Museum and Public Library in Canterbury.³⁸ During all of that time, the monument had been in a private collection in Canterbury.³⁹ In 1951, it was auctioned by Sotheby's and purchased by the British Museum.⁴⁰ Collingwood and Wright included the inscription among the *aliena* in the first volume of the *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (1965).⁴¹ Although there is agreement that we are dealing, in all likelihood, with a modern import, no attempt has been made to substantiate a hypothesis on its origin, based on both the linguistic aspects of the inscription and the formal characteristics of the monument.

There are several elements in the inscription which allow us to identify the most likely provenance of this imported altar. First of all, the formula *Dis Manibus sacrum* is primarily found in the Spanish and North African provinces, where it is much more frequently used in funerary inscriptions than *Dis Manibus*.⁴² Secondly, the abbreviated *f(aciendum) c(uravit)* is in geographical terms primarily found in Roman Spain, and to a lesser extent in the Balkan provinces and in Gaul (including Britain and in the Rhine provinces).⁴³ For the latter two regions, most occurrences are found in or around military settlements along the Danube and the Rhine. An assessment of the combined presence of both *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum)* and *f(aciendum) c(uravit)* reveals that the combination is

³⁸ Wright 1948, 27 (photograph) and 29. No new information is provided, yet Wright mentioned the apparent year of discovery to be 1849.

³⁹ Haverfield (1891, 241) stated that it was in a private house in Canterbury. Taylor – Collingwood (1929, 216) confirmed that it was in the possession of Dr. Frank Wacher (1849–1935), cf. *infra*.

⁴⁰ British Museum, *Antiquities Register*, Vol. 26 (February 1948 – December 1958), Prehistory and Roman Britain, Registration Number 1951, 0203.1; Wright 1952, 109. The information in the Register provides no new elements except for “apparently *Luna marble*” (also mentioned in the *RIB*). The register seems to agree with Watkin (cf. *supra*) and considers the altar to be a Romano-British production.

⁴¹ *RIB* 2324*. Collingwood and Wright, concurring with Roach Smith and Haverfield, believed the altar to be an import as it was found some five miles from a major Roman settlement (Canterbury).

⁴² Judging by the total number of occurrences in the *EDCS*, *Dis Manibus* is more than twice as common than the alternative *Dis Manibus Sacrum*. In the Spanish provinces, on the other hand, *Dis Manibus Sacrum* is preferred to *Dis Manibus* by a ratio of approx. 3:2. For North Africa, the preference in favour of *Dis Manibus Sacrum* is even more outspoken by a ratio of approx. 3:1.

⁴³ Horster 2015, 522–523. Originally, the formula was used mostly in building inscriptions. Later, it appeared in epitaphs as an alternative to *fecit*. In a funerary context it is most common in the Spanish provinces and in the Balkans.

strikingly predominant in inscriptions from Spain.⁴⁴ Non-Spanish occurrences of both *formulae* are scarce.⁴⁵

A closer look at the formal aspects of the monument further strengthens the hypothesis of a Spanish provenance. The marble altar is characterised by a plain shaft and undecorated *pulvini* and *tympanum*. In chronological terms, the earliest example of this particular type of funerary monument from Rome dates back to the late Julio-Claudian period. Most other surviving examples are dateable to the first half of the second century C.E.⁴⁶ The monument is also found throughout Italy and in the those provinces with a large number of Roman colonies. It is a common occurrence in the Spanish provinces, especially in Baetica and Lusitania.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the use of both local and imported marble for the production of funerary monuments is well attested in these regions.⁴⁸ It is worth mentioning that two *taurobolium* altars from Córdoba, dateable to the 230s C.E., are of similar typology to the Petham altar.⁴⁹ If a Spanish origin for the latter were accepted, the proposed dating of the altar would be the first half of the third century rather than the second half of the second century C.E.⁵⁰ The use of the superlative *pietissimus* would also support such dating.⁵¹ Finally, as a result of these findings, a Spanish origin would also strengthen the case for the aforementioned possible error or confusion in the last line.⁵²

⁴⁴ They account for almost 80% of the total number of occurrences, with by far the largest concentration from Lusitania.

⁴⁵ North Africa: 40 occurrences (16 are from the *municipium* of Lambaesis alone), Italy: 8; Balkans: 4, Rome: 3, Gaul (including Britain): 3 (excluding *RIB* 2324* and 2328*).

⁴⁶ Boschung 1988, 14–22.

⁴⁷ Gamer 1989, 112–123. Altars of similar typology were found in Badajoz (*CIL* II 5357), Évora (*CIL* II 5195), Villafranca de los Barros (*CIL* II 5355 and 5356) and Córdoba (*CIL* II 2236).

⁴⁸ On the import of Italian marble in Spain, see Russell 2013, 154–161; on local Spanish marble, see Cisneros Cunchillos 1988, 85–120.

⁴⁹ *CIL* II²/7 233 and 234 – dateable to 234 and 238 C.E. respectively.

⁵⁰ Cf. *supra*, based on the analysis of the onomastic elements present in the inscription.

⁵¹ Curchin 1982, 179.

⁵² Most of the funerary inscriptions in which the formula *sit tibi* (or *vobis*) *terra levis* is attested, originate from Roman Spain (Hartke 1901, 32–38; Lattimore 1942, 66–74).

“in Petham, around 1840”?

The likelihood of a Spanish origin necessitates a reconsideration of the claim about the altar’s discovery. It was said to have been found around 1840 in Petham when it was presented for the first time in 1875.⁵³ In the proceedings of that meeting, it is mentioned that “*a Roman inscribed altar found at Petham, some glass unguentaria, etc., fibulae, and bronze objects of various kinds were sent by Miss Pout, Mr. Parry, Mr. Brent and others.*”⁵⁴ It has been possible to identify Miss Pout as Fanny Ellen Pout (1840–1909), a spinster from Canterbury. Prior to her death she had appointed the surgeon Frank Wacher (1849–1935), also from Canterbury, as one of the executors of her will, yet it remains unclear as to how the latter came into possession of the altar.⁵⁵ Upon Frank Wacher’s death in 1935, it was passed on to his eldest son Dr. Harold Wacher (1876–1949).⁵⁶ Two years after his death, it was acquired by the British Museum.⁵⁷

Having established its owner as far back as 1875, the year in which it was first presented, the question remains as to how Miss Pout obtained the altar. It seems likely that she inherited the artefact from her father, John Pout (1801–1875), “*upholsterer and auctioneer living in 6 High Street at Canterbury*”.⁵⁸ He had died just a few months prior to the Summer Meeting of the Royal Archaeological

⁵³ In and around the small village of Petham some other Roman finds had come to light in the late 18th and 19th century (cf. Roach Smith 1857, 173–175; Payne 1893, 197; Taylor 1932, 162). In 2012, a Roman balsam vessel was discovered near the village (Richardson 2013, 41).

⁵⁴ Morgan 1875, 516.

⁵⁵ *National Probate Calendar 1909*: “Pout, Fanny Ellen at Myrtle Cottage, Westbere, Kent, spinster, died 18 August 1909. Probate Canterbury 22 October to Frank Wacher surgeon and Frank Amos auctioneer.” In the actual will, there is no specific reference to the altar. It is stated that “all jewellery, trinkets and personal ornaments and also [her] wearing apparel and all of [her] household furniture, plate, linen, china, glass, books, prints, pictures and other household effects” were to be bequeathed in equal shares to her nieces. As per the will, her “friend” Frank Wacher in his capacity as executor, was to be bequeathed the sum of £20. This suggests that Frank Wacher had either come into possession of the altar prior to Fanny Ellen Pout’s death, or that perhaps the item had been purloined by him.

⁵⁶ On Dr. Harold Wacher, see Obituary, *British Medical Journal* 4605 (1949); Wilmot 1993, 3.

⁵⁷ Cf. *supra*.

⁵⁸ *National Probate Calendar 1875*: “Pout, John [Probate] 22 March. The Will of John Pout late of the City of Canterbury, Upholder, who died 22 February at the said City, was proved at Canterbury by Fanny Ellen Pout, Spinster, the Daughter, and Charles Holttum, Surgeon, both of the said City, the Executors.” In the actual will there is no reference to the altar.

Institute. Quite possibly, Miss Pout wanted to gather expert advice on the item which had recently come into her possession. Therefore, we can assume that the information regarding archaeological context provided in both the report of the meeting and in Watkin's account were, in fact, based on her claims. This, of course, raises the question as to why the altar was said to have been found in Petham around 1840.

Both the village of Petham and the figure of John Pout reveal a possible connection with another Spanish *alienum* that ended up in Canterbury (RIB 2328* = CIL II 585). John Pout had served as the librarian for the Canterbury Philosophical and Literary Institute in the 1830s. As such he was acquainted with William Henry Baldock, Esq., of Petham (1786–1844), who had donated the Spanish altar from Mérida to the the institute's museum in 1833.⁵⁹ Baldock was a banker in Canterbury as a partner in the Halford, Baldock & Co (also known as the Canterbury Union Bank).⁶⁰ Pout and Baldock were both members of the local branch of the Conservative Party. Perhaps most revealing of their acquaintance, as well as their personal and professional ties is the role both played in the voter fraud and bribery during the 1841 Canterbury by-election and general election.⁶¹ After the Union Bank filed for bankruptcy later that same year, Baldock was forced to move from his Petham estate to Godmersham near Ashford, where he died in 1844.⁶² Both these biographical elements are strikingly similar to the claim that RIB 2324* was found in Petham around 1840, and could unintentionally reveal that W. H. Baldock was in possession of the altar.

Unfortunately, no will of W. H. Baldock has survived, and therefore his ownership of the altar cannot be ascertained. In the months that followed the

⁵⁹ Goessens 2016, 62.

⁶⁰ William Henry Baldock was the nephew of William Baldock, known for having been a smuggler and later in life a property developer in Canterbury. William Baldock was born in Petham and would die there in 1812, leaving a legacy of more than £ 1,100,000. William Henry was the main beneficiary of his uncle's legacy and moved to Petham. See Thompson 1988, 61–62 (on the Petham estate); Osborne 2015, 1–9 (on the Baldock family).

⁶¹ Slade *et al.* 1853, 509–513

⁶² Cf. “*In the matter of Richard Halford, William Henry Baldock and Osborn Snoulton of Canterbury, Kent*”, Bankers (Dealers and Chapmen), Bankrupts. Volume 3. Date of Commission of Bankruptcy: 1841 October 6; renewed 1841 October 8, currently held at the National Archives in Kew, Ref. B 3/2624.

bankruptcy of the Canterbury Union Bank in 1841, W. H. Baldock was forced to sell his Petham estate in order to pay the bank's creditors.⁶³ It is possible that John Pout obtained the altar at that time given his involvement as auctioneer in the sale of a number of properties and possessions that were once owned by Halford, Baldock and Snoulton.⁶⁴ In both cases the vagueness of the claims "*some time during the 1840's*" and "*Petham, along Stone Street*" might be deliberate in order to conceal the true nature of the altar's acquisition by both Baldock and Pout. Due to the circumstantial nature of the evidence, however, it has proven to be impossible to ascertain the precise circumstances under which this Roman altar made it into the private collection of the Pout family.

Conclusion

A closer examination of the small funerary altar believed to have come to light in the Kentish village of Petham around 1840 has revealed new insights relating to the inscription, as well as to its origin. In this contribution, a new possible interpretation has been offered for the uncommon abbreviations and interpunctuation in the last line. Furthermore, as a result of the linguistic analysis of the inscription and the altar's formal aspects, a number of arguments have been put forward in favour of a Spanish origin. This hypothesis is even further strengthened thanks to new information regarding the altar's previous owners. In fact, there is a possibility that this altar (*RIB 2324**) can be linked to another *alienum* from Canterbury (*RIB 2328** = *CIL II 585*), which unquestionably originates from Augusta Emerita (Mérida). Perhaps there might be more to the indication "*in Petham around 1840*" than previously thought.

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⁶³ *Kentish Gazette*, 21st May 1844, 2–3.

⁶⁴ *Kentish Gazette*, 14th June 1842, 2.

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AN UNREAD SAFAITIC GRAFFITO FROM POMPEII

KYLE HELMS

Scholars have known about the Safaitic graffiti in Pompeii's theater corridor (VIII 7, 20) since Calzini Gysens' *editio princeps* appeared in 1987.¹ More recently, it has been argued that these inscriptions – eleven distinct texts commemorating the presence of twelve individuals – were written by nomads from the Ḥarrah who had been incorporated into *Legio III Gallica* and who were billeted in Campania in late December 69 or early January 70 CE.²

To these twelve known visitors, we can now add one more. An image of a previously unaccounted for Safaitic inscription was published in volume two of Varone's 2012 photographic survey of Vesuvian graffiti.³ There, in a photograph taken in the theater corridor and labeled D/74859, one can see clearly an additional Safaitic graffito, which was not among those previously published by Calzini Gysens, and which has not – to my knowledge – been transcribed or published elsewhere. The new Safaitic text is, however, quite legible in Varone's photograph. Below, I offer an edition, translation, and commentary.

¹ J. Calzini Gysens, "Graffiti safaitici a Pompei", *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 5 (1987) 107–17; *ed. alt.*: J. Calzini Gysens, "Safaitic graffiti from Pompeii", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 20 (1990) 1–7. See also *CIL* IV 4961–4963 (cf. p. 1871).

² K. Helms, "Pompeii's Safaitic Graffiti", *JRS* 111 (2021) 203–14. Calzini Gysens' nine inscriptions were reedited as eleven distinct texts in the Online Corpus of Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA). The OCIANA database is maintained at <http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/> and the Pompeian texts carry the sigla CGSP 1–5, 5.1, 6–7, 7.1, 8–9.

³ A. Varone, *Titulorum graphio exaratorum qui in C.I.L. vol. 4 collecti sunt imagines*, 2, Roma 2012, 414.

Pompeii, theater corridor (VIII 7, 20). Varone, *Imagines* (2012), 414 (photo D/74859).

Late Dec. 69–early Jan. 70 CE.

l'nm, “By 'nm”.

In terms of paleography, the *ductus* in this inscription is consistent with the other Pompeian Safaitic, and is written in the so-called “common” variant of the Safaitic script.⁴ For the shape of ' , cf. the same letter in CGSP 8 (visible in Varone’s photographs as line 2 in D/74639) and the form of ' in no. 12 in Clark’s reference tables.⁵ For the shape of the *n*, cf. CGSP 6 where *n* also has a broad circular shape (also visible in Varone’s photo D/74638 – but note that D/74638 must be rotated 180°).⁶ For the *m* that follows, cf. the same character in CGSP 5 and 5.1 (both visible in Varone’s D/74637; again, one must rotate the photograph 180°), though *m* in those inscriptions has a slightly more crescent form; cf. *m* no. 37 in Clark. Only the initial *l* in the unread graffito differs from other Pompeian examples: here, its single vertical stroke seems to have been double-cut – as happens occasionally with Vesuvian graffiti – but it is unclear whether this was due to authorial indecision, coarse plaster, the quality of incision tool, or some other reason.⁷

Turning to content, this new graffito records a name. It begins with the so-called *lam auctoris*, the preposition *l* (“by”), which is followed by the name of

⁴ For letter forms of the Safaitic script, see V. A. Clark, *A New Study of Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan*, University of Melbourne PhD thesis 1979, 67–71. Letter forms cited below are from Clark’s tables on 70–71.

⁵ Color photographs of the Safaitic are also available in OCIANA, e.g., http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0018587.html for CGSP 8.

⁶ Between *n* and the next character, *m*, the plaster appears abraded, and one might wonder whether there could have been one additional (small) character in that space. Comparing the similar name ' *n'm* in CGSP 6 is helpful, as the form of ' there is indeed quite small. Against this possibility, even a small additional character – such as ' – would create a decidedly cramped and uneven letter spacing, whereas Pompeii’s Safaitic graffiti are remarkably evenly spaced otherwise. All things considered, the new graffito appears most likely to be ' *nm* rather than another instance of ' *n'm*.

⁷ It is likely that most plaster-cut graffiti were typically incised with a metal *stilus*: see P. Lohmann, *Graffiti als Interaktionsform. Geritzte Inschriften in den Wohnhäusern Pompejis*, Berlin 2018, 246–51. For single-stroke characters that are double-cut, cf. examples of the letter *l* in *CIL* IV 2416 (cf. pp. 223, 1767–8), also from the theater corridor.

its author.⁸ This kind of inscription is one of the most common text genres for Safaitic graffiti in the Ḥarrah, and is indeed the same as all the other previously known examples from Pompeii's theater corridor. The name that follows appears to be 'nm. This name is attested twenty times in Safaitic graffiti from the Ḥarrah, according to OCIANA's onomastics database.⁹ However, 'nm does not appear in the previously read Safaitic graffiti at Pompeii. We can thus reunite 'nm with his other companions from *III Gallica* and raise the total number of nomadic visitors to Pompeii's theater corridor to thirteen.

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⁸ See A. Al-Jallad and K. Jaworska, *A Dictionary of the Safaitic Inscriptions*, Leiden 2019, 10.

⁹ Accessed on 6 July 2021: <http://krccfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd/ociana>

KETOS UND KEPHEUS BEI ARAT. 629–652

WOLFGANG HÜBNER

Die griechischen Namen des Kepheus, des verstorbenen äthiopischen Königs und Vaters der Andromeda, und des Ketos (heute Walfisch genannt), des gegen Andromeda wütenden Seeungeheuers, lauten ähnlich, besonders in epischen Formen wie den Genetiven Κηφῆος und Κήτεος. Es nimmt darum nicht wunder, daß sie auch verwechselt wurden. In den beiden folgenden Beispielen geht die Verwechslung in dieselbe Richtung: Das weniger geläufige Appellativum Κῆτος wurde durch den wegen der Andromeda-Sage sattem bekannten Eigennamen Κηφεύς verdrängt.

Der erste Fall entstammt den Φαινόμενα des hellenistischen Lehrdichters Arat. Nachdem dieser die Himmelshohlkugel zunächst im Ruhezustand beschrieben hat,¹ versetzt er den Globus in eine Drehung. Er läßt die extrazodiakalen Sternbilder (παρανατέλλοντα oder συνανατέλλοντα) zusammen mit den zwölf Tierkreiszeichen auf- oder untergehen.² Wenn der Skorpion aufgeht, sagt er, verschwinden diejenigen Teile Andromedas und des Walfischs, die bisher gerade noch am Himmel sichtbar waren:³ Ἀνδρομέδης καὶ Κητέος ὅσσο' ἐλέλειπτο. Der Text ist einhellig überliefert, keine der eingesehenen Ausgaben vermerken eine Variante, geschweige denn eine Konjektur. So stimmen denn auch fast alle Übersetzungen überein – bis auf eine Ausnahme. In

¹ Arat. 19–450.

² Arat. 559–732, beginnend mit dem Krebs nach dem Jahresbeginn der Ägypter. Grundsätzlich ist zu unterscheiden zwischen dem Auf- oder Untergang im Laufe der täglichen Rotation und der ersten oder letzten Sichtbarkeit während der jährlichen Revolution am Abend oder Morgen, dem akronychischen oder heliakischen „Aufgang“ und „Untergang“: Boll 1909, 2424f.

³ Arat. 647.

der sonst vorzüglichen zweisprachigen Ausgabe von M. Erren (1971)⁴ steht links der richtige Originaltext Κητέος, in der Übersetzung heißt es jedoch: „was von Andromeda und Kepheus übriggeblieben war.“

Auf dieselbe Aratstelle nimmt Hygin in seinen *Astronomica* Bezug:⁵ (sc. *occidit*) *reliquum corpus Andromedae cum capite Cephei*. So die einhellige handschriftliche Überlieferung. In der Anmerkung zu seiner Ausgabe sagt A. Le Boeuffle:⁶ „les copistes, en écrivant *Cephei* au lieu de *Ceti*, ont commis un lapsus d'anticipation, puisque *Cepheus* est mentionné aussitôt après.“ Da der Name *Cepheus* sogleich folgt, scheint ein Lapsus Hygins selbst ausgeschlossen zu sein: Der Fehler dürfte tatsächlich erst im Laufe der Überlieferung, aber schon im Archetypus, entstanden sein.

Aber nicht nur Hygin, sondern auch der zugrundeliegende Arattext nennt den Namen Κηφεύς kurz darauf.⁷ Und schon vorher liest man die beiden Namen Ketos und Kepheus kurz hintereinander, und zwar jeweils am Anfang zweier aufeinander folgender Verse:⁸ Κήτεος und Κηφεύς. Ob hier eine beabsichtigte Paronomasie vorliegt, läßt sich nicht beweisen, immerhin haben etliche Forscher im Anschluß als das sichere und programmatische Akrostichon λεπτή⁹ weitere Wortspiele bei dem Dichter gefunden, und zwar sogleich im zweiten Vers ἄρρητον wegen Ἄρατος¹⁰ und genauso gerade auch bei dem Kepheus: ἄρρητον wegen Ἄρατος¹¹ und gleich darauf οὐρανόν am Versanfang und οὐρῆς am Versende.¹² Überdies haben schon Arat selbst oder seine Scholiasten Namen

⁴ Erren 1972, 40f.

⁵ Hyg. *astr.* 4,12,8.

⁶ Le Boeuffle 1983, 211 Anm. 21.

⁷ Arat. 649, s.u.

⁸ Arat. 630f., s.u.

⁹ Arat. 783–787, entdeckt von Jacques 1960, vgl. Vogt 1967, 83–87 sowie Kidd 1997 und Martin 1998 ad l. Weitere Etymologien bei Ronconi 1937, 171–202.

¹⁰ Hopkinson 1988, 139 Anm. 2, bezweifelt von Bing 1990, vgl. jedoch Kidd 1997, ad l.: „a mere pun here is not impossible.“ – Fragwürdig ist dagegen Cusset 2002, 193 zu Arat. 867–870 φάμα. Allzu kühn Castelletti 2012, 193 zu Arat. 6–8 ἰδμῆ (= ἰδμοσύνη) mit weiteren Beispielen, auch aus anderen griechischen oder lateinischen Dichtern.

¹¹ Arat. 180 und Cusset 2002, 189 nach dem Vorbild von Hopkinson zu Vers 2, s.o.

¹² Arat. 181 / 184 und Cusset 2002, 189f.

von Sternbildern etymologisch erklärt: Ἄμαξαι nach ἄμα und ἄξων (wegen der Bärinnen, die die Weltachse drehen):¹³

Ἄρκτοι ἄμα τροχόωσι· τὸ δὴ καλέονται Ἄμαξαι,

Sirius nach dem Verbum σεριάει,¹⁴ der Adler nach dem „Wehen“,¹⁵ so vielleicht auch die dunkle Farbe (κύνεος) am Bauch des Großen Hundes (Κύων).¹⁶ Es lohnt sich daher, den formalen und sachlichen Zusammenhang zwischen Kepheus und Ketos genauer zu untersuchen. Eine wichtige Hilfe sind hierbei die beiden Kommentare von J. Martin (1956 sowie 1998) und D. Kidd (1997).

Die Tierkreiszeichen Waage (Χηλαί, d.h. „Zangen“ oder „Scheren“) und Skorpion waren ursprünglich einmal ein einziges riesiges Zeichen, das zwei Ekliptikzwölfstel (δωδεκατημόρια) einnahm.¹⁷ Ihre Paranatellonten läßt Arat ab Vers 607 beginnen: im Norden oder im Süden, entweder auf- oder untergehend, sind dies Bootes (mit Arktur), Argo, Hydra, Engonasin-Hercules (ausführlich), daneben die nördliche Krone, sodann der südliche Kentaur, Pegasus und der Schwan. Danach folgt Andromeda als erste Figur von fünf mythologisch zusammenhängenden und vor allem durch die (verlorenen) Andromeda-Dramen des Sophokles und Euripides allgemein bekannten Sternbildern der Kepheus-Gruppe Κηφέος μογερόν γένος Ἰασίδαο:¹⁸ Die vier menschengestaltigen Figuren befinden sich auf der nördlichen Hemisphäre

¹³ Arat. 22 ἄξων und 27 Ἄμαξαι, vgl. 93 ἀμαξαίης ... Ἄρκτου, dazu Le Boëuffle 1977, 86 mit Anm. 3; Kidd 1997 ad l.; Montanari Caldini 2006, 125 mit Bibliographie. – Zum weiblichen Geschlecht der Bärinnen Boll – Gundel 1937, 869–875.

¹⁴ Schol. zu Arat. 331 σεριάει p. 243,2: παρ' ὅσον σέσηπεν αὐτοῦ τὸ φῶς, vgl. Nonn. *Dion.* 38,357 Κυνὶ σεραίωντι und Kidd 1997 zu 332 Σείριον.

¹⁵ Arat. 313 ἄηται und 315 Ἀητόν, jeweils am Versende, vgl. Kidd 1997, ad d.: mit gekürzter erster Silbe in Ἀητόν.

¹⁶ Arat. 329 und Cusset 2002, 193, noch nicht bei Kidd 1997 ad l. Dagegen unwahrscheinlich Rostropowicz 1998, 210 über Λαγωός und Λαγίδες.

¹⁷ Eratosth. *Cat.* 7 διὰ τὸ μέγεθος εἰς δύο δωδεκατημόρια διαίρεται, u.a., vgl. Boll – Gundel 1937, 964f.; Hübner 1977, 50f. und 1982, 113f. unter Nr. 2.14, s.u. Die Zusammenstellung von Tierkreiszeichen zu Paaren hat ihren Ursprung im alten Mondkalender, in dem jeweils zwei synodische Monate zusammen etwa 59 ganze Tage ausmachen: vgl. Hübner 1998.

¹⁸ So faßt Arat. 179 die Gruppe des Dramas zusammen.

(Kepheus, Kassiopeia, Andromeda und der in diesem Abschnitt nicht berücksichtigte Perseus), während das Meeresungeheuer als einziges Sternbild weit entfernt auf der südlichen Hemisphäre angesiedelt ist.¹⁹ Die beiden Sternbilder mit dem ähnlichen Namen, Kepheus und Ketos, sind das nördlichste und das südlichste Sternbild dieser Gruppe.

Im Gegensatz zu dem römischen Lehrdichter Manilius, der im fünften Buch seiner *Astronomica* im Anschluß an seine Quelle, den Astrologen Teukros von Babylon (spätestens Ende erstes Jh. vor Chr.), die einzelnen Sternbilder gewöhnlich mit genauen Einzelgraden der Ekliptik aufgehen läßt,²⁰ ist Arat bestrebt, die an einem drehbaren Globus abgelesene allmähliche Bewegung der Himmelshohlkugel durch gleitende und relativierende Übergänge bei dem Hörer oder Leser ständig wachzuhalten. Trotz dieser grundsätzlich dynamischen Darstellung lassen sich bei den Nachbarzeichen Waage und Skorpion drei Unterabschnitte genauer abgrenzen:

Vers 629–633 (mit der aufgehenden Waage): partieller Untergang von Andromeda, Ketos und Kepheus,

Vers 634–646 (mit dem aufgehenden Skorpion): Untergang von Eridanos und Orion,

Vers 647–658 (weiter mit dem aufgehenden Skorpion): fortgesetzter Untergang von vier Figuren des Dramas: Andromeda, Ketos, Kepheus (nur teilweise) und Kassiopeia.

Der erste und der dritte Abschnitt sind – über Eridanos und Orion hinweg – formal durch die Reprise der drei Sternbilder Andromeda, Ketos und Kepheus und damit inhaltlich durch den Mythos der Andromeda-Tragödie verbunden, wobei der dritte Abschnitt noch die untergehende Kassiopeia hinzufügt. Zunächst sei in aller Kürze der Mittelabschnitt über Orion und den Skorpion vorausgenommen.

¹⁹ Arat. 353f. *οὐκ ὀλίγον περ ἀπόπροθι πεπηγῆσαν / Ἀνδρομέδην*. Die Häufung von Wasserwesen an dem horizontnahen Südhimmel wurde seit Thiele 1898, 5 beobachtet, vgl. Boll – Gundel 1937, 1006,32–42 anlässlich der Argo, ferner Hübner 1984, 221f. u.ö.

²⁰ Hübner 2010, I 25–29. Hier zeigt sich die Vorliebe römischer Dichter, im Gegensatz zu dynamischen Übergängen bei den Griechen fest abgegrenzte ‚Blöcke‘ zu bilden.

1. Orion und der Skorpion (Vers 634–646)

Beim Aufgang des Skorpions wendet sich der Dichter nach einer kurzen Erwähnung des südlichen Flusses (Eridanos) in einer Epiklese an die Göttin Artemis und erzählt recht ausführlich den Katasterismus des riesigen Sternbildes Orion (*μέγαν Ὠρίωνα*). Es handelt sich bei Skorpion und Orion um zwei leicht auffindbare Sternbilder der Südhemisphäre in der Nähe des Himmelsäquators. Im Süden befinden sich ja die meisten hellen Sterne, weil unsere Sonne auf einem südlichen Ast oder Arm der Milchstraße angesiedelt ist. Der Mythos über Orion und den Skorpion gehört zu jenen zahlreichen Beispielen, in denen die scheinbare Bewegung des Sternhimmels als Flucht und Verfolgung von Sternbildern gedeutet wird.²¹ Heute nehmen wir im Allgemeinen wenig wahr, daß auch die Sternbilder an der scheinbaren täglichen Rotation des Himmels teilhaben. Verfänglich ist dabei der Ausdruck „Fixsterne“, der nicht „feststehend“ bedeutet, sondern nur besagt, daß sie an der achten Sphäre „angeheftet“ sind (*affixae*).²² Sonst gilt Orion als Verfolger der Pleiaden, die im Stier, also dem Skorpion diametral gegenüber, verstornt sind.²³ Hier ist es jedoch anders: Orion war der Göttin Artemis zu nahe getreten, entweder weil

²¹ Einige Beispiele Hübner 1984, 219 mit Anm. 259.

²² Boll 1909, 2407.

²³ *Schol. Arat.* 254f. p. 202,9: τὸν Ὠρίωνα φεύγουσαι. *Hyg. astr.* 2,21,4 *itaque adhuc Orion fugientes eas* [sc. *Pliadas*] *ad occasum sequi videtur*. Die Opposition von Stier und Skorpion war für Astronomen besonders signifikant, weil ihre beiden rötlichen Hauptsterne (Aldebaran im Stier, und Antares im Skorpion) gradegenau einander gegenüberliegen: *Ptol. synt.* 7,5 p. 88,2, Aldebaran bei Taurus 12° 40' und 8,1 p. 111,7 Antares bei Scorpius 12° 40', vgl. Boll 1916, 18. – Pleiaden und Orion werden schon früh als untergehende Sternbilder nebeneinander genannt:

Hes. *Op.* 614–616:

αὐτὰρ ἔπην δὴ
Πληιάδες θ' Ἰάδες τε τὸ σθένοσ Ὠαρίωνος
δύνωσιν, ...

Pind. *Nem.* 2,10–12:

ἔστι δ' εἰκόσ
ὄρειᾶν γε Πελειάδων
μὴ θηλόθεν Ὠαρίωνα νεῖσθαι.

Vgl. Eitrem 1928, 53–64. Die Pleiaden spielten bei den Babyloniern eine wichtige Rolle und ihre Sichtbarkeit hatte auch bei den Griechen schon früh eine kalendarische Bedeutung: Boll – Gundel 1937, 942f.

er ihre Tiere bedrängt oder sie auf der Jagd vergewaltigt hatte,²⁴ und die Göttin ließ ihn daraufhin durch einen erdgeborenen Skorpion töten. Daß ein winziges Insekt mit punktueller Wirkung den großen Jäger tötet, wird sonst als Paradox gesehen, das der Dichter Manilius im Hinblick auf den berühmten Gegensatz zwischen den beiden polaren Bärinnen gleich am Anfang der *Φαινόμενα*²⁵ zu dem tetragonalen Abstand zwischen dem expansiven Löwen und dem durch einen Stich wirkenden Skorpion in Beziehung setzt.²⁶ Hier jedoch erscheint der Skorpion mächtiger (eigentlich „mehr“) als der Riese:²⁷

ἔκτανε πολλὸν ἔόντα / πλειότερος προφανείς.

War das Insekt vor seiner Verstirnung wirklich größer als der riesige Jäger? A. Ronconi denkt hier an den verstirnten Skorpion:²⁸ „lo Scorpione [...] opera come animale, non come costellazione; ma il προφανείς mostra che Arato [...] applica già all'animale i termini che si adattano propriamente alla costellazione.“ Dagegen wendet D. Kidd ein:²⁹ „the point of antithesis is purely a matter of size.“ Doch man kann sich den Skorpion vor seiner Verstirnung eigentlich nicht größer vorstellen als Orion. Ronconi präzisiert weiter: πλειότερος bedeute „più pieno“, quasi „con tutte le sue stelle“. Das führt aber wohl auf eine falsche Spur,

²⁴ Die Sagen werden verschieden erzählt, vgl. außer Arat selbst: Eratosth. *Cat.* 7 mit Parallelen in der Ausgabe von Robert 1878; Gundel 1927, 599f.; Boll – Gundel 1937, 967; Kidd 1997, zu Vers 636 *Ωρίωνα*.

²⁵ Arat. 36–44: Die Große Bärin ist ausgedehnter und leicht zu finden, aber weiter vom Pol entfernt, während die Sterne der Kleinen Bärin auf engerem Raum schwächer leuchten, dafür aber den Nordpol genauer anzeigen. Zu den vielfältigen Übertragungen dieses paradoxen Gegensatzes bis hin zur Erkenntnistheorie Hübner 2005, 142–149.

²⁶ Manil. 5,693–709 mit Kommentar (2010), II 402–428 (besonders zu 5, 697 *Scorpius acer*): die Kombination der tetragonalen Sternbilder Löwe und Skorpion erzeugt zusammen mit den einander entgegengesetzt schwimmenden zodiakalen Fischen Elefantenreiter, die mit ihren winzigen Sporen das massige Tier bewegen, gedeutet auch als Abbild der unsichtbaren Weltachse, die das gewaltige Universum in Bewegung setzt.

²⁷ Arat. 643f. Hyperbolisch Manil. 5,11 am Anfang eines Sternkataloges, der mit den südlichen Bildern beginnt: *magni pars maxima caeli*, dazu der Kommentar 2010, II 6.

²⁸ Ronconi 1937, 198f.

²⁹ Kidd 1997, ad. l.

denn der Scholiast scheint die richtige Erklärung gefunden zu haben:³⁰ ὅτι καὶ δύο ἄστρον μήκος ἐπέχει καὶ ἐξηκοντάμοιρός ἐστιν ἄλλος. Er verweist also auf die oben erwähnte alte Astrothesie, nach der der Riesenskorpion einst zwei Ekliptikzöwlfel von 60° besetzte.

Schlußendlich soll Zeus den Orion und den Skorpion dergestalt an den Himmel versetzt haben, daß der Skorpion den Orion verjagt:³¹ φοβέει μέγαν Ὀρίωνα, und daher „flieht“ der Riese vor dem Insekt:³²

τοῦνεκα δὴ καὶ φασὶ περαιόθεν ἐρχομένοιο
Σκορπίου Ὀρίωνα περὶ χθόνος ἔσχατα φεύγειν.

Deswegen sagt man denn auch, daß Orion, wenn der Skorpion von der anderen Seite kommt, am Äußersten der Erde flieht.

Die Schlußpointe φεύγειν leitet zum nächsten Abschnitt über, denn der Dichter bezeichnet kurz darauf den endgültigen Untergang von Andromeda und Ketos mit demselben Verbum: φεύγουσιν. Er gestaltet damit einen assoziativen Übergang von der Flucht dreier Sternbilder vor dem aufgehenden Skorpion: zunächst Orion, dann Andromeda und Ketos. Die letzten beiden Sternbilder gilt es nun zusammen mit dem Kepheus genauer zu betrachten.

2. Andromeda, Ketos und Kepheus (Vers 629–633 und 647–652)

Die beiden korrespondierenden Abschnitte über Andromeda, Ketos und Kepheus, die das Intermezzo über Orion umgeben, hängen so eng miteinander zusammen, daß eine getrennte Behandlung nur mit lästigen Antizipationen oder Wiederholungen möglich wäre. Die beiden Texte sollen daher gemeinsam

³⁰ Schol. Arat. 644 p. 352, vgl. 545 p. 322,13 ὑπερβάλλειν und außer Anm. 17 besonders Hübner 1982, 193f. unter Nr. 2.14 und Verg. georg. 1,35 *Scorpius ... iusta plus parte reliquit*: Die ursprüngliche Pleonexie wird zugunsten einer gerechten Verteilung reduziert.

³¹ Arat. 636, φοβέει wie Ps.Verg. *Ciris* 535 *fugat Oriona*, s.u.

³² Arat. 645f. Dazu Schol. Arat. 636 p. 350,9 αἰεὶ φεύγει· καὶ ὅτε ἐκείνος ἀνατέλλει, ὁ Ὀρίων δύνει, ὅτε δὲ δύνει ὁ Σκορπίος, ὁ Ὀρίων ἀνατέλλει. Hyg. *astr.* 2,26 (am Ende) *itaque eum ita constitutum, ut cum Scorpius exoriatur, occidat Orion*. Ferner Ps.Verg. *Ciris* 535 *Scorpius alternis clarum fugat Oriona*; Comment. Lucan. 9,836 *qui ita κατὰ διάμετρον positi sunt, ut altero oriente velut fugiat alter*.

interpretiert werden. Die Übersetzungen bemühen sich mehr um Genauigkeit als um Gefälligkeit:

a) Mit dem Aufgang der Waage (Vers 629–633)

δύνει δ' Ἀνδρομέδης κεφαλῆ· τὸ δέ οἱ μέγα δεῖμα
 Κήτεος ἠερόεις ἐπάγει νότος· ἀντία δ' αὐτὸς 630
 Κηφεὺς ἐκ βορέω μεγάλη ἀνά χειρὶ κελεύει·
 καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐς λοφιὴν τετραμμένον ἄχρι παρ' αὐτῆν
 δύνει, ἀτὰρ Κηφεὺς κεφαλῆ καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ὤμῳ.

Es verschwindet Andromedas Kopf; doch der dunstreiche Südwind schickt gegen sie den großen Schrecken des Ketos; aber gegenüber treibt (es) vom Norden her Kepheus selbst mit starker Hand zurück: und dieses, zu seinem Kamm hingewendet, geht bis zu diesem unter, aber Kepheus (nur) mit Kopf und Hand (Arm) und Schulter.

b) Mit dem Aufgang des Skorpions (Vers 647–652)

οὐδὲ μὲν Ἀνδρομέδης καὶ Κητέος ὅσος' ἐλέλειπτο
 κείνου ἔτ' ἀντέλλοντος ἀπευθέες, ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ τοὶ
 πανσυδίη φεύγουσιν· ὁ δὲ ζώνη τότε Κηφεὺς
 γαῖαν ἐπιζύει, τὰ μὲν ἐς κεφαλὴν μάλα πάντα 650
 βάπτων ὠκεανοῖο, τὰ δ' οὐ θέμις, ἀλλὰ τὰ γ' αὐταὶ
 Ἄρκτοι κωλύουσι, πόδας καὶ γοῦνα καὶ ἰξύν.

Auch nicht mehr das, was von Andromeda und Ketos übrig war, ist ohne Kenntnis des weiteren Aufgangs von jenem, sondern
 auch diese

fliehen in voller Hast. Kepheus schleift dann über die Erde, alle Teile bis zum Kopf hin vollends in den Okeanos tauchend, bei den (übrigen) Teilen ist das nicht Gesetz, sondern das verhindern die Bärinnen selbst: Füße und Knie und Hüfte.

a) Die Flucht

Beginnen wir mit jenem Wort, welches das Orion-Intermezzo mit dem folgenden Abschnitt verbindet.³³ Das Verbum φεύγειν kann – wie das entsprechende lateinische *fugere* bzw. *fuga*³⁴ – ebensowohl das Weglaufen von Lebewesen (auch das Wegfliegen von Vögeln) bezeichnen wie metaphorisch das Untergehen von Sternbildern.

Die Flucht Andromedas und des Ketos erhält die adverbiale Bestimmung πανσυδίη, was entweder „in Eile“ oder „völlig“, d.h. „mit allen ihren Sternen“, bedeuten kann, so die Scholien:³⁵ σὺν παντὶ τῷ πλήθει κατὰγονται οὖν ὁ γὰρ Ὀρίων δυόμενος τοῦ σπεύδειν καὶ δεδοικέναι τὰ προειρημένα αὐτῷ [αὐτοῦ var.l.] πάντα ἄστρα διώκει καὶ προωθεῖ κτλ. Der Anfang σὺν παντὶ τῷ πλήθει folgt der ersten, τοῦ σπεύδειν der zweiten Deutung. D. Kidd läßt nur die erste Deutung gelten, da doch Andromeda und der Walfisch im Mythos nicht vor dem Skorpion geflohen sind: „Andromeda and the Monster are not fleeing in terror from the Scorpion.“ Das trifft zwar zu, denn das μέγα δέιμα, vor dem sich Andromeda und ihre Eltern fürchten, bezeichnet den großen Walfisch und nicht den großen Skorpion.³⁶ Dagegen spricht jedoch der soeben herausgearbeitete assoziative Anschluß der Flucht Andromedas und des Ketos an die Flucht Orions, allesamt vor dem aufgehenden Skorpion. Daher neigt A. Ronconi zu Recht der auf das Verbum σέω „jagen“, „verteiben“, gestützten und bei Homer bezeugten alternativen Bedeutung „in Eile“ zu:³⁷ „Andromeda e parte del Κῆτος tramontati sono rappresentati come fuggenti dinanzi a Orione: questa volta, prevale l'idea di fretta (πανσυδίη φεύγουσι).“

³³ Arat. 646 φεύγειν und 649 φεύγουσιν. Der Aratus latinus betont den Zusammenhang durch Simplex und Kompositum: p. 283,2 *fugientem* und Zeile 4 *simul omnia confugiunt*.

³⁴ *ThLL* VI 1 c. 1482, 45–61 „de sideribus“, vgl. Hübner 2004, 33f. zu Prud. *apoth.* 623f. *Sagittae / palantes fuga separat*, und 2010, II 440 zu Manil. 1,471 *fugiunt*.

³⁵ *Schol. Arat.* 649 p. 352,22–353,4, vgl. 648 p. 353,6 διόλου δεδούκασιν.

³⁶ Zu diesem Hübner 1982, 104 unter Nr. 2.143.2; Liuzzi 1988, 147.

³⁷ Ronconi 1937, 243f. Er läßt aber auch Raum für die andere Deutung des Scholiasten: „ma non è escluso l'idea di collettività eqs.“ Die Übersetzer folgen der Bedeutung „in Eile“: Mair 1921 „in full career“; Zannoni 1948 „con tutta la lena“; Erren 1971 „so schnell sie können“; Martin 1998 „sans tarder“; Gigante Lanzara 2018 „a tutta forza“.

Als zusätzliches Argument für seine Deutung führt D. Kidd ins Feld, daß in der Realität die Geschwindigkeit ein und desselben Fixsterns nicht schwanke, denn die tägliche Erdrotation bleibt ja gleich. Sternbilder könnten also keine besondere Eile an den Tag legen. Dennoch gibt es Unterschiede der Schnelligkeit zwischen den einzelnen Sternen oder Sternbildern: am langsamsten scheint die Bewegung bei den Zirkumpolarsternen zu sein, weil sie nur einen kleinen Kreis um die Pole beschreiben, während sie in der Nähe des Himmelsäquators, also auf dem größtmöglichen Kreis, am schnellsten sind, was die Dichter besonders bei der Verfolgung des Hasen durch den Großen Hund in Äquatornähe poetisch ausnutzen.³⁸ Auch Andromeda und der Walfisch nähern sich ja – im Gegensatz zu Kepheus – vom Norden oder Süden her dem Äquator.³⁹ Auch die größere scheinbare Geschwindigkeit in Äquatornähe spricht also eher für die Bedeutung „in aller Eile.“

Im übrigen könnte man zu der treffenden Beobachtung von D. Kidd, daß Arat das Wort σκορπίος⁴⁰ an zehn von elf Stellen an den Versanfang stellt, hinzufügen, daß das Wort dort meistens ein Rejet bildet, womit die Dynamik der Vertreibung und Flucht noch stärker zum Ausdruck kommt.⁴¹ Auch dies unterstützt die Vorstellung einer raschen Flucht über den eigentlichen Mythos hinaus.

Ein zweites umstrittenes Wort ist ἀπευθέες in Vers 647. Der Untergang der restlichen Teile von Andromeda und Ketos ist mit seiner doppelten Negation äußerst präziös formuliert. Nach D. Kidd gehört ἔτι – meines Erachtens richtig – zu ἀντέλλοντος, und er versteht ἀπευθέες passivisch: „nicht ohne daß es (vom allgemeinen Betrachter) erkannt wird“ (nämlich wenn der Skorpion weiterhin aufgeht). Die meisten anderen Interpreten bevorzugen jedoch eine aktivische Bedeutung und beziehen das Wörtchen ἔτι und die „Kenntnis“ auf die restlichen Partien der untergehenden Sternbilder Andromeda und Ketos, so G.R. Mair

³⁸ Arat. 338f. Λαγῶς / ἔμμενές ἡματα πάντα διώκεται; 384 = 678 διωκομένοιο, vgl. Manil. 5,233 (vom Großen Hund) *praegressum ... Leporem comprehendere cursu* mit Kommentar (2010), II 127; V. Stegemann 1930, 80. Zu der Formulierung ἔμμενές ἡματα πάντα Ronconi 1937, 191f.

³⁹ Nach dem Sternkatalog des Ptolemaeus (*synt.* 7,5–8,19) schwankt die Deklination bei Andromeda zwischen + 44° und + 15° 50', beim Walfisch zwischen – 30° 50' und – 4° 10'.

⁴⁰ Kidd 1997, zu Vers 643 σκορπίον, so schon Liuzzi 1988, 148 „in posizione incapitaria“. Germanicus gebraucht es in sieben von zehn Fällen, Cicero in den erhaltenen Teilen nirgends am Versanfang.

⁴¹ Vgl. Hübner 1977, 53f. und 2004, 27 und 33f. zu Verg. georg. 1,34f.

1921: „fail to mark his rise“; G. Zannoni 1948: „Né resta ignara del sorgere di quello“ (mit der Erklärung „Scorpione“); J. Martin 1956: „les parties restantes d’Andromède et de Cetus ... n’ignorent plus ... le lever du Scorpion,“ so auch 1998: „Andromède et Kétos sont informés de l’arrivée du Scorpion“; M. Erren 1971: „bleibt nicht mehr ohne Kunde von dessen Aufgang“; V. Gigante Lanzara 2018: „non lo ignorano“. Die medio-passivischen Wendungen der Scholiasten:⁴² ἄπειστοι καὶ παρημελημένοι, „ohne Erfahrung und ohne beachtet zu werden“, oder ἀπειθείς καὶ ἀνήκουστοι, „ohne Aufmerksamkeit und Gehör zu finden“, sind zwar nicht eindeutig, dürften sich eher auf die beteiligten Sternbilder als auf einen unbeteiligten Beobachter beziehen. Die Aufmerksamkeit paßt am besten zu den Sternbildern Andromeda und Ketos.

b) Norden und Süden

Andromeda und der Walfisch, die ersten beiden der drei mit Waage und Skorpion teilweise untergehenden Sternbilder, bilden ein Paar: das angekettete Opfer im Norden und das angreifende Straftier im Süden. Der oben genannte Astrologe Teukros läßt dieses Paar spekulativ genau mit der Mitte des Widders aufgehen: Andromeda kurz vor der Zeichenmitte mit Aries 13°–15° und den Walfisch gleich danach mit Aries 16°–18°.⁴³ Die Mitte des Widders bildet bei ihm gleichsam die Grenze zwischen dem Norden (mit den vier menschengestaltigen Sternbildern des Dramas) und dem Süden (mit dem singulärem Untier).

Arat betont den Unterschied zwischen Norden und Süden aber nicht zwischen Andromeda und Ketos, sondern zwischen Kepheus und Ketos: Der Südwind (νότος) treibt den Walfisch gegen Andromeda, und Kepheus wirkt vom Norden aus (ἐκ βορέω). Wenn dabei der Süden bzw. Südwind als ἡερόεις bezeichnet wird, liegt das an der Horizontnähe, wo größere Luftschichten die Sicht auf die Sterne trüben. Die zugehörigen Verben unterstreichen wieder einmal die Dynamik am Südhimmel: ἐπάγει νότος.⁴⁴ Ähnlich hatte es Arat

⁴² *Schol. Arat.* 647 p. 352,17 und 648 p. 353,5.

⁴³ Teukros bei Hübner 1995, I 1,6–7 (S. 108f.) mit Kommentar II 2–6.

⁴⁴ Das Pronomen *οἱ* bezieht sich grammatisch eindeutig auf ἐπάγει „schickt zu ihr hin“, so auch *Schol. Arat.* 629 p. 347,11 ὥσπερ κατ’ αὐτὴν φέρεται. p. 349,14 ἐπάγει τῇ Ἀνδρομέδᾳ τὸ Κῆτος, inhaltlich gehört es jedoch auch zu μέγα δέιμα: „für Andromeda ein großer Schrecken“.

schon bei der Beschreibung der südlichen Hemisphäre formuliert, schon dort mit der deutlichen Unterscheidung zwischen Norden und Süden:⁴⁵

τὴν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγον περ ἀπόπροθι πεπτηῦϊαν
 Ἄνδρομέδην μέγα Κῆτος ἐπερχόμενον κατεπεΐγει.
 ἢ μὲν γὰρ Θρήϊκος ὑπὸ πνοῆι βορέαο
 κεκλιμένη φέρεται, τὸ δὲ οἱ νότος ἐχθρὸν ἀγινεῖ
 Κῆτος, ὑπὸ Κριῶ τε καὶ Ἰχθύσιν ἀμφοτέροισιν.

Die in nicht geringer Entfernung hingebreitete
 Andromeda treibt der andrängende große Walfisch hinunter.
 Die nämlich bewegt sich unter dem Blasen des thrakischen Nordwinds
 gebeugt, doch der Südwind führt zu ihr den feindlichen
 Walfisch, unter dem Widder und den beiden Fischen.

Hier kumulieren sich zwei Bewegungen im Norden und im Süden:
 Der Walfisch bedrängt (*κατεπεΐγει*) die entfernte Andromeda, die unter dem
 Blasen des Nordwinds nach Süden gedrängt wird, der Südwind treibt den
 Walfisch von unten auf sie zu (wieder mit einem dynamischen Rejet). Auch hier
 kommt die Tatsache zum Tragen, daß sich die Sternbilder in der Gegend des
 Himmelsäquators schneller zu bewegen scheinen als zum Norden hin. Manilius
 hat diesen Gegensatz so formuliert:⁴⁶

*Arctos et Orion adversis frontibus ibant,
 haec contenta suos in vertice flectere gyros,
 ille ex diverso vertentem surgere contra
 obvius et toto semper decurrere mundo.*

Die Bärin und Orion liefen mit entgegengesetzten Gesichtern,
 diese sich begnügend, ihre eigenen Kreise auf dem Scheitelpunkt zu drehen,
 jener aus entgegengesetzter Richtung gegen die sich Drehende sich zu erheben
 gegenläufig und stetig den ganzen Himmel zu durchlaufen.

⁴⁵ Arat. 353–357.

⁴⁶ Manil. 1,502–505.

Die Bärin zieht ihre enge Bahn, während der äquatoriale Orion auf dem allumfassenden Kreis läuft.

c) *Die Astrothesie*

Arat achtet genau auf die einzelnen Körperteile der Sternbilder. Vom Andromeda geht zunächst ihr Kopf unter. Das ist zugleich ihr hellster Stern (α Andromedae, heute Alpherat genannt).⁴⁷ Er galt zugleich als der Nabel des Pegasos (δ Pegasi).⁴⁸

Sowohl Ketos als auch Kepheus werden mit dem Adjektiv „groß“ beschrieben, der Walfisch schon vorher als μέγα Κῆτος⁴⁹ und hier als „großer Schrecken“ (μέγα δαίμα), und die Kepheus treibt „mit großer Hand“, das heißt doch wohl kraftvoll das Biest zurück (μεγάλη ἀνὰ χεῖρι).⁵⁰ In beiden Fällen steht – wie bei der Flucht des riesigen Orion vor dem Skorpion – die körperliche Größe im Widerspruch zu dem Zwang, trotzdem untergehen zu müssen: der Walfisch verschwindet mit dem Aufgang der Waage zunächst teilweise vom Schwanz bis zum Kamm und dann mit dem Aufgang des Skorpions ganz, die „große“ Hand des Kepheus schon ganz und gar mit dem Aufgang der Waage.

Die Hand des Kepheus gehört zu der von dem Dichter genau beschriebenen Gestalt des Sternbildes. Kepheus befindet sich bekanntlich teilweise nördlich (oberhalb), teilweise südlich (unterhalb) des Polarkreises. Heute denken wir dabei eher an die Polarkreise der Erde, die diejenigen Orte miteinander verbinden, an dem die Sonne gerade nicht mehr auf- bzw. untergeht.⁵¹ Am Himmel gilt diese Naturkonstante jedoch nicht, denn ob die Sterne gerade nicht mehr auf- bzw. untergehen, hängt von der geographischen Breite des Beobachters ab. Er ist also variabel und spielt in der antiken Astronomie kaum und in der heutigen gar keine Rolle mehr.⁵² Trotzdem spricht der Dichter von einer θέμις, was nach

⁴⁷ Kunitzsch 1959, 132f. Nr. 44. Hipparch. 2,2,48 bemerkt, daß mit der aufgehenden Waage nicht allein der Kopf Andromedas untergehe, sondern auch beide Hände oder Arme.

⁴⁸ Ptol. *synt.* 7,5 p. 76,16 ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ κοινὸς τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς Ἀνδρομέδας, vgl. Boll – Gundel 1937, 928–931.

⁴⁹ Arat. 354, s.o.

⁵⁰ Der Aratus latinus p. 282,12 übersetzt direkt *Caepheum magnum*.

⁵¹ Etwa 66,57°, d.h. = 90° – Ekliptikschiefe von 23,43°.

⁵² Arat nennt die Polarkreise nicht unter den Himmelskreisen (469–533), Manilius (1,565b–567 und 1, 589–593) macht sie nur kurz ab.

heutigem Verständnis einem Naturgesetz entspricht:⁵³ „a principle of order and regularity.“

Die Figur des Kepheus wird aus antiker Sicht von dem nördlichen Polarkreis durchschnitten, wie das noch auf mittelalterlichen Planisphären im Anschluß an Arat und dessen Übersetzer Germanicus zu sehen ist, etwa in dem Codex Vaticanus gr. 1087, oben rechts neben der Bärin, wo der Kreis durch die Gürtelgend geht (Abb. 1).⁵⁴



Abb. 1: Planisphäre, Codex Vaticanus gr. 1087 (saec. XIV/XV) bei F. Boll – W. Gundel 1937, 897.

Erst seit kurzer Zeit kennen wir einen wissenschaftlichen Globus aus dem zweiten Jahrhundert n. Chr. Hier schneidet der Polarkreis die Figur schräg etwas weiter oberhalb (Abb. 2).⁵⁵

⁵³ Abgeleitet von $\tau\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$, vgl. West 1966 zu Hes. *Theog.* 901 $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\varsigma$ und 904 $\text{Μοίρα}\varsigma$. Ausführlich zur Etymologie Vos 1956, 35–38. Die Verwandtschaft der Göttin Themis mit Arats Dike (Arat. 96–136: Wernicke 1735 und Vos *ibid.* 51) spielt hier keine Rolle.

⁵⁴ Codex Vaticanus gr. 1087 (saec. XIV/XV) bei Boll – Gundel 1937, 897.

⁵⁵ Vgl. Dekker 1913, 57–80. Über den ebenfalls erst seit kurzem bekannten Mainzer Globus Künzl 2000 und 2005. Bis dato konnte man sich nur auf den Zierglobus des Atlas Farnese stützen, wo Kepheus in ähnlicher Pose abgebildet ist, vgl. Foulkes Stich (1739) bei Boll 1950, Taf. XXIX oder Kidd 1997, 160.

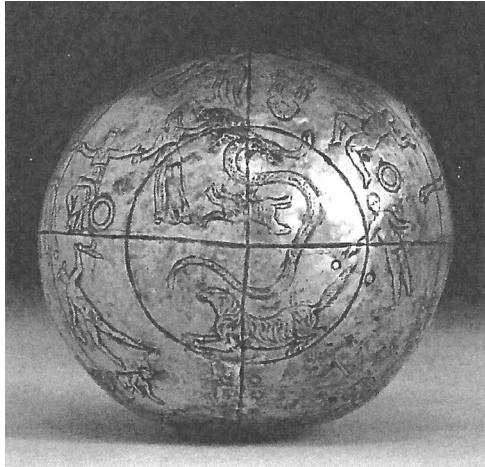


Abb. 2: Globus der Sammlung Kugel (2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.): Zirkumpolarsterne.

Arat unterscheidet nun genau die einzelnen Körperteile. Wie Andromeda geht auch Kepheus zunächst mit dem Kopf unter. Das Wort κεφαλή steht (im Nominativ oder Dativ) in beiden Fällen vor der Hephthemimeres. Insgesamt nennt der Dichter zweimal drei, also sechs Körperteile und dazu noch seinen Gürtel (ζώνη) in der Mitte. Die sieben Einzelstellen der Figur bilden eine perfekte Symmetrie (Abb. 3):⁵⁶

633	κεφαλή	χειρί	ῶμω
649		ζώνη	
652	πόδας	γοῦνα	ἰξύν

Abb. 3: Einzelteile des Kepheus.

Da Kepheus mit dem Kopf zuerst untergeht, hat man, wenn man das obige Schema nicht in der Folge des Arattextes, sondern von Norden nach Süden betrachtet, von unten (= Norden) nach oben (= Süden) zu lesen.

⁵⁶ Diese Symmetrie ist viel ausgeprägter als die von Martin 1998, 419f. zwischen den Versen 652 und 655 angenommene. Arat nennt den Gürtel auch bei anderen menschengestaltigen Sternbildern, etwa bei Perseus (Arat. 712), der zusammen mit Widder und Stier aufgeht.

Den Gürtel hat der Dichter schon einmal in Vers 186 genannt. Es handelt sich um den relativ hellen Stern dritter Größe (β Cephei, nach heutiger Terminologie Alfirk).⁵⁷ Eudoxos hatte ihn seine „Mitte“ genannt,⁵⁸ Hipparch bezeichnet ihn als „den hellen Stern auf dem Körper“,⁵⁹ Ptolemaeus, der von Hipparch abhängt, lokalisiert den Stern unterhalb des Gürtels auf der rechten Seite.⁶⁰ Um diesen zentralen Stern herum hat Arat jeweils drei Körperteile gespiegelt: vom Kopf an absteigend bis zu den Schultern und von den Füßen an aufsteigend bis zur Hüfte. Kopf, Hand und Schulter liegen nach Arat südlich des Polarkreises, sie gehen also unter; Füße, Knie und Hüfte liegen nördlich davon und gehen in seinen Breiten niemals unter.

Das Wort, χείρ, das – im Singular – zweimal kurz hintereinander an derselben Versstelle auf die bukolische Diärese folgt, scheint auf den ersten Blick den Abstieg vom Kopf bis zur Mitte zu stören, denn wenn der Arm am Körper herabhängt, muß man die Hand etwas unterhalb der Gürtellinie ansiedeln. Doch kann das Wort χείρ (wie lateinisch *manus*) nicht nur die Hand, sondern auch den Arm bezeichnen. Der Sternkatalog des Ptolemaios kennt keine Hand des Kepheus, er nennt nur einen ziemlich schwachen Stern auf dem linken Arm: ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ βραχίονος (ι Cephei)⁶¹ sowie einen Stern oberhalb der rechten Schulter:⁶² ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸν δεξιὸν ὤμων ἀπτόμενος (α Cephei). Der zweitgenannte ist der hellste Stern des Bildes, der heute Alderamin heißt. J.J. Scaliger hat diesen Namen nach Guillaume Postellius falsch als „rechten Arm“ gedeutet.⁶³ Wenn überhaupt ein Einzelstern gemeint ist, dürfte es dieser relativ helle sein.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ Kunitzsch 1959, 112 Nr. 19 zu β a Cephei.

⁵⁸ Eudoxos frg. 33 Lasserre: τὸ δὲ μέσον αὐτοῦ κτλ. Danach Kidd 1997, ad l. „Cepheus’ central star.“

⁵⁹ Hipparch. 3,3,12 ὁ ἐν τῷ σώματι λαμπρός.

⁶⁰ Ptol. *synt.* 7,5 p. 47,17 ὁ ὑπὸ τὴν ζώνην ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ πλευροῦ, ein Stern vierter bis dritter Größe.

⁶¹ Ptol. *synt.* 7,5 p. 46,22, ebenfalls vierter bis dritter Größe.

⁶² Ptol. *synt.* 7,5 p. 46,18, dritter Größe.

⁶³ Kunitzsch 1959, 110f. zitiert Gu. Postellius, *Signorum coelestium vera configuratio*, Paris 1553: „hoc est brachium dextrum.“

⁶⁴ An ihn denkt Kidd 1997 ad l. Der Stern ist zwar der hellste innerhalb des Bildes, aber nicht „a 1st mag. star“, sondern er hat die scheinbare Größenklasse 2,45.

Vorher hat Arat den Kepheus in pathetischer Geste dargestellt: er hat seine beiden Arme ausgestreckt, weil er um seine angekettete Tochter Andromeda klagt:⁶⁵ Κηφεὺς ἀμφοτέρως χεῖρας τανύοντι ἔοικεν.⁶⁶ Danach bilden ihn auch viele Darstellungen (aber nicht alle) mit beiden ausgebreiteten Armen ab (Abb. 1 und 2).⁶⁷ Weil in dieser Pose Hände und Arme auf derselben Höhe erscheinen, fällt der semantische Unterschied zwischen Hand und Arm kaum ins Gewicht. Eher schon stört der Singular χεῖρ. Die Übersetzer machen an dieser Stelle in Analogie zu den ausgebreiteten Armen einen Plural: Cicero übersetzt *palmas*,⁶⁸ Avien *brachia* oder *ulnas*,⁶⁹ und auch Hygin sagt *manibus*.⁷⁰ Eine der beiden Hände erwähnt der Dichter an jener Stelle, an der der rechte Flügel des (fliegend verstirnten) Schwans eine Hand des Kepheus berührt,⁷¹ während Ptolemaios, wie gezeigt, nur den linken Arm und die rechte Schulter kennt. Es bleibt also eine leichte Unstimmigkeit zwischen den beiden pathetisch ausgebreiteten Armen einerseits und der einen treibenden Hand andererseits.

⁶⁵ Arat. 183. So auch zwar nicht bei Arat, wohl aber bei seinem Übersetzer Germanicus die Gemahlin Kassiopeia, Germ. *Arat.* 199 *tendit palmas*, danach etwa die Abbildung im Codex Vaticanus gr. 1087 (saec. XIV/XV) bei Boll – Gundel 1937, 911 (vgl. oben Abb. 1 zwischen Kepheus und Andromeda) oder im Codex Leidensis Vossiananus lat. Q. 79 (saec. IX), fol. 28^v. – Aus einem anderen Grund sind die Arme ihrer Tochter Andromeda ausgestreckt: weil sie am Felsen gekreuzigt ist, Arat. 204 πεπταμένα ... χεῖρες; Eratosth. *Cat.* 17 διατεταμένως ... τὰς χεῖρας; Hyg. *astr.* 3,10,1 *manibus diversis vincata*; Manil. 5,550 *panduntur brachia* und 5,552 *cruce virginea* mit Kommentar 2010, II 332–335.

⁶⁶ Manilius läßt unter ihm zusammen mit dem Steinbock auch Schauspieler geboren werden, und zwar mit ausdrücklichem Hinweis auf das Drama: Manil. 5,458–485 mit Kommentar 2010, II 277–291.

⁶⁷ Ein eindrucksvolles Beispiel zeigt die Germanicus-Handschrift des Codex Leidensis Vossianus lat. Q. 79 (saec. IX), fol. 26^v, vgl. ferner den Codex Vaticanus gr. 1087 (saec. XIV/XV), abgebildet bei Boll – Gundel 1937, 884 und oben Abb. 1.

⁶⁸ Cic. *Arat.* 415 *Cepheus non cessat tendere palmas* und 417 *Cepheus caput atque umeros palmasque reclinat*, vgl. Kidd zu Arat. 633. Germanicus hat diese Einzelheit ausgelassen.

⁶⁹ Avien *Arat.* 1161f. *vaga brachia Cepheus / exerit* und 1165f. *verticem et ulnas / mersatur patulas*.

⁷⁰ Hyg. *astr.* 4,12,7 *cum manibus et humeris*. Hipparch. 2,2,46 bleibt beim Aratext χεῖρα καὶ ὤμους, s.u.

⁷¹ Arat. 279f. (sc. Ὄρνις) κατὰ δεξιὰ χεῖρὸς / Κηφεΐης ταρσεῖο τὰ δεξιὰ πείρατα τείνων, „auf der rechten Seite von der kepheischen Hand die rechten Endpartien seiner Flügel ausspannend.“ Es geht also nicht um die rechte Hand des Kepheus, so Kidd 1997, 395 zu Vers 631 „referred ... to the right arm in 279,“ sondern um den Bezirk rechts von seiner Hand.

Auch bei der folgenden Schulter erscheint in allen Handschriften nur der Singular ὤμω, während Hipparch,⁷² Cicero,⁷³ der Aratus latinus⁷⁴ und Hygin⁷⁵ den Plural bevorzugen, was viele Editoren übernommen haben.⁷⁶ Auch der vorangehende problematische Singular χειρί spricht auch hier eher für den von D. Kidd mit gutem Grund wieder favorisierten Singular der Handschriften.

Nach Arat touchiert der Gürtel des Kepheus gerade noch die Erde, d.h. den Horizont:⁷⁷ ζώνη ... / γαῖαν ἐπιξυει, während sein oberer Körper ins Meer eintaucht (τὰ μὲν ἐς κεφαλὴν μάλα πάντα βάπτων ὠκεανοῖο). Diese Angabe hat dem Dichter nun aber eine harsche Kritik Hipparchs eingebracht, der ihm vorwirft, daß in den Breiten Griechenlands höchstens der Kopf und nicht einmal die Schultern untergingen, die Partien darunter seien dagegen ständig sichtbar.⁷⁸

ἐν γὰρ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόποις οὐχ οἶον τῆς ζώνης δύνει Κηφεύς,
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἕως τῶν ὤμων. ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ κείμενοι ἀστέρες μόνον
δύνουσιν· οἱ δὲ ὤμοι ἐν τῷ αἰεὶ φανερωῖ τμήματι φέρονται, οὔτε δύνοντες
οὔτε ἀνατέλλοντες.

Denn in den Regionen Griechenlands geht Kepheus nicht nur nicht bis zum Gürtel unter, sondern nicht einmal bis zu seinen Schultern. Allein die Sterne, die an seinem Kopf liegen, gehen unter, doch die Schultern

⁷² Hipparch. 2,2,46 ὤμους, s.o.

⁷³ Cic. Arat. 417 *umeros*.

⁷⁴ Aratus latinus p. 282,14 *occiditque Caephei caput et humeri et manus*.

⁷⁵ Hyg. *astr.* 4,12,7 *cum manibus et humeris*, s.o.

⁷⁶ Ausführliche Diskussion bei Kidd 1997, ad l.

⁷⁷ Vers 649f., vgl. *Schol. Arat.* 650 p. 352: ἡ δὲ ζώνη ἄπτεται τοῦ ὀρίζοντος.

⁷⁸ Hipparch. 1,7,20, vgl. 2,5,8 τοῦ δὲ Κηφέος μόνα τὰ πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ μέρη ἀνατέλλει und komplementär dazu 2,6,8 τοῦ δὲ Κηφέος δύνει τὰ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν μόνον. – Es sei nicht verschwiegen, daß Kepheus nach dieser Angabe bei Hipparch seinen Untergang zusammen mit Aries 7,5° beginnt: ἀπὸ Κριοῦ μοίρας ἡ' μέσης. Das ist der von ihm selbst bestimmte Frühlingspunkt (8°). Oder anders gesagt: diametral gegenüber bei dem Herbstpunkt (Libra 8°) beginnt Kepheus seinen Untergang, Hipparch. 1,7,17: ἀρχεται μὲν δύνειν τὰ νοτιώτερα αὐτοῦ μέρη τοῦ αἰεὶ φανεροῦ κύκλου ἀνατελλούσης τῆς ἡ' μοίρας τῶν Χηλῶν. Zu Hipparchs Berechnung der Präzession und seiner genauen Bestimmung der der Jahrpunkte bei 8° der tropischen Zeichen, die sich weithin durchgesetzt hat, Neugebauer 1975, I 292–298.

bewegen sich in dem ständig sichtbaren Bezirk, weder unter- noch aufgehend.

Man muß dem Dichter allerdings zugutehalten, daß Hipparchs Angabe ἐν ... τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόποις ziemlich vage ist. Theoretisch kann er Breiten von Makedonien bis zur Südspitze der Peloponnes, wenn nicht gar noch südlichere Inseln umfassen.⁷⁹ Hipparch selbst hat besonders in Alexandrien und auf der Insel Rhodos beobachtet.⁸⁰ Immerhin folgt Germanicus in seiner Übersetzung der Kritik Hipparchs:⁸¹

*caput abditur ipse
regalis Cepheus alias intactus ab undis.*

Arats Angaben sind wohl aus einem gewissen Harmoniebedürfnis geboren, das formal auch in der um den Gürtel in der Mitte gespiegelte Symmetrie (Abb. 3) vorliegt.

So weit zu den Einzelteilen des Kepheus. Von dem Walfisch läßt der Dichter zunächst die Partien „bis zum Kamm“ (λοφιή) untergehen.⁸² Auf den

⁷⁹ So hat man etwa beobachtet, daß der zweithellste Fixstern, Kanopos, in Alexandrien gut, auf der Insel Rhodos (36°) höchstens von hoher Warte aus gerade noch, weiter nördlich (37°) aber nicht mehr zu beobachten war: Hipparch. 1,11,8 ὁ δὲ ἐν Ἀθήναις αἰεὶ ἀφανὴς κύκλος ἀπέχει ἀπὸ τοῦ πόλου περὶ μοίρας λζ', ὁ δὲ ἐν Ῥόδῳ περὶ μοίρας λς'. δηλον οὖν ὅτι ὁ ἀστὴρ οὗτος βορειότερός ἐστι τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀφανοῦς κύκλου καὶ δύναται ὑπὲρ γῆς φερόμενος βλέπεσθαι. καὶ δὴ καὶ θεωρεῖται ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ῥόδον τόποις. Deutlicher Geminus 3,15 ὁ δὲ ἐν ἄκρῳ τῆς Ἀργοῦς κείμενος λαμπρὸς ἀστὴρ Κάνωπος ὀνομάζεται. οὗτος μὲν ἐν Ῥόδῳ δυσθεώρητος ἐστὶν ἢ παντελῶς ἀφ' ὑψηλῶν τόπων ὁρᾶται· ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ δὲ ἐστὶ παντελῶς ἐκφανής· σχεδὸν γὰρ τέταρτον μέρος ζωδίου ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρίζοντος μεμετωρισμένος φαίνεται. Kanopos wurde wegen seiner Tiefe auch Περιγίγιος („der Erdnahe“) genannt: Eratosth. *Cat.* 37 p. 137,13 Robert.

⁸⁰ Roller 2018, 9; Auljac 2020, X.

⁸¹ Germ. *Arat.* 643f. *caput* als akkusativus limitationis. Avien folgt dagegen Arat, macht aber aus dem einen Arm einen Plural (nach Arat. 183 χεῖρας, Avien. *Arat.* 1198–1200):

*Cepheus ipse caput distentaque brachia vasto
induitur ponto, tellurem cingula radunt
extima.*

⁸² Das Partizip τετραμμένον deutet eine Wendung nach rückwärts an, wie auch bei Hercules-Engonasin (Arat. 669): τετραμμένους αἰεὶ, vgl. Kidd 1997 ad l.: „The back fin [...] sets before the head, and so the movement is in the direction of the fin.“ Es folgt die Widerlegung von Martin 1956, zu

ersten Blick könnte damit ebenso der Ober- wie der Unterkörper gemeint sein, doch Hipparch macht die Sache klar: es handelt sich um den Unterleib vom Schwanz bis zum Kamm:⁸³ (sc. δύνει) τοῦ Κήτους τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς ἕως τῆς λοφιᾶς. Hygin macht dies noch deutlicher, denn nach seiner Darstellung bleibt beim Aufgang der Waage von dem Walfisch allein der Kopf übrig:⁸⁴

occidit ... Andromedae caput cum umbilico Pegasi,⁸⁵ et Pistrix reliquo corpore ad cervices, ut caput eius solum videatur; et caput Cephei, pendens ad Pistricis occasum, cum manibus et humeris pervenit ad terram.

Hygin nennt also ausdrücklich den Kopf des Ketos und damit gleich drei Köpfe: den Andromedas, des Kepheus und des Ketos. Außerdem schafft er mit der Wiederholung *caput ... et caput* einen Gegensatz zwischen dem untergehenden Kopf des Kepheus einerseits und dem beim Aufgang der Waage noch sichtbaren Kopf des Walfischs andererseits. Damit hat den bei Arat nur leicht angedeuteten Gegensatz weiterentwickelt. Eine formale Parallele bietet Arat selbst, der die Köpfe zweier anderer Sternbilder aufeinander bezieht: Diese erscheinen nicht etwa im hohen Norden und im Süden weit voneinander entfernt, sondern sie stoßen in einer Art Spiegelsymmetrie in der Mitte aneinander: der Kopf des umgekehrt am Himmel verstorbenen Hercules-Engonasin an den Kopf des aufrecht verstorbenen Schlangenhalters (Serpentarius). Über den Erstgenannten heißt es:⁸⁶

κεφαλῆ γε μὲν ἄκρη
σκέπτεο πᾶρ κεφαλῆν Οὐφιούχεον ...

Vers 632 „le monstre couche la tête la première.“

⁸³ Hipparch 2,2,46 (mit Korrektur des Akzents), entsprechend geht der Walfisch zuerst mit dem Schwanz auf: Hipparch. 3,1,8 über den Stern ι Ceti: καὶ πρῶτος μὲν ἀστήρ ἀνατέλλει ὁ βορειότερος τῶν ἐν τῇ οὐρᾷ, parallel dazu 3,2,8 über den Stern β Ceti: πρῶτος μὲν ἀστήρ δύνειν ἄρχεται ὁ νοτιώτερος τῶν ἐν τῇ οὐρᾷ.

⁸⁴ Hyg. astr. 4,12,7. Vgl. § 8 beim Aufgang des Skorpions: (sc. *occidit*) *reliquum corpus Andromedae cum capite Ceti. occidit etiam Cepheus capite ad humeros.*

⁸⁵ Der Nabel des Pegasus ist hier gegenüber Arat hinzugefügt, s.o. zum Kopf Andromedas.

⁸⁶ Arat. 74f. Hierzu ausführlich Hübner 1988, 34–39 u.ö.

Die beiden Köpfe begegnen sich gerade in der Gegend des nördlichen Polarkreises, wo „sich Unter- und Aufgänge mischen“:⁸⁷

ἤχι περ ἄκραι
μίσγονται δύοστές τε καί ἀντολαί ἀλλήλησιν.

Außerhalb von Arat gibt es weitere Beispiele. Der Astrologe Teukros verwechselt den umgekehrt aufgehenden Engonasin-Hercules mit dem Perseus:⁸⁸ Seinen Kopf im Norden konfrontiert er mit dem Kopf des Walfischs im Süden:⁸⁹ Περσεύς κατακέφαλα καί ἡ κεφαλή τοῦ Κήτους. Dieser Astrologe ist wiederum die Quelle für Manilius, der in seinen *Astronomica* den Engonasin (in der Funktion des Perseus) am Ende der Fische und damit am Ende seines Tierkreises und den Walfisch als nordsüdliches Paar einander gegenübergestellt.⁹⁰ Hygins Weiterentwicklung des von Arat nur vorsichtig angedeuteten Gegensatzes zwischen Ketos und Kepheus steht also in einer Tradition verschiedener Versuche, am Himmel nord-südliche Symmetrien und Entsprechungen der Köpfe zu konstruieren, Versuche, bei denen stets der Norden über den Süden gebietet. - Im Übrigen wird der Oberkörper des Kepheus nur eine kurze Zeit verborgen bleiben, denn er geht zusammen mit dem auf den Skorpion folgenden Schützen „bis zur Brust“ schon wieder auf.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Arat. 61f.

⁸⁸ Dazu Boll 1903, 108 „Bei dieser Gelegenheit erhält Perseus die nicht genau zutreffende Bezeichnung κατακέφαλα, die sonst mit größerem Recht dem Engonasin gegeben wird.“ Vgl. Hübner 2022, 86.

⁸⁹ Der erste Teukrostext nach Rhetorios bei Boll 1903, p. 17,7 = CCAG VII 1908, p. 195,9. Voraus geht Kassiopeia auf dem Thron, s.u.

⁹⁰ Manil. 5,645–692 mit Kommentar 2010, II 369–401.

⁹¹ Arat. 674f. στήθεος ἄχρις

Κηφεύς ἠΰου παρελαύνεται ὠκεανοῖο.

Erren 1971 übersetzt ἠΰου mit „morgentlichen“, sonst wird das Wort jedoch allgemein mit „östlich“ wiedergegeben: Mair 1921 „from the eastern Ocean“; Zannoni 1948 „dalla parte orientale dell'oceano“; Schott 1958 „im Osten aus den Fluten“; Kidd 1997 „from the eastern ocean“ (vgl. den Kommentar ad l. „Usually of morning“); Martin 1998 „de l'océan oriental“; Gigante Lanzara 2018 „dall'oceano a oriente“.

d) *Treiben und Bremsen*

Da die Geste des Kepheus: μεγάλη ἀνὰ χειρὶ κελεύει, schlecht zu seiner sonstigen Darstellung mit ausgebreiteten Armen paßt, ist nun die genaue Bedeutung des Verbums κελεύει zu klären. Schon die Scholiasten haben sich gefragt, an wen diese Aufforderung gerichtet sein könnte. Einer von ihnen denkt an die zuvor genannte Andromeda:⁹² ἐκτείνει γὰρ τὴν χεῖρα ὡς περ παρακελευσμένος τῇ παιδί ἐκκλίνειν τὸ Κῆτος, „denn er streckt seine Hand (seinen Arm) aus, so als ob er seine Tochter auffordere, dem Walfisch auszuweichen.“ Dieser Vorstellung folgt J. Martin, wenn er das Verbum κελεύει im Sinne von „faire signe“ übersetzt. In seinem Kommentar von 1956 sagt er dazu:⁹³ „Céphée, perché en haut du ciel comme sur une guette, apercevant au loin venir Cetus, avertit Andromède d'un signe de la main.“ Er räumt ein, daß bei der großen Entfernung zwischen Walfisch und Andromeda eine direkte Interaktion ausgeschlossen sei. D. Kidd 1997 erinnert zudem an den Mythos, der besagt, daß es ja nicht Kepheus ist, der das Biest vertreibt, sondern daß der hier gar nicht in Erscheinung tretende Perseus den Walfisch besiegt.

Mit mehr Plausibilität zieht Kidd daher die Erklärung eines anderen Scholiasten vor, die besagt, daß die Geste als warnendes Zeichen nicht der Andromeda gilt, sondern dem im Folgenden genannten Walfisch:⁹⁴ ὁ δὲ Κηφεύς ὡς περ ἀποσοβῶν τὸ Κῆτος φαίνεται, entsprechend übersetzen schon J.H. Voss 1824 „mit gewaltigen Händen verscheuchend“, G.R. Mair 1921 „warning him back“, A. Schott 1958 „scheucht ihn weg mit starken Händen“, V. Gigante Lanzara 2018 „la [sc. la Balena] manda indireto.“ Kidd hat meines Wissens als erster klar erkannt, daß ἀνὰ ... κελεύει eine Tmesis darstellt:⁹⁵ „he is driving the Monster back,“ d.h. „er treibt (es) mit großer (d.h. starker) Hand (oder starkem Arm) zurück.“ Er vergleicht Ciceros Übersetzung:⁹⁶ *hanc* [sc. *Pistricem*] *contra*

⁹² *Schol. Arat.* 629 p. 348,3.

⁹³ Martin 1956 ad l. Er verweist unter anderem auf Avien. *Arat.* 1161f., dieser nennt jedoch keinen Adressaten: *vaga brachia Cepheus / exserit et saevam pelagi monet adfore pestem*. Danach Zannoni 1948, „le fa cenno“ mit der Anmerkung „di allontanarsi“.

⁹⁴ *Schol. Arat.* 629 p. 347,11.

⁹⁵ Er vermißt das Verbum ἀνακελεύειν bei Liddell–Scott–Jones. Auch bei Adrados findet sich kein Lemma.

⁹⁶ *Cic. Arat.* 425.

Cepheus non cessat tendere palmas und verweist im Übrigen auf die Tatsache, daß sich dieses südliche Sternbild nicht sehr hoch über den Horizont erhebt. J. Martin ist zwar in seinem zweiten Kommentar von 1998 vorsichtiger, dennoch beharrt er in einer etwas gewundenen Formulierung auf seiner Deutung:⁹⁷ „il est peut-être encore plus inutile d'essayer de détourner un monstre affamé que de prévenir de son arrivée une jeune femme enchaînée.“ Für Kidds Interpretation spricht auch die Bedeutung von ἀνά „zurück“. Der Walfisch soll nicht nur seine Aufgangsrichtung umkehren, sondern auch in ein heimisches Element,⁹⁸ das horizontnahe, südliche Meer zurückkehren. Hinzu kommt, daß der Skorpion, vor dem der Walfisch „flieht“, nicht nur ein südliches Tierkreiszeichen ist, sondern sogar noch etwas südlicher als die Ekliptik angesiedelt ist, was in der astrologischen Deutung ausgenutzt wurde.⁹⁹

Hier zeigt sich nun der Vorteil, die beiden Abschnitte vergleichend gemeinsam zu interpretieren, denn der zweite Abschnitt spricht für die zweite Lösung: Der zurückdrängenden Geste des Kepheus bei der untergehenden Waage im ersten Abschnitt (ἀνά ... κελεύει) entspricht das zurückhaltende Bremsen der Bärinnen im zweiten Abschnitt (κωλύουσι). Wie Kepheus den Walfisch zurückdrängt und daran hindert, nach seiner Tochter zu schnappen, so sorgen die polaren Bärinnen stellvertretend für die nördliche Himmelskalotte dafür, daß Kepheus ganz untergeht. Erneut siegt der beständige Norden über den flüchtigen Süden. Ob in der Assonanz von κελεύει und κωλύουσι wieder eines jener oben genannten Wortspiele vorliegt, läßt sich nicht weiter erhärten.

Es gibt noch eine weitere formale Entsprechung: Wie im ersten Abschnitt der Südwind (νότος), so werden im zweiten Abschnitt die beiden Bärinnen (Ἄρκτοι) personalisiert und als Agens der Handlung eingeführt, der Südwind antreibend und die Bärinnen bremsend. In beiden Abschnitten wirken zwei

⁹⁷ Martin 1998, 413 zu Vers 631. Der folgende Satz versucht den leichten Unterschied zwischen der Handhaltung in Vers 183 und 631 durch die gemeinsame Affektivität zu überspielen: „Les gestes pathétiques du père expriment surtout son émotion.“ – Vgl. schon vorher zu Arat. 630 ἀντία bei Ketos und Kepheus: „Chacun des deux s'occupe d'elle [sc. Andromède]: le monstre la menace et Céphée lui fait des signes en levant la main.“ Danach Zannoni 1948, Anmerkung zu der Übersetzung „con la grande mano“: „levata in su ...“

⁹⁸ Die Verwandtschaft mit dem Wasser spielt in der Darstellung des Kampfes bei Manilius eine entscheidende Rolle: Hübner 1984, 193 sowie 2010, II 343 zu Manil. 5,593 *caelo pendens iaculatur* oder II 351 zu 5,618 *pelagus ... levavit*.

⁹⁹ Manil. 4,778 *inferius ... sidus* und Hübner 2010, II 194.

gegensätzliche Kräfte und halten das Ganze im Gleichgewicht: Im ersten Abschnitt wird der Angriff des Ketos durch die Geste des Kepheus ausgebremst, im zweiten der völlige Untergang des Kepheus durch die Gegenkraft der Bärinnen verhindert.

3. Kassiopeia und der Skorpion (Vers 653–658)

Der hier nicht mehr einbezogene Schluß des sorgfältig gestalteten Skorpion-Abschnitts¹⁰⁰ schildert etwas ausführlicher den Untergang der Gattin des Kepheus, welche nach der Sage die Katastrophe ja ausgelöst hat, weil sie sich brüstete, schöner zu sein als die Nereiden. Auch sie geht wie ihre Tochter Andromeda mit dem Kopf zuerst (bis zu den Knien) und wie ihr Gemahl Kepheus (nur mit dem Kopf) unter, und zwar „wie ein Taucher“:¹⁰¹

ἀλλ' ἢ γ' ἐς κεφαλὴν ἴση δύετ' ἀρνευτῆρι
μειρομένη γονάτων ...

Sie aber geht bis zum Kopf unter, einem Taucher gleichend,
an den Knien geteilt, ...

Schon vorher hatte der Dichter den Untergang des Kepheus durch das Eintauchen ins Meer ausgedrückt: βᾶπτων ὠκεανοῖο.¹⁰² Bei der Gattin wird diese Vorstellung mit dem Bild des Tauchers noch deutlicher. Unter den homerischen Vorbildern ragt eines wegen des zusätzlich übereinstimmenden „Sitzes“ hervor.

¹⁰⁰ Vgl. Martin 1998, 419 zu Arat. 647–658: „Ensemble savamment construit.“

¹⁰¹ Arat. 656 μειρομένη mit der einhelligen Überlieferung, αἰρομένη Maass 1893, μειρομένη καμάτων Kidd 1997. – Der Scholiast p. 353,17 gebraucht für ἐς κεφαλὴν das Wort ἐπικέφαλα statt des sonst üblichen κατακέφαλα, s.o. Vgl. Hyg. *astr.* 2,10 *sedens in siliquastro constituta est. quae propter impietatem vertente se mundo resupinato capite ferri videtur*, ferner Manil. 1,686 (von der Milchstraße) *inversae per sidera Cassiepieae*.

¹⁰² Arat. 651.

Wie Kassiopeia auf einem Thron sitzend (ἐκ δίφροιο)¹⁰³ niedersinkt, so stürzt Hektors Wagenlenker Kebriones, von Patroklos getroffen, von seinem Wagensitz zu Boden:¹⁰⁴ ἀρνευτήρι εὐκίως / κάππεσ' ἀπ' εὐεργέος δίφρου. Arat hätte diesen Vergleich mit einem Taucher auch schon früher bei Andromeda, Kepheus oder anderen Sternbildern, die ebenfalls mit dem Kopf zuerst untergehen, anbringen können, doch bei Kassiopeia ist diese Vorstellung deswegen besonders am Platze, weil diese in den Fluten jene Nereiden treffen könnte, mit deren Schönheit sie sich anmaßend gemessen hatte. Der Dichter kommt also abschließend auf den Ausgangspunkt der Tragödie des Κηφέος μογερὸν γένος zurück.

4. Zusammenfassung

Arat hat die beiden Abschnitte über den allmählichen Untergang von Andromeda, Ketos und Kepheus zusammen mit dem Aufgang von Waage und Skorpion über den Untergang des Orion hinweg deutlich aufeinander bezogen. Die beiden Sternbilder Kepheus und Ketos gehören mit ihren ähnlich klingenden Namen zu einer seinerzeit berühmten Gruppe von fünf Sternbildern, unter denen Kepheus das nördlichste und Ketos das südlichste ist. Hinzu tritt ein zweiter Gegensatz: Während der Walfisch im Süden vollends untergeht, bleibt der Unterleib des Kepheus in den Breiten des Mittelmeers vom Gürtel an ständig sichtbar, und dies ist nach Arat der bewegungshemmenden Kraft der nördlichen Polarkalotte geschuldet, vertreten durch die beiden Bärinnen.

Im einzelnen steht die absteigende Triade von Kepheus' untergehendem Oberkörper (Kopf, Hand oder Arm und Schulter) der aufsteigenden Triade der zirkumpolaren, also niemals untergehenden Körperteile seines Unterleibes (Füße, Knie und Hüfte) gegenüber. Dazwischen vermittelt der zentrale, relativ helle Stern des „Gürtels“.

¹⁰³ Arat. 655 und schon vorher Arat. 252 πενθεριοῦ δίφροιο, vgl. den ersten Teukrotext bei Boll 1903, p. 17,7 = CCAG VII 1908, p. 195,9 Κασιόπεια ἐπὶ θρόνου καθεζομένη, dazu Boll 1903, 107; Boll – Gundel 1937, 908–912 mit Abbildung der Planisphäre des Codex Vaticanus gr. (saec. XIV/XV) 1087 auf S. 911, s. oben Abb. 1.

¹⁰⁴ Hom. Il. 16,742f., vgl. das Frohlocken des Patroklos, Hom. Il. 16,745 ὡς ῥεῖα κυβιστᾶ, weitere Beispiele bei Martin 1998, ad l., ferner Hübner 2010, II 264 zu Manil. 5,443 *molliter ut liquidis per humum ponuntur in undis*.

Wenn die Waage aufgeht, bleibt von dem Walfisch allein der Kopf sichtbar, während der Kopf des Kepheus zusammen mit seinen Händen (oder Armen) und den Schultern schon untergeht. Hygin hat diese versteckte Polarität der beiden Köpfe in Anlehnung an eine andere Aratstelle stärker herausgearbeitet, wo nicht zwei weit voneinander entfernte Köpfe ein unterschiedliches Schicksal haben, sondern wo die Köpfe von Engonasin-Hercules und Ophiuchos-Serpentarius in der Mitte einer Spiegelsymmetrie direkt aneinanderstoßen.

Anders als im Mythos und im Andromeda-Drama vorgegeben, treibt Kepheus zunächst (beim Aufgang der Waage) den Walfisch zurück: das Verbum ἀνά ... κελεύει richtet sich offenbar nicht an seine Tochter Andromeda, sondern an den Walfisch. Geht dann aber der nachfolgende Skorpion auf, hindern die zirkumpolaren Bärinnen den König daran, weiter als bis zum Gürtel unterzugehen. Dem Schwung des südlichen und wegen der Äquatornähe sich schnell bewegenden Walfischs sowie des zodiakalen und ebenfalls südlichen Skorpions steht im Norden eine zweifache bremsende Wirkung entgegen: Im ersten Abschnitt treibt Kepheus hoch im Norden mit seiner gebietenden Geste den Walfisch zum partiellen Untergang (ἀνά ... κελεύει), im zweiten Abschnitt hindern ihn die zirkumpolaren Bärinnen daran, vollends unterzugehen (κωλύουσι). Im ersten Abschnitt ist der König noch Agens der Handlung, im zweiten nur noch Objekt. Inwieweit bei diesem Gegensatz die Assonanz der Eigennamen Κῆτος und Κηφεύς sowie der antithetischen Verben κελεύειν und κωλύειν gewollt ist, muß jedoch trotz zahlreicher ähnlicher Beispiele, die man bei Arat gefunden oder konstruiert hat, mangels eindeutiger Zeugnisse offenbleiben.

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CORPSES, LIVING BODIES AND STUFFS Pre-Platonic Concepts of σώμα

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ἄθάναται δὲ βροτοῖς ἄμέραι,
σῶμα δ' ἔστι θνατόν.
Pindar, *Parth* 1, 14–15

Abstract: Taking Plato's uses of the noun σώμα as a starting point, this article presents an overview of the development of the Greek concept of body/σῶμα from Homer to the early 4th Century BCE by examining the uses of the word σώμα in Greek poetry and literature. Four stations of the term's semantic development are identified: (i) σώμα as a corpse or a body of a moribund living being, (ii) σώμα as a living mortal being, (iii) σώμα in contrast with its parts and (iv) σώμα in abstraction. It is argued that the development may be viewed as a continuous extension of the scope of the term, where none of the previous uses become obsolete. The Stations (iii) and (iv) also testify of an emergence of a new, abstract criterion for the use of the term. This conceptual history also partly explains the multifaceted use of the word in the 4th century BCE, setting the stage for further developments.

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1. Methodological introduction

Not all scientific and philosophical concepts are concepts known to each of us from everyday life. Some important concepts, however, belong simultaneously to all these three categories. One example is the concept of *body*: all animals and plants have a *living body*, and we continuously encounter in our surroundings *non-living bodies* of various kinds, e.g. natural objects – like stones, minerals or heaps of clay –, and artefacts – like chairs, pens or wine bottles. Indeed, as spatio-temporal particulars, bodies seem to constitute a pervasive category in our basic conceptual scheme. In professional circles, we also speak of a *body of knowledge*, comprising of the most basic concepts, activities and pieces of information of a given professional domain. In philosophy, one may analyse the specific features of *living bodily experience* or contrast *bodily existence* with spiritual levels of being. And from very early on, scientific thinkers have strived to understand and define the nature of *physical bodies* in their own right. The question concerning the nature of bodies has always been closely intertwined with reflections concerning their *composition* and, hence, with basic questions concerning the nature of the material reality. Furthermore, there are interesting similarities and differences between different languages' terminology for what, in English, is referred to as bodies.¹

The concept of body has a long and winding history, which testifies of many conceptual changes. The earliest phases of this conceptual history form the topic of this essay. In this article, I trace the main lines of development of the semantics and meaning of the Greek word *σῶμα* in early literature from Homer to the early 4th century BCE. The present investigation makes no pretensions to be a comprehensive overview: I shall focus solely on the word *σῶμα* and its derivatives, and shall, for example, not treat any partial synonyms of the word. Furthermore, my approach is openly teleological: what I have chosen to

¹ In German, for example, there are words reserved exclusively both for the *living* animate body, namely 'Leib', and for the deceased body, namely 'Leiche'. Bodies in general, be they animate or inanimate, may still be referred to as 'Körper', derived from the Latin 'corpus', which was used to translate the Greek 'σῶμα'. Even more radically, the Finnish language has 'kappale' for inanimate material and geometrical bodies. But it would sound peculiar to use this word for a living body. In Finnish, words like 'keho' and 'vartalo' are reserved exclusively for living animal bodies, whereas 'ruumis' may designate both living and dead bodies but not inanimate bodies. If used of a living being, the word 'ruumis' retains strong connotations to mortality.

pinpoint is motivated by a will to understand better the conceptual roots of the later philosophical and scientific developments which become evident in the 4th century BCE, and especially so in the works of Plato and Aristotle. With an eye on Plato's conceptions of σῶματα, summed up briefly in Section 2, I have chosen to pinpoint four earlier 'stations' in the term's use, which seem, in my view, significantly to extend or add to the previous uses.

Though my aim is to investigate conceptual history, the method used in this examination is philological. In the temporal period examined in this article, we rarely encounter anything like definitions or explanations of any linguistic terms. Such explicit characterisations become more common with the emergence of technical and specialized philosophical and scientific vocabulary in the 4th century BCE, and we shall encounter such devices only at the final 'station' identified in this article.² When dealing with earlier history of concepts, our only access to their content is typically the *instances* of the corresponding words in texts preserved through a long (and highly selective) textual tradition. These instances, in turn, typically reflect the *uses* of these terms in a given socio-temporal linguistic framework. Often these uses are normative and rule-governed, i.e. based on commonly accepted and shared linguistic practices. Thus, the uses are also embedded in social contexts, which need to be considered in the philological analysis. In some cases, the uses may also be idiosyncratic – and in many cases it may be difficult to say whether they are so. In some other cases they are 'revolutionary', i.e. they may suggest significant *changes* to what was before considered correct uses of the term, or, alternatively, suggest *new* uses that will co-exist with the older ones. In such cases, we may say that the concepts in question are moulded, as the normative framework related to their uses is changed. It is precisely this kind of transitions in the uses of σῶμα that I am primary interested in.

² In the 4th century BCE, the discussion of definition becomes the hallmark of the Socratic-Platonic philosophy. Eric Havelock (1983, 28–29) depicts the emergence of gradually specialized philosophical vocabulary as the result of the "linguistic task" undertaken by the pre-Socratic thinkers. Havelock points out that definitions of many key philosophical terms are introduced only towards the late 5th century BCE. In the wake of Havelockian ideas, Edward Schiappa and David Timmerman (2010) have shown how such definitory practices "disciplined" the discourse of rhetoric in the 4th century, simultaneously creating more specific scientific disciplines. My own approach to the conceptual history of σῶμα is methodologically indebted to this conceptually-driven approach to intellectual history.

The changes in concepts thus need to be examined on the basis of the instances of the uses of words. But what aspects of uses are important, and what kind of changes in use may be taken to imply *conceptual* changes? – In preparing this article, I have focused especially on the following three features, the changes of which may often be inferred on basis of the preserved instances:

- *Extension*. What is the *range of subjects* the term σῶμα is used of? Or: What kind of things σῶμα is *predicated* of?
- *Contrastive terms*. What is the contrary of the term σῶμα? Or: What is the term σῶμα typically *contrasted* with?
- *Criteria of use*. What are the *criteria* of being a σῶμα? Or: What other features a given thing needs to have in order to be a σῶμα?

Before moving on, I should like to acknowledge my debt to a recent volume, edited by Thomas Buchhem, David Meißner and Nora Wachsmann under the title ΣΩΜΑ. *Körperkonzepte und körperliche Existenz in der antiken Philosophie und Literatur* (2016). While the collection does not contain articles on the early history of bodies, it contains Nora Wachsmann's informative "Stellensammlung" of early instances of σῶμα in Greek literature. My overview builds on her collection. Besides mentioning typical editions, I give references to her collection with the abbreviation W, [page number].

2. ΣΩΜΑ in the 4th Century BCE: Uses in Plato

Before going back to the very beginnings, I would like to point out for orientation three features of the use of σῶμα, which are evident in the texts of the Platonic corpus (4th century BCE). The examples testify of various, and sometimes even potentially conflicting, articulations and uses of the term within a corpus of one single author. Plato's uses will provide us with a point of reference for examining the emergence of (some of) these uses in earlier texts, examined in Section 3, below.

Feature I. *Evaluative and contrastive uses of σῶμα*. In the 4th Century BCE, the word σῶμα is regularly used as a contrastive term with the word ψυχή. This

opposition is rarely a neutral one; rather, the contrast is typically an *evaluative* one, where one member of the pair is valued more highly than the other. Isocrates, writing in the mid 4th century BC, reports that

ὁμολογείται μὲν γὰρ τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν ἔκ τε τοῦ σώματος συγκεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, αὐτοῖν δὲ τούτοις οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν φήσειεν ἡγεμονικωτέραν πεφικέναι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ πλέονος ἀξίαν. (*Antid.* 180.)

[i]t is agreed that our nature is compounded of the body and the soul, and there is no-one who would deny that of these two the soul is primary and of greater worth. (My translation.)

The verb ὁμολογεῖν (in passive voice) suggests that the soul–body contrast is presented as a commonplace.³ Furthermore, the contrast definitely contains an evaluative element, as the psyche is considered to be primary (or more ruling / authoritative, ἡγεμονική) and more valuable (πλέονος ἀξία) than the body.⁴ This contrastive and evaluative use often surfaces in Plato’s works.

Examples: Σῶμα in evaluative contrast to ψυχὴ in Plato

It is well known that Plato tends to articulate σῶμα, ‘the body’, *in contrast* to ψυχὴ, ‘the soul’. In these uses, σῶμα typically signifies a body of a living sentient being, not any corporeal thing. These articulations almost always contain a strong evaluative element: whereas the soul is associated with truth and eternal life, the body and bodily existence are connected with ephemerality and viewed as something that *hinders* us from attaining truth. A particularly good example of such reasoning occurs in *Phaedo* 65c11 ff., where the body and sense perception are condemned in favour of rational inquiry, striving for the knowledge of the Beautiful, Good, Bigness or Health (i.e. the forms). In 65e, Socrates rhetorically

³ Robert Renehan (1980, 133) has suggested that passage represents a *communis opinio*. But exactly what is this *communio*, then? – Every Greek living in Isocrates’ time? – Every Athenian? – Some important segment of Athenians, e.g. every *educated* Athenian or Athenians who have participated the Eleusian mysteries? Or Isocrates’ intended audience/reader? – The *communio* that Renehan has in mind seems to be “Plato’s educated contemporaries”, which is probably right.

⁴ For a parallel, see e.g. Antiph. 5,93: τὸ σῶμα ἀπειρηκός ἢ ψυχὴ συνεξέσωσεν, which alludes to the dominance of the psyche over the body.

asks Simmias whether the best and “purest” (καθαρώτατα) approach would not be to make use of thought (διανοία) only,

ἀπαλλαγείς ὅτι μάλιστα ὀφθαλμῶν τε καὶ ὠτῶν καὶ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν **σύμπαντος τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ταραττοντος καὶ οὐκ ἔῶντος τὴν ψυχὴν κτήσασθαι ἀλήθειάν** τε καὶ φρόνησιν ὅταν κοινωνῇ; (66a3-6.)

freeing himself as far as possible from eyes and ears and, in a word, from the whole body, because the body confuses the soul and does not allow it to acquire truth and wisdom whenever it is associated with it.

(Text Burnet, Tr. G. M. A. Grube, from Cooper et al.)

Indeed, in the *Phaedo*, the contrast between the body and soul is connected with the suggestion that philosophy is a purificatory activity, which aims to free the soul from the corrupting association with the body (e.g. 65a). The body is condemned as the source of error, confusion, and even – via bodily needs and desires of wealth – as the *only* cause of “war, civil discord and battles” (66b–d.). The evaluative contrast could hardly be stronger.

Another striking passage, albeit with a different stress, is *Alcibiades I*, 129d ff.⁵ Whereas the passage from *Phaedo* articulated the soul-body opposition in epistemological and evaluative terms, here the opposition is framed ontologically. The human being is straightforward *identified* with his soul – and the body is deemed to be a kind of instrument of the body at best. In the light of this passage, the person, or the human being, *is* the soul, not the body or the living being as a whole (130c1–c7):

ΣΩ. Ἐπειδὴ δ' οὔτε σῶμα οὔτε τὸ συναμφοτέρον ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, λείπεται οἷμαι ἢ μηδὲν αὐτ' εἶναι, ἢ εἴπερ τί ἐστι, μηδὲν ἄλλο τὸν ἄνθρωπον συμβαίνειν ἢ ψυχὴν.

ΑΛΚ. Κομιδῆ μὲν οὖν.

ΣΩ. Ἔτι οὖν τι σαφέστερον δεῖ ἀποδειχθῆναί σοι, ὅτι **ἡ ψυχὴ ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος;**

ΑΛΚ. Μὰ Δία, ἀλλ' ἰκανῶς μοι δοκεῖ ἔχειν.

⁵ I thank Dr. Thomas Macher for directing my attention to this passage in discussion.

soc. Since a man is neither his body, nor his body and soul together, what remains is, I think, is either that he's nothing, or else, if he *is* something, he's nothing other than his soul.

alc. Quite so.

soc. Do you need any clearer proof that the soul is the man?

alc. No, by Zeus, I think you've given ample proof.

(Text Burnet, Tr. D. S. Hutchinson, from Cooper et al.)

With such highly evaluative and contrastive uses of the terminological pair σῶμα/ψυχή, Plato certainly became a pivotal figure in introducing the soul-body -dualism in philosophy.⁶ Even though he surely had precursors in the earlier tradition,⁷ nobody before him seems to have put so much philosophical – both ethical, epistemological and ontological – weight on the distinction.

Feature II. *From concrete to abstract uses of σῶμα.* In the Platonic corpus, the noun σῶμα has a broad extension: it is used to refer to things of various kinds and at various levels of abstraction. Both human persons, animate bodies, corpses, inanimate things, celestial bodies, or even the cosmos as a whole may be called σῶματα. In abstraction, the term may also signify geometrical three-dimensional figures and all kinds of material stuffs that have any spatial extension at all. This implies that the field of application is potentially very broad, and little limitations seem to be set to what kind of subjects the term may be predicated of.

Examples: Abstract characterisations of σῶμα in late Plato

In Plato's dialogues, there are several passages where σῶμα is used (and characterized) abstractly. In these passages, σῶμα emerges as an abstract concept, which stands for *everything* that is material or has a spatial extension. As examples, I have picked up three passages, each of which characterises σῶμα abstractly in slightly different ways: *Phileb.* 29d–e, *Soph.* 246a–b and *Tim.* 53c.

⁶ Plato's evaluative *contrast* between σῶμα and ψυχή is connected with the tendency of associating σῶμα closely with σῆμα, and hence articulating the body as the 'tomb' or 'sign' of the soul: *Crat.* 400c reports an etymological explanation of σῶμα via σῆμα, and the idea surfaces also in *Gorg.* 492e–493a. For elaboration, see Bernabé 1995 and Ferwerda 1985, who discuss the Orphic and Pythagorean background of this association.

⁷ For the contrast in Homer, see Section 3, Station IB below and note 35.

In the first passage, *σῶμα* is characterised as something which is *composed* out of simple elements (fire, earth, water and air), and the idea is then generalized anything which is so composed. *Σῶμα* is thus contrasted not primarily with the soul, but rather with the *constituents* out of which the complex body is made of (29d6–e4):

ΣΩ. [...] ἀλλὰ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξῆς ἔπου. πάντα γὰρ ἡμεῖς ταῦτα τὰ νῦνδὴ
 λεχθέντα ἄρ' οὐκ εἰς ἓν συγκείμενα ἰδόντες ἐπωνομάσαμεν σῶμα;
 ΠΡΩ. Τί μήν;
 ΣΩ. Ταῦτὸν δὴ λαβὲ καὶ **περὶ τοῦδε ὄν κόσμον λέγομεν**. [διὰ] τὸν αὐτὸν
 γὰρ τρόπον **ἂν εἶη που σῶμα, σύνθετον ὄν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν**.
 ΠΡΩ. Ὅρθότατα λέγεις.

soc. [...] But now see what follows. To the combination of all these elements [earth, fire, water, air, L.J.] taken as a unit we give the name “body”, don’t we?

pro. Certainly.

soc. Now, realize that the same holds in the case of what we call the ordered universe. It will turn out to be a body in the same sense, since it is composed of the same elements.

pro. What you say is undeniable.

(Text Burnet, Tr. D. Frede, from Cooper et al.)

The second passage has been extracted from the dialogue *Sophist*. It occurs in the discussion concerning the dispute between the materialists and those who posit the existence of non-material forms. The former tend to equate all being (*οὐσία*) with *σώματα* (246a–247d). The Eleatic visitor introduces the first party as follows (246a6–b3):

ΧΕ. Οἱ μὲν εἰς γῆν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀοράτου πάντα ἔλκουσι, ταῖς
 χερσὶν ἀτεχνῶς πέτρας καὶ δρυὲς περιλαμβάνοντες. τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων
 ἐφαπτόμενοι πάντων δισχυρίζονται τοῦτο εἶναι μόνον ὃ παρέχει
 προσβολὴν καὶ ἐπαφήν τινα, **ταῦτὸν σῶμα καὶ οὐσίαν ὀριζόμενοι**, τῶν δὲ
 ἄλλων εἴ τίς (τί) φήσει μὴ σῶμα ἔχον εἶναι, καταφρονούντες τὸ παράπαν
 καὶ οὐδὲν ἐθέλοντες ἄλλο ἀκούειν.

Visitor: One group drags everything down to earth from the heavenly region of the invisible, actually clutching rocks and trees with their hands. When they take hold of all these things they insist that only what offers tangible contact is, since they define being as the same as body. And if any of the others say that something without a body is, they absolutely despise him and won't listen to him any more.

(Text Burnet, Tr. Nicholas P. White, from Cooper et al.)

The main drive of this passage is ontological, as the Eleatic Visitor describes the materialists' tendency of equating all *being* with bodily being. While the more specific structure of bodies is not discussed (compare the previous passage), this passage does provide a criterion for the bodily being. This is suggested by the association of σώματα with things that may function as objects of haptic contact (προσβολή) or touch (ἐπαφή): Being, the materialists argue, is the same as body; and to be of a bodily nature, is to be perceptible by haptic means.

The abstract uses are clearly prominent in the *Timaeus*. The following passage is especially noteworthy as it contains a general and abstract characterisation of the body as something that has a three-dimensional extension in space (53c5–d1:)

Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ πῦρ καὶ γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀήρ ὅτι σώματά ἐστι, δῆλόν που καὶ παντί. τὸ δὲ τοῦ σώματος εἶδος πᾶν καὶ βάθος ἔχει. τὸ δὲ βάθος αὐτῶν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τὴν ἐπίπεδον περιειληφέναι φύσιν.

First of all, everyone knows, I'm sure, that fire, earth, water and air are bodies. Now everything that has bodily form also has depth. Depth, moreover, is of necessity comprehended within surface.

(Tr. by Donald J. Zeyl, from Cooper et al.)

This passage is highly interesting in many respects. First, it operates with a definition of σώμα: what is said is meant to characterize the form of the body (τὸ τοῦ σώματος εἶδος), and should thus be applicable to all σώματα. Second, in the characterization that follows, two features surface: (i) σώμα is equated with *everything* that has a bounded depth or a three-dimensional extension in

space.⁸ And (ii) the basic elements, fire, earth, water and air – referred to in the passage from *Philebus*, above – are also explicitly designated as bodies. In the light of this abstract definition, everything which has a spatial extension – even the basic elements – are bodies. This characterization may be taken to articulate an abstract *criterion* for the use of the term σώμα: what it is to be a body, is to have three-dimensional extension.

Feature III. Σῶμα and its derivatives. In the 4th century BCE, an increasing number of derivatives of the noun σώμα are introduced. The adjective σωματοειδής, ‘bodily’, and its substantiation τὸ σωματοειδές, ‘the bodily’ first occur in Plato’s corpus in the *Phaedo* and are used in some later dialogues.⁹ These instances often occur in various characterizations of the Platonic soul-body dualism, but the later uses in the *Timaeus* (e.g. 31b3, 36d9) tend towards the abstract uses. The adjective σωματικός abounds in Aristotle’s physical¹⁰, metaphysical¹¹, biological¹² and ethical¹³ works. This adjective is sometimes contrasted with the negated contradictory form ἀσώματος, ‘incorporeal’, ‘non-bodily’.¹⁴ At this point, the verb σωματούσθαι, ‘to become / to be made corporeal’, occurs in Aristotle.¹⁵ This process continues later in the Hellenistic and Roman periods as

⁸ A generation later, in the *Topics*, Aristotle (*Top.* 142b24) referred to a definition of σώμα as τὸ ἔχον τρεῖς διαστάσεις (having three dimensions); this implies that the definition was in circulation in his circles. In *De Caelo*, he accepted the definition himself (*Cael.* I.1, 268a6ff., see Betegh et. al. 2013). In *Metaphysics* Δ, lemma ποσόν (1020a1–15), a series of geometrical objects – line (γραμμῆ), plane (ἐπιφανεία) and body (σῶμα) – is characterized as three magnitudes that are continuous respectively in one, two or three dimensions. The third dimension, peculiar to σώματα, is depth (βάθος) also named in *Timaeus* above. Compare *Phys.* 209a4.

⁹ See *Phd.* 81b5, c4, e1, 83d5, 86a2, compare *Resp.* 532c7, *Plt.* 274b4 and *Tim.* 31b4, 36d9.

¹⁰ E.g. *Cael.* 277b14 ff, *Ph.* 242b25.

¹¹ E.g. *Metaph.* 987a6 and 1001b11.

¹² E.g. *De an.* 404b31, 427a27, 433b19; *Gen. an.* 736b24.

¹³ E.g. *Eth. Eud.* 1245a21, *Eth. Nic.* 1128b14, 1176b20.

¹⁴ E.g. *De an.* 404b31, *Cael.* 305a14. The word appears six times already in Plato’s work, see e.g. *Phd.* 85e5, *Soph.* 246b8, 247d1; given that *Phaedo* is earlier than *The Sophist*, the former is the earliest preserved instance of the word. While Gomperz (1932) strived to establish that the term was in use already in the 5th century BCE, this position was challenged by Renehan 1980; many later scholars (e.g. Palmer 2003) have since accepted Renehan’s argument.

¹⁵ *Sens.* 445a2, in medio-passive, applied to air becoming corporeal; compare *Gen. an.* 739a12,

more derivatives and compounds are introduced.¹⁶ The most probable explanation for the emergence of these derivatives is, it seems to me, that they testify of a process where the word σῶμα is, during the 4th century BCE, given a series of more technical, scientific, and philosophical uses. These uses, then, generate a need for related adjectives, contradictories and verbal forms, which are variously derived from the noun.

From the three features above, illustrated by selective examples from the Platonic corpus, it should be clear that the 4th century BCE uses of σῶμα show much variance. – It is thus tempting to ask what kind conceptual resources Plato and other intellectuals of the 4th century BCE had at their disposal from the earlier tradition. In the next section, I trace the historical genealogy of σῶμα in four stations, starting from the first instances in Homer. As we shall see, an interesting feature characterising this development is that of gradual semantic enrichment, which takes place partly by analogical extensions of the previous usages but is also closely intertwined with the emergence of philosophical and scientific thought in the late 5th century BCE.

3. The pre-platonic uses of ΣΩΜΑ: An Overview in four Stations

Station I. Homeric beginnings

A. ΣΩΜΑ as a corpse or a moribund mortal body. The consensus of etymological scholars is that no convincing pre-homeric etymology for the word σῶμα has been found.¹⁷ The earliest instances of the word are found in the Homeric epics. The

744a17. An active participial form may also occur in Philolaos fragment number 11, the authenticity of which is disputed.

¹⁶ E.g. the substantive σωματώσις ‘thickening, becoming solid’, attested in Theophr. *Caus. Pl.* 6,11,14; the verb σωματοποιέω, ‘give bodily existence, organize as a body’ attested in Polyb. (2,45,6) and Alexander of Aphrodisia (Pr. 1,87); σωματουργέω with its derivatives in later Platonism, e.g. Procl. *In Ti.* 2,71. In Strabo 14,5,2 we also find σωματεμπορέω, designating slave trade, building on the classical use of σῶμα for human individuals or persons. See p. 102–106 and nn. 42–43 below. See also Chantraine (2009, 1046) lemma σῶμα.

¹⁷ See Brill’s 2010 *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* (= Beekes – van Beek 2010, 1440), lemma σῶμα; Compare Frisk (1970, Band II, 842), lemma σῶμα, who lists several proposals that he finds either “anfechtbar” or “unsicher”. The Latin “corpus”, with which the Greek “σῶμα” is later translated, stems

difference of the Homeric uses of *σῶμα* from the later ones was noted already in the antiquity by the Alexandrian philologist Aristarchus. In the 2nd century BCE, he notoriously argued that, in Homer, the word *σῶμα* refers *exclusively* to dead bodies or corpses, and that Homer uses other expressions, e.g. the term *δέμας* for living bodies.¹⁸ Indeed, it is beyond doubt that Homer uses *σῶμα* for both human and animal corpses. A good example of this use is found in *Iliad* 7,76–80 (=W, 546). In the passage, Hector, speaking to both Greek and Trojan armies, expresses his wish that, in the case of his death, his dead body (*σῶμα*) be treated well:

ὦδε δὲ μυθέομαι, Ζεὺς δ' ἄμμ' ἐπιμάρτυρος ἔστω·
εἰ μὲν κεν ἐμὲ κείνος ἔλη τανακῆκεί χαλκῳ,
τεύχεα συλήσας φερέτω κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας,
σῶμα δὲ οἶκαδ' ἐμὸν δόμεναι πάλιν, ὄφρα πυρός με
Τρῶες καὶ Τρῶων ἄλοχοι λαλάχωσι θανόντα.¹⁹

Thus do I declare

my word. May Zeus be our witness. If that man should beat
me with his long-edged bronze, may he strip my armor
and carry it to the hollow ships, but give back my body
to my home so that the Trojans and the wives of the Trojans
may give me the allotment of fire in death.

(Text Monro & Allen, Tr. B. Powell 2014.)

In the light of Aristarchus' interpretation, in Homer *σῶμα* thus neither stands for things and stuffs in general – nor for *living* bodies of animals. It designates only bodies that *were* living, but are not that anymore. This wisdom has found its way to the LSJ-dictionary, too.²⁰ In the 20th century, Aristarchus' interpretation been accepted by many scholars. The most spirited defence is probably that of Bruno Snell, who defends the view in the first chapter of his

from a different indo-European root **krp*.

¹⁸ See Lehrs 1882, 86.

¹⁹ The lines 79–80 are repeated in exactly the same form in *Il.* 22,342–343. Compare *Od.* 24,187.

²⁰ S.v. *σῶμα*: “[I]n Hom., as Aristarch. remarks” [...] “always *dead body, corpse* (whereas the living body is *δέμας*)”.

Entdeckung des Geistes (1946) in an even more radical form.²¹ Snell's provocative thesis is that the Greeks of Homer's time completely lacked an expression designating *the living human body* as a whole. Rather, they tended to view it as an aggregate of parts: Snell argues that the expressions Homer uses for the living body tend to be in plural: e.g. μέλεα, or γυῖα – the limbs or the members of the body. Snell also points out that this view of the body as an aggregate of parts is also visible in contemporary Greek art.²²

More recently, Aristarchus' and Snell's suggestions have been criticised, and I believe with good reasons.²³ Though the instances of σῶμα in Homer *tend* to refer to dead bodies, the problem is that there are only *eight* instances of the word in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* altogether.²⁴ It is thus unclear, what kind of conclusions concerning the early Greek usage may be made on basis of this evidence.²⁵ In addition, even among these eight passages, there are, depending on interpretation, one to three cases (*Il.* 3,23; 18,161 and *Od.* 12,67) in which it is not clear whether the σῶματα are alive or dead. By far the best candidate for a living σῶμα is, in my view, a homeric simile from *Il.* 3,21–29 (=W, 547), concerning lions attacking σῶματα of prey animals. In that passage, Alexander, who has stepped forward from the crowd of the Trojan warriors, is seen by Menelaos. Alexander is then compared to a σῶμα of a prey animal like wild stag or goat, which is attacked and devoured by a hungry lion:

Τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησεν ἀρηΐφιλος Μενέλαος
 ἐρχόμενον προπάροιθεν ὀμίλου μακρὰ βιβάντα,
 ὡς τε λέων ἐχάρη μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ σῶματι κύρσας,

²¹ See Renehan 1979, 269–270, who lists several later scholars sympathetic to Aristarch's (and Snell's) view. The view is repeated in Urmson's (1990, s.v.) dictionary of Greek philosophical terms.

²² Snell 1955, 21–24.

²³ Most recently by Wachsmann 2016, 546–548 and Galhac 2013. An earlier and more detailed criticism of Snell's approach and presuppositions is Renehan 1979. Compare also Herter 1957. From a more philosophical angle, based on an analysis of action in Homer's epics, Bernard Williams (1993, 28–9) argued that Snell's arguments to dissolve the Homeric man into mental or physical parts “are a systematic failure”. Despite these critical voices, the Aristarchian position is still defended e.g. in Krieter-Spiro's notes in the Basel-commentary to *Iliad* III, (Bierl – Latacz [eds.] 2015, 24.)

²⁴ *Il.* 3,23; 7,79; 18,161; 22,342; 23,169; *Od.* 11,53; 12,67; 24,187.

²⁵ Renehan (*ibid.*, 274) correctly observes that Homeric terminology need not be coextensive with the Greek vocabulary of the time, nor with the Greek poetic diction with the time.

εὐρών ἢ ἔλαφον κεραὸν ἢ ἄγριον αἶγα
 πεινάων· μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθίει, εἴ περ ἄν αὐτὸν
 σεύωνται ταχέες τε κύνες θαλεροί τ' αἰζηοί·
 ὡς ἐχάρη Μενέλαος Ἀλέξανδρον θεοειδέα
 ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ιδῶν· φάτο γὰρ τείσσεσθαι ἀλείτην.
 αὐτίκα δ' ἐξ ὀχέων σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄλτο χαμᾶζε.

When Menelaos, whom Ares
 loves, saw him [= Paris / Alexander] coming forth from out of the crowd,
 striding long, even as a lion rejoices when he chances
 on a carcass [*sic.*, σῶματι] when he is hungry, either finding a horned
 stag or a wild goat and greedily the lion devours it,
 although fast dogs and brave young men assail him –
 even so Menelaos rejoiced when he saw Alexandros,
 like a god, with his own eyes. He thought that the criminal
 was caught. On the instant he jumped from his chariot, fully
 armed, to the ground.²⁶
 (Text Monro & Allen, Tr. B. Powell 2014.)

Interestingly, Barry Powell has translated σῶμα in this passage as “carcass” – and the same procedure has been followed in some earlier translations, too.²⁷ But given that Alexander, to whom the σῶμα of the prey animal is compared, is still alive at the moment of the comparison, such translations seem to be an interpretative choice based on Aristarchus’ interpretation rather than merely on the logic of the passage itself.²⁸ It is interesting, however, that in this passage, where Homer’s σῶμα *may* signify a still living animal, the animal, though perhaps still alive, is very much moribund – just about to be killed and devoured by the lion (or by the raging Menelaos). In Homer, then, the word may be used both of prey-animals pursued by lions, and of the Greek and Trojan heroes slain dead on the battlefield. Another instance (*Od.* 12,66–68) refers to ship-wrecked

²⁶ Compare also *Il.* 18,161 for another lion simile; in this case the σῶμα the lion is attacking is compared to the *dead* body of Hector.

²⁷ See e.g. the *Loeb* translation by Murray, revised by Wyatt.

²⁸ In another similar simile in Pseudo-Hesiod *Scutum* 425–428, the σῶματα are undoubtedly alive (Renehan 1979, 273).

sailors, whose bodies are floating on the waves of the sea – whether dead or moribund, is not directly revealed in the text. Does this indicate that σῶμα in Homer might mean ‘a prey’, be it alive or dead, and that the word would thus have connections to hunting?²⁹ – I refrain from taking a definite stand here. But at least the instances point to the fact that ‘σῶμα’ in Homer seems closely associated with death and with the mortality of living beings. This aspect, at least, is something that much of the later tradition shares.

B. Σῶμα and ψυχή: the beginnings of a contrast. As was indicated in Section 1, above, Plato later identified the human being or the person exclusively with the soul, contrasting it with the body. Even though there is a contrast between σῶμα and ψυχή in the Homeric epics, too, the contrast is stressed in a markedly different way. A particularly interesting passage occurs right at the beginning of the *Iliad*. Though the word σῶμα does not occur in it, the passage makes clear that in Homer did *not* identify the person with the soul (*Il.* 1–5 = W, 547):

Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος
 οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρί’ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε’ ἔθηκε,
 πολλὰς δ’ ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν
 ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεύχε κύνεσσιν
 οἴωνοῖσι τε πᾶσι, Διὸς δ’ ἐτελείετο βουλή

The rage sing, O goddess, of Achilles, the son of Peleus,
 the destructive anger that brought ten-thousand pains to the
 Achaeans and sent many brave souls of fighting men to the house
 of Hades and made *the men themselves* a feast for dogs
 and all kinds of birds. For such was the will of Zeus.
 (Text Monro & Allen, Tr. B. Powell 2014; translation altered at italics.)

The brave *souls* (ψυχαί) of the heroes are sent to Hades, whereas *they themselves* (αὐτοί), are made a feast for the dogs and birds. What is implied is that the warriors *themselves* most definitely are *not* equated with their souls, but

²⁹ Koller 1958, 279–280 speculates, on the basis of the prey-animal similes, that σῶμα might be connected with the verb σίνεσθαι ‘to cause harm, to injure’, as its object. The associations to prey are also noted by Wachsmann 2016, 548 and 550.

rather with the physical remains that are left on earth.³⁰ On the basis of the above remarks concerning the prey-animal similes and the Homeric tendency to use σώμα of dead bodies, it may even be tempting to claim that the αὐτοί here refers to σώματα – the warriors’ dead bodies. Indeed, this is definitely implied by the original wording of Powell’s (2014) translation of αὐτοί on line 4, as he renders the passage as “made their bodies a feast for dogs”.³¹

In my view, the most remarkable trait concerning the Homeric contrast between σώμα and ψυχή is that *both* terms are mainly used either when death has already taken place or when death threatens or is about to happen.³² Unlike in the later tradition, the terms are *not* used in describing a living being, e.g. as a compound of these two, more or less independent elements. Neither is ψυχή the seat of the living being’s psychological attributes. The standard interpretation of ψυχή in Homer is that for him, ψυχή is merely a kind of shadowy image or ghost of the once living being, which leaves or is “breathed out” of the body at the time of death. Of living beings, the term is used mainly when there is a reason to fear death, i.e. that the ψυχή may depart.³³ It is not that the *presence* of psyche makes a human being live, but rather its *departure* which signalises his death. The ψυχή emerging at the moment of death is a feeble thing with a limited range of possible activities. It is not to be equated with the essence of the human being.³⁴ Both the shadowy ψυχή and the decaying σώμα continue their existence after the living individual is dead. Indeed, in *Od.* 11,51 we witness Odysseus encountering

³⁰ One frequent formula that Homer uses to characterize the moment of death is οὐ δ’ αἴθι λύθη ψυχή τε μένος τε (*Il.* 5,296, 8,123 and 8,315, c. Bremmer 1983, 76): since the ψυχή is ‘loosened’ from a dying warrior at the time of death, the warrior surely is *not* to be identified with the ψυχή.

³¹ Compare Patzig 2009, 249–250, Hirzel 1914 and Wachsmann 2016, 548.

³² For a philological overview of ψυχή in Homer, see Darcus 1979.

³³ Darcus 1979, 32–33. Jan Bremmer (1983, 14ff and 2002, 1–2) has suggested that ψυχή in Homer is related to a dualistic conception of souls, which anthropologists have identified in various ‘primitive’ cultures. Homer’s ψυχή may be compared to the “free-soul”, associated with breath and representing the individual personality, and contrasted with various “body-souls”, which are more closely connected with physical aspects of the body and with conscious psychological phenomena; for the latter, Homer uses various terms such as θυμός or νόος. Bremmer suggests that the “free-soul” is normally inactive, but does manifest itself in dreams, swoons or at death.

³⁴ Renehan 1979, 279.

his dead comrade Elpenor's ghost (ψυχή, translated as 'breath-soul' by Powell below), separated from his earthly σῶμα:

πρώτη δὲ ψυχή Ἐλπήνορος ἦλθεν ἑταίρου·
οὐ γάρ πω ἐτέθαπτο ὑπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης·
σῶμα γὰρ ἐν Κίρκης μεγάρῳ κατελείπομεν ἡμεῖς
ἄκλαυτον καὶ ἄθαπτον, ἐπεὶ πόνος ἄλλος ἔπειγε.

First came the breath-soul of my companion Elpenor,
for we did not bury him beneath the earth with its broad
ways but left his corpse in the hall of Kirké unwept
and unburied because another task drove us on.
(Text Allen, tr. B. Powell.)

Thus at death, the psyche is separated from the living being, and only σῶμα, the lifeless corpse, remains. Though very differently stressed, this correlation provides the starting point for the later developments of body-soul dualism. Since, in this article, I am interested mainly in points where some conceptual novelties, e.g. new contrastive terms, are introduced, I shall not trace the complex history of the soul-body -opposition further in this article.³⁵

Station II: ΣΩΜΑ as a living mortal body or the human individual

The first step in extending the meaning of σῶμα is that the word, reserved for dead or immediately moribund human or animal bodies at Station I, comes

³⁵ Here only some signposts: The binary opposition of the soul and the body, and related views on afterlife, seem to have constituted an important set of beliefs in the Orphic circles: an Olbian bone tablet C (early 5th century BCE) has σῶμα and ψυχή juxtaposed in a list of binary opposites (the reading was suggested by Vinogradov [1991, 79], and is repeated in Graf – Johnston [2007, 187] and Chrysanthou [2017, 178]: the text of σῶμα, however, is hardly legible in the photos I have seen [in West 1982, 24]). Pindar, in Fr. 131b, contrasted the mortal human σῶμα with the εἶδωλον, which remains living at death and which alone is from the gods; later, Plato, in *Meno* 81b1, named Pindar as an author who believed in the immortality of the soul. Ideas of transmigration of the soul were entertained in Pythagorean circles (see Xenophanes' testimony in DK 21B8 = Most-Laks *Xen* D64); see also Herodotus' report of such doctrines in Egypt in *Hist.* 2,123. For a recent overview of related views, see Svavarsson (2020, 595 ff.), who discusses the early ideas of the soul from the perspective of retributive justice. Such ideas probably entered the Athenian circles through the Eleusinian Mysteries.

to signify bodies of living animals in general. Instances of this usage are found already in Hesiod and in archaic poetry,³⁶ and this particular use indeed becomes a commonplace by the classical period. The earliest instance from Hesiod (c. 700 BCE) stems from the description of winter in the *Works and Days* (536–540 = W, 549):

Καὶ τότε ἔσασσθαι ἔρυμα χροός· ὡς σε κελεύω,
 χλαῖνάν τε μαλακὴν καὶ θερμιόεντα χιτῶνα·
 στήμονι δ' ἐν παύρῳ πολλὴν κρόκα μηρύσασσθαι·
 τὴν περιέσασσθαι, ἵνα τοι τρίχες ἀτρεμέωσι
 μηδ' ὀρθαὶ φρίσσωσιν ἀειρόμεναι κατὰ σῶμα.

And that is when you should put on a defense for your
 skin, as I bid you: a soft cloak and a tunic that reaches your feet.
 Wind plenty of woof on a puny warp: put this around you, so that
 your hairs do not tremble nor stand up straight shivering along your
 body.

(Text M. West, tr. G. Most [Loeb 57, 2006])

In another example, taken from Pindar's *Olympia* 6 for Hagesias of Syracuse (472/468 BCE), we find the word σῶμα signifying the body of a newborn Iamos, which is hidden in the bushes. He is being searched for by Aipytos, whose wife had secretly given birth to this baby-boy, originally conceived by the god Apollo (*Ol.* 6, 53–56 = W, 552):

ἀλλ' ἐν
 κέκρυπτο γὰρ σχοίνῳ βατιᾶ τ' ἐν ἀπειρίτῳ,
 ἴων ξανθαῖσι καὶ παμπορφύροις ἀκτίσι βεβρεγμένος ἄβρόν
 σῶμα.

³⁶ The temporal order of Hesiod and Homer has been a much-debated topic, which is also relevant for the question concerning the exact order of the semantic development of σῶμα. Martin West defended the view that the Hesiodic poems are earlier than the Homeric ones. Even without taking a definite stand on the issue, Renehan (1979, 276) asks rhetorically whether it is, given that Hesiod uses the word of a living body, “really reasonable to deny the knowledge of such a use to the roughly contemporaneous composer of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*”.

But in fact,

he [= Iamos] had been hidden in a bed of reeds within a vast thicket,
while his tender body was bathed by the golden and purple rays.
(Text Snell & Mahler; tr. Race.)

In these two passages, σῶμα clearly signifies a living human being – but, as it seems, still essentially a mortal, if not quite moribund, human being.³⁷ Both instances retain a close association of σῶμα with mortality. As depicted by Hesiod, σῶμα is something *to be protected* by woollen garments from the biting and threatening cold of winter. And the passage from Pindar relates well to the Homeric idea of a σῶμα as a prey of kind – for Iamos is pursued by Aipytos, who, however, fails to find him.³⁸ This association with mortality connects well with another Pindaric passage from *Partheneion* 1, 14–15 (= W, 553), which beautifully stresses the ephemeral nature of the body:

ἀθάναται δὲ βροτοῖς
ἀμέραι, σῶμα δ' ἔστι θνατόν.

Men are given immortal
days, their body, however, is mortal.³⁹
(Text Snell & Mahler, tr. Lassi Jakola.)

It seems, however, that in the 5th century BCE, the term gradually loses its connotations with the immediate threat of death, which still surface in the above quotations. In Aeschylus' *PV*. 462–466 it is used simply of yoked bodies of animals, and in the dramas of the classical period the term is frequently applied to living human beings or, even more markedly, to human individuals

³⁷ See also Aesch. *Sept.* 896.

³⁸ Such allusions to hunting also apply to the earlier (mid- 7th century) instance in Archilochus' 'Cologne Epode' (Loeb 259, fr. 196a, 51–53 = Merkelbach-West, *ZPE* 14 [1974] 34–35 = W, 549–50) where the word designates a living body of a young woman as an object of sexual desire. As Wachsmann (2016, 550) notes, Archilochus makes use of the Homeric "Bedeutungshorizont" as the woman is depicted as a sexual prey ("Beute") of a kind.

³⁹ Compare also Pindar's *Fr.* 131b, 1–3 and note 35, above.

as *persons*.⁴⁰ The following exchange between Menelaos and Helen in Euripides' *Helen* is noteworthy (*Hel.* 587–588 = W, 561):

MENEΛΑΟΣ πῶς οὖν; ἄμ' ἐνθάδ' ἦσθ' <ἄρ'> ἐν Τροίᾳ θ' ἄμα;
 ΕΛΕΝΗ τοῦνομα γένοιτ' ἂν πολλαχοῦ, τὸ σῶμα δ' οὔ.

Menelaus What? Were you at the same time both here and at Troy?

Helen A name may be in many places, though a body in only one.

(Text Diggle, tr. David Kovacs [Loeb 11].)

Here, it seems, σῶμα is clearly the living human person, which, as a physical being, can only be at *one* place at the time. Interestingly, this bodily concreteness is contrasted with ὀνόματα – names or rumours – which can represent the person as being in many places at a same time. This contrast, which appears in *Helen* in three separate passages, thus clearly alludes to a parallel antithesis of reality vs. appearance: ὄνομα standing for appearance, σῶμα for reality.⁴¹ Furthermore, whereas it was still unclear whether Homer identifies living individual humans with their σῶματα, it seems that such identification was often made in the classical period. This background makes the platonic proposal – discussed above – that the human being is to be identified with the soul, not with the body nor with the union of the two, especially noteworthy.

The same development is also attested in the prose works of Herodotus⁴² and Thucydides. In the latter's work, the term is especially frequently used of the human person as a whole, or used in referring to human life and its

⁴⁰ E.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 199 & 835, *Soph. Ant.* 676, *El.* 1233; Eur. *Hec.* 301, *Med.* 1111 and *Ar. Nub.* 1413, *Lys.* 80, *Thesm.* 154 & 895.

⁴¹ On *Hel.* 66–67 and *Hel.* 1100. Especially in the former, Helen's ὄνομα refers to her bad reputation all over Greece. On the contrast, see e.g. Burian's (2007) commentary to 66–67.

⁴² According to a TLG search, there are 46 instances of the noun σῶμα in Herodotus. Most typically, the word designates a living human being, sometimes stressing the concrete bodily aspects (e.g. 1,31,6; 3,134,12 and 7,61.3) and sometimes the human person as a whole (e.g. 1,32,41 and 2,120,6). In line with the Homeric usage, it is used of dead or dying humans (e.g. 2,123,6–9; 2,86,23 and 2,121). The word is used of both living (e.g. 5,9,7 and 2,68,12) and dead (e.g. 2,39,6; 2,40,9 and 7,167,7) animal bodies. Sometimes the word is used to designate the main trunk of the body in contrast to its other parts (e.g. 5,33,12: σῶμα vs. head; 2,40,9: σῶμα vs. various parts detached from the animal). In one instance it is used of the grotesque bodies of puppets used in Egyptian festivals to Dionysos (2,48,8–10).

preservation.⁴³ In many such passages, translating σώμα simply with the modern English 'body' would actually result in a forced and unnatural translation. Such is, e.g. the following passage from Pericles' funeral speech, where making the "σῶμα 'self-sufficient' (αὐταρκες)" definitely refers to a result of a complex process of personal growth through the Athenian education (2,41,1):

Ευελών τε λέγω τήν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος παίδευσιν εἶναι καὶ
καθ' ἕκαστον δοκεῖν ἄν μοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστ'
 ἄν εἶδη καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστα' ἄν **εὐτραπέλωσ τὸ σῶμα αὐταρκες**
παρέχεσθαι.

In a word, then, I say that our city as a whole is the school of Hellas, and that, as it seems to me, each individual amongst us could in his own person, with the utmost grace and versatility, prove himself [σῶμα] self-sufficient in the most varied forms of activity.

(Text: Jones & Powell, transl. C. F. Smith [Loeb 108].)

Before moving on, be it noted that although at Station II, the word σώμα is extended from its earlier and narrower Homeric use to signify animate bodies and persons, the term continues to be used of dead bodies, too.⁴⁴

Station III: ΣΩΜΑ in contrast to its (physical) parts

Even though I present Stations III and IV as separate developments, they are contemporary phenomena which are, as we shall see, intrinsically related to one another. They are both connected with the emergence of Greek scientific and philosophical thought and of specialized scientific terminology in the 5th century BCE. Let us take Station III first, because its relation to the earlier developments is more straightforward.

⁴³ According to a TLG search, there are 38 instances of the noun σώμα in Thucydides. Interestingly, all the instances seem to refer to human bodies. Σῶμα is often equated with the human person as a whole (e.g. 1,17,1; 2,41,2; 2,102,6 and 6,31,5) or with human life in general (e.g. 1,143,5; 2,42,2 and 6,9,2). It is often contrasted with χρήμα "life vs. property", (e.g. 1,85,1; 1,141,5; 8,45,4 and 8,66,1). In only one case the word clearly indicates a human corpse (1,134,4).

⁴⁴ For exemplary instances in Pindar, see *Nem.* 3,47 and 9,23; in Sophocles, *Aj.* 1063, *El.* 758; in Euripides, *Supp.* 534, *Tro.* 91. For Herodotus and Thucydides, see nn. 42–43 above.

By station III, I refer to a development in the 5th century, in which the bodies of living beings (i.e. σώματα of Station II) are being systematically contrasted with their constituents – the stuffs and elements out of which the bodies are made of and which causally affect the complex bodies. Here writings from the early medical texts, especially the Hippocratic corpus, are illuminating. Brooke Holmes has, in her book *The Symptom and the Subject* (2010) examined the invention of the hidden inner secrets of the human body in detail. In her view, the early medical texts contribute to a new understanding of health: the condition of the living body is to be accounted solely by what takes place *within* the body, by reference to what she calls the “physical body”. This way of articulating the human σῶμα in contrast to its parts, which are simultaneously explanatory primary in relation to the states of the body, is clearly expressed in the following passage from the Hippocratic treatise *On the nature of Man*,⁴⁵ which is typically dated to late 5th century BCE⁴⁶ (*Nat. Hom.* 4,1–10 = W, 556):

Τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔχει ἐν ἑωυτῷ αἷμα καὶ φλέγμα καὶ χολὴν
 ξανθὴν καὶ μέλαιναν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ φύσις τοῦ σώματος, καὶ
 διὰ ταῦτα ἀλγεί καὶ ὑγιαίνει. ὑγιαίνει μὲν οὖν μάλιστα, ὅταν μετρίως
 ἔχη ταῦτα τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα κρήσιος καὶ δυνάμιος καὶ τοῦ πλήθεος,
 καὶ μάλιστα μεμιγμένα ἤ· ἀλγεί δὲ ὅταν τούτων τι ἔλασσον ἢ πλεόν ἢ ἢ
 χωρισθῇ ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ μὴ κεκρημένον ἢ τοῖσι σύμπασιν.

The body of man has in itself blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile; these make up the nature of his body, and through these he feels pain or enjoys health. Now he enjoys the most perfect health when these elements are duly proportioned to one another in respect of compounding, power and bulk, and when they are perfectly mingled. Pain is felt when one of

⁴⁵ On the basis of a quotation in Aristotle's *Hist. An.* 512b13ff, this treatise is often attributed to Hippocrates' son-in-law Polybus, active at the turn of the century (see Jouanna 1969 and 2002, 55); however, in his commentary to *Nat. Hom.*, Galen suggested that the treatise was at least partly authored by Hippocrates himself (*CMG V* 9,1, 9 ff.).

⁴⁶ On the date, see Jouanna (2002, 59ff), who proposes 410–400 as the most probable date. The date means that this passage is most probably later than some of the passages in Station IV, quoted below. It has been suggested that the author of *On the nature of Man* is reacting to doctrines of Melissus (Holmes [2010, 107n98], following Jouanna 1965), discussed below.

these elements is in defect or excess, or is isolated in the body without being compounded with all the others.

(Loeb 150, tr. W. H. S. Jones.)

Note the contrast: the σῶμα is the composite living body of a human being, whereas the stuffs that constitute it are hidden but explanatory of the states of health and illness of the composite body. Furthermore, these stuffs constitute the nature, φύσις, of this very body. Health is explained in reference to these stuffs being moderately related to each other in respect to three factors: compounding (or mixture, κρήσις), power (δύναμις) and bulk (or quantity, πλήθος). Furthermore, the elements should be properly mixed with one another.

On the basis of another passage from the same treatise, it is also clear that the constituents of the bodies are viewed as something out of which the living body is originally made and something into which it disintegrates into after the death. According *Nat. Hom* 3,20–29 (= W, 556):

καὶ πάλιν γε ἀνάγκη ἀναχωρεῖν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ φύσιν ἕκαστον, τελευτῶντος τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τό τε ὑγρὸν πρὸς τὸ ὑγρὸν καὶ τὸ ξηρὸν πρὸς τὸ ξηρὸν καὶ τὸ θερμὸν πρὸς τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν πρὸς τὸ ψυχρὸν. τοιαύτη δὲ καὶ τῶν ζώων ἐστὶν ἡ φύσις, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων· γίνεται τε ὁμοίως πάντα καὶ τελευτᾷ ὁμοίως πάντα· συνίσταται τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ φύσις ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν προειρημένων πάντων, καὶ τελευτᾷ κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ὅθεν περ συνέστη ἕκαστον.

Again, each component must return to its own nature when the body of a man dies,⁴⁷ moist to moist, dry to dry, hot to hot and cold to cold. Such too is the nature of animals, and of all other things. All things are born in a like way, and all things die in a like way. For the nature of them

⁴⁷ An anonymous reviewer of this article suggested that the genitive formulation τελευτῶντος τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is significant as it implies that “that the body is one part of a human being, which is the subject of dying (τελευτῶντος). In this respect, the passage contrasts with passages in which σῶμα seems to refer to the human being as a whole.” It seems to me, however, that the genitive ἀνθρώπου is here a simple attributive genitive, which used to highlight that the author speaks of *human*, and not e.g. *animal*, bodies. The formulation does not imply anything substantial about the body forming *one* part of the human beings in contrast to some other parts, e.g. the soul.

is composed of all those things I have mentioned above, and each thing, according to what has been said, ends in that from which it was composed. (Loeb 150, tr. W. H. S. Jones.)

It is highly interesting that the author of this treatise does *not* call the constituents of the bodies themselves σώματα – in fact he does not seem to have a definite term for them at all. Rather, they are something the body *has* in itself (*Nat. Hom.* 7,49: ἔχει [...] ταῦτα τὸ σῶμα), or something that are ‘thrown together’ to bring about a living body (*Nat. Hom.* 3,14: συμβαλλομένα). Let me elaborate a bit why I find this interesting.

The Hippocratic conception is related to the emerging naturalistic attempts at explaining the phenomena of health and disease. This development has close connections to contemporary trends in natural philosophy. Indeed, the way the author of *The Nature of Man* saw the living body as being constituted by elementary fluids, thinkers such as Empedocles – who was also a doctor – and early atomists such as Democritus, generalised to *all kinds of beings*.⁴⁸ For Empedocles, *all* beings are constituted by a delicate mixture of the four ‘roots’ (ρίζαι): water, air, earth and fire. And for Democritus, *everything* consists, in the final analysis, of constellations of atoms. In their analysis, the σώματα of living beings are thus only a special case of this comprehensive physical analysis. In fact, this kind of comprehensive physical analysis seems implied in the second passage quoted from *The Nature of Man*, above: “such too is the nature (φύσις) of [...] all other things. All things are born [or better: come to exist] in a like way, and all things die [or better: cease to be] in a like way.” This view is reflected also in the Platonic passages from *Timaeus* and *Philebus*, discussed in Section 2 above.

But what is, then, the status of the constituents of bodies and beings? – Are they σώματα, too? And if not, why so? – Against calling them σώματα, one could argue as follows: in the earlier tradition, as we have seen, the σῶμα was always a composite organic whole, which is perishable and something which has a definite origin in time: in a word, a *birth* and *death*. The basic elements of such σώματα, be they the fluids of the Hippocratics, the roots of Empedocles, or the atoms of Democritus, are, in contrast, either eternal, or, at least, not subject to

⁴⁸ If we follow the Aristotelian tradition of interpretation, the origins of this approach can be traced back to the early Ionian tradition of natural philosophy, conceptualized as a quest for the material ἀρχή of all being.

temporal generation and destruction in the same way as the composite bodies. They are the original stuffs out of which the corruptible bodies are composed, and they explain some features of the composite bodies. In their relation to temporal existence, the σῶματα and their original parts are thus radically different. This may well be the reason why the author of *The Nature of Man* refrains from calling the bodily fluids σῶματα. For him, the *perishable* and *composite* living body is still the paradigm of what it is to be a body or to have a bodily existence. The novelty is to view the living bodies (and their states) in contrast to the (explanatory) stuffs and fluids that constitute them.

This mereological distinction was, however, not something that was always appreciated by the Greeks of the late 5th Century BCE. While both the Hippocratics and Empedocles⁴⁹ seem to maintain the distinction between the body and its parts on terminological level, it gets gradually blurred in the thought of some other thinkers of the period. A conflicting articulation is spelled out in a fragment from Diogenes of Apollonia, active in the mid 5th century BCE (DK 64 B7 = Laks-Most *Diog.* D4 = W, 565):

καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτο καὶ αἰδῖον καὶ ἀθάνατον σῶμα, τῷ δὲ τὰ μὲν γίνεται,
τὰ δὲ ἀπολείπει.

And this [i.e. his basic principle, air] is itself a body both eternal and deathless, but it is by means of it that some things come to be and others cease to exist.

(Loeb 529, tr. Most.)

In this passage, the word σῶμα, which was earlier used exclusively of mortal and perishable bodies, is used of things “eternal” and “deathless”, too. In other words, σῶμα is now used in reference to the original stuffs that, in the terminology of some contemporary intellectuals, were rather used to explain the ephemeral nature of the bodies. By confusing the contrast between σῶμα and its parts, this instance testifies of a fairly radical break with the earlier tradition.

But may the passage also be viewed as testifying of σῶμα being used of a *non-living* stuff? – The word ἀθάνατον raises some questions. The adjective is originally used in Homer of the (anthropomorphic) gods in order to mark

⁴⁹ DK 31 B20 = Laks-Most *Emp.* D73,303–306 = W, 564.

their difference to mortal (θνητοί) human beings; the adjective also has a generalized use “perpetual”, “ever-lasting” from early on. Besides this word, some other fragments show that Diogenes tended to view air as a divine principle,⁵⁰ which has psychological properties: possessing cognitive activity (ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ... ἐστι νόησις πολλή)⁵¹, he argued, air actively “arranges all things” (δοκεῖ ... πάντα διατίθεναι).⁵² He did not view air as a microscopic element, but rather as something “big and powerful” (μέγα καὶ ἰσχυρόν),⁵³ presenting it as an all-encompassing neutral stuff, from which all things come forth by means of becoming condensed or rarefied.⁵⁴ He may thus have conceptualized the principle as a living being by analogy: even though eternal and immortal, his air still has an important set of qualities that are primarily said of living beings only. In this sense, Diogenes’ use may still be informed by the old paradigm of σῶμα as a living body. Thus, it is not completely clear whether the passage may be read as an instance where σῶμα clearly designates a *non-living* stuff. But it clearly prepares ground for such uses.⁵⁵

Station IV: ΣΩΜΑ in abstraction

By station IV, σῶμα in abstraction, I understand the development, as a result of which σῶμα may be used of *any* spatially extended thing, be it of composite or non-composite nature. The abstract use has two interrelated aspects. For one, the idea of *body* becomes closely associated with the feature of size – μέγεθος – and of having some definite spatial boundaries. And second, the term is simultaneously abstracted from living beings and may now freely (and non-

⁵⁰ θέος δοκεῖ εἶναι: Laks-Most D10 = DK 64 B5; compare Laks-Most D13 = DK 64 A19.

⁵¹ Laks-Most D5 and D6 = DK 64 B3.

⁵² Laks-Most D10 = DK 64 B5.

⁵³ Laks-Most D6 = DK 64 B8.

⁵⁴ Laks-Most D14 – D15.

⁵⁵ In Wachsmann’s (2016, 550) collection, another early candidate for σῶμα being used of a non-living thing is ‘ὑπὸ σώματι γᾶς’ in Aesch. *Th.* 947–50: in this passage, the term designates a body of soil or earth. But given that Γᾶία was often personified in Greek poetry, this instance is probably best understood as a poetic analogical extension of the term from living bodies to the ‘metaphorically living’ body of the Mother Earth. This use, too, then, seems to have a connection to the paradigm of σῶμα as a body of a living being. See also Buchheim – Meißner 2016, 15n17.

analogically) be applied to anything which is extended in space, be it how small or large, simple or complex. Thus, the abstract use may also be called an extended use of σῶμα.

When was this abstract use first introduced? – In previous section, I suggested that B4 of Diogenes of Apollonia may either testify of the second aspect of the abstract use or, at least, anticipate it. And similarly, the contrast between the human σῶμα and its constitutive elements, attested in the Hippocratic treatises, must have prepared ground for the term being applied to non-living (physical) bodies. The next possible candidates for the abstract uses are found in philosophical texts, namely, in the preserved testimonia and fragments of some Eleatic and Atomist thinkers. But before proceeding to the relevant passages, a word of warning is due. In recent scholarly debates, the authenticity, or the testimonial strength, of almost all the Eleatic and Atomist passages that I am going to discuss, has been questioned. Thus today, many scholars seem to tend to think that the abstract use may have been coined as late as in the 4th century – perhaps even by Plato himself.⁵⁶ My approach in the below overview is to present all the Eleatic and Atomist passages that, in my opinion, are either themselves possible candidates for pre-Platonic abstract uses, or give indirect evidence for the existence of such uses. While pointing out why other scholars have found each of the passages problematic, I shall myself favour a date at the turn of the 5th and 4th century – a date which, almost certainly, predates (most of) Plato's work.

Eleatic candidates. In *Metaphysics* 1001b7–13, Aristotle reports an argument concerning the nature of being, which he attributes to Zeno (DK 29A 21 = Laks-Most *Zen. D* 8 = W, 563):

⁵⁶ Earlier in the 20th century, dates going back as far as in the 6th century BCE were proposed: most notably Gompertz (1932, 160) proposed that the use of the adjective ἀσώματος, 'incorporeal', may go back to Anaximenes. Gompertz' suggestions concerning ἀσώματος were sharply criticized by Renehan (1980), who suggests that the term was coined by Plato. In Renehan's (ibid., 118) wake, some more recent scholars such as Palmer (2003) and Harriman (2018) have suggested that, in the 5th century BCE, the noun σῶμα still signified primarily living bodies, and that the most likely candidates for the early abstract uses are, in fact, instances of this earlier use. An anonymous reviewer of this article suggested that Plato may even have coined the abstract use; based on Gorgias' testimony, discussed below, I disagree with this proposal.

ἔτι εἰ ἀδιαίρετον αὐτὸ τὸ ἕν, κατὰ μὲν τὸ Ζήνωνος ἀξίωμα οὐθέν ἂν εἴη (ὁ γὰρ μήτε προστιθέμενον μήτε ἀφαιρούμενον ποιεῖ μείζον μηδὲ ἕλαττον, οὐ φησιν εἶναι τοῦτο τῶν ὄντων, **ὡς δηλονότι ὄντος μεγέθους τοῦ ὄντος· καὶ εἰ μέγεθος, σωματικόν· τοῦτο γὰρ πάντη ὄν·** τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πῶς μὲν προστιθέμενα ποιήσει μείζον, πῶς δ' οὐθέν, οἷον ἐπίπεδον καὶ γραμμή, στιγμή δὲ καὶ μονὰς οὐδαμῶς).

Furthermore, if the one itself is indivisible, according to Zeno's axiom, it would be nothing: for that which, if added or removed, makes neither larger nor smaller, he says that this does not belong to the things that exist, as he evidently supposes that what exists is a magnitude, and if it is a magnitude it is corporeal. For this is what exists absolutely; while the other things, if they are added, will make it larger in a certain way, but in another way not at all, like the surface and line; but the point and the unit, not at all.

(Tr. Most.)

The passage attributes to Zeno a doctrine that being (τὸ ὄν) must be something that has a size, and that having size, in turn, means that being has a bodily character. Since this passage is not a quotation but a paraphrase of Zeno's position in Aristotle's own words, it is uncertain to what extent it captures Zeno's terminology.⁵⁷ But as far as Aristotle approximates Zeno's usage, then Zeno associated the bodily character abstractly with the property of having a size. This view implies a crucial change in the *criteria* of use of σώμα. Having a size is now viewed as a criterion for something to be a body, allowing an inference from a spatial extension of a given thing to its bodily character: *if* something has a size, *then* it is a body (is bodily), too – εἰ μέγεθος, σωματικόν. This characterisation may, I suppose, be taken to express a grammatical rule (in Wittgenstein's sense)⁵⁸ for the use of the word σώμα.

⁵⁷ Most importantly, Aristotle does not here use the noun σώμα but the adjective σωματικός, which is otherwise not attested in literature before Aristotle, see p. 94–95 above.

⁵⁸ See Wittgenstein 1953 (§§251–3) where examples “Jeder Stab hat eine Länge” and “Dieser Körper hat eine Ausdehnung” are discussed. Grammatical propositions express forms of linguistic representation by expressing a rule for the use of a given word, here “Stab” and “Körper” – or σώμα in the above passage attributed to Zeno.

Similar terminology, associating spatial extension and bodily existence, surfaces in Melissus' fragment DK 30 B9 (= Laks-Most *Mel.* D8 = W, 564). Interestingly, Melissus draws exactly the opposite consequence than Zeno, arguing rather for non-corporeal character of the ultimate being:

ὅτι γὰρ ἀσώματον εἶναι βούλεται τὸ ὄν, ἐδήλωσεν εἰπὼν; **εἰ μὲν ὄν εἴη, δεῖ αὐτὸ ἔν εἶναι· ἔν δὲ ὄν δεῖ αὐτὸ σῶμα μὴ ἔχειν. εἰ δὲ ἔχοι πάχος, ἔχοι ἄν μέρη, καὶ οὐκέτι ἔν εἴη.**

That he took being to be non-bodily, he explained by saying “if it should be something that is, it itself must be one. But if it is one, it may not have a body. If it had an extension, it would also have parts and would, therefore, not be one.”

(Text from Wachsmann 2015, 564, tr. Lassi Jakola. Loeb 528 only has the underlined passage.)

This fragment has been a topic of a fairly complex scholarly discussion, and there have been various suggestions concerning its correct interpretation.⁵⁹ I follow Harriman (2018) and take the citation from Melissus to consist of the section printed in bold. Melissus' argument is that having a body implies being extended (or thick, πάχος), which in turn implies having parts (μέρη), which, finally, implies being not-one: hence, being is not bodily / does not have a body.⁶⁰ What interests us is that a close association is established between having a body (σῶμα) and having a thickness/extension (πάχος).⁶¹ Unfortunately, the exact

⁵⁹ The main issue is how to reconcile the thesis of B9 of being's incorporeal character with the view, formulated in B2 and B3 that that being is infinite in μέγεθος. This implies that there must be a relative difference between the being having a μέγεθος and πάχος. See the overviews in Palmer 2003 and in Harriman 2018, 117f. There have also been various suggestions concerning where Melissus' fragment ends and where the paraphrase begins: whereas the beginning of the quotation is clearly designated to begin after ἐδήλωσεν εἰπὼν, Palmer (2003, 6–9) observed that the authenticity of the final sentence εἰ δὲ ἔχοι ... οὐκέτι ἔν εἴη may be disputed on text-critical grounds.

⁶⁰ This wording comes already quite close to Plato's and Aristotle's βαθύς / βάθος as abstract criterion of the bodily, see Section 2 and n. 8 above.

⁶¹ There has been discussion on the correct reading of πάχος (see e.g. Gompertz 1932, 158–159, Palmer 2003, 4) and on the nature of the exact logical relation between having a πάχος and a σῶμα, again see Palmer (2003, 4ff.) and Harriman (2018, 126ff.).

nature of this association is left open in the text: in fact, that having a *σῶμα* *implies* having a *πάχος*, is not stated explicitly, but seems to be presupposed in the argument. And unlike Aristotle's paraphrase of Zeno, discussed above, the passage does not reveal whether the inference is also meant to be valid in the other direction: i.e., whether having a *πάχος* *implies* having a bodily character. Such an inferential possibility would spell out the possibility of applying the word *σῶμα* to *any* spatially extended thing. But as the text stands, it leaves open the possibility that *σῶμα* in the passage may not signify corporeality in the extended sense, but only 'traditional' organic bodies.⁶²

Even though the evidence provided by Zeno's and Melissus' passages is open to various interpretations, both suggest that the abstract use of *σῶμα* emerged in the Eleatic tradition. Personally, I would not be surprised if this were indeed the case: the Eleatic tradition, after all, more than any other early 'school' of philosophy, was devoted to analysing being in abstract fashion.⁶³

Atomist candidates. A similar development may be detected in the fragments and testimonia of the early atomists. According to some fragments of Democritus, he seems to have followed the Eleatic terminology – even though he notoriously *defended*, against Parmenides and his followers, the reality of non-being, (τὸ μὴ ὄν / τὸ μηδέν), equating it with the void (τὸ κενόν). Plutarch, in *Adv. Col.* 4, ascribes the following terminology to Democritus (DK 68 B 156 = Laks-Most *Atom.* D33; not in W):

μὴ μᾶλλον τὸ δὲν ἢ τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι, 'δὲν' μὲν ὀνομάζων τὸ σῶμα, 'μηδὲν'
δὲ τὸ κενόν, ὡς καὶ τούτου φύσιν τινὰ καὶ ὑπόστασιν ἰδίαν ἔχοντος.

⁶² See Sedley (1999, 129) and Palmer (2003, 4), who argue that Melissus' claim was directed against an anthropomorphic conception of what is.

⁶³ Havelock (1984, 31–32) interprets the fragment as Melissus' attempt at creating an abstract concept for material stuff, which Parmenides still tried to capture in his semi-Homeric diction by other means. Havelock argues that that the word is "stretched, like so many other abstractions [...], out of the specificity of a human being to the dimensions of cosmic reality". It is perhaps interesting to add that unlike the Hippocratics, Empedocles and Atomists, Melissus has little to say about the ultimate composition of bodies: in line with the abstract Eleatic dialectics, his passage rather implies that *anything* which admits extension may be divided in parts.

The something does not exist more than the nothing. He calls the body ‘something’, the void ‘nothing’, on the idea that this too possesses certain nature and its own existence.

(Loeb 528, tr. Most slightly modified.)

From the perspective of conceptual history, this passage is highly interesting: it testifies that Democritus introduced the ‘technical’ term δέν as a contrastive negative term to the ordinary Greek expression μηδέν, nothing, by removing the negative μή from the expression (compare DK 68 A37 = Laks-Most *Atom.* D29). And Plutarch explains that Democritus equated this term with σώμα – with body, with bodily existence. In Democritus view, then, the reality consists ultimately of corporeal bodies (something) and the void (nothing). Furthermore, according to some other testimonies, Democritus also tended to call his indivisible and compact (ναστός) atoms (see DK 68 A38 = Laks-Most *Atom.* D32) – the basic items of his ontological scheme – σώματα. In fragment DK 68 B168 = Laks-Most *Atom.* D36, Simplicius explains that people such as Democritus,

διὰ τὸ κενὸν καὶ οὗτοι τὴν κατὰ τόπον κίνησιν κινεῖσθαι λέγουσι τὴν φύσιν, **τουτέστι τὰ φυσικὰ καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ἄτομα σώματα.**

say that nature, i.e. the natural, first and invisible bodies, are moved through the void by a locomotion.

(Lob 528, tr. Most slightly modified.)

Similar reference to ‘simple’ or ‘first bodies’ are attested in other fragments and testimonies, too.⁶⁴ If this account of terminology is correct, then Democritus did use the word σώμα to designate his *indivisible* atoms.⁶⁵ And if the only formal characters of atoms are, in his view, shape (σχῆμα) and size (μέγεθος)⁶⁶ (and

⁶⁴ τὸ ἐλάχιστον σώμα in DK 68 B141 = Laks-Most *Atom.* D34b; τὰ πρῶτα σώματα in DK 68 A47 = Laks-Most *Atom.* D37, DK 68 A49 = Laks-Most *Atom.* D43 and DK 68 A120 = Laks-Most *Atom.* D40.

⁶⁵ Compare the notes on Melissus, above: Democritus’ terminology is at odds with Melissus’ characterisation of bodies as something that can *always* be divided.

⁶⁶ See DK 68 A47 = Laks-Most *Atom.* D51, compare DK 68 A37 = Laks-Most *Atom.* D29 and DK 68

possibly weight [βάρος]⁶⁷) – then these features may also be taken as the formal characters of bodies, similar to Zeno’s μέγεθος and Melissus’ πάχος.

The atomists’ innovations imply indirectly another radical shift in the way the nature of bodies is understood. Whereas in the earlier tradition, σῶμα was paradigmatically the *complex* body of a living being, which we can hear, touch, and see, the atomists seem to imply just the opposite: only the ‘first’ and ‘simple’ atomic bodies exist in their own right, whereas perceptible composites made out of them – such as living bodies – are, in the last resort, just appearances. Thus, the earlier idea of the body being essentially that which one was composed out of – and is to be decomposed into – the elements is practically turned upside down. Indeed, Galen (DK 68 A49 = Laks-Most *Atom.* D63) reports that the atoms do not, in themselves, have any perceptible qualities at all, citing a passage from Democritus:

νόμῳ γὰρ χροίῃ, νόμῳ γλυκύ, νόμῳ πικρόν, ἐτεῆ δὲ ἄτομα καὶ κενόν

By convention color, by convention sweet, by convention bitter – but in reality atoms and void.

(Loeb 528, tr. Most, modified. Compare the almost identical DK 68 B9 = Laks-Most *Atom.* D14 from Sextus Empiricus.)

This passage implies that the early atomists introduced a distinction between two kinds of σώματα: the ephemeral ‘complex’ bodies, which are also the objects of our sensations, and the everlasting ‘simple’ bodies, which explain the nature and behavior of the former.

Even though this is clearly what the above passages suggest, some scholars have recently questioned that the Democritean passages, discussed above, capture his *own* use of terms. Thomas Buchheim and David Meißner (2016, 14n14), for example, suggest that in Democritus’ fragments, the complex bodies are called σώματα,⁶⁸ while the atoms are *not* called so by Democritus, but only by people

A6 = Laks-Most *Atom.* D31.

⁶⁷ For: DK 68 A60 = Laks-Most *Atom.* D48 and DK 68 A61 = Laks-Most *Atom.* D49, against: DK 68 A47 = Laks-Most *Atom.* D50).

⁶⁸ There is clear evidence that Democritus did use σῶμα for the complex living bodies: see DK 68 B and B 159 = W, 567–8. DK 68 B 159 is highly interesting as it introduces the contrast between ψυχή

reporting his doctrines.⁶⁹ While Buchheim and Meißner do not go into detail, the reasoning behind their claim must be the following: DK 68 B 156 = Laks-Most *Atom.* D33 (above), rather than *capturing* Democritus' equation of δέν and σῶμα, is rather Plutarch's retrospective *attempt at explaining* Democritus' somewhat idiosyncratic term δέν for the audience of his own time.⁷⁰ The same argument may be, *mutatis mutandis*, applied also to the other testimonies: as it was *later* a commonplace to use the word σῶμα of the atomic elements, it seemed natural to project this terminology on Democritus, too. Viewed from this perspective, it may even be tempting to pose the question why Democritus even bothered to introduce *new* terms – such as τὸ δέν – if he simply could have used the word σῶμα instead. While this line of reasoning is possible, it seems to me that the philological evidence is too limited to decide the matter conclusively. The above testimonies do suggest, *pace* Buchheim – Meißner, that he did extend the terminology to the atomic bodies, too.

Symptomatic passages in Gorgias' *Encomium of Helen*. The abstract use of σῶμα, of which we have found traces in the Eleatic and in the atomist traditions, made it possible – and increasingly natural – to apply the noun (i) to the constituents of complex bodies and (ii) to non-living objects. The crucial change was that spatial extension was gradually introduced as the central criterion of what it is to be a body, a σῶμα, or to possess a bodily character. This abstract use – the association of bodies and size – is something we find later regularly both in Plato's work and in Aristotle, along with the older idea that the bodies of living (and dead) animals are σώματα. As we saw (at Station III, above), both the Hippocratic and Empedocles mostly refrained from adopting it. But others did. In the early 4th century BCE, this extended use seems to become more and more popular among the intellectuals of the time. One important early witness is the sophist

and σῶμα, familiar from Plato, but does it in distinctively different manner: Democritus argues that, in a fictional court case between the soul and the body, the soul could well be sentenced for having neglected the body in many ways. Such passages may have prompted Plato to argue for opposite views in his work, as he is known to have been critical of Democritus' philosophy.

⁶⁹ This reasoning is accepted and followed by Wachsmann (2016, 568), who has *not* included DK 68 B 141 and B 156 in her *Stellensammlung*, which list 3 instances in Democritus. This, I believe, makes her otherwise useful collection somewhat biased.

⁷⁰ Read in this manner, only “μὴ μᾶλλον τὸ δέν ἢ τὸ μηδέν εἶναι” is to be considered the fragment, whereas what follows is Plutarch's paraphrase.

Gorgias of Leontinoi, who, incidentally, allegedly had connections both to the Eleatic and to the Empedoclean traditions.⁷¹ Indeed, Gorgias' uses of σώμα seem to bring together many of the developments I have articulated above. Three passages from his speech *Encomium of Helen* will show, I believe, that Gorgias could naturally and effortlessly use the term in the new extended sense alongside with its traditional meaning. The first passage runs as follows (DK 82 B 11[18] = Laks–Most D24[18] = W, 565):

ἀλλὰ μὴν οἱ γραφεῖς ὅταν ἐκ πολλῶν χρωμάτων καὶ σωμάτων ἐν σώμα
καὶ σχῆμα τελείως ἀπεργάζονται, τέρπουσι τὴν ὄψιν.

Moreover, whenever painters perfectly depict a single body and form on the basis of many colors and bodies, they cause pleasure for sight.
(Loeb 531, tr. Most.)

This passage shows that, for Gorgias, both composite wholes *and* their constituents are σώματα: *one* body is presented as having been made/painted from many bodies.⁷² For Gorgias, bodies are thus not confined to organic bodies of living beings, and the noun is applicable to parts as well as wholes. This is in line with the main tendencies of the abstract use. But the adaptation of such a use did not hinder Gorgias from using σώμα of living human beings and individuals, as is clear from another passage from the very same speech (DK 82 B 11[4] = Laks–Most D24 [4]):

[...] πλείστας δὲ πλείστοις ἐπιθυμίας ἔρωτος ἐνεργάσατο, ἐνὶ δὲ σώματι
πολλὰ σώματα συνήγαγεν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ μεγάλοις μεγάλα φρονούντων
[...]

And she instilled in very many people very many longings for love, and by means of one body she brought together many bodies of men who had great ambitions on great matters.
(Loeb 531, tr. Most, slightly altered by L.J.)

⁷¹ See DK 82 A2, 3 and 10 and B3. For a discussion of the Empedoclean aspects of Gorgias, see Buchheim 1985.

⁷² Note also that σχῆμα was an abstract feature of the atoms by Democritus.

Both passages connect neatly with the Hippocratic tradition. As I pointed out earlier, in Brooke Holmes' analysis, the Hippocratics ascribed causal powers to physical bodies. For Gorgias, the bodies, be they simple or complex, are indeed *dynamic bodies* with causal powers. In the second passage, the noun σώμα is used as instrumental dative: the beautiful body of Helen is the *moving cause* of the suitors' bodies moving to gather together in "great ambitions on great matters". And in the first passage, a complex perceptible body of painting affects us causally, bringing forth emotional reactions.⁷³ Even more emphatically, this dynamic aspect is present in the third passage (DK 82 B11 [8] = Laks-Most D24 [8]):

[...] λόγος δυνάστης μέγας ἐστίν, ὃς **σμικροτάτῳ σώματι καὶ ἀφανεστάτῳ** θειότατα ἔργα ἀποτέλει.

Speech is a great potentate that by means of a tiniest and most invisible body performs the most divine deeds.

(Loeb 531, tr. Most, altered by L.J.)

For Gorgias, then, a speech's/language's (λόγος) capability of bringing about "divine deeds" is here, via the instrumental dative, connected with the speech/language having (being?) itself a σώμα, which, in turn, is characterized as being both "tiniest" and "most invisible". While many interpretations may be given to what exactly this Gorgianic "body of speech" is,⁷⁴ alone these linguistic formulations would not be possible, had Gorgias not already operated with a fairly abstract notion of σώματα. In the old paradigm of σώμα-as-a-living-body,

⁷³ Allusions to medicine are present also Section 14 of the speech, as the power of speech on the soul is compared with the power of some *farmaka* on the body.

⁷⁴ I find Immisch's (1927, 23) old suggestion that this σώμα would be the *tongue* – the organ of speech – unlikely: a tongue, though small, surely is not an invisible body. (Even if true, Immisch's interpretation would attribute to Gorgias a semi-abstract use of σώμα, as the word here refers to parts of a living human body.) MacDowell (1982, 36) warns that the association of σώμα with λόγος may be just a "figure of speech" with no implication that Gorgias took λόγος to be a "material substance". Despite this warning, it seems to me quite promising to take the passage as a suggestion that speech *itself* as a body of a kind: a dynamic body with an elaborate structure, it may not be seen, but it affects human beings in various ways. ἀφανής may be here interpreted quite literally: language does not operate in the visual medium, but rather through our ears and comprehension.

characterizing *σῶμα* as *σμικρότατον* and *ἀφανεστότατον* would come close to committing a *contradictio in adiecto*.⁷⁵

If these observations on Gorgias' usage are correct, his *Encomium of Helen* gives us a definite *terminus-ante-quem* for the abstract and extended use of *σῶμα*. The speech is typically dated to late 5th century BCE, even though a slightly later date in the early 4th century BCE may not be excluded.⁷⁶ Thus, Gorgias' testimony is either slightly later or contemporary with the other fragments discussed in Stations III and IV, above. Almost certainly, the speech is older than any of Plato's dialogues. While Gorgias himself – as a public speaker – probably helped to propagate the extended use, he was most likely building on semantic resources that had been created in the philosophical, cosmological and medical discussions of his immediate predecessors.

4. Concluding observations

In a seminal article, Robert Renehan (1980, 118) observed that in the 5th century BCE, “*σῶμα* still meant primarily what it had always meant, namely, the body of an organic being, living or dead. By the fourth century, it appears to have been capable of much the same transferred meanings as the English ‘body’”. He adds, however, that this semantic development had “doubtless” already begun in the previous century. With the above observations, I hope to have sketched the main lines of this earlier semantic development. In the late 5th century – in the wake of the emerging ancient medicine and of the physiological speculations on the origin of all things – the word *σῶμα* acquired a series of new conceptual articulations. On the one hand, there is the new contrast between the perceptible, generated and perishable bodies and their (everlasting) constituents, evident especially in the medical texts (Station III). Some passages testify of the noun *σῶμα* being applied, on the one hand, to lifeless objects, and, on the other, to the ultimate constituents of the complex

⁷⁵ I say “come close”, because one could, arguably, think of the body of speech in analogy to body of a *very small*, but still living animal, e.g. a ladybug or a louse. In this case, the superlatives are not absolute, and the ‘invisibility’ is only relative invisibility.

⁷⁶ See Buchheim 2012, IX and 160: he proposes a date between 427 and 415 BCE. Because Gorgias lived a long life extending well into the 4th century BCE, an exact date is difficult to give.

bodies. While such uses may initially have been either metaphorical or analogical extensions of the old uses, eventually, the idea of σῶμα becomes closely associated with having some kind of size or a spatial extension. (Station IV). But still, in line with Stations I and II, the living and dead bodies also remain σῶματα – for they, too, surely are things that have a spatial size; the old σῶματα of Homer, Hesiod, Pindar and Hippocrates all satisfy the new criterion of what it is to be a body.

Viewed in terms of subjects of predication (extension), the development in the semantics of σῶμα from Homer to Plato is that of gradual extension: *first* only dead or moribund animals are designated as σῶματα (Station I), after which the term is gradually extended to living beings and persons (Station II), then to other compounded and perishable things (Station III) and, finally, to all spatially extended stuffs (Station IV). As far as I see, in this process of semantic enrichment, *none* of the previous uses become obsolete or abandoned. But evaluated from the perspective of *criteria of use*, the break with the past is more radical: in the late 5th Century BCE, σῶμα seems to have gradually broken loose of its earlier connections with mortality and ephemerality and became associated closely with the idea of having a μέγεθος – an extension in space. This, at any rate, is the philosophical abstract concept of σῶμα, which, I have suggested, emerges in the Eleatic and Atomistic traditions. Indeed, this is precisely the abstract characterisation of the εἶδος of σῶμα which we encountered in Plato's *Timaeus*, quoted and discussed in Section 2, above.

I hope that the reader will pardon me for ending this overview with a somewhat speculative suggestion concerning the conceptual situation in the 4th century BCE. On the basis of the above overview, it should be clear that the earlier tradition and the various articulations given to the term σῶμα gave the intellectuals of the time surprisingly rich conceptual resources, which, in fact, contained seeds for developments in various directions. When Plato and, a generation later, Aristotle, entered the scene, the concept of σῶμα, originally a term of ordinary Greek, had been in flux and moulded by the preceding generations of intellectuals. Plato and Aristotle take this process further. As was pointed out in Section 2, many of the term's derivatives appear first in their works, and their systematic employment of the term in the abstract fashion probably essentially helped to propagate the abstract use.⁷⁷ In their relation to

⁷⁷ It would be interesting to examine in detail, to what extent and when the new abstract criterion for

previous developments, it seems, Plato and Aristotle took slightly different paths. For Aristotle, the *bodies of living beings*, be they constituted however complexly from various kinds of elementary stuffs, came to enjoy a special status. The living beings, or more exactly: the *forms* of living beings, are Aristotelian substances in the primary sense. Given Aristotle's background and interest in medicine, this is probably no great surprise. In his approach, Aristotle picks up the semantic tradition of $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ emerging in Hesiod and developed further in the Hippocratic tradition. Even though he does accept the abstract sense of $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ as something being spatially extended in his logical and metaphysical works, in his natural philosophy the contrast between complex $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ and their constituents remains pivotal. Plato, in turn, who rather tends to articulate (and *de-value*) bodies in contrast to soul, does not seem to be that willing to accept the special *ontological* status of complex bodies. Where the Platonic contrast and the associated 'real' distinction between the soul and the body dominate, the fine-grained distinctions between various kinds of bodies are not crucial. Here, it seems, he was more a follower of the 'abstract' Eleatic tradition than Aristotle was.

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the use of $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ influenced the ordinary use of the term. Most likely, for a long time the newly shaped specialized concept was something that co-existed with the older regular uses.

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MISZELLEN ZU RÖMISCHEN NAMEN IN GRIECHISCHEN INSCHRIFTEN UND POPYRI

URPO KANTOLA

Die folgenden kurz gefassten Bemerkungen sind ein Nebenerzeugnis meiner zukünftigen Doktorarbeit, für die ich römische Namen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri (hauptsächlich bis zum Ende des 1. Jh. n. Chr.) gesammelt habe. Der Kommentar ist geographisch gemäß des Gebrauches des SEG angeordnet, und die Primärquellenabkürzungen beziehen sich auf *GrEpiAbb*.¹

1. SEG XVII 123 (Athen, 1. Jh. v./n.): [Μᾶρκος?] | Κανίνι[ος] | [Μάρ]κου? ἀ[π]ελεύθερο[ς] | Τρύφων.²

2. SEG LI 472 (= AE 2002, 1315; Messene, 69/70 n.): Z. I, 38 anhand der Photographie³ vielleicht Γαργιλίου statt Γαιγιλίου.

3. SEG XXIII 451 (= IG IX 2, 1135; Demetrias, 72/71 v.): Z. 1 Πέ]διος oder Μό]διος, Peek; Δεῖ]διος, Oliver⁴ (> SEG XXIII); Z. 3 [Γ]αῖε, Peek; [Ὶ]λιε, Oliver (> SEG XXIII). Die Peek'schen Ergänzungen passen ins Versmaß hinein⁵, jene von Oliver aber nicht.⁶ Also Z. 1 [-]διος, vielleicht wie Peek zu ergänzen;

¹ Version 01, Mai 2020: <https://www.aiegl.org/grepiabbr.html>.

² ---- | [ου] Κανινί[ου] | [...]κου ἀ[π]ελευθέρου | Τρύ[φ]ων SEG; vgl. auch S. G. Byrne, *Roman Citizens of Athens*, Leiden 2003, 97 s.v. Caninius 3 "—us Caninius —κος": "named on the tomb columella of his freedman": natürlich ist der Patronus hier erwähnt worden, doch mit bloßem Vornamen in der Genitivbestimmung des Freigelassenen, nicht mit *tria nomina*.

³ PAAH 2000, Tab. 55.

⁴ W. Peek, "Ein unbekannter Besieger der Galater", *Klio* 42, 1964, 319–327; J. H. Oliver, "Epigramma Magni Momenti, IG IX ii 1135", *GRBS* 8, 1967, 237–239.

⁵ Wenn es sich in der Z. 3 um *Gaius* handelt und -i- als halbvokalisch und keine eigene Silbe betrachtet wird.

⁶ Oliver bezieht sich bei ῚΩλιος < *Aulus* auf ῚΩλιος Λόλλιος Ἀττικὸς Ἀζην(ιεύς) in IG II/III² 1996 und hält den Namen hier für zweisilbig. Obwohl dies nicht völlig ausgeschlossen ist, scheint es mir etwas

Z. 3 wahrscheinlich [Γ]άτε. Die Identität der im Gedicht besprochenen Person bleibt unbestimmt.

4. *I.Philippi*² 618⁷ (1. Jh. v./n.?): Wieder aus der Photographie gelesen⁸: Z. 2 [- 5-7? -]ιος Ναίουιος Σε[- 4-5? -]⁹, in dem sich am Anfang ein Vorname auf -ιος (z. B. [Τε-/Τιβέρ]ιος) und am Ende entweder eine Genitivbestimmung (Σέ[ξτου]?) oder ein Cognomen findet; dazwischen liegt der Gentilname *Naevius*. Die Z. 3 Pilhofers (bloß υός; fehlerhaft?) kann ich nicht erkennen. Die Inschrift verdient immer noch eine ordentliche Veröffentlichung.

5. *SEG* XLV 1003a (= *AE* 1995, 1347; Olbia, spätes 1. – 2. Jh. n.): Μ(ἄρκος) Αἰμίλ(ιος) Σεβηρε[ῖ]νος.¹⁰

6. *IG* XII 4 3, 2394 (2. Jh. n.): Εἰολῆε Ἐρήνη: “Tit. potius ad mulierem (Ἡἰολῆα [sic] Εἰρήνη) referendus”, Hallof / Bosnakis, aber das männliche Cognomen Ἐρμ μ ῆ im Vokativ könnte auch in Frage kommen.

7. *I.Samothrace Theoroi* 53 (Ph.) (22 v. – 46 n.): Z. 1–2: [Εὐφ]φρόσσουος, [- 5–6 -] | Σαλλούστιος Ῥοῦφος; die Lücke enthielt wahrscheinlich den Vornamen des Sallustius Rufus, der sonst der einzige römische Bürger ohne einen Vornamen in dieser Inschrift wäre. || Z. 3 Λεπίδιος.¹¹

8. *I.Samothrace Theoroi* 55 B (Ph.) (= *AE* 2008, 1205; Z. 8–11: 45 n. oder später?¹²): Z. 10 Σεπτόμιος?¹³

9. *I.Samothrace Theoroi* 91 (Ph.) (1. Jh. n.?): Z. 7 [Τί?]τος Φλάουιος.¹⁴

weit hergeholt zu sein.

⁷ *SEG* XL 539 b; LI 828.

⁸ *AErgoMak* 3, 1989, 563 Abb. 2; vgl. der Kommentar Pilhofers in *I.Philippi*².

⁹ [...]ΙΟΣΝΑΙΟ υἰὸς ΣΕ[...], Pilhofer.

¹⁰ Μ. Αἰμί(λιος) Λ(ουκίου) Σεβηρε[ῖ]νος, *SEG*.

¹¹ Z. 1–2 [Εὐφ]φρόσσουος, | Σαλλούστιος Ῥοῦφος, Z. 3 Λέπιδος, Dimitrova und die früheren Editoren. Vgl. H. Solin – O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildesheim / New York 1994², 103 *Lepidius* und *Lepidus*; zum Letzteren: “Viell[eicht] Fehler anstelle von *Lepidius*”.

¹² S. Anm. 13.

¹³ Σεπτέμιος, Dimitrova. “L’inscription grecque à la fin présente un L. Septimius, s’agit-il d’une addition tardive ?” S. Follet (*AE*). Die Schreibung -ει- würde auf eine spätere Datierung hinweisen, -ο- dementgegen auf eine frühere.

¹⁴ [Κοίν]τος Φλάουιος, Fraser (*I.Samothrace* 41); [Κοίν]τος Φλάουιος, Dimitrova. Kein besonderer Anlass scheint für die *Quintus*-Ergänzung vorhanden zu sein.

10. *I.Lipára* 661 (Ph.) (wohl kaiserzeitlich): vielleicht Α(ῦ)λου Ταρίου¹⁵ | Βάσσου: der erste Buchstabe ist relativ weit vom darauffolgenden entfernt, und **Atarius*, obwohl formmäßig möglich, ist kein bekannter Gentilname.

11. *SEG* LIII 1028 Nr. 1, 4 und 5 (heut. Paternò, 3. Jh. v.): links ΛΟΛΛΟ, rechts Τικίου: die vorgeschlagene Ergänzung Λολλ(ι)ο(υ), also der Gentilname *Lollius*, wirkt neben dem Gentilnamen *Ticius*¹⁶ unwahrscheinlich.¹⁷ Der erste Name könnte einen Vornamen **Lollus* (bzw. etwa **luls* im Oskischen), welcher dem Gentilnamen *Lollius* zu Grunde liegen würde, entsprechen und hätte demgemäß als Λόλλο(υ) ergänzt zu werden.¹⁸

12. *I.Mus. Manisa* 31 (13/12 v.): Γάιον Παπίνιον Γαῖου υἱὸν Αἰμιλία Ῥάον: anstatt eines germanischen Namen (Malay)¹⁹ oder des Gentilnamen *Raius* (Rigsby²⁰; davon *SEG* XLVI 1490; vgl. *SEG* XLIV S. 323) handelt es sich im letzten Element wahrscheinlich um das Cognomen *Ravus*²¹.

13. *SEG* LXIII 1151 (Pylai, nach 212 n.): Ζ. 2 ΣεRHπεινας: “mason’s mistake for the Roman cognomen Serena in the genitive, edd.pr.”; *SEG*; besser Σεῖβῆπεινας, denn die ökonomische Korrektur R > B ergibt ein sehr verbreitetes Cognomen und ε̄ > ει wäre untypisch, ῖ > ει dementsgegen äußerst üblich.

14. Waelkens, *Türsteine* 666 (= *MAMA* VII 96; Umgebung von Laodikeia am Lykos, 3.–4. Jh. n.): Μεῖρος Ἀεντίου: der Vater findet sich als Οὐαλεντίος 1 in *LGPN* V.C: “Ἀεντίος—Calder, (Οὐα)λεντίος—Thonemann”, ist aber besser als *Aventinus* zu interpretieren.

15. *CPR* XV 25 (Arsinoites, 94 n.): fr. A, 9 Λούκιος Ουεσ[---]: kaum Ουεσ[τίνος]²², sondern irgendein Gentilname auf *Vēs-*.

¹⁵ Ταρίου, Bernabò Brea et al.

¹⁶ *Ticius* ist zwar nur in kaiserzeitlichen Quellen aus Nordafrika belegt, ist aber formmäßig problemlos und, wie Olli Salomies mich informiert hat, aufgrund der Analogie mit *Ticidius* (vgl. z.B. *Annus–Annidius*, *Vibius–Vibidius*) auch in dieser Periode sehr wohl möglich.

¹⁷ Zwei Gentilnamen in der Nomenklatur einer Person kommen in dieser Periode gar nicht in Frage.

¹⁸ Ich danke Olli Salomies für Diskussion und Hinweise.

¹⁹ Vgl. *AE* 1994, 1635 “cognomen d’origine germanique?”

²⁰ K. J. Rigsby, Rezension zu *I.Mus. Manisa*, *AJP* 117, 1996, 167.

²¹ Solin – Salomies (oben Anm. 11) 389

²² *Vēstinus* ist in allen mir bekannten Quellen aus dieser Periode mit ουη- wiedergegeben worden (z. B. *I.Portes* 63, *P.Oxy.* LXXVI 5097).

16. *P.Mich.* XII 637 (Ägypten, 1–25 n.): Z. 10 wohl Ἀρρώνι[ο]ς anstatt Ὀρρ-²³, obwohl in dieser Handschrift das α dem ο ähnelt. || Z. 16 vielleicht Κο(ι)γτου.

17. *P.Ryl.* II 127 (Euhemeria, 29 n.): Z. 26–27 Κλάδου Λιβίας | Δρούσου Καίσαρος; der erste Name sollte nicht als fehlgeschriebener Κλαύδιος interpretiert werden,²⁴ sondern es handelt sich einfach um einen Sklaven namens Κλάδος.²⁵

18. *SB* I 4597 (Talmis, 1–119 n.): Z. 3 Γαουιλίου Ἀδριανοῦ: *Gavillius* anstatt *C. Illius*.²⁶

19. *SB* V 8514 (Talmis, 85 n.): Z. 9 Κρεπορηῖου, d.h. *Creperius*, wenn nicht Κρεπερηῖου²⁷, wie der Name üblicherweise geschrieben wird.²⁸

20. *CIG* 5240 (Ptolemais, 1. Jh. n. oder später?):²⁹ Z. 1–2 Λ(ούκιος)(?)³⁰ Ἀυστόρνιος | Φρόντων,³¹ also mit dem Gentilnamen *Austurnius*, der hier zum ersten Mal in griechischer Wiedergabe attestiert ist.

21. *CIG* 5337 (Taucheira-Arsinoe, 1. Jh. n. oder später?): Λ γ' Κυῖν|τος Ταριο|ληνός(? z.B.) Πωλλί[ω]|ν.³² Von den bisher bekannten Gentilnamen ist *Tariolenus* die formmäßig einfachste Lösung, aber der Name ist rar.³³ Also bleiben andere Möglichkeiten, vielleicht mit *-(i)olenus*, *-oleius*, bzw. *-oneius*, offen.

²³ W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen (1904): mit einer Berichtigungsliste zur Neuauflage von Olli Salomies*, Hildesheim 1991, 125; vgl. zu Oronius/Auronius 349, obschon *Orr-* statt *Ör-* auch möglich ist.

²⁴ So die Edd.pr.; vgl. auch F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods. Vol. 1, Phonology*, Milano 1976, 228, der diesen Fall unter den Belegen für αυ > α aufzählt.

²⁵ Der Name ist eben als Sklavename gut belegt: H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch*, Berlin 2003², 1196–1197, *LGPN* III.A s.v. 1, 2, 5, 6 und *LGPN* V.A s.v. 3.

²⁶ Γάου Ἰλλίου, *SB*.

²⁷ Hier hätte man das rundförmige ε mit dem ο vermischt.

²⁸ ΚΙΕΠΙΟΡΙΗΟΥ > Κ[αλ]που[ρη]ίου, *CIG*; Κρεπ[ε]ρη[ί]ου (“Traditum KREPIOPHTOY”), Cagnat (*IGR* I 1337); Κρεπορήτου, *SB*.

²⁹ Datierung in *LGPN* I für Μάρκος 18 und Πόπλιος 4 in demselben Inschriftenträger: 1. Jh. n.?

³⁰ Oder Α(ύλος) bzw. Μ(ἄρκος)? S. Anm. 31.

³¹ *CIG*: ΛΛΥCΤΟΡΝΙΟC, erläutert als Ϛ Κ ϚϚ α ϚϚ(διο)ς Τόρνιος.

³² ΚΥΙΝ|ΤΟΕ ΙΑΒΙΟ|ΝΙΗΟΣ | ΠΩΜΙ|Ν, J.-R. Pacho (*Relation d'un voyage dans la Marmarique, la Cyrénaïque, et les oasis d'Audjelah et de Maradèh (...)*, Paris 1827, tab. LXXX); Κῶντο[ς] Α]αβι[ή]ν[ος] Πωλλί[ων], *CIG*.

³³ Dreimal in *Aquileia* belegt: *I.Aquileia* 1521, 1522 und 3564.

22. *SEG IX 165* (Kyrene, 71 n.): Z. 24 anhand der Photographie von Ghislanzoni wahrscheinlich [Π]ακωνίου mit ω,³⁴ wie in *SEG IX 166*.

23. *SEG XXVII 1156 A* (Apollonia, 1. Jh. v. – mittleres 1. Jh. n.): Αὐσ|οληνοῦ (“perhaps Αὐσ|[κ]οληνοῦ”), Reynolds (wovon *SEG*); “viell[eicht] Aus[-]olenus”, Solin & Salomies³⁵. Vermutlich Αὐσ|[τ]οληνοῦ, d.h. **Austulen*us, weil nur dieser durch vergleichbare Namen unterstützt werden kann: *Ost(u)lenus*, *Ostorenus*³⁶. Datierung: wohl 1. Jh. v./n. Chr. (kein Cognomen).

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³⁴ [Π]ακωνίου E. Ghislanzoni (*Notiziario archeologico. Ministero delle colonie* 2, 1916, 165–173, Ph. 169), *SEG*.

³⁵ Solin – Salomies (oben Anm. 11) 28.

³⁶ Solin – Salomies (oben Anm. 11) 134.

HONORIFIC STATUE BASE FOR THE DEMOS OF THE MYLASEANS AT EUROMOS

ABUZER KIZIL, LINDA TALATAS AND DIDIER LAROCHE

The new discovery of an inscribed base (Fig. 1) for a bronze statue at the foot of the temple of Zeus Lepsynos¹ at Euromos promises to shed more light on the relations between the ancient city of Euromos and the nearby city of Mylasa.



Figure 1: Statue base in its restored position. Photo: L. Talatas.

¹ The research for this paper was carried out with the permission of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

This article focuses on the statue base, but the chronology of the temple will need to be discussed in a later publication, as several elements indicate that the temple predates the Roman Imperial period.

Architect D. Laroche and archaeologist Dr. L. Talatas discovered the monument during the inventory of the temple blocks (catalogue no. 576), among a deposit created by Prof. Dr. Ümit Serdaroğlu's restoration work in 1970. The stone was turned over in a position which was hiding most of the inscription.

The large reorganization campaign of the architectural elements of the temple led in September 2019 by Doç. Dr. Abuzer Kızıl, Euromos excavation director, enabled the identification of the monument, and its replacing in its original position, very close to its finding spot.

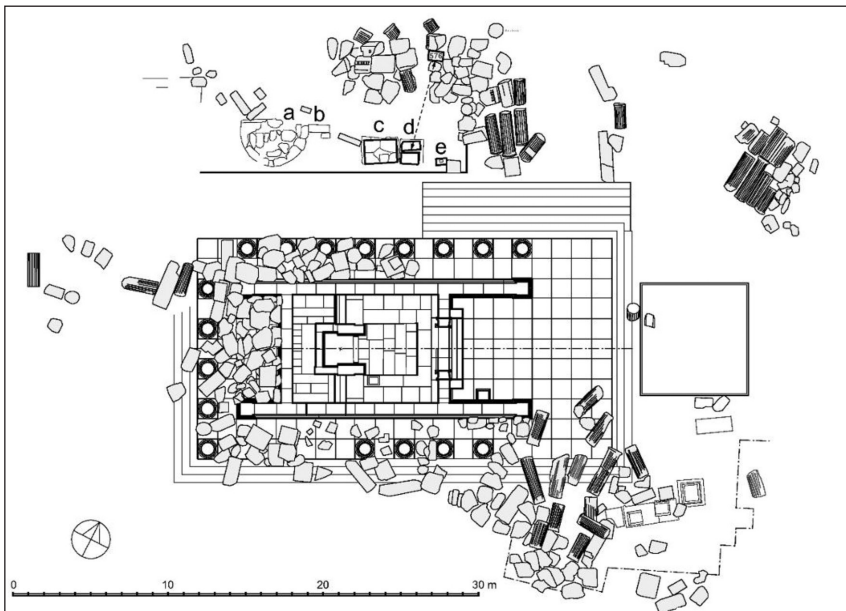
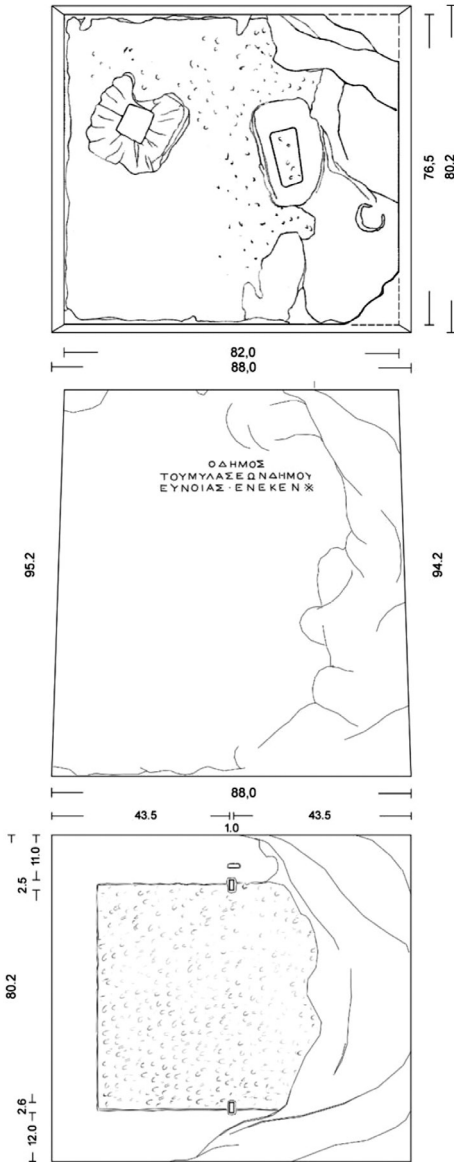


Figure 2: Situation of the monument, North of the Temple. Author: D. Laroche.

1. Description of the monument

The statue base is set to the north of the temple, at the foot of the terracing wall that ran along that side of the building (Fig. 2). It was the 4th of a series of five monuments (Fig. 2: a, b, c, d, e) placed along the W-E access road, where one first sees a semi-circular exedra, two rectangular bases, the base that is the object of our study and, at last, a base for a stela (Fig 2).



The almost square foundation (151 x 155.8 cm) of our base was found *in situ*, and the lower part of the base was made of two blocks forming a straight exedra on the front (Fig. 2).

These blocks were attached with two clamps and to form a rectangle (114 x 121.2 cm). The exedra's bench is resting on lion feet and its external sides are decorated with floral patterns. Two clamp marks, a pouring channel and a perimetric trace found on the laying bed enabled us to draw the association between the two blocks and our base.

The plinth of the statue base (Fig. 3) is a parallelepiped block, with a slight truncated cone-shape, 94.7 cm high on average. Horizontal dimensions are 88.0 cm (on the front part) x 80.2 cm at the base, 82 x 76 cm on the upper surface.

The clamp marks underneath the block correspond to those on the upper face of the *in situ* block on top of which it used to stand. The upper face of our block shows two roughly trapezoidal mortises on which the soles of a bronze statue were attached.

Figure 3: Drawing of the plinth supporting the statue. Author: D. Laroche.

Unlike the other bases surfacing at the sanctuary of Euromos, this base presents no moldings on its plinth. It is made of local marble and its height indicates that the statue was standing at the level of the temple terrace, which could explain the lack of ornaments on the plinth, which was conceived as an extension of the terrace and, for this reason, shouldn't be interpreted as a bench for sitting, but rather as a symbol associated with the statue set on the base.

2. The inscription: transcription, translation and a few remarks

An inscription was meticulously engraved high up on the front of the block and centered, approximately in *stoichedon* style (Figs. 4–5). The letters were about 1.7 cm high with line spacings of 1.7–1.4 cm.

The *alphas* are broken-barred² and lettering suggests a dating in the 2nd or 1st century BC.



Figure 4: Inscription: photograph. Photo: L. Talatas.



Figure 5: Inscription: squeeze by L. Talatas. Photo: L. Talatas.

² Carless Unwin 2017, 146, notes that the shift towards the broken-barred alpha at Euromos appears to date to the early stages of the second century BC.

The inscription is complete and in a very good condition. It reads:

ὁ δῆμος
 τοῦ Μυλασέων δήμου
 εὐνοίας · ἔνεκεν ※

Translation:

The demos, for the goodwill of the demos of the Mylaseans.

The offering *Demos*, implying the local demos of the Euromeans, sets a bronze statue to honor the neighboring *Demos* of the Mylaseans as a reward for their goodwill (εὐνοία).

The meticulous and symmetrical layout indicates the importance of this inscription, and the breathing pause marked by a middot between the words “εὐνοίας” and “ἔνεκεν” brings emphasis to the solemnity of the sentence.

The final character (※) corresponds to Aristarchus of Samothrace’s *asteriskos*³. A similar punctuation mark was found in a few other occurrences in Caria from the Archaic period onward – similar signs are found in Euromos⁴, but also at Miletus and Magnesia, for instance.⁵ Here, it likely comes at the end of the inscription to bring emphasis to its importance and solemnity.

The dedicant and the reason for erecting this monument are stated in the inscription; the nature of the statue, however, is not stated. Other honorific inscriptions found in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor often use the accusative form to indicate whom the statue represented – and it was almost inevitably the person or deity honored in the inscription. On our base, however, what we have

³ McNamee 1992, 9.

⁴ The same sign is found on an inscription on a long statue base from Euromos dated from 1–4 AD but the sign was not mentioned in the publications about the inscription; Blümel 2018, 52–54, no. 116.

⁵ A civic calendar of Miletos, dating from the end of the 6th century BC uses both ※ and : multiple times as punctuation marks, and while the three dots are used as commas between items listed, the *asteriskos* marks an important stop between sentences: Rehm, *Milet* I.3, 31 a–b, 162–164, 401–404 / CGRN 6. In Magnesia, ca. 30 BC, an asterisk made of 3 lines is reminiscent of the sign and used recurrently in a decree in honor of the *tamias* of the *prytaneis* of Ptolemais: SEG 28.95 / Hesperia 47, 292–295, pl. 79. We warmly thank Jan Mathieu Carbon for helping us make these analogies.

is not a false accusative: the genitive (τοῦ Μυλασέων δήμου) indicates that the statue was set to commemorate the goodwill of the Mylaseans, but unlike other dedication with an almost parallel phrasing that use the accusative⁶, it likely did not depict a personification of the demos, but of a deity. It could have been, for instance, a statue of Zeus, who was the patron god in both Euromos and Mylasa.

3. Comments and interpretations

While the styling suggests a dating in the Hellenistic period, it is difficult to place it in a more precise time frame at this stage, which limits the amount of information that could have been gained in the drawing of the relations between the cities of Euromos and Mylasa.

A *sympoliteia*⁷ occurring sometime in the 2nd century BC is the main known event in the history of these cities – and Euromos would already have expanded to a composite city by the end of the 3rd century BC, having absorbed other nearby settlements in the Euromean plain. We also know from Polybius⁸ that, after the end of the *sympoliteia*, Mylasa took the cities of Euromos by force, an event that can be dated to 167 BC.

Our inscription does not explicitly mention the *sympoliteia*, but its link with the event might be implied and the statue set on the base could be celebrating or confirming the historical union between the cities. We prefer, however, to leave this point in the hands of historians.

The cuttings on the top of the base indicate that it likely supported a male statue, slightly over life-size (about 20% larger than a man), poised on one leg, with the left foot solidly anchored, while only the tip of the right foot was fixed to the base. Aside from its size and its public character, the strategic placing of the statue also points to its important character. Indeed, it was set just in front of

⁶ Cf. IG II² 3443 + EM 4959, 49/8: “[ὁ] δήμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων / [τ]ὸν δήμον τὸν / Λακεδαιμονίων / εὐνοίας ἔνεκα” or ID 1777, 122/1: “τὸ κοινὸν Βερυτίων [...] τὸν δήμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἀρέτης ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας”

⁷ LaBuff 2015, 112–117, “Mylasa and Euromos”; Gabrielsen 2000, 169–171; Reger 2004, 164–169. For epigraphical evidence on the relations between Mylasa and Euromos, see Blümel, *I.Mylasa 102*; Robert 1978, 515 and two fragmentary inscriptions found in Errington 1993, 15–31.

⁸ Polybius, 30.5.9; 30.5.10–16

a little retaining wall at the feet of the temple, and the top of the base would align with the lower of the three steps just below the level of the temple columns. The statue would therefore appear as if it was standing in front of the temple, thus adding a sacred dimension to its affirmed pose.

One can easily imagine a statue of Zeus poised on one leg, the other slightly bent at the knee, maybe holding a double axe and a staff, his Carian attributes. Indeed, Zeus is honored as the local god at the temple of Euromos as well as at Mylasa; his importance at the regional level would therefore make him the best candidate to watch over the good relations between the two cities. In the absence of an explicit identification of the statue in the inscription, we should however remain cautious and not exclude other possibilities.

To the right of our statue base, a larger rectangular monument (Fig. 6: c), thus far assumed to be a statue base could, in fact be an altar – which could have been used in relation to this statue. The base of a stele – possibly a decree, lays to the left of the base. It therefore appears as if the succession of monuments along the retaining wall north of the temple was an honorific way where political dedications were set before climbing the steps leading to the main altar, to the east, and to the entrance of the temple. The placing of this statue and of the presumed altar next to it can also arguably be considered the most visible in the sanctuary – which is a recurring condition stated for the setting of important decrees in sanctuaries.

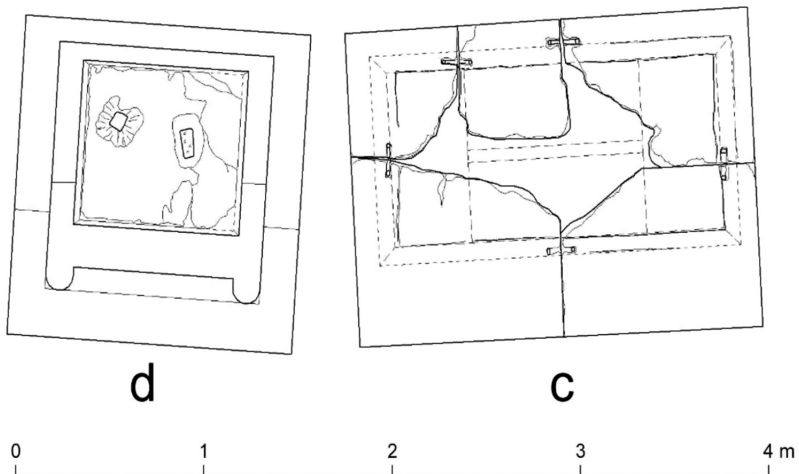


Figure 6: The base (b) and the monument to its West (c). Author: D. Laroche.

Further archaeological excavations in the area north of the temple are therefore crucial in order to better identify and find the relations between the various monuments set along the way leading to the temple's entrance and to the main altar.

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THE CHILDREN OF HEPHAESTUS Some Thoughts on the Female Power over Patriarchal Masculinity

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Abstract: The purpose of this article is to shed light on the offspring of the divinity of fire, metals, arts and craft, Hephaestus, who has often been marginalized compared to his more attractive siblings. Working in silence his magnificent pieces of art, Hephaestus was the god of eternal labor and creative inspiration. His physical progeny, as well as his human-like artworks seem to allow a remarkable observation: the male and lame representative of creation fathered divine women that conquered, secured and at the same time determined or put at stake the patriarchal masculinity of Greek myth, while his sons were human beings that either had an ephemeral mighty power or were controlled and captured by the female spirit. We are given the impression that the god-protector of masculine action is actually fond of female and not interested in saving his male children's reputation. A notable paradox... Or maybe, not?

Keywords: Hephaestus – male – female – creation – Pandora – Talos – Erichthonius – Athena

Πάννης Ρίτσος, *Τα πρότυπα*¹

‘Ποτέ να μην ξεχάσουμε — είπε — τα καλά διδάγματα, εκείνα της τέχνης των Ελλήνων. Πάντοτε το ουράνιο δίπλα δίπλα με το καθημερινό. Δίπλα στον άνθρωπο: το ζώο και το πράγμα — ένα βραχιόλι στο βραχιόνα της γυμνής θεάς· ένα άνθρωπος

¹ Ρίτσος 1972.

πεσμένο στο δάπεδο. Θυμηθείτε τις ωραίες παραστάσεις στα πήλινά μας αγγεία — οι θεοί με τα πουλιά και με τα ζώα, μαζί κι η λύρα, ένα σφυρί, ένα μήλο, το κιβώτιο, η τανάλια· α, και το ποίημα εκείνο που ο θεός όταν τελειώνει τη δουλειά του βγάζει τα φουσερά του απ' τη φωτιά, μαζεύει ένα ένα τα εργαλεία μες στ' αργυρό σεντούκι του· μετά, μ' ένα σφουγγάρι σκουπίζει το πρόσωπο, τα χέρια, το νευρώδη του λαιμό, το δασύ στήθος. Έτσι, καθάριος, ταχτικός, βγαίνει το βράδυ, στηριγμένος στους ώμους των ολόχρυσων εφήβων — έργα των χεριών του που 'χουν και δύναμη και σκέψη και φωνή — βγαίνει στο δρόμο, πιο μεγαλόπρεπος απ' όλους, ο χωλός θεός, ο θεός εργάτης.'

Yannis Ritsos, *The prototypes*

'We must never forget the good lessons, he said – those of Greek art. The heavenly always side by side with the day-to-day. Next to man: the animal and the object a bracelet on the arm of the naked goddess, a flower fallen to the floor. Remember the fine representations on our clay pots: the gods alongside birds and animals, along with the lyre, a hammer, an apple, the box, the pliers; oh yes, and that poem where the god, when he finishes his work, removes the bellows from the fire, picks up his tools one by one and puts them in his silver chest; afterwards, he takes a sponge and wipes his face, his hands, his sinewy neck, his hairy chest. Clean like that, orderly, he goes out in the evening, leaning on the shoulders of golden young men – the work of his hands who have strength and thought and voice – he goes out into the street, grander than all, the lame god, the worker god.'

(Transl. Keeley 1990)

The classical Greek pantheon was a patriarchal community reigned over by Zeus, who was considered the father of both mortals and immortals. In a male-dominated hierarchy, Zeus had the leading role and all the rest divinities followed him in honor, each one of them incarnating several special qualities. Of course we should keep in mind that almost every Greek city-state, apart from the

indisputable divine power of Zeus, worshipped its primary protector or patron god (e.g. Athens honored Athena, Sparta had Ares and Artemis as city deities, Argos was dedicated to the worship of Hera, Apollo was the protector of Delphi and Delos etc.). Being a girl was a really difficult task in a world sometimes defined by misogynistic feelings, as they are expressed in literary texts such as Euripides' *Hippolytus* [vv. 616–668] (the hero of this play despised female creatures and wished for a society where women would not be necessary and men could give birth to their children on their own), and also Semonides fr. 7 West (about different types of women, all deceitful and manipulative, who derived from animals and portrayed the downfall of men). Heroines, like Helen of Troy, Clytemnestra, Pandora, Circe or Medea, females of divine origin and nature like Aphrodite, and monstrous female creatures like Medusa, Echidna, the Sphinx, the Gorgons, the Harpies and the Sirens, prove that the feminine portrayal in Greek mythology had established a perception that women represented a mischievous, underground and unavoidable authority, who, although necessary for the existence of men, should better be secluded from political affairs and remain limited to the bounds of their household and bedroom.² Leaving aside Zeus, the original defender of patriarchy, it would be interesting to wonder what was the conception of another male god, Hephaestus, usually working in the margin of the Olympian realm (just like Yannis Ritsos presents him in the poem cited above: Hephaestus is the most magnificent of all, because, despite his lameness, he is a working god, therefore he belongs to the working class, always valued in the historical period the poem was composed by the people who – like the poet – favored the left political ideology) and also a father of both sons and daughters, in the quarrel about the importance of females in human society.

Hephaestus is the Greek god of fire, craftsmen and artisans. In Homer he is the god that always works and sweats (*Il.* 18.371) creating magnificent objects, like the shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.609–613). He is depicted as crippled and he is married to goddess of love and beauty Aphrodite, who cheated on him with his brother Ares, the god of war (*Od.* 8.267–366). Despite his bodily imperfection, that was probably caused because Hera conceived him without a male partner (*Hes. Theog.* 927) and then cast him out of Olympus (*Hom. Hymn Apoll.* 309–320), Hephaestus' professional work was greatly admired by all the Olympians.

² Cf. Meehan 2017, who discusses the matter offering examples about the 'misogynistic' and ruled by patriarchy portrayal of women in Greek mythology. See also Cantarella 1987, 26.

During his exile from Olympus he found a shelter close to Eurynome and Thetis who raised him like foster mothers and taught him how to work with metals in order to create artifacts of special grace (Hom. *Il.* 18.388–405). His workshop was located beneath active volcanoes, especially Aetna, and the Cyclopes were his workmen. Hephaestus' cult place was Lemnos and he was connected with the mysteries of the Cabiri of Thebes and Samothrace who were his children (Hdt. 3.37, Strabo 10.3.20, Pherecydes, *FGrHist* 3F48). In the Athenian cult he was closely attached to Athena, the goddess of cunning intelligence (cf. the festivals of *Hephaestia*, *Chalkeia* and *Apaturia* that were devoted to both divinities, cf. also Plato, *Critias* 109 c–d, and Hom. *Hymn Heph.* 1–7: these two deities are depicted as the founders of civilization). After all, Hephaestus' abortive attempt to rape Athena resulted in the birth of Erichthonius (Hellanicus on *FGrHist* 4F39 preserves the story), ancestor of autochthonous Athenians and one of the first kings of the city.³

Hephaestus was the father of many children, both male and female. Among his female offspring we can distinguish Euthenia, Eupheme, Eucleia and Philophrosyne, born from his legal affair with Aglaea, one of the Charites, as cited in an Orphic fragment preserved in Proclus (fr. 272(II) Bernabé). The nymph of flowering Thaleia is also said to be one of his daughters (according to Aeschylus' fr. 7 Radt from the *Aetneans*). As far as his male children are concerned, apart from the (already mentioned) Cabiri (Hdt. 3.37), who were mystic demonic divinities of nature, we should also note Cacus, a gigantic thief and fire-breathing monster who stole Geryon's cattle and was killed by Heracles (Plut. *Mor.* 762f, Verg. *Aen.* 8.190–279, Livy 1.7.3–15, Ov. *Fast.* 1. 543–586, Prop. 4.9), Cercyon (Hyg. *Fab.* 38) and Periphetes (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.16.1), two of the brigands killed by Theseus on his journey to claim his Athenian inheritance, Pylius, a Lemnian who cured the hero Philoctetes of his wound (Phot. *Bibl.* 190.152b), Ardalus, the Troezenian inventor of the flute (Paus. 2.31.3), the crippled Argonaut

³ See *OCD*⁴ s. v. Hephaestus. Also see Burkert 1985, 168; *OCD*⁴ s. v.: Cabiri, Erichthonius, Pandora. Cf. Gantz 1993, 77; Hard 2004, 167; Hansen 2005, 183–186. For information on each one of the other here referred children of Hephaestus see Graves 1955, vol. 2, 136–137 (Cacus), vol. 1, 324 (Ardalus), vol. 1, 326 (Pylius), vol. 1, 172 (Cercyon), vol. 1, 327 (Periphetes) and vol.1, 312–317 (Talos). On the relationship of Hephaestus and Athena in general and their association in myth and cult cf. Lévêque 1992, 315–324, especially p. 319. For the daughters of Aglaea and Hephaestus see Grimal 1996, 99. On Thaleia and the Palici see Smith 1873 s. v. Thaleia. Cf. West 1983, 74. Especially on the Palici see Thatcher 2019, 67–82.

Palaimonius (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.202), and the Palici, the gods of the hot-springs of Sicily (Silenus, *FGrHist* 175 F3).⁴

Erichthonius⁵ (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.6) deserves a special mention since he is the child conceived by Athena when Hephaestus attempted to seduce her, rape her and assault her virginity. The goddess repelled Hephaestus' erotic attack, fought him off, wiped away his semen that fell on her thigh with a scrap of wool and flung it to the earth. Erichthonius was born from the god's sperm that fell to the earth, as it can be assumed by the etymology of his name. Athena, acknowledging herself somehow as a step mother, decided to raise the child in secret and that's why she placed him in a basket and gave it to the three daughters of the Athenian King Cecrops, Herse, Aglaurus and Pandrosus, warning them never to look inside. According to the myth, Herse and Aglaurus opened the basket out of curiosity. When they saw that it contained a baby wrapped around by a snake or a creature that was half man and half serpent, they were terrified, went insane and threw themselves off the Acropolis (see also Hyg. *Poet. Astr.* 2.13).

Apart from the children born by Hephaestus, the god gave symbolic birth to the first two 'robots' of humanity, the first 'handmade' human beings, Pandora and Talos. Pandora was the first human female created by the art and the hands of Hephaestus and was given all gifts by each one of the gods (Hes. *Theog.* 560–612), while Athena put on her the final touches of beauty and skill. Pandora married Epimetheus, Prometheus' brother, but her curiosity made her open the forbidden box (or jar) that she was given by the gods and this way she released all evils upon humanity, only managing to secure hope in the bottom of the box (Hes. *Op.* 60–105). Talos, on the other hand, was a giant bronze automaton made by Hephaestus and given to Minos in order to protect the island of Crete by throwing rocks at any approaching ships. He was finally

⁴ ee Witczak – Zawiasa 2006, 13–27.

⁵ Cf. Fowler 1943, 28–32; Kovaleva 2004, 129–135. On the birth of Erichthonius see also Hard 2004, 184–185. For Erichthonius and his connection to Athens, Athena, Hephaestus and the cult of Panathenaea see Robertson 1985, 231–295 (especially pp. 254–269). See also Smith 1873 s. v. Erichthonius. The birth and nurture of Erichthonius is described in Eur. *Ion* 10–26, 267–274, 999–1005, 1427–1429. On Hephaestus, his progeny known as the Cabiri, the demons of metallurgy, and their connection with perpetual frustrated sexuality see Blakely 2006, 16–17, 81–82, 97, who concludes that in the case of all those deities and demonic figures technology results into creation through an allegorical process of penetration.

deceived by Medea into believing that he could become immortal by removing the bronze nail that shut his vein, which went from his neck to his ankle. When he removed the nail though, ichor (a fluid the divines had in their veins instead of common blood) ran out of him and Talos was extinguished by the Argonauts (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.26, Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.1639–1693).⁶ Taking into account the creation of Pandora and Talos, it is important to note that Hephaestus may be counted as the mythological prototype of a ‘magician’ or ‘theurgist’, i.e. an expert on creating animated ‘theriomorphic’ statues (e.g. *Schol.* Hom. *Od.* 19.518 for the golden animated dog Hephaestus had made, which was stolen by Pandareus and given to Tantalus) used for protection from evil, or an artisan-wizard of human-figured automata.⁷

As Hurwit pointed out, Pandora, whose creation was depicted on the base of the colossal statue of Athena Parthenos in the famous temple of Acropolis, could be seen as an anti-Athena, since she personifies the evils that spread on human world and acts like a femme fatale opposing the great goddess of wisdom and craft. The goddess Athena was the pattern of the ideal sacred woman in antiquity and she stood taller than any other mortal or immortal female, being motherless, since she was born from the head of Zeus, eternally virgin, clearly on the side of men (cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 734–743) and never having experienced sexual intercourse, marital status or pregnancy and childbirth.⁸ Athena and Hephaestus were, in a sense, the foster parents of an artificial woman, Pandora, who resembles Erichthonius, also the product of an unusual collaboration of the two deities of artistry and technical culture.⁹

It is interesting to note that both Pandora and Erichthonius, the most famous ‘children’ of Hephaestus, fulfilled the goal of their creation thanks to the task taken over by Athena, who favored them with her final blessing touch. The myths of Pandora and Erichthonius convey that the patriarchal Greek society was set in motion by a female divinity, Athena, because without her contribution none of the two primitive creatures, progenitors of human beings, would be the same. Although Athena was the protector of a masculine patriarchy and had defused her female side, her gender cannot be ignored. Besides, we should not forget that

⁶ Cf. Cassidy 2018, 442–445; Robertson 1977, 158–160.

⁷ Cf. Faraone 1987, 257–280.

⁸ See Hurwit 1995, 171–186.

⁹ See Hurwit 1995, 183.

in those two mythological stories we can attest the presence of a box (chest, jar or basket in each case) where something secret, connected with the central hero or heroine, remained hidden. The violation of a forbidden box by inquisitive females is a common motif of both mythical allegories and it always ends up in catastrophe. Pandora is the woman that destroys men, an indisputable power over human world. Hephaestus is her creator but her dynamic and perspectives are motivated by the spirit of Athena. Female power is dominant. On the other hand, Erichthonius is the imperfect male child produced through an incomplete sexual union that manages to survive only with Athena's will to save, protect and educate him. One more time the female power rules everything. His mythical story shows that a male offspring, even the son of a god like Hephaestus, is not capable to live unless he is delivered to women, like Athena, Gaea and the daughters of Cecrops. After all, looking at the case of Talos, we could argue that a masculine artifice, despite his strength, is beaten by the magic and guile of a woman, the sorceress Medea. It is worth mentioning that, according to Graves, the goddess Athena was connected to Medea in Corinth (cf. Paus. 2.12: in this passage it is stated that in a temple of ancient Titane of Sicyon, there was a statue of Athena where a priest chanted spells of Medea in order to appease the force of the winds). If this is true, then – in a way – Athena, again, was responsible for the survival or extinction of a creature made by Hephaestus.¹⁰ Once more, the female power dominates, captivates and defines men.

The children of Hephaestus representing male gender are either chthonic figures like Erichthonius and the Cabiri, or fiery creatures with criminal and destructive instincts like Talos, the Palici, the robbers Periphetes and Cercyon, and the gigantic thief Cacus. Ardalus and Pylus are the only male personages that serve good to humanity since the first one is the inventor of a music instrument and the other one a healer. On the contrary, all of Hephaestus' female progeny were the personification of beneficial powers on human lives, such as prosperity (Euthenia), good repute and glory (Eucleia), good omen, praise and applause (Eupheme), friendliness and kindness (Philophrosyne), plant life and shoots (Thaleia). This is one more indication that the god of fire, artwork and technology crafted his best and most complete products when he contributed in the formation of female figures. His male offspring are strong, dynamic but also incomplete and ephemeral. His female offspring are great, powerful and

¹⁰ See Graves 1955, vol. 1, 312–317.

timeless. Even if we consider Pandora as a representative of the evil,¹¹ given all her beauty, skills and grace, we presume that her monstrous nature is elaborately hidden behind her attractive appearance. In the case of Hephaestus' sons though, their monstrous look is obvious, terrifying and repulsive. From the aspect of Greek myth and patriarchal ideology, women can act evil in an insidious way, while men cannot hide their criminal disposition under a charming sight.

As Woodiel claims, since Hesiod's opinion in the *Theogony* is that a woman, despite her ambiguous nature and her function as a 'beautiful evil', is a necessity for a man to have around in his old age and she is also required to produce a child or children who would assist in their father's care as well, the vital source of children cannot actually be connected with evil, but with 'the unknown potential which a child symbolizes and the hope with which each child is associated by its parents from the moment of its birth. *Elpis* is generally defined as a neutral "expectation", neither good nor bad, perhaps a combination of "hope" in a conventional sense combined with fear.¹² Froma Zeitlin suggests that, "the *Elpis* that is left in the jar most closely corresponds to the child (or the hope of the child) residing in its mother's womb".¹³

It is also interesting to notice that, according to the story of Hypsipyle and the Lemnian women who hosted Jason and the Argonauts (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.849–860), the island of Lemnos, the most sacred place for Hephaestus and the homeland of the god, became for a while a matriarchal society. This happened since Lemnian women were driven mad by the rage of Aphrodite, as they had failed to render the accustomed sacrifices to the goddess of sexuality, and killed all Lemnian men who despised them (due to the foul odor their body emitted) and used to sleep with Thracian captives instead (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.609–615, Asclepiades *FGrHist* 12F14).¹⁴ This ancient version of Hypsipyle's myth demonstrates that the lame god-protector of fire, sculpture, blacksmiths and

¹¹ See Brown 1997, 26–47. In p. 27 Brown says that, according to Hesiod's warning (*Op.* 375), women have a thieving and deceitful nature and whoever believes them believes in lies. For the symbolism of the Pandora myth see Harrison 1900, 99–114; Frazer 1972, 235–238; Cantarella 1987, 28; Lévêque 1988, 49–62; Beall 1989, 227–230; Eisenberg 1995, 28–41; Lauriola 2000, 9–18; Guillaume 2001, 131–139; Wolkow 2007, 247–262; Francis 2009, 1–23; Fraser 2011, 9–28.

¹² See Woodiel 1996, 136–140. Cf. King 1983, 110.

¹³ Zeitlin 1995, 53. See also Smith 2015, 11–12.

¹⁴ See Robertson 1985, 231–295. For Hephaestus and the Lemnian cult of women see pp. 278–279.

metallurgy, although representing clearly male activity is actually and closely related to feminine superiority. Hephaestus' nascence is the outcome of Hera's parthenogenesis, he is a fatherless divine child and it is natural for him to favor the female sex. After all, the process of his birth could be examined as an exact allegorical reference to a primitive matriarchal society, where the Great Mother and Goddess of Nature was worshipped, his cult on Lemnos was also founded on the ground of a female-dominated state that resembled an archetypical society of Amazons, while his sperm was vanished into the earth when he attempted to violate the virgin divinity of spiritual strength. Those aspects of the mythical 'biography' of Hephaestus subject him to the dominance of women and provide an explanation about the fact that the majority of his sons were inferior to his daughters. The female children of Hephaestus, belonging to a father who was exclusively born by an all powerful divine mother, personify beauty, grace, high ideals and eternal glory. On the contrary, his boys have only inherited the repulsive physical appearance of a disabled father, that's why most of them are short-lived, crippled, monster-like, beasts, or criminal figures. Only the least famous of his male progeny, Ardalus and Pylus, were blessed with the capacity to create, invent or heal.

We can conclude that Hephaestus' semen, since that god was produced by Hera with no semen at all, seems to generate magnificent and admirable females (resembling his mother), but only superficially mighty males threatened with extinction. The salvation of the latter becomes possible only if a divine woman decides to give her blessing or protection, as it happened in the case of Erichthonius. Hephaestus' 'female side' was probably stronger than his male. This maybe has to do with the fact that his sexual impulse was weak and subordinate to his creative spirit. Above all, Hephaestus is not simply a male god (favorably attached to his gender) but a superior deity of creation,¹⁵ that's why masculine beings with destructive forces are not worthy of his paternity and doomed to

¹⁵ Cf. Smith 2015, 9–10: 'Hephaestus is intricately tied to the mother, to creation, to reproduction... He is deeply fixed in Magna Mater, in Gaea'. Of course most modern theories call into question the unilinear historical evolution that resulted in a primitive matriarchal society dominated by the cult of a Great Mother and Goddess of Nature. Scholars argue of a feministic archetype transcending all eras and marking several female figures of great importance as representations of sexuality, fertility and nutrition in different civilizations. Those symbols of feminine assure masculine power but probably do not serve as survivals of an early mode of a matriarchal religious cult. Cf. Georgoudi 1991, 477–491; Georgoudi 2002, 113–134; Goodison – Morris 1998; Testart 2010.

failure. The women born by the divine creator though, closely attached to the mystery of creation and Mother-nature, springs of life and symbols of generation and renaissance, seem to be the most remarkable of his 'branches.' Moreover, in the *Iliad* (18.416–419) Hephaestus is described to have fabricated golden maidens, which means woman-shaped automatons as attendants for his palace, who were self-moving, taught by the gods and provided with intelligence, strength and the capacity of speech. This ancient story of creating artificial intelligence¹⁶ indicates that once more Hephaestus, who had also constructed Pandora and Talos, gave his preference to women 'robots', since it was only female androids he kept with him offering them the superior spiritual abilities of thinking and expressing themselves in words.

After all, as Yannis Ritsos pointed out in the poem quoted in the opening of this article, Hephaestus is the most majestic of all, since he is the worker god, the one gifted with the power of creation. We had better not forget his contribution in the birth of Athena, as he is the one who opened Zeus' forehead and the goddess of wisdom emerged. Hephaestus is always creative, hard working and a protector of the female force even in a patriarchal society like Olympus. Reading about the children of Hephaestus, with a special reference to the myths of Erichthonius, Pandora and Talos and taking under consideration the beneficial and eternal presence of his daughters opposed to the malevolent and fatal destinies of his sons, we can draw the conclusion that in the case of creation (as well as in the lack of it) women always play the decisive role. Females prove to be the truly legitimate and most capable children of their generator and divine creator.

This conception seems awkward, keeping in mind Hephaestus' problematic and perverse relationship with his rejectful mother Hera and his treacherous wife Aphrodite. The most important women of his life wound his male pride by discarding him and refusing to surround him with their love or honor. Hephaestus though took his revenge against them, as we are told by the

¹⁶ See Mayor 2018 on artificial intelligence of the ancient times and the mythical 'robots' made by Hephaestus: the golden maidens, Pandora and Talos. Mayor also examines the moral boundaries of technology and scientific achievements as well as the interaction of artificial intelligence with human beings and its use for the benefit of human society. Cf. also Smith 2015, 10 who notes that Hephaestus finds feminine companionship in the handmaidens, the automatons he created infusing them with traditionally masculine qualities: voice and strength, sense and reason. He removes the wily power of a woman out of his own creations and keeps these golden robotic women around him because they cannot hurt him like real divine females did.

famous Demodocus' song about Aphrodite (Hom. *Od.* 8.267–366) who was captured in a net along with her lover, causing the ironic laughter of other gods witnessing her infidelity, and by Pausanias in the case of Hera who was captivated on her golden throne with invisible fetters (Paus. 1.20.3).¹⁷ This also proves that the god, after managing to escape humiliation and wreak his vengeance against the evil females of his life, an unfaithful consort and a cruel and egoistic mother, concentrated all his efforts into creating loving and charming females with a desire to offer their gifts to men (cf. Thaleia, Eucleia, Eupheme, Euthenia, Philophrosyne and even Pandora). This way he balanced his ugly look and the lack of affection that he had experienced by the goddesses he cherished the most (Hera, Aphrodite and even Athena), by bringing into life women with beneficial power that dignify and sanctify their parentage.

In conclusion, Hephaestus' children seem to serve as an archetype of the fairytale of "Beauty and the Beast", as most of his sons have inherited his feeble and not charming appearance while his daughters embodied true pulchritude and fairness. The deity of creativity has inspired Greek culture and literal tradition in a way of giving all his spirit to the heavenly women he produced in order to make amends for his rejection by the divine females of his life. We can observe that although it is the touch of the father which activates the patriarchal society, it is in fact the male's will to define the limits of his domain and restrict the abusive, arrogant and deceitful women that strengthens the community and contributes to the evolution of mankind. The children of Hephaestus incarnate the struggle of patriarchy to evince its superiority over women, who lie hidden in the background of the social union and enforce men either with their tenderness or with their rejection. By making Hephaestus the father of male villains and female beauties, ancient Greek myth depicted man's severity

¹⁷ See a very interesting article by Ebenstein 2006, where, on the basis of the 'collective unconscious', the divine smith is examined as a mythical archetype of the crippled artisan and a stereotype of the rejected male due to his aesthetic monstrosity. Cf. Deris 2013, 13–18, who claims that the myths connected to Hephaestus imported into literature the image of the 'super cripple' who manages to overcome the mocking of his disability by using intelligence and humor and this way the disabled, otherwise marginalized, male makes his entrance into society. According to Rinon 2006, 19, Hephaestus' depiction in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* 'serves as a means to represent a tragic perception of the human condition which is marked by pain and suffering'. This exceptional god is the most humanized version of a deity, because he has a tragic depth marked by his lonely experience of the human lot and the agonies of the mortals. All these absolutely human feelings of pain, inability, devaluation and rejection were unavailable to the 'lofty levity' of the Olympians.

(cf. Cacus, Periphetes, Cercyon, Talos, the Cabiri, the Palici, Erichthonius) but also his capacity to captivate eternal values such as good luck, glory or prosperity (Euthenia, Eupheme, Eucleia, Thalia, Philophrosyne, Pandora), exactly like the lame god had captured his mother and his wife with invisible chains and nets, trying to show off and attract attention through his creativeness.

Hephaestus' children must be seen as progeny of a lonely male child who works to prove himself and gain approval despite his rejection by women. The established patriarchy risks its status if women are not restricted and at the same time owes its existence to inspiration given by women. Men become capable to produce good works as women urge their mind, hand and whole body. The man's craving for satisfaction by a woman or for revenge because of her disapproval (and that is the story of Hephaestus and Athena, Hera or Aphrodite) makes him the architect of marvels. Like an early "Quasimodo" of the ancient myth, abandoned by his mother and mocked by his surroundings, he cares only to save his beautiful "Esmeraldas". Hephaestus hates the lame male he is. And that is why he gives a beastly and non-flattering figure to the children he shares the same gender with, while he saves the best for his girls. This way he proves his wish to be liked by the opposite sex and impose his superiority on it. In a way, if anybody wants to examine the nature and symbolisms of the children of Hephaestus, and along with it the motivations of masculine patriarchy, the key is one: *cherchez la femme...*

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FORGOTTEN AND UNKNOWN – CLASSICAL BRONZES FROM THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF FINLAND

LEENA PIETILÄ-CASTRÉN

Over recent decades, archaeology – and particularly classical archaeology – has come to appreciate its responsibility to address the cultural impact of antiquarianism and uncontrolled collecting. Efforts to redress the connected wrongs often mean studying forgotten collections and learning more about the motivations behind the collecting. The worst-case scenario would be to totally neglect such objects and ignore their effects on our views of ancient culture and the value we place on artefacts from other societies. This brief study is a contribution towards redressing the situation in Finland, which had its own period of antiquarian collecting and currently houses a large collection of forgotten artefacts in its museum storerooms. Placing both the collections and the collectors in their proper contexts will hopefully add both to their value and our understanding.

The catalogue of the National Museum of Finland contains extensive entries for a variety of Graeco-Roman antiquities, but while the vases and terracottas have received scholarly attention, an overall study of the finds is still lacking. To address this oversight a selection of eleven bronze figurines and six bronze vessels or their fragments were studied for this article.¹ The artefacts were brought to Finland over a period of roughly one hundred years beginning already in the 1850's, and their provenances were only reported in a summary fashion, if at all. Consequently, we must approach these long-forgotten objects as examples of Finnish antiquities collecting. The following overview of their

¹ Weapons, mirrors, and personal items, such as fibulae, pendants, and belt buckles, as well as the bronze items of the Near-Eastern collection (KM 6100) purchased by Prof. Arthur Hjelt in 1911, were not included in this study.

provenance, identification, and destinies was based on both archival material and visual examination, and the observations on their iconography, shapes, and construction techniques rely on parallels in the research literature, which has been constantly increasing alongside the growing interest in ancient bronzes, for figurines and vessels alike. Considering the objects' tenuous histories, even the minutest clue regarding the place of acquisition was deemed noteworthy, as was any information about the purchaser's or donator's possible interest in ancient culture.²

In ancient times, bronze figurines depicting gods and heroes, and later also mortals, were part of private life and personal religiosity. They were small and light enough to carry while travelling, which often saw them taken far from their places of origin.³ It is usually possible to distinguish the basic iconographic types of these objects, but figurines called "pseudoantique", "made in the manner of the antique", or "dubitanda" were also common and sometimes complicate identification,⁴ as we are dealing with objects of great popularity both during the antiquity and again since the Renaissance. Furthermore, there are considerable variances in the plethora of known bronze figurines, depending both on the skills of the craftsman as well as the preferences and buying power of the purchaser.⁵ Bronze vessels were also made to be used over long periods, and were often passed on over generations and treasured as luxury items. In a similar manner to the figurines, they could also move significant distances along with their owners, thus making them resistant to strict chronologies.⁶ Both illustrating and complicating this picture somewhat, faithful replicas *all'antica* of the most sought-after examples are still produced today and offered for sale at museum shops and auctions.

² About the research perspectives on ancient bronzes and the need for a comprehensive database, see Franken 2015B, 125, 129.

³ Ritter 1994, 333–335.

⁴ The terms used e.g. by Comstock – Vermeule 1971, 185, and Franken 2015A, 281. Questions of authenticity since the 16th century are discussed by Favaretto 2000, 79–83, and by Colonna 1970, 194–195.

⁵ Ritter 1994, 337. In votive contexts the specific alloys of the figurines may also have been of some secondary importance, Biella 2017, 488.

⁶ Bolla – Castoldi 2016, 121–122, 141.

The Strengberg Figurines

The first of the minor bronzes we will consider are linked to the shipowner, tobacco manufacturer, and alderman Philip Ulric Strengberg (1805–1872), who lived in Jakobstad on the west coast of Finland. While he was an alderman, he donated two allegedly Etruscan bronze figurines to the Swedish-speaking school of the Wasa Gymnasium, which had temporarily moved to Jakobstad after the Great Fire in 1852. In its new location the school's collection of antiquities started to grow, eventually also including material from Troy and Pompeii,⁷ and many of the donators were local shipowners. It would have been natural for Strengberg's captains, sailors, and merchants to bring him mementoes from the faraway countries they visited, as he was a well-known and esteemed citizen; he is not known to have travelled abroad himself. As he was an alderman from 1837 to 1858,⁸ the date of the original donation would fall in the 1850's. Later, some items from the school's ethnographical collection were given to the Ostrobothnian Museum; but without any further details – the cover letter having been lost – only the reference to the two Etruscan bronze figurines remain.⁹ In 1982 the two bronzes were transferred to the National Museum, and some confusion over the name of the original donator arose during the process.¹⁰

The first Strengberg-figurine (KM 21445:2, Fig. 1) depicts a sparingly moulded naked male, solid cast, with a dark green patina and a height of 8.6 cm. He stands with his weight on his right foot, the right leg is broken at the calf. His left leg is forward, and likewise broken at the ankle. The outstretched arms are also broken. His navel and nipples are indicated by stamped incised circles. The two rings visible in the heavy neck may indicate a separately cast head,

⁷ Krook 1949, 252–253.

⁸ Hoffman 2009, 859.

⁹ The catalogue entry for the donation (80080:1–299) to the Ostrobothnian Museum does not contain any information on the figurines. Instead, there is an undated supplementary list of some 490 items, including “2 etruskiska statyer. Brons. 2 avgjutningar av bronsföremål. Följebrev.” I am indebted to research officer Maaria Gråsten from the Provincial Archives of Vasa and amanuensis Kimmo Vatanen from the Ostrobothnian Museum for the painstaking research they carried out for me in 2015 and 2021.

¹⁰ The name was entered in the main catalogue as “rådman Stromberg”, but in the handwritten tag of KM 21445:1–2 (Verif. Diar. 28.4.1982) it reads “2 st. metallbilder. Skänkta af rådman Strengberg i Jakobstad”.

which is large for the body. The face is heart-shaped; the mouth and lips were rendered with a pressed point or chisel, the small nose is straight, and the eyes are depicted as holes. His hair is wound around a fillet that is represented as a roll surrounding the face, and the curly locks are rendered by shallow grooves at the back of his skull. Parallels for the pose and hairstyle, even if portrayed in a more sophisticated manner, are known since the Early Classical period, such as a small bronze head of a youth at the Acropolis Museum, dated to ca. 460 BC.¹¹ The type is called an athlete or kouros, and recalls the large-scale statues set up at Greek sanctuaries and cemeteries. The posture of the arms of our figurine could be meant to portray physical activity, such as throwing a discus,¹² although the act does not depict the precise moment of throwing, but rather preparing for it. The figurine may also be related to the simplified bronze figurines of assaulting warriors.¹³ The unshaped musculature is not typical of the Early Classical prototypes, and the anatomical details, rendered with a pressed circular stamp, are reminiscent of Italiote production of the mid-Hellenistic period, ca. 275–150 BC.¹⁴



Fig. 1.

¹¹ Inv. 6590. Mattusch 1988, 94–95. Mattusch 2012, 11, fig. 5.

¹² As a variety of the Etruscan types from the Late Archaic period onwards, see Richardson 1983, 206, pl. 143, figs 477–478, and Boucher 1976, 22, pl. 20, figs. 19–20.

¹³ For parallels from the northeastern Italy, Cassola Guida 1989, 42–45, figs. 10–11.

¹⁴ Zampieri 1986, 74–75, no. 22. Richardson 1983, 280–281, no 17, pl. 193, fig. 652, about this type of decoration as a Late Archaic feature on textiles, and Comstock – Vermeule 1971, 174–175, nos. 202–206, as Archaic or later.

The other figurine, an advancing naked male (KM 21445:1, Fig. 2), is also of solid cast, with a dark green patina, and 9.6 cm of height. The right leg is broken off at the knee and both hands are missing. His left calf is shapely, and the penis and pectorals are outlined. Both arms are extended, the right elbow is raised, and the left is draped with a lion skin. The neck is long, the face is heart-shaped with a linear mouth, clearly marked nose, and slanting eyes; his hair is cropped. Under his left sole there are remains of a tenon for fastening the figurine on a base, now missing. The figurine of the attacking or striding warrior type is especially connected to Hercules, as suggested here by the lion skin; the missing right hand may have originally held a club.¹⁵



Fig. 2.

The type has consequently been called *Hercules Promachos*, *Etruscan Hercules*, or *Striding Hercules*, whose long standing iconography has been known from the fifth century BC to the end of the Republican period, even extending to the Italiote-Etruscan milieu and Gaul.¹⁶ Iconographically our figurine refers back to more finely finished models, but the blurred facial features and careless tooling make it a product of later workmanship of the II century BC to the I century AD. Given their similarities and likely function, the two Strengberg figurines may have come from the same archaeological context, perhaps of a votive nature.

¹⁵ The iconographic variety of Hercules was extensive, Biella 2017, 491–500, figs. 3–6.

¹⁶ Below KM14560:818c p. 165 and KM 18375:5 p. 183. Terribile 2000, 67, nos. 57–58.

The Ignatius Bronzes

In 1868 K. F. Ignatius donated five bronze objects to the Historical-Ethnographical Museum of the University in Helsinki.¹⁷ He had obtained them from nearby Rome the year before while attending an international congress on statistics. It is not known whether the bronzes – two figurines, one detached handle, and two keys – were purchased, or even discovered by him, or perhaps given to him by an Italian friend. The historian Dr. Karl Ferdinand Ignatius (1837–1909) was active in many fields of the society, first as the amanuensis of the Historical-Ethnographical Museum in 1860–1872, then as a civil servant in the Main Office of Statistics since 1865, becoming its head in 1868–1885, a committee member of the Society for Culture and Education in 1873–1887, the chairman of the Finnish Antiquarian Society in 1875–1885, and eventually a senator in 1885–1900 and 1905–1908.¹⁸ Ignatius was also a connoisseur of ancient culture. To finance his studies, he tutored in ancient Greek and used to read two hundred lines of Homer's epic poems daily for his own pleasure. Later in life, he recited the *Odyssey* as a bed-side story for his children.¹⁹ His interest in ancient culture also included the Roman world, as is shown by the booklet on ancient Pompeii he wrote in 1882,²⁰ soon after another official journey to Italy; in this text he covered ancient Pompeian society, its life, and monuments in an absorbing and expert manner. Against this background it is unsurprising that Ignatius instantly entrusted the bronzes to the museum for greater benefit instead of keeping them by himself.²¹

Ignatius' bronze figurine of a naked male (KM 14560:818c, Fig. 3) is solid cast with a yellowish green patina, and 5.8 cm in height. He stands with his weight on his right foot and the left foot slightly advanced. On the collarbone there is a knot marked with incised lines, and an animal skin is draped over his left forearm, in which he holds a longish object. He stretches out his right arm,

¹⁷ KM14560:818a-d; Färling 1875, 153, no. 20.

¹⁸ Luther 2004, 271.

¹⁹ Bergholm 1944, 32, 96, 110.

²⁰ K. F. Ignatius 1882. *Ett besök i Pompeji. Reseminne*, Helsingfors. Bergholm 1944, 159.

²¹ Färling 1875, 334. Even if the information is meagre, it certainly is correct as the individual who wrote it down was Ignatius' cousin Fredrik Ignatius Färling, who assisted at the Museum in 1867–1875, Talvio 2016, 57.

holding another longish object in his hand. His face is round, with an oblong opening for the mouth, the nose is snub, and the eyes are depicted as small dots. One part of the animal skin is drawn over the head, and hemispherical elements cover his ears. At the backside his buttocks and spine are marked by tooling, and the animal skin stretches diagonally over his upper back. The figurine stands easily balanced on his own feet, without a base. This is another Hercules, with his well-known attributes: the bow, a gift from Apollo, and the club – or what is left of it – carved by him from an olive-tree during his first labour against the Nemean lion, as well as the trophy from that fight, the leonté. The forepaws are tied into a knot resting on his collarbone, and the lion's head covers his head, hood-like, with the prominent ears.²²



Fig. 3.

Hercules was a favoured divinity in ancient Rome and the surrounding area, *i.e.* the site of our figurine's 19th century acquisition. Important temples to Hercules in Latium include those in Tibur, Lanuvium, Ostia, Cora, and further east in Alba Fucens, and in the Forum Boarium in the heart of Rome.

²² There is an immense variety of Hercules with leonté, *e.g.* Colonna 1970, 145–156, nos. 435–478 from the Sabellic area in Central Italy. Another bronze figurine with all three of his attributes, Mitten – Doeringer 1967, 179, no. 183.

The second Ignatius bronze is a male head (KM 14560:818b, Fig. 4), ca. 4.0 cm in height including the tenon. It is unfortunate that this object has gone missing and is known only from a photograph taken before the exhibition *Antiquitas* in 1971.²³ In the existing photo the head is depicted in profile with a thickish neck and a small part of the shoulder, and seems to be overweight, with a rather weak chin. The lips, smallish straight nose, and slightly bulbous eyeball with brows are carefully outlined. The ear disappears inside the sideburn, the forehead locks are reverse comma-shaped and marked with grooves. This is a miniature portrait of a Julio-Claudian Emperor, with the characteristic hair style of Nero, depicted with a sinuous wave pattern of locks over the forehead, as is known from his portraits of the later period datable to ca. 60.²⁴ The hairstyle is consistent with Suetonius' description of his hair as *coma in gradus formata*.²⁵ The enlarged eyes are considered a feature characteristic of the regional products of Italy and the western Roman world.²⁶ This little Nero could be the pommel of a small knife, with other known parallels often being shaped as animals, hands, or female heads, and known especially from western Switzerland, along the Rhine, and England, often from military camps.²⁷



Fig. 4.

²³ This bronze is one of the very few objects identifiable from the catalogue (without pictures) of the exhibition. It was presented without dimensions or date as a miniature head with the hairstyle of a Roman male, Ericsson 1971, 77, no. 214.

²⁴ Kleiner 1992, 138, no. 112. Pollini 2002, 4–5, 61–62, figs. 105–106. Opper 2021, 84, fig. 59.

²⁵ Suet. *Nero* 51.

²⁶ Pollini 2002, 22.

²⁷ Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 32–34 + n. 93. A small weight would have required a loop on top of the head, of which there is no sign, Bonaccorsi 2016, 33, no. 10 + n. 87. As to the miniature scale of our head, a bronze bust of Claudius(?) offers a parallel, with its height of 4.5 cm, as does a head of Antoninus Pius(?) with a height of 3.0 cm, Babelon – Blanchet 1895, 363, no. 832 and 376, no. 858.

The third of Ignatius' bronzes is a vertical handle (KM 14560:818d, Fig. 5) in the shape of a male figure leaning slightly back, with arms shaped like wings. It once belonged to a one-handed pitcher-type vessel with a mouth diameter of ca. 6.3 cm. It was cast with a mould, its patina is turquoise, and its height is 5.3 cm. The figurine's feet are poised on a trapezoidal convex plate, and the legs are tightly held together. The knee-length tunic is unbelted, with a vertical drapery on the left side, exposing



Fig. 5.

the right shoulder. His face is round, with very small mouth and lips delicately shaped, and a small narrow nose, round eyeballs, and grooved eyebrows; the hair is short and decorated with a wreath. The upper feathers of the outstretched arm-wings conform with the rim of the vessel, while lower feathers are shaped more naturally as three sets of feathers, the shortest arching like a volute. The delicately shaped male figure held his head above the rim, his upper limbs shaped as wings may symbolize his trade as an acrobat. A comparable handle with a schematic human figure and identical attachment comes from Sopiana, modern Pécs, in Roman Pannonia, datable to the I – II centuries AD,²⁸ and a few are known from Austria and in museum collections in northern Italy.²⁹ Human figures were a

²⁸ Radnóti 1938, pl. 53, no. 6. In the first century Pompeian products the undecorated versions of inferior attachments were usually leaf-shaped or triangular. About the different parts of bronze vessels as products of specialized workshops, Tassinari 2018, 84.

²⁹ Castoldi 2004, 432, no. 433.

long-standing subject for handles, but this precise type seems to refer to local or regional production near the north-eastern Alps. Ignatius' bronzes may come from a single context, perhaps the settlement of a former military man or an itinerant merchant.

Bronzes from the Collection Millon

The bronzes examined above may have been random purchases, however the acquisition of prehistoric and Gallo-Roman objects at the auction of the Collection Millon in Paris in 1923 was authorized by the Antell Commission in Helsinki. The mandate of the Swedish agent Olov Janse was to obtain some typically French antiquities for the National Museum.³⁰ The person behind the Collection Millon was Henry-Ernest Millon born in Yonne and a lawyer by profession. He worked as a judge in the court of first instance in Chalon-sur-Saône, and later at the court of appeal in Dijon.³¹ After his daily duties, he dedicated his life to the archaeology of the nearby areas in Burgundy, and was a corresponding member of the Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France.³² When the railway from Louhans to Chalon-sur-Saône was built in 1869–1870, he is known to have turned up by the riverbanks after the working hours, and often picked up objects that others had declined to take. In the end, his vitrines held a heterogeneous collection of material spanning from prehistoric times to the Middle Ages, with silver treasures displayed by modest iron objects.³³ His collection was published by Joseph Déchelette *et alii* in 1913.

The Millon bronzes have the advantage of supplying at least elementary information about their places of discovery in the Département de Saône-et-Loire in east-central France, as seven of them were allegedly unearthed in Le Petit Creusot, one in Gigny-sur-Saône in 1869, and one in Louhans. Le Petit Creusot is a locality near the modern city of Chalon-sur-Saône by the shore of the Saône, the right tributary of the river Rhône. The Roman merchants referred

³⁰ KM 8248:1–105. Pietilä-Castrén 2007, 83 + ns. 166–168. The focus was obviously on prehistoric material, which was abundant in the Collection Millon.

³¹ Déchelette 1913, VI.

³² At least in the years 1884–1899, *Bulletin* 1899, 19.

³³ Déchelette 1913, 155–157, fig. 23.

to by Caesar in his Gallic Wars,³⁴ had of old visited the main port of the Celtic tribe of the Aedui, which had abundant traces of the La Tène culture; Roman Cabillonum, the future Chalon-sur-Saône, arose at a short distance northward at an important crossroads,³⁵ and was known for its local bronze workshop.³⁶ The two other sites, Gigny-sur-Saône and Louhans, were also intimately connected to waterways and thus open both to traffic and different cultural connections.³⁷

The Millon figurines reflect in essence the religious beliefs of the society of the Roman Cabillonum, and may come from burials, one or two lararia, if not from local shrines as votive offerings. The first of them depicts a standing naked male (KM 8248:64, Fig. 6) of 4.3 cm height, with a greenish-brown patina. It is solid cast, except the partly hollow left thigh due to a miscast. His head, right hand, and the thumb and index finger of the left hand are missing, and both legs are cut off above the knees. The flattish figurine stands with his weight on his right foot, pushing the pelvis to the right. The genitals, flat stomach, navel, and pectorals are clearly



Fig. 6.

³⁴ Caesar *Gall.* 7,42,5 & 90,7.

³⁵ The locality of La Benne-la-Faux is now considered as the original port of the Aedui, Billoin – Bonnamour – Mouton – Videau 2009, 263, 266, fig. 3, 277.

³⁶ Boucher 1976, 131, 227.

³⁷ The former lies some seventeen kilometres downstream from Cabillonum, while the latter by the Seille, the left tributary of Saône, is ca. forty kilometres south-east of Cabillonum.

marked. The right arm is straight and extended, and the left arm is less extended with a disproportionately large palm. At the backside, two longish wisps of hair curve on the shoulder blades. The body is muscular and fit. The S-curve of the posture goes back to the fourth century BC, and ultimately to the Praxitelean statues of Apollo in line with the long locks of hair, one of his characteristics. The possibly missing attribute, a lyre, a bow, or a branch of laurel, would have been a separate piece of bronze and attached to the palm, thus explaining its large size. In his *Gallic Wars*, Caesar reported that Apollo was a popular Gallic divinity believed to avert diseases.³⁸ The simple bronze figurines may have been vague reminiscences of ancient masterpieces, but it is much in doubt whether local sculptors were even aware of the precedents, or else were simply making popular copies with local overtones.³⁹ The flatness and spare modelling place our figurine in the later phases of the production, to the I – II centuries AD.

The second Millon figurine is a draped male (KM 8248:65, Fig. 7), intact and solid cast with a brown patina, 6.6 cm in height. This laminous (Th 0.3–0.7 cm) figurine stands with his weight on both feet, slightly apart and seen as the mere tips of the shoes. Under the footwear there is a tenon for fastening the figurine to its base, now missing. The robe is draped diagonally from the right waist over the left shoulder, leaving part of the torso bare. The arms are tightly held against the body, while the right forearm is stretched out, and he holds an umbilical offering bowl in his hand. The shaping of the left arm is blurred, and the fist is fused with the object by the waist. In the upper body the drapery is marked with two diagonal arches decorated with shallow grooves. The face is oval, the mouth horizontal, the nose small and arching, and the eyeballs large with protruding brows, all shaped with a chisel. He wears three schematically rendered leaves on his head. At the back the longish hair, marked with five incised lines, reaches to the shoulder blades. This popular type of a male votary was created in Hellenistic central Italy, produced in varying quality, and often connected with the cult of Dionysos-Bacchus on account of the leafy wreath, identified as ivy.⁴⁰ The object

³⁸ Caesar, *Gall.* 6,16–17. The popularity of Apollo is also attested by his many local epithets, Jufer – Luginbühl 2001, 12, 95–96.

³⁹ Ritter 1994, 336. Similar poses of votaries are known from the area of Lyon, Boucher 1970, 165, no. 173. For a list and map of naked types of Apollo discovered in the Gallic area, Boucher 1976, 130–131, 374–375.

⁴⁰ Zampieri 1986, 89–90, nos. 32–33. Faider-Feytmans 1979, 80–81, pl. 45, no. 72.

in his left hand is an *acerra*, a sacrificial incense box.⁴¹ This type of a figurine remained popular in the western Empire for a long time,⁴² with the chronology extending into Late Imperial times.⁴³ The later examples were sometimes shaped in laminous style, as is the case with our figurine.

The third Millon bronze is a male helmeted head (KM 8248:61, Fig. 8), hollow cast, with a brown patina, 5.2 cm in height. The head has a short and thick neck and is covered with a round helmet. All the facial features are carefully marked: the small mouth with full lips is slightly open, the tip of the small nose is bent downwards, the eyes are large, with pupils marked as dimples, and the eyebrows are prominent. The forehead is slightly furrowed. The crown of the helmet is decorated with an incised grapevine, with tendrils and grapes growing into opposite directions, and above the forehead and by the temples there is an arching and unbroken groove. At the nape, the longish brim turns slightly up, and the strap under the chin is fixed on both sides to the small sidepieces of the helmet. The head stands, as it is now, without support. This is a head of a charioteer, with the characteristic headgear, a tight-fitting racing cap



Fig. 7.

⁴¹ More of *acerra*, Bentz 1992, 119–120, cat. 32.1.2, pl. 42, fig. 238, also 76, cat. 10.11, pl. 20, fig. 102.

⁴² Boucher 1970, 102–103, nos. 90–92, dated to the 3rd–2nd centuries BC. Boucher 1976, 32, pl. 6, fig. 31. The cult of Bacchus is also attested in epigraphic evidence in the territory of the Aedui, Jufer – Luginbühl 2001, 76.

⁴³ Bentz 1992, 125, no. 33.5.3, pl. 44, fig. 250, and 128–129, no. 33.7.5–6, pl. 45, figs. 260–261. Terribile 2000, 71, no. 68.



Fig. 8.

made either of leather or metal. There is a close parallel in a miniature bronze bust from Tournai in Flanders, Belgium, originally considered to be an applique of a piece of furniture, and later used as weight.⁴⁴ Another miniature parallel is the bronze bust of a charioteer that made an appearance in Rome in the 1890's, but is currently known only from a photo.⁴⁵ Similar helmets used by charioteers can be seen in the Macors or Circus Games floor mosaic from Ainay, not so far from the place of discovery of our miniature head in Le Petit Creusot, and dated to the II century AD.⁴⁶ Our bronze head's hollow structure may indicate that it was originally fastened on a wooden stick as a dedication in a shrine.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Dated to ca. 100 AD and decorated with incised volutes, Faider-Feytmans 1979, 138–139, pl. 101, no. 249.

⁴⁵ Bell 2019, 36, fig. 2.

⁴⁶ It is on display in the Gallo-Roman Museum of Lyon. The same type of helmet is shown in Roman funerary reliefs of charioteers, e.g. Kleiner 1992, 236, fig. 201. Bell 2008, 397, fig. 4.

⁴⁷ Bell 2019, 35–37.



Fig. 9.

The fourth Millon bronze is an intact hand (KM 8248:62, Fig. 9), solid cast, with a brownish black patina, 4.6 cm in height. It consists of the wrist and palm of a right hand with all of digits extended, and sinews and nails clearly marked. There is an angular tenon in the wrist. Small votive hands of bronze, with either a hole or a tenon for attaching them to a pole or a base, were associated with the worship of Jupiter Heliopolitanus whose cult remained popular in the eastern Empire, or Sabazios, and Jupiter Dolichenus,⁴⁸ whose cults covered the whole Empire. In the cult of Sabazios the hands of two fingers, the *anularis* and *digitus minimus*, are folded into the palm and copiously decorated with insects, animals, and various objects,⁴⁹ while votive hands with extended and parted fingers are characteristic of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus.⁵⁰ The cult flourished

⁴⁸ Berndt 2018, 153–156.

⁴⁹ Vermaseren 1983, e.g. 18–19, nos. 42–47, pl. 35–39.

⁵⁰ Hørig – Schwertheim 1987, 44. The open position of the fingers excludes the possibility of the hand belonging to a charioteer holding a set of reins, and thus being connected to the helmeted male head above.

ca. 130 – 230, fading by 300, in the northern frontiers of Hadrian's wall, along the German limes, and along the Rhine and Danube valleys.⁵¹ The Dolichean hands were commonly made of bronze, were mostly life-size, and symbolized the heavenly power of the divinity in whose hands lay the well-being of his worshippers.⁵² This well-crafted miniature hand with its delicate fingers could refer to a young person's hand, or an adult female hand with a parallel from Argilly,⁵³ relatively near Le Petit Creusot. Our hand is most probably an *ex voto* to Jupiter Dolichenus,⁵⁴ as a symbol of private devotion, and may come from a domestic shrine. The missing base or attachment would have been either rectangular or a torus resembling a bracelet, the latter being the more usual in the known examples. In Roman Gaul the evidence regarding the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus is sparse and sporadic. It seems to have reached the area either from the south, through the waterways up the rivers Rhône and Saône, or along the Rhine valley.⁵⁵

The fifth Millon bronze figurine represents a naked boy (KM 8248:63, Fig. 10), cut off at the knees, the right forearm, and the left upper arm. It is solid cast, with a brownish green patina, and a height of 7.3 cm. He stands with his weight on his left foot, the right leg advanced. His upper body and his head are turned slightly to the right. His right arm is raised, while the left is stretched out. The face is chubby, the mouth is marked as an incised line turned downwards, the nose is only faintly depicted, and the eyes are two irregular holes. A very stylized knot of hair is tied on top of his head, while the rest of the hair frames his face and is marked by two vertical lines at the back of his skull. Stumps of wings on somewhat different levels are attached to his shoulder blades, and marked, as are the buttocks, with shallow grooves impressed with a flat chisel. This type of

⁵¹ Collar 2011, 217, 219, map 1, 227.

⁵² Horig – Schwertheim 1987, 44–46.

⁵³ Horig – Schwertheim 1987, 365–366, no. 398.

⁵⁴ For the votive gifts, Coulon 2006, 198.

⁵⁵ Statuettes depicting Jupiter Dolichenus from further south along the banks of the Rhône at Mas-Desports, and from Marseille, Horig – Schwertheim 1987, 363–368, nos. 595–603. Collar 2011, 233, 242. Boucher 1973, 142, nos. 220–221. An undecorated hand with *anularis* and *digitus minimus* slightly bent comes from Corseul in the northern part of Gallia Lugdunensis, and is considered by Vermaseren 1983, 17–18, no. 41, pl. 34, a hand of Jupiter Sabazius. As it is plain and without decorations it should perhaps rather be classified as that of Jupiter Dolichenus.

depiction of a child is Amor or Eros, referred to as Lampadophoros, and was popular over an extensive area from the Hellenistic to the Roman periods. He was depicted running, sometimes even flying,⁵⁶ and his attributes were an apple and a torch, the former tying him to the cult of Aphrodite, the latter to the cult of the dead as Hypnos.⁵⁷ This muddled figure is the result of serial production with a very worn mould, if not a surmoulage in a local workshop, with comparable schematic bronzes coming from Roman Gaul and Germania.⁵⁸ Several examples of the winged Amor are in the collections of the Musée des Beaux-Arts of Lyon, not far from the alleged place of acquisition of our figurine, one of which might be in effect its antecedent.⁵⁹ The figurine is datable to the II – III centuries AD.

In his *Natural History*, Pliny provides us with information on metallurgy in Gaul, including a possible explanation for the modest quality of some of our figurines: “Bronze resembling the Campanian is produced in many parts of Italy and the provinces, but there they add only eight pounds of lead and do additional smelting with charcoal because of their shortage of wood. The difference produced by this is noticed especially in Gaul, where the metal is smelted between stones heated red hot, as



Fig. 10.

⁵⁶ Comstock – Vermeule 1971, 96, no. 102. Boucher 1976, 209, pl. 73, fig. 357 and Ritter 1994, 338–340, nos. 1–2 as representatives of the basic type.

⁵⁷ Cassola Guida 1989, 96.

⁵⁸ Bolla 1997, 50–51, pl. 10, no. 20. Ritter 1994, nos. 3–4. Boucher – Tassinari 1976, 31–32, no. 23.

⁵⁹ Boucher 1973, 1–6, esp. 4, no. 7.

this roasting scorches it and renders it black and friable. Moreover, they only smelt it again once whereas to repeat this several times contributes a great deal to the quality.”⁶⁰

The sixth Millon bronze is a feline head (KM 8248:66, Fig. 11) from Le Petit Creusot. It is hollow cast, with a green patina, and a height of 3.1 cm. The feline face with arching frontal bones is depicted with a carefully rendered



Fig. 11.

mouth, muzzle, and eyes with both upper and lower lids; the pupils are round and marked with small dots. The erect ears, with rounded tips, are pierced at the base; two more holes were supposed to be punched through on the upper edges, but the one on the right ear only partly pierced the metal, while the left is only a slight indentation. There is a torus-like element on the front of the neck. Cat heads were usually connected to seated animals, as in the manifestation of the ancient Egyptian female divinity Bastet from the city of Bubastis in the Delta. The cat was believed to have apotropaic qualities, and was a topic of a long history, appearing as magic statues throughout the Late, Ptolemaic and Roman periods.⁶¹ The cat was linked to Isis in Egyptian cults abroad,⁶² and was popular in all social classes in the urban milieu of Gallia Narbonensis, approximately the modern southeast

⁶⁰ Plin. *nat.* 34,20 in Rackham's 1952 translation. About the metalworking techniques and alloys, Rolley 1986, 22–30.

⁶¹ Malek 2006, 73, 79, 93.

⁶² Malek 2006, 106.

of France, and along the Rhône northwards to the area of Roman Lugdunum, modern Lyon.⁶³ The torus-like element on the neck, on which the head now stands well balanced, may be part of a base, while also referring to the original collar. The pierced ears were initially adorned with earrings of gold or silver. The date of this bronze head is from the Late Hellenistic to the Early Imperial times.

In addition to the figurines, three vessels were also included in the Finnish set of Millon bronzes. From Le Petit Creusot comes a spouted pitcher (KM 8248:22, Fig. 12) with a hammered body and mouth, and a moulded base and vertical handle. Its height is 17.0/17.4 cm,⁶⁴ and the patina is green. The pitcher has a continuous smooth profile, the ring-foot is very low, and the concave base is decorated with four concentric circles around an umbilicus.⁶⁵ The oval body has its broadest point in the middle, the neck is slightly flaring, and the simple



Fig. 12.

⁶³ Bricault 2009, 145–146.

⁶⁴ With handle 17.9 cm; other measurements D base 6.5, D body max 11.0, D mouth 6.2/7.0, weight 607.8.

⁶⁵ About the technique of throwing such circles with a lathe, Formigli 2000, 27, 149–150, fig. 57, 60, and Boucher – Tassinari 1976, 120.

mouth with everted rim and short rounded spout points downwards. The handle is circular in section and attached to the rim with a chevron, while terminating at the broadest point of the body in a trapezoidal attachment plate. The pitcher was an essential part of a refined tableware set, and this one was a Campanian product,⁶⁶ with parallels known both from the western and northern provinces of the Empire.⁶⁷ The handle may not be the original, as they were customarily more elaborate, often rising above the rim.

Another imported vessel is a bronze aryballos from Louhans (KM 8248:23, Fig. 13). Its body and mouth are hammered, while the base and the remaining handle are moulded. Its height is 12.0 cm, and the patina is green.⁶⁸ The base is decorated with four concentric



Fig. 13.

low circles around an umbilicus, the body is ovoid, the narrow longish neck ends in a slightly flaring simple rim. The handle is ovoid in section at the narrowest point, round on the upper part, and attached to the neck and to the shoulder with flattened almond-shaped elements. This small oil flask represents a well-

⁶⁶ The basic shape of this pitcher is close to the Pompeian type E2100 (brocche con becco, ventre ovoidale) of Tassinari 1993A, 43, pl. CXXVIII:4–5 and CLVIII:4–5 and Tassinari 1993B, 70. Boucher – Tassinari 1976, 143, no 181. Kunze 2007, 272–273, no. R 65.

⁶⁷ From England, Eggers 1966, 106, 139, fig. 39b, from Pannonia, Radnóti 1938, 155–156, pl. XIII:76 and L:6, and from Saône-et-Loire, Baratte – Bonnamour – Guillaumet – Tassinari 1984, 84–85, no. 119, pl. 40.

⁶⁸ D base 3.0, D body max 7.1, D mouth 2.8/3.2, weight 149.8.

known Pompeian type datable to the I century BC and the I century AD.⁶⁹ As a luxury item, it may have been used in religious rituals for libation, or perhaps mundanely for applying perfumed oil.

From Gigny-sur-Saône comes a drinking cup (KM 8248:30, Figs. 14A–B) with a cylindrical, slightly concave body 10.5 cm in height. It was hammered, and its patina is brownish black; the bottom has been cut off, and the vertical handle is missing.⁷⁰ On top of the flat, thickened rim there are slight traces indicating where a handle was attached. Below the lip is a band between two incised lines, and on the lower body traces of the lower attachment of the handle in the shape of a heart leaf. Below that are remnants of a soldered ornament in low relief with an upright stem (length ca 6.5 cm), symmetrically aligned side-scrolls, and a short horizontal line ending in triangles.⁷¹ This is a drinking cup, a *modiolus*, identified as an Idria-type.⁷² The same basic shape of the cup is known from many examples from the tombs of Ornavasso in northern Italy, with a loop handle ending at the rim in two goose heads,⁷³ and as a *boccale a ventre iperboloidale* in Pompeii.⁷⁴ The heart-leaf shaped attachment with the identifiable relief



Fig. 14A.

shape of a heart leaf. Below that are remnants of a soldered ornament in low relief with an upright stem (length ca 6.5 cm), symmetrically aligned side-scrolls, and a short horizontal line ending in triangles.⁷¹ This is a drinking cup, a *modiolus*, identified as an Idria-type.⁷² The same basic shape of the cup is known from many examples from the tombs of Ornavasso in northern Italy, with a loop handle ending at the rim in two goose heads,⁷³ and as a *boccale a ventre iperboloidale* in Pompeii.⁷⁴ The heart-leaf shaped attachment with the identifiable relief

⁶⁹ Tassinari 1993A, 48–49, type F2210. Tassinari 1993B, 92, inv. 12310.

⁷⁰ D base 10.6, D mouth 9.6/8.3.

⁷¹ I am grateful to the conservators Pia Klaavu and Liisa Näsänen from the Finnish Heritage Agency for their painstaking help with this drinking cup, and their answers to the many questions that arose about the other bronzes.

⁷² Petrovsky 1993, 21–23, fig. 2:8.

⁷³ Bianchetti 1895, 92, fig. 40, pl. 17:4. Graue 1974, 104, 106, Abb. 26:17c, Tfl. 3:4, Tfl. 17:2, Tfl. 30:5, Tfl. 33:2. This type of a handle gives ample space for the ornament below.

⁷⁴ Type L4100 of Tassinari 1993A, 75. Tassinari 1993B, 165 (inv. 11350).

decoration below is known from, in addition to northern Italy, Great Britain,⁷⁵ and Pompeii, and also appears in jugs. There may have been a network of workshops stretching from Campania to northern Italy that produced these vessels,⁷⁶ and engaged in a wide network of trade in the last phases of the La Tène culture.

The Bronzes of the Enckell and Aminoff Collections

Albert Richard Enckell (1883–1964) was by education a Master of Science in Technology, and a specialist in the Russian economy due to his family and commercial relations,⁷⁷ first with Russia and then with the Soviet Union. He worked in different committees, organizations, and societies in both Finland and the Soviet Union. He grew to be an avid collector, introduced to the field by his maternal aunt Josefina Bronikovsky and her husband, Lieutenant General Gustaf Adolf Ramsay. He started collecting in the 1910's, and initially made some chance forays into the central European markets but eventually came to rely on the Soviet brokers. In its final form his collections included copper plate engravings, silverwork, medals, furniture, paintings, textiles, books, and

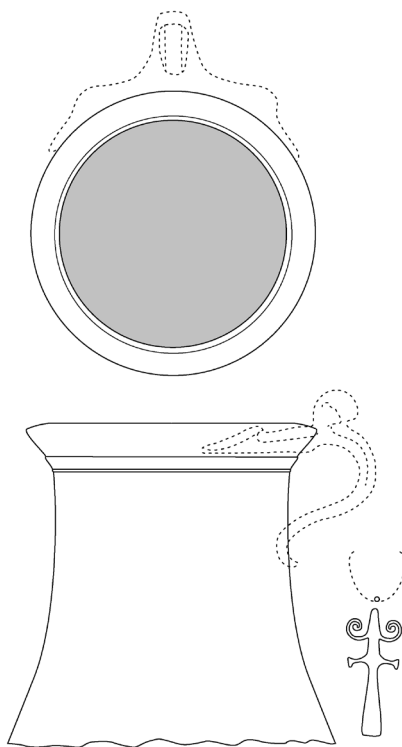


Fig. 14B.

⁷⁵ Déchelette 1927, 954–956, with reference to Capuan production. Eggers 1966, 100, 111, fig. 1:2. Petrovsky 1993, 22, fig. 2:6–7.

⁷⁶ Graue 1974, 21–22. Tassinari 1993A, 125. Tassinari 1993B, 49, 355 (inv. 1269). About the division of labour between workshops according to the techniques needed, Tassinari 2018, 82–84.

⁷⁷ He was born in Saint Petersburg, the son of the general of infantry Carl Enckell and a mother of Russian origin, *Catalogue of the alumni 1853–1899*.

decorative items.⁷⁸ This collection included the bronze askos (KM 19134, Fig. 15) under discussion here. The vessel was allegedly recovered from the Black Sea, nearby Kerch in the Crimea.

The height of the askos is 16.2 cm, including the handle 19.2 cm, and the diameter of the body is 15.6/13.2 cm.⁷⁹ It is moulded, with a green patina, and survives intact. It is an asymmetrical vessel of wineskin shape, with a continuous profile. The



Fig. 15.

body is decorated with twigs of olive-trees and olives rendered in relief. The flat base is slightly emphasized, the rim is moulded with *ovolos* and small pearls on top, and the lip turns slightly downwards. The vertical handle depicts a female feline, posing her hind paws on a bunch of small berries attached to the broadest part of the vessel's body; her tail is pressed tightly against the hind paws, while the front paws rest by the rim on small roundish supports, from which delicately arching twigs fall along the neck and the shoulder of the vessel. The muzzle and facial features of the animal are carefully shaped, the mouth is open, the ears are somewhat flat, and the forelock is clearly depicted.

There is no unanimous opinion on the use of the askoi. With a shape resembling a wineskin and handles often decorated with panthers or other Bacchic companions, they have been associated with wine and banquets, but another popular mode of decoration featuring olives and foliage may equally well refer to oil, with this idea being favoured also by the relatively small size of the vessels. Askoi are sometimes depicted in bath scenes, and with their large mouths they

⁷⁸ Lilja 1996, 27. His collections were bequeathed to the National Museum in 1965.

⁷⁹ D base 9.3/8.0, D mouth 9.0/7.0, and weight 2 032.

would also have been suitable for ablutions, without excluding their sacral use.⁸⁰ This is a rare type of askos, with a near parallel in both shape and decoration from Pompeii, discovered in 1876.⁸¹ Its engaging appearance soon made it a sought-after souvenir for foreign visitors, and it went into modern production after the Archaeological Museum of Naples gave local firms permission to copy antiquities in its collections, among others Fonderia Chiurazzi and Giorgio Sommer, the renown photographer.⁸² The simple flat bottom of our vessel differs from that of the Pompeian original, that had decoration consisting of concentric circles. As it is, the askos is a replica made in the late 19th or early 20th century in the manner of the first century BC. But what to make of the hearsay of its coming from the Black Sea? Was it perhaps intended to make the vessel more attractive to the customer?

Six years after the Enckell Collection was donated to the National Museum, another large collection, the Hans Aminoff Collection, was likewise bequeathed in 1971. It was a diverse body of material, parts of which were entered into the Historical and Exotic collections of the National Museum, and ten of which are Graeco-Roman.⁸³ It is unfortunate that there is no information on the individual acquisitions, but some of the items might be connected to Hans Aminoff's (1904–1968) maternal grandfather, the admiral Oscar von Kraemer (1829–1904), who made a remarkable career in the Russian navy. He stayed for longer periods in Athens in 1867–1868 and 1879–1882 and was directly involved in transporting antiquities for the Academy of Arts in Saint Petersburg in 1873.⁸⁴ Hans Aminoff, a landowner, travelled for his part both in Europe and Egypt after the Second World War.⁸⁵ By the 1950's the whole collection was being displayed at the Pekkala Manor in Ruovesi, in the heart of Finland.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Tassinari 2009, 148–149.

⁸¹ Type Z2000 of Tassinari 2009, 167, no. 16 (inv. 69169). Its body is a little more flattened at the inferior attachment, where the bunch of berries rests on a shell. For an undecorated body, Tassinari 2009, 153, n. 26.

⁸² Chiurazzi 1929, 164, no. 290. Kovacs 2013, 44–45. Maaz 2010, 660–661.

⁸³ Lamps, terracotta figurines and vases.

⁸⁴ Estlander – Ekman 1931, 276. A terracotta unguentarium KM 17377:3 bought in the 1940's in Helsinki by Åke Pricklén had allegedly once belonged to the admiral and originated from Greece.

⁸⁵ Pietilä-Castrén 2007, 74–75.

⁸⁶ The information given by Hans Aminoff's daughter Antonia Hackman in 2005, Pietilä-Castrén

Two of the bronzes studied here were part of the Aminoff Collection. The first is a figurine of an advancing naked male (KM 18375:5, Fig. 16). It is intact, solid cast, with a height of 10.5 cm and a yellow sheen. The slender man is striding with his weight on his right foot; his right arm is raised, the left is extended, with a piece of drapery hanging down from the forearm. A hoodlike element covers his head, and at the neck there is a symmetrical knot. The bodily features are sketchily outlined, with more attention being paid to the lower body, while the arms and hands are more tubular; in the face the most attention is paid to the large, slightly aquiline nose. The low-key drapery is modelled into a sharp angle. This is another example of the attacking Hercules,



Fig. 16.

with his distinctive pose, lion skin, and club, indicated only as an extension of the forearm. In pre-Roman Gaul, figurines of Hercules were very popular as imports from the third century BC onwards.⁸⁷ The stark stylization and the featureless characteristics appear in many parallels from the Roman provinces, and a very near one, if not a mould sibling, comes from the Gallic area, dated from the III to the I century BC.⁸⁸ However, the date of the Aminoff figurine seems to be much later – in fact, similar

74, n. 142.

⁸⁷ Reinach 1894, 127–129, nos. 132–134. Boucher – Tassinari 1976, 23–24, nos. 16–17.

⁸⁸ Babelon – Blanchet 1895, 226, no. 535, with more kindred examples in Boucher 1970, 92–93, nos. 73–75, and Boucher 1976, 26–31. About the difficulties in establishing chronology or respective geographic area, Favaretto 2000, 82, nos. 96–97.

to his other bronze below this work was probably a museum copy. The unblemished surface and the golden sheen suggest a modern production.

The Aminoff pitcher (KM 18375:8, Fig. 17) is intact, mould-made, and covered with a powdery turquoise substance, with cobalt blue patches on the body and foot.⁸⁹ Its height is 11.2/12.3 cm, and it is characterized by an anthropomorphic handle.⁹⁰ The tapering foot with flat base is joined to the body by a torus. The oval body with rounded shoulders is decorated with two sets of petals, separated from each other by two horizontal incised lines: simple petals in relief on the lower body, while highlighted with a double contour on the shoulder. The



Fig. 17.

cylindrical neck rises from three ridges and flares into a trefoil mouth. The handle is shaped as a male acrobat arching his body backward in a bridge and poising his extended toes on the incised double line. His penis, abdomen, and rib cage are clearly shaped; his arms are extended and hooked, resting on the lip of the vessel as he grasps the tails of two felines lying on the rim facing forward. His mouth is open, his nose is small and upright, the eyes are almond-shaped, and he wears a helmet with a brim.

This is a replica of the oinochoe from the necropolis of Sala Consilina in Campania. It is displayed in the Petit Palais in Paris and considered a product

⁸⁹ This residue is the result of copper corrosion.

⁹⁰ D base 4.3, max D 6.7, D mouth 4.0/5.0, D inside mouth 1.2 and weight 578.5.

of a Corinthian workshop from ca. 525–500 BC.⁹¹ The use of a kouros as the subject of a handle was popular in Greece and Italy on many large vases, excepting the craters in late Archaic and subsequent periods.⁹² An interesting feature is the wide-open mouth of the acrobat, suggesting his inhaling deeply during the demanding performance. The two animals are supposed to be lions, if not panthers, depending in general on the visible details.⁹³ The pitcher may be a product of the Société F. Barbedienne et A. Collas, founded in Paris in 1838, and since 1913 with international branches in the United States and many European countries until its closure in 1954.⁹⁴ The later decades would coincide with Aminoff's travels in Europe. The size of our oinochoe is half of the original, and the foot and the lower attachment are also simplified, without the original's palmette and felines. As a result, the pitcher can be dated to the first half of the 20th century, having been made in the manner of the original of the late sixth century BC.

The Sequel

In 1979 Claude Rolley, the renowned specialist in bronzes, raised the question “Les bronzes antiques: objets d’art ou documents historiques”,⁹⁵ to which our modest selection can give a late answer. No matter their artistic level, the bronzes are still able to inform us about iconography, craftsmanship, the movement of objects and ideas, local customs, religion, and the lasting influence of ancient culture on modern times. We can follow the progress of the Strengberg figurines from a random purchase to becoming objects of educational merit in a local school as representatives of Etruscan culture, to the determined acquisition

⁹¹ Inv. no. 1560, Charbonneaux 1958, 44, 140, pl. 3:1; its height is 20.5 cm.

⁹² Kent Hill, 1958, 193.

⁹³ Mitten – Doeringer 1967, 83, pl. 1, no. 77.

⁹⁴ The industrialized reproduction of sculptures and artworks was a cooperative effort of two Frenchmen, the metalworker and manufacturer Ferdinand Barbedienne (1810–1892) and the engineer and inventor Achille Collas (1795–1859). They used plaster cast copies from the Atelier de Moulage of the Louvre as templates. The business flourished, as miniatures in different scales and materials were much sought after, Child 1886, 489–505.

⁹⁵ Rolley 1979, 13.

of the specimens from the Collection Millon, intended for museum display as glimpses of Celtic-Roman Gaul. In similar fashion, the Ignatius bronzes made their way from an area near Rome to the benefit of a university collection. The Enckell and Aminoff bronzes played minor roles in the two private collections, but still manifest the respective collector's individual taste for and enjoyment of ancient objects, even as replicas. Some of our bronzes had originally been acquired in or near their places of origin, while others made long treks already during the antiquity before finally settling down in the twilight of the storerooms of the National Museum of Finland.

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Illustrations

The Finnish Heritage Agency, Archaeological Collections: Photo Fig. 14A Pia Klaavu, all the others by the Author.

Drawing Fig. 14B by the Author and Maija Holappa.

A GROUP OF ROMANS IN EPHESUS IN 35 BC*

OLLI SALOMIES

An interesting Latin inscription from Ephesus, in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford since 1866 but managing to stay practically unnoticed, was finally published in 2019 by the prominent epigraphist Alison Cooley.¹ The text, inscribed on a fairly large marble block (49 x 174 x 22 cm.) and in many parts extremely worn, consists of a heading – the consular date – at the top left, and a list of names, all of the Roman type with nomina and (except for one man, see n. 15) cognomina (tribes are, however, not mentioned), inscribed in nine columns. The publication is accompanied by a succinct commentary in which the persons mentioned in the text are tentatively identified, following a suggestion of N. Purcell during a seminar in Oxford (p. 449), as members of a *conventus* of Italian *negotiatores* based in Ephesus or at least in Asia. This observation is followed by an onomastic analysis of the nomina of which many “fit well into a *negotiator* milieu derived from Delos and/or Campania” (p. 450). This is obviously an important observation, but my impression is that a detail or two could be added

* Warm thanks are due to Professor Cooley who was kind enough to answer my questions regarding the reading of some passages and sent me photos that are more easily readable than those in the original publication. My thanks are also due to the two anonymous referees.

¹ In C. F. Noreña & N. Papazarkadas (eds.), *From Document to History: Epigraphic Insights into the Greco-Roman World*, Leiden – Boston 2019, 435–454. Cf. the presentation of the inscription, also by Professor Cooley but not identical with the publication and with some additional observations, in the Ashmolean Latin Inscriptions Project (https://latininscriptions.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/xml/AN_1896-1908_G_1188.xml), cited in what follows as “AshLI 175”. Greek epigraphical publications will be quoted in accordance with the *List of Abbreviations of Editions and Works of Reference for Alphabetic Greek Epigraphy* available at the AIEGL site (<https://aiegl.org/grepiabbr.html>), Latin inscriptions mainly following the list of abbreviations in recent volumes of the *Année épigraphique*. For the abbreviated title *Les italiens* see n. 38.

to the commentary. Hence, the aim of this article is to offer some additional observations, especially, but not exclusively, on the nomina.

I would like to start with the consular date, not all of whose letters are fully legible and the reading of which is thus “offered with all due caution” (p. 439) as follows: *Sex(to) [P]o[mpeio] / [L(ucio)] Co[rnificio] / [c]o(n)[s(ulibus)]*. However, in the photo the name of the first consul in l. 1 can in my view be read as *SEX·POM* and the nomen of the second in l. 2 in any case begins with *CO*.² Moreover, as the names in the name list imply that the inscription must be Augustan at the latest, there can be no doubt that Cooley is correct in identifying the date as 35 BC. This is the only year before AD 14 when a consul with a name beginning with *Sex(tus) Pom-* was in office, suitably with a colleague with a nomen beginning with *Co-*, namely Sex. Pompeius (a relative of Pompey the Great) and L. Cornificius. The fact that the order of the consuls in this text is Sex. Pompeius, L. Cornificius is interesting, for the reverse order is more common. As one can see from the compilation of A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* XIII 1, Roma 1947, 508f., the order Cornificius, Pompeius is used by Cassius Dio in the index of book 49, by the Chronograph of AD 354, in the *fasti Hydatiani*, in the *Chronicon Paschale* and, to move on to epigraphical sources, in an inscription from Ithaca set up by an *ungentarius de Sacra via* (*ILLRP* 826). In inscriptions published after 1947, the same order, Cornificius followed by Pompeius, is used in the *fasti* of Tauromenium (*AE* 1991, 894), in those of Alba Fucens (*AE* 2017, 372, c = *CIL* IX 7873) and in an inscription from Samothrace recording *mystae* (*ILLRP* 1271b = N. M. Dimitrova, *Theoroi and Initiates in Samothrace: The Epigraphical Evidence*, Princeton 2008, no. 80).³ The order Pompeius, Cornificius is in addition to the new inscription from Ephesus used only in the *fasti magistratuum vici* (*Inscriptiones Italiae* XIII 1, p. 283) and in the consular list in Cassiodorus (both sources cited by Degrassi p. 508f.).⁴ This variation in the order of the consuls (not observable

² In the photo at AshLI 175 the second consul's praenomen *L.* also seems reasonably visible.

³ Cf. also the date on an amphora *ILLRP* 1185 = *CIL* IV 9313 *L. Cornuff(icio) co(n)s(ule)*, where the mention of just one consul points to the use of a consular list in which Cornificius was named as the first consul, as it is generally the name of the *second* consul that is dropped when the name of only one consul is used.

⁴ The inscription also adduced by Degrassi on p. 509, with only the filiation of the second consul being preserved ([ἐπὶ --- καὶ ---]ου Λευκίου υἱοῦ ὑπάτων; now republished as J. Reynolds & K. T. Erim, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, London 1982 no. 8) must surely be referred to 39 rather than to 35 BC. Cf. now A. Raggi & P. Buongiorno, *Il senatus consultum de Plarasensibus et Aphrodisiensibus del 39*

in the case of some other years in this period)⁵ indicates that the precedence of the consuls may have varied from month to month. However, as none of the consular dates of 35 BC is accompanied by an exact date to the day, it does not seem to be possible to say more. The date 35 BC – in Latin epigraphy an “early” date – having been settled, it is perhaps not altogether pointless to stress the fact that the text contains some “archaic” features, namely Greek [Y] being rendered with Latin <V> (*Alupus* in col. 7 (T)2,⁶ *Phila[r]gur(us)* in col. 6 (S)8, *Sune[-]* in col. 6 (S)9), [X] being rendered with <XS> (*Alexsa* in col. 5 (M)3 and in col. 7 (T)3), and *Vinucius* instead of *Vinicius* in col. 7 (V)2. Moreover, surprisingly many of the freedmen have a praenomen differing from that of their patrons, a phenomenon which became rare after about the 80s BC (cf. below). Finally, among the nine freeborn men there is one who does not have a cognomen (cf. n. 15) – although one would perhaps expect to find even more in 35 BC.

Let us now move on to the individuals mentioned in the list. In columns 1–7, the men are enumerated in the roughly alphabetical order of their nomina. As large parts of the inscribed text are not legible, we now find in this section of the inscription only nomina beginning with the letters A (col. 1 and 2), C (col. 3), G H I (col. 4), M N (col. 5), R S (col. 6), and T V (col. 7), nomina beginning with the letters B D E F L O P Q thus being missing.⁷ Column 8 seems an addition of sorts, containing as it does, as far as they are legible, nomina beginning with the letters C F M T. (There is also a ninth column, of which only some letters are legible.) As far as I can see, altogether 59 persons are mentioned whose nomina can be identified. These include on the one hand those cases in which the nomina are fragmentary, but can be plausibly restored, *Aponius* (n. 18), *Caesennius* (n. 30), *Cassius* (n. 31), *Graecinius* (n. 11), *Rutilius* (n. 20), and on

a. C. (Acta senatus B7), Stuttgart 2020, 89f.

⁵ Cf. A. Drummond, *Athenaeum* 56 (1978) 80f. on the order of the consuls in the period 100–31 BC.

⁶ As the lines have not been numbered by Cooley, I have added my own numbering: “col. 7 (T)2” means that a particular name can be read in column 7, in the second line of the names beginning with a T. In the case of columns with only names beginning with the same letter I quote the names e.g. as follows: “col. 3, 17” (thus C. Cusinius L. I. Iaso).

⁷ But in col. 6 we find, after a section which must have contained nomina beginning with a P, the heading QR which is followed before the next heading S by only two names, the second of which having a nomen beginning with the letter R (*R[---]lius*, surely *R[uti]lius*, cf. below n. 20); the nomen of [----] *lius* [.] *l. Athatho*, named first, thus probably began with a Q.

the other the Servilii, whose nomen was inscribed only twice, but was then not repeated (cf. n. 21; I have not considered the probably similar, but not altogether certain, cases in nn. 23, 25, 26). As some nomina are attested more than once, the total number of different nomina is 43. Moreover, there are ten men whose nomenclature has been preserved only in part but who, because of the mention of a patron, can be ascertained as freedmen (e.g., *C. [--]nius L. l. Eros*, col. 3 (C)14).⁸ All names are of the Roman type (as contrasted with the Greek); almost all include either a filiation or a mention of the ex-patron. In only three cases is this information inexplicably missing (cf. below). The 59 fully preserved names and the ten freedmen with fragmentary nomina can be divided into the following three groups:

– <i>ingenui</i>		9
– freedmen	35 + 10	45
– <i>incerti</i>		<u>15</u>
<u>Total</u>		<u>69</u>

I have classified as *incerti* persons in the case of whom the indication of father/patron has either not been indicated (cf. above) or has not been preserved.

I shall move on to an examination of the nomina in a moment. Before that, I would like to offer some observations on other aspects of the nomenclature of the *ingenui* on the one hand and of the freedmen on the other. The list of the nine freeborn men, of whom four appear in col. 5 and three in col. 8, is as follows (in a corrected alphabetical order), with some comments and a few modifications added:

– [L.]⁹ Annius L. f. [--]donus (?)¹⁰ (col. 1 (A)1)

⁸ In this paper, I will consider only those persons whose nomina have been preserved or who can be identified as freedmen. In the inscription, there are traces of many further names, sometimes with the cognomen preserved.

⁹ [L.] Cooley in the printed edition. At AshLI 175 she writes the “praenomen could be L.”

¹⁰ Cooley suggests [He]donus both in the printed edition and at AshLI 175 (“cognomen could be [HE]DONVS”), but this restoration, producing a name that is more than suspect, does not seem acceptable. (For an explanation of *Edonus* in the probably 3rd-century inscription *CIL X 8100 = Inscr. It. III 1, 156 [D(is)] M(anibus) Helvio Edono col(legium) dendrof(ororum) b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit)* see H. Solin, *Zu lukanischen Inschriften*, Helsinki 1981, 41, who suggests that the name could

- M. G[raeci]nius (?)¹¹ M. f. Rufus (col. 4 (G)6)
- L. Marcius L. f. Pri[-2-]¹² (col. 8, 5)
- C. Minucius C. f. P[i]ca¹³ (col. 8, 3)
- M. Minucius M. f. Rufus (col. 5 (M)6)
- L. Munatius P. f. Plancus (col. 5 (M)4)
- L. Mundicius L. f. Spica¹⁴ (col. 8, 4)
- C. Nessinius C. f. Lupus (col. 5 (N)1)
- C. Nonius C. f.¹⁵ (col. 5 (N)3)

be understood as an incorrect rendering of *Hedonius*, a name of the late type with the suffix *-ius*, attested in three inscriptions). In a private correspondence, Solin wonders whether one could read [--]*dorus*, but in the photo I seem to be able to discern *NVS* or perhaps even *ONVS*, and Professor Cooley assures me that this is in fact the correct reading; she wonders whether one could think of a stonemason's error.

¹¹ The reading of the nomen was published as *G[- c.5 -]nius*; I suggest *G[raeci]nius*, as this restoration corresponds to the traces of the nomen and because *Graecinius* is a nomen found, if not in Asia so far, at least in Macedonia (cf. below n. 74).

¹² There does not seem to be a suitable cognomen of only five letters beginning with *Pri-* (I would not consider *Prior*, for which see I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, 294), and it thus seems necessary to assume that more than just two letters are missing; the cognomen could have been *Primus* or *Priscus*.

¹³ *P[-]ca* Cooley. The name was surely *Pica* (in fact, the upper part of the *I* seems to be legible in the photo). This is a rare cognomen most attestations (though note *PIR*² P 403) of which (Kajanto [n. 12] p. 332; add *PIR*² C 31, an equestrian from Verona from apparently the Claudian period, and *AE* 1973, 135 from Cales) seem earlyish, late Republican or early imperial. The man from Cales is called L. Minutius L. f. Pica, but *Minutius* is of course not identical with *Minucius*.

¹⁴ The cognomen of this man is interesting inasmuch as it was mainly attested for women, and mainly in Africa (Kajanto [n. 12] p. 337). The only inscriptions mentioning men with this cognomen adduced by Kajanto are *CIL* VI 13239 (with a questionmark; but this could be Aur(elia), rather than Aur(elius), Spica) and *ILAlg.* I 1904 *Spica Barechal(i)s f(i)lius pius* ...). However, there are now (in addition to the inscription from Ephesus) two better attestations of the male cognomen, namely C. Corcilius L. f. Cla. Spica, *Illvir i(ure) d(icundo) q(uinquennalis) Bervae*, *AE* 1997, 494 = 2013, 484 from Forum Sempronii, and M. Fabius Spica, tribune of the third cohort of praetorians, mentioned in inscriptions of his freedmen and a freedwoman from Rome (R. Friggeri, in M. Barbera [ed.], *Museo Nazionale Romano. La collezione Gorga* Roma 1999, 164–6). In any case, this is clearly a very rare cognomen and a new attestation of it is thus most welcome.

¹⁵ The reading of this line is rendered in the printed edition as *C. Nonius C. f. [-- c.10 --]*, but the text is easily readable at this point and in the photo one can see no traces of letters; clearly the man did not have a cognomen. In fact, finding a man without a cognomen in a group of freeborn men in 35 BC is precisely what one would expect. At AshLI 175 the reading is in fact *C. Nonius C. f.*

Thus, only L. Munatius Plancus has a praenomen which is not identical with that of his father. This is interesting, for in 35 BC one would perhaps expect more than just one freeborn man in a group of nine to have had a praenomen different from that of his father. But what is more striking in this small group is that two of the men have names that seem to imitate those of Roman nobles. That we find here a Minucius Rufus, recalling several Republican Minucii Rufi including the consuls of 221, 197 and 110 BC (see *RE* Minucius no. 48–58), may be due to chance. However, there can be no doubt that the cognomen of L. Munatius Plancus somehow refers to the senatorial Munatii Planci (*RE* Munatius 26–32), the most famous of whom was the homonymous man who was consul in 42 BC. But it seems impossible to decide whether this man was a distant relative of the senatorial family, originating from Tibur,¹⁶ or whether he should be seen as a plain Munatius who had usurped the senator's cognomen.¹⁷

As for the freedmen, here is a list of those with a nomen that has been preserved, with the nomina in the correct alphabetical order:

- A. Aemilius A. l. Philippus (col. 1 (A)10)
- Q. Aninius Q. l. Amphio (col. 2, 10)
- M. An[to]nius M. l. [P]elo[ps] (col. 1 (A)2)
- M. [A]p[on?]ius¹⁸ M. l. Glauca (col. 2, 9)
- Cn. Atinius Cn. l. [– c.5 –] (col. 2, 5)
- C. Audius C. l. Phileros (col. 2, 7; for the reading of the nomen, cf. below at n. 54)
- L. Aufidius L. l. Zoilus (col. 2, 11)
- Q. Caeciliu[s]¹⁹ M. l. [–c. 4–]us (col. 3, 12)

¹⁶ Thus Acro and Porphyrio on Horace, *Odes* 1.7; cf. R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford – New York 1939, 92 with n. 2. The praenomen *Publius* (cf. this Plancus' father) is not found among the Munatii Planci we know of.

¹⁷ For this onomastic phenomenon see H. Solin, in G. Angeli Bertinelli & A. Donati (eds.), *Varia epigraphica. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Epigrafia. Bertinoro, 8-10 giugno 2000* (Epigrafia e antichità 17), Faenza 2001, 411–427; Id., in *In amicitia per Renato Badali. Una giornata di studi lunedì 8 giugno 2015*, Viterbo 2015, 16–40.

¹⁸ The nomen is published as if one letter were missing at the beginning and two in the middle. At AshLI 175, Cooley plausibly suggests the restoration [A]p[on]ius, as this is nomen attested in Asia Minor (cf. below nn. 51, 52).

¹⁹ C. Cae[–7–] C. l. Artas (col. 3, 15) could also be a Caecilius – or perhaps a Caesennius (see below at n. 56).

- Q. Caecilius Q. l. [-2?-]ius (col. 3, 18)
- C. Curti[us] C. l. [-]er[--3--]enes (col. 3, 9)
- C. Cusinius L. l. Iaso (col. 3, 17)
- P. Gr[an]ius P. l. Rufion (col. 4 (G)4)
- C. Heredius C. l. Nicephor(us) (col. 4 (H)1)
- M. Hostius M. l. Bithus (col. 4 (H)2)
- C. Iulius C. l. Epaphroditus (col. 4 (I)1)
- C. Mannaius C. l. [S]phaerus (col. 5 (M)4)
- C. Minucius C. l. Alex[c. 3] (col. 5 (M)5)
- A. Mucius A. l. Alexsa (col. 5 (M)6)
- L. Mundicius L. l. Isidorus (col. 5 (M)8)
- D. Naevius D. l. [---] (col. 5 (N)5)
- Q. Nerius Q. l. Menophilus (col. 5 (N)2)
- L. Numitorius L. l. Nicia (col. 5 (N)4)
- Q. R[uti]lius²⁰ Q. l. Zabina (col. 6 (QR)2)
- P. S[erv]ilius P. l. Dama (col. 6 (S)1)
- P. Servilius P. l. Philogenes (col. 6 (S)2)
- P. (Servilius)²¹ P. l. Licinus (col. 6 (S)3)
- M. (Servilius) P. l. Menodotus (col. 6 (S)4)

²⁰ *R[-c. 4-]lius* Cooley, but *R[uti]lius* seems a restoration that is more than probable, as this nomen is often attested in the Greek East.

²¹ The names of the men in ll. 3–9 in the section of the names beginning with an S are published as (e.g.) “P. [---] P. l. Licinus” by Cooley. However, the photo indicates that in these lines the nomen was not inscribed, only a blank space being left between the praenomen and the indication of the patron. Professor Cooley tells me *per epist.* that this does in fact seem to be the case. We are thus dealing with a phenomenon especially common in inscriptions of Aquileia (see C. Zaccaria, *AAAd* 35 [1989] 133–49), but also attested elsewhere (e.g. *CIL* VI 9933. 37820 = I² 1398. 1413; *AE* 2014, 287 from Telleneae, cf. *Arctos* 48 [2014] 322f.; *CIL* IX 3187 = I² 1794 from Laverna [in l. 5]; *CIL* IX 4556 = I² 1890 from Nursia; cf. S. Orlandi, *Scienze dell'Antichità* 25:3 [2019] 196), namely that a nomen repeated in successive lines is inscribed only once, the blank space in the following lines meaning that it has to be supplied from a preceding line where it was in fact inscribed. In this case we find two Servilii, freedmen of Publii, and then seven other freedmen of Publii (surely we can assume that also in the case of the man in line (S)7 the mention of whose patron has not been preserved). The logical conclusion is, then, that these men are all Servilii and probably freedmen of the same P. Servilius. (In enumerating the Servilii, I have used the same order as that used in the text.) For possibly similar omissions of the nomen in cases where the same nomen was repeated see below nn. 23, 25 and 26.

- P. (Servilius) P. I. Apollonius (col. 6 (S)5)
- [-] (Servilius) P. I. Astragalus (col. 6 (S)6)
- D. (Servilius) [P. I.] Salvius (col. 6 (S)7)
- P. (Servilius) P. I. Phila[r]gur(us) (col. 6 (S)8)
- P. (Servilius) P. I. Sune[-]e[---] (col. 6 (S)9)
- L. Terentius L. I. Alexsa (col. 7 (T)3)
- P. Titius P. I. Sabbio (col. 7 (T)4)
- C. Tuscenius C. I. Alupus (col. 7 (T)2)
- D. Volumnius P. I. Epaph<r>odit(us) (col. 7 (V)1)

In this group we have 35 men, the cognomen of whom has been preserved at least in part in 31 cases.

In addition to these persons, the following men whose nomina remain uncertain can be identified as freedmen:

- [.] A[- c.5-] L. I. <P>amphilus²² (col. 1 (A)4)
- D. [--] D. I. Damas (col. 1 (A)9)
- [---] ius Q. I. [--] (col. 2, 6)
- C. [-c.7-]²³ C. I. Lache[s]²⁴ (col. 3, 10)

²² *Amphilus* Cooley, although that name does not exist, and it thus seems that the stonecutter has inadvertently omitted a letter (cf. *Epaph<r>odit(us)* in col. 7 (V)1).

²³ In the original publication, the nomen is rendered as “[-c.7-]” and thus as missing and to be restored in the edition. However, from the photo it seems to emerge that the space to be occupied by the nomen was in fact left blank, and Professor Cooley tells me that this may in fact be the case. That would mean that this man had the same nomen as the man in the previous line, and thus the nomen was not repeated (cf. the *Servilii*, above n. 21 and nn. 25 and 26). The number of missing letters is given as “c.7”, suitably in view of the fact that the man in the previous line has the nomen *Curti[us]*. Note also that this man, too, is called Gaius and is the freedman of one Gaius.

²⁴ In the original publication, the reading of the cognomen was rendered as *Iac[-c.4-]* (which should probably be *Iac[chus]*). But Professor Cooley now thinks that the reading of this line after the space left blank (cf. previous note) should be *CL* (the indication of the patron), then possibly a letter or a blank space (cf. below) followed by *IAC* and then *HE* (very faint), and, moreover, that the *I* could perhaps also be *L*. Now in the photo kindly sent to me by Professor Cooley the reading does seem to be *LACHE[-]*, and this inevitably leads to *Lache[s]* as this person’s cognomen. Between the indication of the patron and the cognomen, there is, as observed by Cooley, either a blank space or the trace of a letter that could in theory just have been a small *A*. There does not, however, seem to be a name that would begin with one letter, either an *A* or some other letter, followed by either *IACHE* or *LACHE*.

- C. [--]nius L. I. Eros (col. 3, 14)
- C. Cae[--7--] C. I. Artas (col. 3, 15)
- C. [-c.6-]²⁵ C. I. Terpnus (col. 4 (I)2)
- C. [---]ius C. I. Apollodor(us) (col. 5 (M)2)
- C. [---]²⁶ C. I. Heracleo (col. 5 (M)3)
- [---]ius [-] I. Agatho (col. 6 (QR)1).

In this group of ten men we find nine whose cognomina can be ascertained and seven of whom both their own praenomina and those of their patrons have been preserved.

As for the cognomina of the freedmen in both groups, we thus have 31 + 9 = 40 men with a cognomen that can be identified. In only three cases (7.5 %) do we find Latin cognomina, namely in those of P. Gr[an]ius P. I. Rufion (col. 4 (G)3; note the Hellenizing suffix), P. (Servilius) P. I. Licinus (col. 6 (S)3), and D. (Servilius) [P. I.] Salvius (col. 6 (S)7). On the other hand, the three Latin

Thus it is surely preferable to assume that this space was never inscribed and that the possible trace of a letter is simply due to the attrition of the stone. Note also that if there had been a letter, it would have been conspicuously smaller than the letters preceding and following it.

²⁵ According to the photograph, the space between the praenomen and the indication *C L* of the patron may have been left blank. It thus seems possible – and Professor Cooley in her message agrees – that we have here another case of a nomen that was left uninscribed in order to avoid repeating it (cf. nn. 21, 23, 26). Six letters appear to be missing, and so this man may well have been a Iulius like the man called C. Iulius C. I. Epaphroditus in the previous line.

²⁶ Here, too, the space for the nomen seems at first sight to have been left blank (cf. nn. 21, 23, 25), in which case this man would have had the same nomen (beginning with the letter *M*) as the man in the previous line, C. [---]ius C. I. Apollodor(us). However, Professor Cooley tells me (and this is confirmed by the photo) that one can in fact discern a “shallowly cut” *S* before *C L*, although this letter would have been cut a bit lower than the other letters in this line, and, moreover, that before the *S* there seems to be a horizontal bar, “in alignment with the rest & of a similar depth of cutting” that could be part of a *T*. Accordingly, she is “less certain” that the space for the nomen was left blank in this particular line. But if the second letter before the end of the nomen was a *T*, the last letter obviously could not have been an *S*. If we assume that the trace of what seems to be an *S* is due to chance and that the nomen ended with a *T* followed by another letter, that would leave us with a nomen ending in either *-te* (cf. *Pabate Virucate* etc.) or *-to* (cf. *Sediato Sueto* etc.). Here, however, we are in the middle of letters beginning with an *M*, and no name beginning with *M* and ending with *-te* or *-to* is known. The question of this man’s nomen must thus be left open; to be honest, frankly, I am prepared to believe that the traces of the letters *T* and *S* (?) are both just due to the attrition of the stone and that the space for the nomen was indeed left blank.

cognomina *Licinus Rufio Salvius* fit very well into the normal repertory of Latin cognomina of freedmen in this period.²⁷

But perhaps more interesting than the presence of a number of Latin cognomina among these freedmen are their praenomina. Roughly before the time of Sulla, freedmen often did not have a cognomen at all, and very often had praenomina that differed from those of their patrons. After the early first century BC, not having a cognomen became extremely rare, whereas one can still occasionally find sporadic instances of freedmen with praenomina differing from those of their patrons, although these cases seem to disappear approximately by the end of the Augustan period.²⁸ Now in this list we find the following freedmen who have a praenomen that differs from that of their patrons:

- Q. Caeciliu[s] M. l. [–c. 4–]us (col. 3, 12)
- C. Cusinius L. l. Iaso (col. 3, 17)
- M. (Servilius) P. l. Menodotus (col. 6 (S)4)
- D. (Servilius) [P. l.] Salvius (col. 6 (S)7)
- D. Volumnius P. l. Epaph<r>odit(us) (col. 7 (V)1)
- C. [–]nius L. l. Eros (col. 3, 14)

In the two groups, there are altogether $35 + 7 = 42$ freedmen whose praenomina can be compared with those of their patrons. No less than six freedmen, around 14% of the total, have a different praenomen, and seeing that Triumviral and Augustan instances of differing praenomina of freedmen and patrons are a small minority, that is somewhat more than one would expect to find in an inscription of 35 BC (note that only one man in the group of nine freeborn men has a praenomen that is not identical with that of his father). In this respect, then, the Ephesus list would seem to reflect the onomastic habits of an earlier period.

Finally, there is a group of fifteen *incerti* consisting of persons whose nomen is at least partly legible, but whose legal status – freeborn or freedman

²⁷ Cf. H. Solin, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen* I, Stuttgart 1996, 7 (*Licinus*), 7–9 (*Salvius*), 56 (*Rufio*); Id., in N. Duval (ed.), *Onomastique Latine*, Paris 1977, 123 (*Licinus*) and 132 (*Salvius*).

²⁸ See O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen*, Helsinki 1987, 229–241, with a list of inscriptions that are, or at least seem to be, later than the end of the Republic (most of them seem Triumviral or Augustan), on p. 233–236 (add e.g. *AE* 2018, 699 from Clusium).

– remains uncertain. In this group, we find the following persons (in the alphabetical order of their nomina):

- M. Albius M. [. Pin?]darus²⁹ (col. 2, 7)
- D. Anisius Diogenes (col. 1 (A)8)
- L. Cae[se]nnius³⁰ [-c.8-] (col. 3, 11)
- C. Cas[sius?³¹ ----] (col. 8, 2)
- L. Clodius [-2-] Cris[p]us (col. 3, 13)
- [.] Cor[ne]lius L. [.] Aristo (col. 3, 16)
- M. Falcidius Ruf[us] (col. 8, 3)
- A. Granius A. [.] Asp[a]sius (col. 4 (G)1)
- C. Gavius [--- c.11? --] (col. 4 (G)5)
- L. Gavius [-2-] H[il]arus (col. 4 (G)7)
- A. Stlaccius [- c. 9 -] (col. 6 (S)11)
- L. Terentius [vac.4] Rufus (col. 7 (T)1)
- M. Tonniu[s ----] (col. 8, 7)
- Q. Vettienus [-c.9-] (col. 7 (V)4)
- Ap. Vinucius *vac.* [-c.3-]A[-3-] (col. 7 (V)2)

In this group, the uncertainty about the legal status of the enumerated persons in most cases comes from the fact that the indication of the father or patron cannot be read. In three cases, however, this indication is missing because it has inexplicably not been inscribed. In the case of D. Anisius Diogenes and M. Falcidius Ruf[us], the nomen is immediately followed by the cognomen, but in the case of L. Terentius Rufus, a *vacat* of about four letters has been left between the two. This seems to mean that the stonecutter was for some reason unsure of what he was expected to inscribe here.³²

²⁹ The restoration is suggested by Cooley at AshLI 175. Πίνδαρος/*Pindarus* is by far the most common name ending in *-δαρος* and is surely the most plausible restoration.

³⁰ Published as *Cae[-2-]nnius*, the nomen can surely be restored as *Cae[se]nnius* (cf. below at n. 56).

³¹ This restoration seems more probable than *Cas[tricius]* because a C. Cassius is attested in Ephesus (SEG 34,1085) and because *Gaius* is in any case a common praenomen of Cassii. In addition, a space of c.13 letters is said to be available for the rest of the nomen after *Cas-*, an indication of the father or patron and the cognomen. The restoration *Cas[tricius]*, however, leaves only four letters for the cognomen (unlikely, though not of course impossible).

³² In the case of Ap. Vinucius, what follows after the nomen was published as “[vac.2]”, which could

In this group, the cognomina of eight persons have been preserved: four persons have a Greek cognomen,³³ three a Latin one,³⁴ and the cognomen of L. Gavius [--] H[il]arius can be classified as either Latin or Greek. *Crispus* and *Rufus* were cognomina with an upper-class ring, and the three men with these cognomina were probably freeborn. *Hilarus*, on the other hand, was a cognomen mainly attested for freedmen and slaves,³⁵ and so this man, and probably the four men with Greek cognomina, would have been freedmen. In this group, then, the relation of freeborn to freedmen would seem to be 3:5. Of great interest is the fact that one of the men has the praenomen *Appius*, a praenomen used especially by the main branch (later using the cognomen *Pulcher*) of the patrician Claudii and characteristic of this *gens*. It is also sometimes found in other families, including a number of Claudii, who were probably not descendants of Republican patricians but were keen on imitating them.³⁶ Relevant in this particular case is the fact that this praenomen is also occasionally found in the Greek East. In my study quoted in n. 36, I registered (p. 22) Appii in the following *gentes* settled in the East during the period between the late Republic and Augustus: Aufidii, Flamini, Saufei, Sextilii and Sulfii.³⁷ This Vinucius (who is also the first Appius Vinucius/Vinicius ever) can now be added to this little group.

Let us now have a quick look at the relation of the number of freeborn men to that of freedmen in this inscription. In the first group discussed above, that of freeborn Romans, there were nine men; in the second group of freedmen, there were altogether 45 men. If we add to these numbers the men in the group of *incerti*, namely the three men who were probably freeborn and the five men who were probably freedmen (cf. above), we arrive at the following numbers:

mean that this would be a similar case, but looking at the photo I cannot help but see the faint trace of the letter A (possibly A[p. f.]?) not too far to the right of the nomen.

³³ M. Albius M. [Pin?]darius; D. Anisius Diogenes; [.] Cor[ne]lius L. [.] Aristo; A. Granius A. [.] Asp[er]sius.

³⁴ L. Clodius [--] Cris[p]us; L. Terentius Rufus; M. Falcidius Ruf[us].

³⁵ Cf. Kajanto (n. 12) p. 260.

³⁶ *Die römischen Vornamen* (n. 28) 21–24.

³⁷ For Appii in the East during the Empire see *Die römischen Vornamen* (n. 28) p. 24 (Arellii, Didii and of course Claudii; add Ἀππ[ι]ος Ἄννιος Φοῦσκος in *I. Anazarbos* 120 (AD 90).

– freeborn men:	12
– freedmen:	<u>50</u>
	62

Only about one fifth of the men (exactly 19.35%) whose nomenclature has been preserved were thus freeborn, about four fifths being freedmen. The number of freedmen seems strikingly high if one considers that we seem to be dealing with the members of a *conventus* of *negotiatores* (cf. the suggestion of N. Purcell, mentioned above), in general a most respected body of men whom one would assume to be for the most part freeborn. However, freedmen are in fact often attested as *negotiatores* in the East³⁸ and Ephesus in the 30s BC may well have offered a special attraction for them.³⁹

In the Ephesus list, there are altogether 43 nomina that can be identified. I shall now move on to an examination, especially, but not exclusively, from the point of view of their distribution in the East, of some of the more interesting nomina (in some cases interesting combinations of nomina and praenomina). I omit, however, some common nomina which in any case appear in about every list of Roman names and which thus cannot be commented upon in a useful way. All the following nomina are attested in Ephesus by inscriptions other than the new list. Most of them are also found on Delos (an asterisk is attached to those nomina which are not found there): *Annius Antonius Aufidius Caecilius *Cassius Clodius Cornelius *Gavius *Iulius Marcius Minucius Nonius Rutilius Servilius*⁴⁰

³⁸ Freedman *negotiatores* datable to the late second and the first century BC are recorded J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'orient hellénique*, Paris 1919, 383–7, 390–2, 399; these are all Latin inscriptions, as Greek inscriptions do not yet specify the status (freeborn ~ freedman) of persons in this period. Many, if not most, of the men, enumerated by Hatzfeld p. 383–406, especially those with a Greek cognomen, will have been freedmen. For Delos cf. the lists by J.-L. Ferrary, C. Hasenohr, M.-Th. Le Dinahet, in C. Müller & C. Hasenohr (eds.), *Les Italiens dans le monde grec (BCH Suppl. 41)*, Athènes 2002, 183–239 (cited in what follows as *Les italiens*). I have not yet been able to see C. Hasenohr, *Les Italiens à Délos*, Athènes 2021.

³⁹ Roman businessmen who settled in Ephesus in the late Republican / early Imperial period are mentioned in several inscriptions from Ephesus (*I.Ephesus* 409. 646. 658. 2058. 3019. 3025).

⁴⁰ As there are several Servilii who are all either Publii themselves or at least freedmen of Publii, one suspects that their presence is somehow due to the proconsulate of Asia of P. Servilius Isauricus in 46–44 (cf. R. Zucca, in S. Antolini & al. (eds.), *Giornata di studi per Lidio Gasperini*, Tivoli – Roma 2010, 33).

and **Terentius*. I shall examine the more interesting nomina one by one, proceeding in alphabetical order.

– A. Aemilius A. l. Philippus (col. 1 (A)10). The combination of the praenomen *Aulus* with *Aemilius* is rare but, interestingly, it is also attested elsewhere in Asia Minor, in Miletus and Priene.⁴¹ As for a possible connection with Delos, Aemilii are attested on the island, although not with the praenomen *Aulus* (*Les italiens* 186 nos. 1–9). But since merchants on Delos are often thought to have originated from somewhere in Campania, it may be not be pointless to refer to the existence of a certain A. Aemi(lius) Aem(iliae) l. in an inscription from Puteoli dated normally to the period 120–80 BC, *CIL* X 1589 = I² 1618 = G. Camodeca, EDR167220. However, it is (in addition to Rome itself) in Tarracina where one finds more than just one Aulus Aemilius.⁴²

– M. Albii M. [Pin?]darius (col. 2, 7). The descendants of this person may well have settled in Ephesus, for the only other M. Albii one finds in Asia Minor, where there are some scattered attestations of this nomen, are precisely in Ephesus (*I. Ephesus* 47, l. 66, from the time of Commodus; 974, l. 23, an inscription mentioning Aurelii).⁴³

– Q. Aninius Q. l. Amphio (col. 2, 10): the nomen *Aninius* may leave the impression of being in general rare, but in fact it is not that uncommon and is also attested in the East, especially in Macedonia in Dyrrachium, Dion and Philippi (with the praenomina *L.* and *P.*)⁴⁴ and in Asia Minor, with three

⁴¹ Miletus: Ἀῦλος Αἰμίλιος Λαίλιος, *I.Milet* VI 2 (1998) no. 485; Priene: Ἀῦλος Αἰμίλιος Σεξτου Ζώσιμος, the recipient of various honours in the city in about the middle of the 1st c. BC, *I. Priene* 112. 113. 114 = *I. Priene B - M* 68. 69. 70. However, the fact that this man, although an Aulus himself, is the son, or perhaps rather a freedman, of one Sextus, obviously makes him less interesting in this context. (In AD 14, there were Sex. Aemilii at Thebes or Thespieae, *CIL* III 7301 = *I. Thespies* 425.)

⁴² A. Aemilii in Tarracina and its vicinity: *CIL* X 6305 (the same man in 6306. 8398). 6343. 8287 (Circeii); EDR176303.

⁴³ Otherwise there is only Μάρκος Ἄλβιος Ἀμφίων at Athens (*IG* II/III² 7685 = O. W. von Moock, *Die figürlichen Grabstelen Attikas* (1998) 186 no. 530).

⁴⁴ Cf. also Γάιος Ἄνινιου in Leucas (*IG* IX 1²: 1374); a C. Aninius is mentioned in an inscription from Same in Cephallenia (*IG* IX 12, 1547 = *AE* 2001, 1788), but as a centurion in the funerary inscription of a soldier of the 4th legion *Scythica* stationed in Syria. Although it is said in the commentary in *IG*

attestations in Pergamum, in each case combined with the praenomen *L.*⁴⁵ There are also attestations from Cyzicus and from other Asian regions.⁴⁶ However, this person seems to be the only Aninius in the East with the praenomen *Quintus*.⁴⁷

– D. Anisius Diogenes (col. 1 (A)8). The nomen of this man is not perfectly clear in the photo, but between the *A* and *ISIVS* one can see two vertical lines, and there seems to be no other possibility than interpreting them as representing the letter *N*.⁴⁸ If the correct reading is in fact *Anisius*, we may be dealing with only the second attestation of this nomen (as such plausible)⁴⁹ in the Roman world.⁵⁰

– M. [A]p[on?]ius M. I. Glauca (col. 2, 9). The nomen *Aponius* (assuming that the restoration – cf. n. 18 – is correct), sometimes written *Apponius* Ἀπώνιος, is not very common in the East, but there are scattered attestations

that this centurion could be the father of the man in Leucas, I do not think he could somehow be relevant, for it is hard to imagine why, or how, the soldier, a man from Verona, could have brought his centurion with him from Syria to Cephallenia. The centurion is mentioned in the inscription only because the soldier's unit was the *centuria* of this particular centurion.

⁴⁵ *I.Pergamon* 374 (AD 129/138); *ibid.* 485 (dated to the early first c. AD), ll. 8 and 19; *IGR* IV 386 (AD 109/110).

⁴⁶ *AM* 26 (1901) 121-4, B, l. 67 (Cyzicus, 117/138); *MAMA* I 12 cf. *SEG* 6, 368; *REG* 3 (1890) 72 no. 29 cf. *MAMA* I 430, and *MAMA* VII 282 (Amorium, with the praenomen P).

⁴⁷ For Q. Aninii in Italy and Africa see *CIL* VI 1161 and EDR000661 (Rome); *CIL* IX 4203 (Amiternum); *CIL* XI 1624 (Florentia). *AE* 1987, 375 (Tarquinii); *CIL* VIII 15925.

⁴⁸ Nomina beginning with *A* and with one or at the most two letters preceding the ending *-isius*, i.e. *Acisius*, *Acrisius*, *Albisius*, *Alfisius*, *Alvisius*, *Annisius*, *Apisius*, *Aquisius*, *Arisius*, *Athisius* and *Atisius*, clearly do not come into the question.

⁴⁹ The nomen *Anilius* is attested, and the relation of *Anisius* to *Anilius* would be the same as (e.g.) that of *Petisius* to *Petilius*.

⁵⁰ In the *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum* (21994) I register *Anisius*, quoting *NSA* 1940, 367 from Ariminum (an inscription also registered by G. A. Mansuelli, *Epigraphica* 2 [1940] 180 no. 3b), where the reading is *Anisia* (with *I longa*). However, this attestation is not altogether certain, for something may be missing both at the beginning and at the end. Note, however, also *Anisianus* in *CAG* 67:1 (*Le Bas Rhin*, 2000) 251.

here and there especially in Galatia and Lycaonia.⁵¹ In the area of the province of *Asia*, an attestation has only recently emerged in Alabanda.⁵²

– Cn. Atinius Cn. l. [– c.5 –] (col. 2, 5). This nomen is (in addition to the new attestation) found once, combined with the praenomen *A.*, in Ephesus in an inscription clearly much later than this one (*I.Ephesos* 1636 = *I.Asia Mixed* 29). Otherwise the attestations of this nomen come from Galatia and Cilicia, with several instances at Anazarbos.⁵³ But what is especially interesting in the nomenclature of this freedman is that this seems to be the first attestation ever of the nomen *Atinius* being combined with the praenomen *Gnaeus*. Certainly, I have not been able to trace any other instance of this combination.

– C. Audius C. l. Phileros (col. 2, 7). At AshLI 175, Cooley observes that the nomen could also be read as *Aveius*. The original reading *Audius* however, certainly seems preferable, as this nomen, attested on Delos and in early inscriptions from Asia,⁵⁴ fits well into the *negotiator* milieu of the late Republican/Augustan period. It is also later attested both in Ephesus (*I. Ephesos* 1602 (i) 3, a man with the same praenomen C.; *ibid.* 1687 (1) i 6, an earlyish inscription; *ibid.* 3308) and elsewhere in Asia.⁵⁵ If the reading were *Aveius*, this would be the first attestation of this nomen in the Greek East.

– L. Cae[se]nnius [–c.8–] (col. 3, 11). As far as I can see, *Caesennius* is the only nomen attested in the East beginning with *Cae-* and ending in *-nnius* and with two letters missing in the middle, and in my opinion this is the most probable restoration. However, it must be admitted that (in addition to this particular attestation) the nomen is attested in Asia Minor almost exclusively

⁵¹ E.g. *SEG* 34, 1401; *MAMA* VIII 94 and 327; E. N. Lane, *Corpus monumentorum religionis dei Menis* IV, Leiden 1978, no. 133.

⁵² Ἀπὼνια Εὐβοδία *I.Nordkarien* 231.

⁵³ See *IGR* III 1484 and *MAMA* VIII 30 (Lystra); *I. Westkilikien Rep.* 112 Hamaxia no. 32; *I.Anazarbos* 294. 301. 399. 497. 639.

⁵⁴ Delos: *Les italiens* p. 188-9 Audius 1–10 (with the praenomina *A. L. M. M'. P.*); early inscriptions elsewhere: e.g. *I.Cos Segre* EF 429 and EF 738 (for a later instance from Cos see *ibid.* ED 228 = *IG* XII 4, 2, 473, l. 16); *SEG* 27, 719 (Halicarnassus).

⁵⁵ E.g. *I.Smyrna* 788; *I.Milet* VI 3, 1098; *I.Hadrianoi Hadrianeia* 5.

in Pisidian Antioch, where it is very common.⁵⁶ On the other hand, there are Caesennii in mainland Greece.⁵⁷

– C. Curti[us] C. l. [-]er[--3--]enes (col. 3, 9). This is a nomen that is fairly common in the Greek East both in Greece and Macedonia and in Asia Minor not only in the province of Asia but also e.g. in Galatia and Pamphylia. As for Ephesus itself, there are several instances of this nomen, the man in *I.Ephesos* 47, l. 45 (from the time of Commodus) also being a Gaius.⁵⁸

– C. Cusinius L. l. Iaso (col. 3, 17). In the case of this nomen there are also several other instances in Ephesus, the praenomen always being *Lucius*.⁵⁹ Otherwise, there are attestations of this nomen in Asia Minor only once in Blaundos and once in Pisidian Antioch (although we may in this case be dealing with a Roman magistrate).⁶⁰ One of the Ephesian Cusinii is known to have a member of the tribe *Velina* (n. 59). As *Velina* is not a common tribe and *Cusinius* not a very common nomen, this is a useful fact. First, it seems more than probable that the Ephesian Cusinii are somehow connected with the Italian Cusinii with the same tribe, represented in our sources by a senator of the triumviral or early Augustan period, buried in Tusculum near Rome, and by his homonymous father.⁶¹ Because of the tribe, these Cusinii will have moved to the vicinity of the capital from somewhere else. In Italy, the *Velina* tribe is attested

⁵⁶ Cf. *Arctos* 40 (2006) 104 with n. 74. For the inscription of T. Caesennius Septimius Gellius Flavonianus Lollius, see M. Christol, *Epigraphica* 82 (2020) 58–66; for the inscription of Καίσηνία Ἐρμιόνη (*JRS* 2 [1912] 168), see H. Bru, *JES* 4 (2021) 146 n. 11. For the attestation of the cognomen Καίσην[ιανός] in (apparently) Iconium see *I.Claros mémoires* 268–270 no. 39.

⁵⁷ *CIL* III 7273 (Corinth); *IG* VII 3194. 3222 (Orchomenus); *SEG* 29, 452 (Thespieae, with the cognomen Καλύμνιος). Cf. *IG* IV 835 c (Troezen, a man with Καίσηννιος as his cognomen).

⁵⁸ *I.Ephesos* 1004. 1034 (Q). 2245 (P); *AE* 1993, 1462; 2013, 1530.

⁵⁹ *I.Ephesos* 660B. 660C. 801. 2246a. 2551β. 3335; Λεύκιος Κουσίσιος Λευκίου υἱός Οὐελεῖνα, a local dignitary of the Claudian period, *I.Ephesos* 716 and 4119 and elsewhere (cf. F. Kirbihler, *JÖAI* 74 [2005] 151–73).

⁶⁰ Blaundos: *IGR* IV 720 = F. von Saldern, in A. Filges (ed.), *Blaundos. Berichte zur Erforschung einer Kleinstadt im lydisch-phrygischen Grenzgebiet* (IF 48), Tübingen 2006, 340–2 no. 30A–C; Antioch: *AE* 1941, 144 (cf. *PIR*² C 1628).

⁶¹ *CIL* XIV 2604 = *ILS* 965 M. Cusinius M. f. Vel. aed(ilis) pl(ebis), aerario praef(ectus), pr(aetor); M. Cusinius [.] f. Vel. pater (...).

in addition to Aquileia and some minor sites in regions II and VII mainly in the cities of Picenum.⁶² Besides the two Cusinii in Tusculum, there are no Italian Cusinii in the *Velina* tribe. However, there are two Cusinii in Picenum who do not mention their tribes but who are attested in cities whose inhabitants were inscribed in this tribe. These are C. Cusinius Natalis in Falerio (*CIL* IX 6417 = *AE* 2007, 471) and C. Cusinius Cyphaerus in a place called Montefano between Ricina and Auximum, the inhabitants of both cities being in the *Velina* tribe (*CIL* IX 5817). One could thus suggest that the *ultima origo* of the Cusinii in Ephesus was somewhere in Picenum.⁶³

The inscription from Falerio includes a poem from which it appears that the *u* in *Cusinius* was short. This means that the name could be expected to have been rendered as *Cosinius*/Κοσίνιος in Republican or early Imperial inscriptions, and in fact we do find not only Cusinii but also Cosinii (Cosinnii)⁶⁴ in Ephesus – with the tribe *Velina* (*AE* 1993, 1489 = *SEG* 43, 825, the praenomen being *Lucius*). Because of the tribe it seems certain that we must add these Cosinii to the Ephesian Cusinii. But the existence in Ephesus of Cusinii/Cosinii takes us to another *gens* attested in the East, namely the Cossinii with the nomen normally written with a double *s*. This nomen has an interesting distribution in the Eastern lands already in the Republican period, for we find early instances of it on Delos⁶⁵ but also e. g. in Epirus, Leucas and Athens.⁶⁶ But it is on Cos where we find a concentration of Cossinii.⁶⁷ The Cusinii/Cosinii and the Cossinii

⁶² W. Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum tributim discriptum*, Pragae – Vindobonae 1889, 272. (In the otherwise useful survey of the distribution of tribes in Italy by F. Luciani in D. Faoro [ed.], *L'amministrazione dell'Italia romana*, Firenze 2018, 177–179, the tribes beginning with *V* have for some reason been omitted.)

⁶³ Cf. H. Devijver, in P. Freeman & D. Kennedy (eds.), *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, Oxford 1986, 121 no. 37.

⁶⁴ For this orthography see my observations in *Arctos* 41 (2007) 59–74.

⁶⁵ *Les italiens* p. 193 nos. 1–2.

⁶⁶ Epirus: L. P. Eberle & E. Le Quéré, *JRS* 107 (2017) 30; Leucas: *CIL* III 574 = *IG* IX 1² 1451; Athens: *IG* II/III² 11898a (surely to be dated “s. I a.” rather than “s. I p.”; for the Cossinii in Athens in general, see S. Byrne, *Roman Citizens of Athens*, Leuven 2003, 213 Cossinius 1–4).

⁶⁷ Cf. O. T. Láng, in M. Mayer i Olivé, G. Baratta & A. Guzmán Almagro (eds.), *XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae. Provinciae Imperii Romani inscriptionibus descriptae*, Barcelona 2007, 824f.

are sometimes treated as members of the same *gens*.⁶⁸ However, the Cusinii in Ephesus normally write their name with a *u* and with one *s*, whereas the Cossinii on Cos write their name with an *o* and a double *s*.⁶⁹ Moreover, the fact that we find Cusinii/Cosinii with the tribe *Velina* only in Ephesus seems to indicate that we should keep the Cusinii/Cosinii of Ephesus and the Coan Cossinii apart. As for the Cossinii, the *ultima origo* of many of those attested in the East may have been Puteoli or Campania in general, a region normally thought of as having furnished the East with the largest numbers of *negotiatores*. As evidence, a man attested on Leucas (n. 66) calls himself *Puteolanus*, and a man on Cos has the Campanian tribe *Falerna* (*AE* 2008, 1323); and there are many Cossinii in Puteoli and in Campania.⁷⁰ On the other hand, a Cossinius in Dyrrachium has the cognomen *Spoletinus*,⁷¹ and Cossinii, some of them locally prominent, are attested throughout Italy.⁷² The ancestors of the Cossinii attested in the East may well have come from several places around Italy.

– M. Falcidius Ruf[us] (col. 8, 3). This seems to be only the second inscription in the East mentioning Falcidii, the first also being from Ephesus but clearly much later.⁷³

– M. G[raeci]nius (?) M. f. Rufus (col. 4 (G)6). Five letters are said to be missing between the first letter *G* and the ending *NIVS*, and I have suggested the above restoration in n. 11, as *Graecinius*, attested in Macedonian cities,⁷⁴ seems

⁶⁸ E. g. F. Kirbihler, *Des Grecs et des Italiens à Éphèse*, Bordeaux 2016, 296.

⁶⁹ But note Κοσινία Καλιρόη in *I.Cos Segre* EV 5, in an inscription that has been carelessly inscribed.

⁷⁰ See G. Camodeca, *Puteoli romana: Istituzioni e società*. Saggi, Napoli 2018, 106, 471.

⁷¹ *AE* 2009, 1245 = *LIA* Albanien 183.

⁷² Note especially L. Cossinius L. f. L. [n. Cu]rvus, pontifex and edile at Asculum (*CIL* IX 5196 = *AE* 2000, 467 of late Republican date); L. Cossinius from Tibur, father of a knight, Cic. *Balb.* 53, and Cossinia L. f., a Vestal Virgin also from Tibur, *AE* 1931, 78 = *Inscr. It.* IV 1, 213. These Cossinii are clearly the subject of F. Boanelli, *La Gens Cossinia di Tivoli (II a. C. – I d. C.)*, Tivoli 2020 (non vidi).

⁷³ *I.Ephesos* 972 (an inscription mentioning both Aurelii and M. Aurelii), ll. 18–20 (Φαλκίδιος Ἐπίγονος, γραμματεὺς γερουσίας and his son Φαλκίδιος Ζώσιμος).

⁷⁴ See *I.Philippes* II 1 nos. 56 (= *AE* 1952, 215) and 168; *IG* X 2, 1, 244 (Thessalonica); *AE* 2001, 1781 = *SEG* 51, 789 (Amphipolis. In the last two instances the name is spelled Γρακείνιος and Γρεκίνιος).

to be the only suitable nomen for which there are other attestations in the East.⁷⁵

– A. Granii A. [.] Asp[a]sius (col. 4 (G)3), P. Gr[an]ius P. I. Rufion (col. 4 (G)4). The nomen *Granius* is attested throughout the East and is very common on Delos and Cos. The attestations in Ephesus are of particular interest mainly because previously only one Ephesian Granii was known, Λεύκιος Γράνιος Καπίτων, α κούρης and ἱεροκῆρυξ (*I. Ephesos* 1002).⁷⁶ Moreover, the praenomina of these Granii, *Aulus* and *Publius*, indicate that they are somehow connected with the earlyish Granii attested on Delos and then on Cos and other islands and cities in W. Asia Minor. Both praenomina are attested for Granii on Delos⁷⁷ and Cos, where *Publius* is by far the most common praenomen of the Granii and where we also find at least one Aulus Granii.⁷⁸

– C. Heredius C. I. Nicephor(us) (col. 4 (H)1). This is a rare nomen for which there is only one other attestation in the East, in Patrae.⁷⁹ Otherwise, this nomen is attested once for an early veteran in Naronia in Dalmatia with the tribe *Palatina* and a few times in Italy and Africa.⁸⁰

– M. Hostius M. I. Bithus (col. 4 (H)2). This nomen was already attested in Ephesus, though in inscriptions of later date and without mentioning

⁷⁵ If one could reduce the five missing letters to four, one could perhaps also consider *Gargonius*, a nomen attested in Aezani (*MAMA* IX 274), but also in Ephesus via the cognomen of Caninia Gargonilla (*I. Ephesos* 892; M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial*, Leuven 1987, no. 188), derived from *Gargonius*.

⁷⁶ Cf. Kirbihler (n. 68) 303 no. 95, with the date “30–50”. The author does not mention the two Granii in the new inscription, although he normally refers to nomina attested in the new inscription, communicated to him in advance of the publication by A. Cooley (p. 275f.).

⁷⁷ See the list of Granii at *Les italiens* 198f. no. 1–18.

⁷⁸ For P. Granii cf. e.g. *I. Cos Segre* EF 357. 392. 405. 496. 620. 691. 784 (c); *IG XII* 4, 1, 365; *IG XII* 4, 4, 1517; etc. (there are P. Granii also e.g. in Miletus and Mylasa). For an A. Granii on Cos see *I. Cos Segre* EF 278, and for another on Samos *IG XII* 6, 1, 189 (approximately Augustan).

⁷⁹ Rizakis, *Achaïe* II no. 95: Heredia Attice (A. D. Rizakis & S. Zoumbaki, *Roman Peloponnese I* [Meletemata 31], Athens 2001, 78 no. 129).

⁸⁰ Naronia: *CIL* III 1813 (praenomen *M.*). Italy: *CIL* VI 19298; IX 7972 (Alba Fucens, *L.*); XI 5906 (Iguvium, the daughter of an *A.*). Africa: *CIL* VIII 1459 (*Q.*). 26032 (*C., L.*); *Mourir à Dougga* 486 (*C.*). 487. 488. ?489.

praenomina.⁸¹ One also finds scattered instances of it at other sites in Asia Minor, namely in an early Latin inscription at Alexandria Troas, in Philadelphia, and, to move a little to the East, at Amastris in Pontus.⁸² This nomen is also attested in Macedonia in Thessalonica and Dion, the praenomen always being *Gaius*.⁸³

– C. Mannaius C. I. [S]phaerus (col. 5 (M)4). The reading of the nomen seems certain. This is clearly an archaic spelling of *Mannaeus*,⁸⁴ and is an extremely rare nomen. It is, however, attested in Asia Minor in Pisidian Antioch in the case of Q. Mannaeus P. f. Ser., centurion of the legion *V G(allica)*, obviously one of the early settlers in the colony (*AE* 1998, 1389). The only other persons with this nomen are the owner of a slave in Rome in AD 69 (*Lucrio Mannaei*, *CIL* VI 155) and another C. Mannaeus, the brother of a soldier whose name has been broken off in an inscription from Iader in Dalmatia (<http://lupa.at/23216> = EDCS-63400215). The nomen *Manneius*, attested in Asia Minor in Apamea in Phrygia and in Thyatira, may be etymologically related but has a different suffix and should not be used to illustrate *Mannaeus*.

– A. Mucius A. I. Alexsa (col. 5 (M)6): this nomen does not appear in inscriptions from Delos (or at least not in those that have been published so far), but there are interesting early attestations of it in NW Asia in the colony of Parium and in Cyzicus (also an *Aulus*).⁸⁵ There are also traces of it in an earlyish inscription from Erythrae, where this nomen is apparently used as a

⁸¹ Ὅστιος Μητροόδωρος *I.Ephesos* 982 and 1135 (a prytanis); *ibid.* 2122 (two male and two female Hostii). Cf. Kirbihler (n. 68) 306 no. 105, who suggests a first-century AD date for them all (I would not exclude a later date).

⁸² Alexandria: Q. Hostius Q. f. An[i. (the tribe of Alexandria) P]ollio (*AE* 2011, 1293); Philadelphia: *TAM* V 3, 1489f. (A.); Amastris: *SEG* 35, 1330.

⁸³ Thessalonica: *IG* X 2, 1, 386bis. 1275. 1372. Dion: *SEG* 34, 623 = *AE* 1998, 1203.

⁸⁴ As for the origin of this nomen, according to A. Valvo, in G. Urso (ed.), *Tra oriente e occidente* (2007) 156, this name is “di origine ital. centro-meridionale (con molta prob. etrusca, meno probabilmente laziale o campana)” (however, this does not seem very helpful or illuminating).

⁸⁵ Parium: *RPC* I 2253. 2253A (reverse: [] *Poblici(us)*, *P. Muci(us) IIIIvir(i) i(ure) d(icundo) quinq(uennales)*). 2254. 2254A (otherwise *Muc(ius)*; see <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/1/+2253-2253A-2254-2254A>); the coins are dated “c. 45 BC (?)” in *RPC*. Cyzicus: *I.Kyzikos* I 194 (Ἄδλε Μούκιε Μουκίου νιέ Ἐρμιόδωρε, χαίρε).

cognomen.⁸⁶ One wonders whether these attestations could indicate that this particular nomen spread to Asia via (say) Macedonia rather than Delos.⁸⁷ As for Ephesus, there are also some later attestations of the nomen (*I.Ephesos* 1010, praenomen *L.*; 1191; 1687 (9) 1).

– *L. Munatius P. f. Plancus* (col. 5 (M)4). Whatever the explanation of the cognomen (see above at n. 16), this man joins a group of more or less early *Munatii* on Delos (*Les italiens* 203 no. 1) and in coastal Asia.⁸⁸ In the imperial period, this nomen is well attested in Ephesus, the praenomina found in combination with it being *Gnaeus* and *Lucius*.⁸⁹

– *L. Mundicius L. l. Isidorus* (col. 5 (M)8); *L. Mundicius L. f. Spica* (col. 8, 4). The distribution of this nomen in the East is striking, for there are several attestations of it on Delos (*Les italiens* 203 no. 1-7; *AE*, 2001, 1797), which would make one expect to find *Mundicii* in the larger area of the eastern Aegean from about the mid-first century onwards. But in fact the nomen seems to be attested only in Ephesus, where we find it, spelled Μονδ[ίκιος], in the earlyish inscription *I.Ephesos* 443 (Λεύκιος Μονδ[ίκιος] Λευκίου Ἀριστι[—]). It is also found in lists of Kouretes dating from the late first and the late second century mentioning several generations of persons called surprisingly either simply Μουνδίκιος⁹⁰ or Λυσίμαχος Μουνδίκιος.⁹¹ This dearth of *Mundicii* on the Aegean islands other than Delos and in Asia Minor is partly compensated for by the fact that

⁸⁶ *I.Erythrai Klazomenai* 414 Κόιντε Λόλλιε Μούκιε γυμνασίαρχε, χαίρε.

⁸⁷ In assessing the presence of early *Mucii* in Asia one should, however, perhaps also take into account the famous proconsulate of Asia of *Q. Mucius Scaevola* (consul 95 BC) in the nineties (cf. *M.-C. Ferriès & F. Delrieux*, in *N. Barrandon & F. Kirbihler* [eds.], *Les gouverneurs et les provinciaux sous la république romaine*, Rennes 2011, 207–230; *J.-L. Ferrary*, *Athenaeum* 100 [2012] 157–79).

⁸⁸ *I.Cos Segre* EF 708 (daughter of an *Aulus*); *SEG* II 629 (Teos, [—]ς Μουνάτ[ι]ε χρηστὲ χαίρε); *I.Iasos* 278, l. 5 (Λεύκιος Μουνάτιος Μάρκου υἱός; about Augustan); *I.Mus. Denizli* no. 77 (funerary inscription, apparently metrical, of uncertain origin addressing the deceased as [--- Μ]ουνάτιε, dated to the second or third century).

⁸⁹ *J.-L. Ferrary*, in *I.Claros mémoires* p. 590 with n. 8.

⁹⁰ E. g. *I.Ephesos* 105. 1017. 1018. 1019.

⁹¹ E.g. *I.Ephesos* 1033 (Λυσίμαχος γ τοῦ Λευκίου Μουνδίκιος); 1034 (Λυσίμαχος (Λυσιμάχου) Μουνδίκιος). Cf. *D. Knibbe*, *Der Staatsmarkt. Die Inschriften des Prytaneions (Forschungen in Ephesos IX/1/1)*, Wien 1981, 116f. (cf. 100 n. 185).

this nomen is well attested in Athens⁹² and is also found in various cities in Macedonia.⁹³

– D. Naevius D. I. [---] (col. 5 (N)5): this nomen, not uncommon and attested on Delos (*Les italiens* 203f. no. 1-6), is also found in later inscriptions from or near Ephesus (*I.Ephesos* 20, l. 49 from AD 54/59, praenomen *P.*; 3867, Q.; *AE* 1998, 1344a, L.). What is interesting about this freedman and his patron is that they have the praenomen *Decimus*, for as far as I can see, this is the first instance ever of a Naevius with this particular praenomen.

– Q. Nerius Q. I. Menophilus (col. 5 (N)2). In the Greek East, this nomen is attested on Delos (*Les italiens* 204 nos. 1–5, praenomina C. M. P.), but otherwise only on Samos⁹⁴ and (in addition to the new attestation) in Ephesus,⁹⁵ the praenomen in each case being *Quintus*.

– C. Nessinius C. f. Lupus (col. 5 (N)1). This must be the same nomen as that of Λ(ούκιος) Νεσσήνιος Ἀπολλινάριος, honoured (no title being mentioned) in Ephesus, *I.Ephesos* 699 (*AE* 1975, 793). He, again, is surely identical with Nesennius (sic) Apollinaris, a third-century jurist and disciple of Iulius Paulus, mentioned several times in the *Digest* and because of the inscription perhaps of Ephesian origin (*PIR*² N 71). The same nomen is also found in Pergamum and, spelled Νεσήνιος, in Mylasa (also a *Gaius*).⁹⁶ This is one of the very few

⁹² M. Woloch, *Roman Citizenship and the Athenian Elite A.D. 96–161*, Amsterdam 1970, 75–77 nos. 1–6; J. S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens* 12, Toronto 2003, 473f. nos. 660605–660630; S. G. Byrne, *Roman Citizens of Athens*, Leuven 2003, 372f. nos. 1–8.

⁹³ See A. B. Tataki, *The Roman Presence in Macedonia* (Meletemata 46), Athens 2006, 321 nos. 1–5 (add *AE* 2012, 1330, Stobi), cf. the cognomen of Λ. Κορνήλιος [Μου]νδικιανός Κρόκος from Stobi, *ibid.* 193 no. 27 (*I.Claros mémoriaux* 451f. no. 176, dated 165/165 or 165/166). The cognomen should of course not be restored as [?Οὐ]νδικιανός (thus Ferrary, cf. [? *Vi*]ndicianus in the commentary), and certainly not because “Mundicianus in not included in Solin–Salomies” (Tataki). Cognomina with the suffix *-ianus* can of course be derived from all nomina in *-ius*, and if *Mundicius* is attested one would in any case expect to find the cognomen *Mundicianus* somewhere.

⁹⁴ *IGR* IV 965 = *IG* XII 6, 2, 571.

⁹⁵ *I.Ephesos* 1032, 14f.; 2293. The nomen of the Hadrianic magistrate M. Νερ. Λονγίνος in Hadrianoutherae (*RPC* III 1624f.) was probably Νερ(άρτιος) rather than Νέρ(τος).

⁹⁶ Pergamum: *MDAIA* 27 (1902) 137 no. 168; Mylasa: *AE* 2018, 1639.

Roman nomina for which there do not seem to be attestations outside the Greek East. *Nessenius* was probably the correct spelling. For the variation *Nessenius* ~ *Nessinius*, cf. perhaps *Tetrinius* ~ *Τετρήνιος* in the early inscription AE 1997, 1354 (Thessalonica).

– L. Numitorius L. l. Nicia (col. 5 (N)4). This nomen, attested once in a Latin inscription from Delos,⁹⁷ is found only very rarely in the Greek East, in Greek inscriptions always spelled Νεμετώριος.⁹⁸ We find the nomen in Athens, Kibyra and (apparently) Nicomedia, and it is used as a cognomen at Mytilene on Lesbos.⁹⁹ In Ephesus this is thus the first attestation.

– A. Stlaccius [- c. 9 -] (col. 6 (S)11). Found already on Delos (*Les italiens* 217 no. 1–8), this nomen is attested in Ephesus and in several other places around the province of Asia. In Sardes it is also a cognomen.¹⁰⁰ Stlaccii with the praenomen *Aulus* are extremely rare; in addition to some A. Stlaccii in Rome there is interestingly one in Puteoli, the city normally seen as one of the main suppliers of Roman *negotiatores* to the East.¹⁰¹ Some of the Stlaccii of Puteoli or Campania in general may have moved not to the East but to the South, for there are several persons with the nomen Σταλάκκιος (surely another

⁹⁷ CIL I² 2257 = *I.Délos* 1803 C. Numitorius A. l. and A. Numitorius C. l. (*Les italiens* 205 nos. 1–2).

⁹⁸ Cf. the spelling Νεμέτωρ for Numitor, the brother of Amulius (e.g. Dion. Hal. 1,71,4f.; 76, 1–3, etc.; Diodorus 8 fr. 4 [ed. A. Cohen-Skalli; *Les Belles Lettres*]), and e.g. Νεμέριος for *Numerius*. Interestingly, the name *Numitorius*/*Νεμετώριος* is spelled this way not only in inscriptions of private persons, but already in the list of senators in the *senatus consultum de agro Pergameno* (Sherk, *RDGE* 63–73 no.12, cf. p. 70 n. 29) of 129 or 101 BC (cf. now C. Rosillo-López, *Historia* 70 [2021] 405f.). This indicates that this was seen by the person who translated the text as the correct Greek orthography of the name.

⁹⁹ Athens: *IG* II/III² 5322 (Κόντος Νεμετώριος [Α]μμώνιος Ἀθμονεύς); Kibyra: *SEG* 17, 699 = *I.Kibyra* I 345 (*T*); Nicomedia: unpublished inscription mentioning a certain Numitorius Acutianus (*TAM* IV 1, 200, commentary); Mytilene: *IG* XII Suppl. 690 (Α. Τωράνιος Α. υἱός Νεμετώριος).

¹⁰⁰ Ephesus: *I.Ephesos* 999A and 2517 cf. H. Engelmann, *ZPE* 126 (1999) 164. Elsewhere in Asia Minor: see M. Haake, in E. Schwertheim (ed.), *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien* VII, Bonn 2011, 150f.; cf. J.-H. Römhild, *ibid.* 165 (the inscription *I.Smyrna* 480 is surely identical with *I.Illion* 181). *Stlaccius* may have been difficult to pronounce for Greeks, for the nomina Σταλάκιος (*I.Rhénée* 184) and Στάλιος (*I.Smyrna* 479) are surely versions of *Stlaccius*. Cf. Σταλάκκιος, n. 102.

¹⁰¹ Rome: CIL VI 14190. 26872. 26874; Puteoli: *CIL* X 2245.

attempt at *Stlaccius*) in Cyrene – one of them with the praenomen *Aulus*.¹⁰²

– M. Tonniu[s ----] (col. 8, 7). This nomen¹⁰³ is interesting inasmuch as it may be one of the earliest nomina found in Asia Minor as there is a mention of a Τόννιος among the οἰκονόμοι at Magnesia on the Maeander in an inscription dated to the beginning of the second century BC (*I.Magnesia* 94 = *I.Priene B - M* 403, [το]ῦς δὲ οἰκονόμους το]ῦς μετὰ Τόννιον ὑπηρε[τῆ]σαι ...). According to Louis Robert, the name is “Ionian” (“ionien”),¹⁰⁴ but one should perhaps also consider the possibility of interpreting it as an Italic name, a trace of early Italian immigration. If that were the case, one could go on to assume that the new Tonnius in Ephesus could be a descendant of the οἰκονόμος in Magnesia, not far from Ephesus. The other instances of the nomen *Tonnius* in Asia (all with the praenomen *Lucius*), from Erythrae and Smyrna, are not, or do not seem to be, earlier than the second century.¹⁰⁵ The only other *Marcus* Tonnius I have been able to trace anywhere is a certain M. Tonnius M. I. Tertius in an inscription from Rome (*CIL* VI 6102).

– C. Tuscenius C. I. Alupus (col. 7 (T)2). This nomen was attested in the East between the late second century BC and the time of Augustus on Delos (*CIL* I² 2240 = *ID* 1773, M. Tuscenius L. f. Nobilior; Τσοσκίνιος in the Greek version), somewhere in Asia in the middle of the first century,¹⁰⁶ and on Samos in AD 6/7 (*IG* XII 6, 1, 190), the man also being a Gaius. The new Tuscenius from Ephesus thus fits well into the series of attestations of this extremely rare nomen¹⁰⁷ in the East.

¹⁰² E.g. *SEG* 20, 742, col. I, l. 40; *AE* 2003, 1884 (but note *ibid.* 1883 and *SEG* 9, 8 no. II [Augustan] for *Stlaccii*); cf. *SEG* 9, 376 and 377 (Ptolemais). Α(ύ)λος Σταλάκκιος Ἀφροδείσιος; *AE* 1995, 1632, l. 24 (cf. l. 49 for another Σταλάκκιος).

¹⁰³ Which is not to be identified with *Tonneius/Tοννήιος*, attested on Samos (*IG* XII 6.2, 695) and in Egypt (Hatzfeld [n. 38] p. 176); *-ius/-ιος* and *-eius/-ήιος* are different suffixes.

¹⁰⁴ Robert, *OMS* V (1989) 446.

¹⁰⁵ *I.Smyrna* 705 and 771; Erythrae: *AE* 1980, 862 = *SEG* 30, 1331 (reign of Caracalla). Note also Τόννιος (attested for three members of the delegation, all with the praenomen Δ(έκ(ι)μος), from Parium at Claros in AD 145/6, *I.Claros mémoires* 340f. no. 90), but this is surely a different name.

¹⁰⁶ See Hatzfeld (n. 38) p. 127, based on *Cic. Q. fr.* 1.1.19 and 1.2.6.

¹⁰⁷ Other attestations of this nomen are: *PIR*² O 64; R 18; T 417 cf. EDR171068, 171074, 171075; *CIL* X 3699 (Cumae, AD 251; praenomen C.).

– Q. Vettienus [---] (col. 7 (V)4). This nomen is also attested in an earlyish inscription from Cyzicus (*SEG* 33,1059), the funerary inscription of a certain Αὔλος Βετιήνος set up by this man's sons Λόνγος and Πολλίων. However, *Vet(t)ienus* is a variant of *Vettenus*, a nomen attested at Eretria on Euboea (*IG* XII 9, 852, Γάιος Οὔεττήνος Κέρδων and his wife or freedwoman with the same nomen) and in Aramea in Bithynia (*SEG* 66, 1374, Μάρκος Βεττήνος Πάταικος). Note also Λ. Κορνήλιος Οὔεττηνιανός in Sardis in the time of Caracalla (*IGR* IV 1527 = *Sardis* 7 [1932] 80 no. 75) and Βεττηνιανοί elsewhere in Lydia (*TAM* V 1, 608 and 671).

– Ap. Vinucius [---] (col. 7 (V)2). In addition to the new attestation from Ephesus, this nomen is attested once on Delos and, from about the time of Augustus onwards, in Smyrna.¹⁰⁸ The form used is always Οὐνίκιος, not Οὐνιούκιος, The use of the archaizing form *Vinucius* is of some interest especially as the form *Vinucius*, although attested, is much rarer than the parallel form *Vinicium* – a scenario that can be contrasted with the pair *Minucius/Minicius*, where the two forms are attested in about equal numbers.¹⁰⁹

– D. Volumnius P. I. Epaphrodit(us) (col. 7 (V)1). For this nomen, not attested on Delos (but not uncommon in Pisidian Antioch and known also in other places in Galatia) there are very few attestations in the area of the province of Asia. Two inscriptions, one from Cyzicus and the other from Smyrna, seem fairly early. Otherwise, there is only one other, albeit uncertain and late, instance from Cyzicus and a Βολουμνια[νός] at Erythrae.¹¹⁰ As for the praenomen *Decimus*, this freedman seems to be the first D. Volumnius attested in the Roman world.

¹⁰⁸ *I.Delos* 2857 (*Les italiens* 221 no. 1); *I.Smyrna* 358. 702. 707. 721. Some, if not all, of the *Vinicium* in Smyrna may have something to do with one of the Augustan proconsuls of Asia called *Vinicium* (see *PIR*² V 654-656).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. the number of instances of *Vinucius/Vinicium* and *Minucius/Minicius* in the Claus-Slaby database: *Vinucius* : *Vinicium* 20 : 238; *Minucius* : *Minicius* 349 : 353.

¹¹⁰ *Cyzicus*: *I.Kyzikos* I 177 (dated to the first century BC), Κόιντε Βουλούμνιε χαίρε (for the other uncertain instance see *I.Kyzikos* I 121). *Smyrna*: *I.Smyrna* 329 (Τερτία Βουλουμνία). *Erythrae*: *I.Erythrai Klazomenai* 413, [Λευ]κίου Κοσσο[τίου] Βολουμνια[νοῦ].

In this article, my object was simply to comment upon the names, mainly the nomina, of the men mentioned in the inscription, my focus being on other attestations of the same names in the Greek East. To conclude, let me offer two observations of a more general nature on the background of the men. First, there is the question of whether the men in the inscription are recent immigrants or descendants of earlier settlers in Ephesus or in the East in general. This is obviously a question for which there are no certain answers. However, my impression is that many of the men seem to have arrived fairly recently in the East. This impression is based on the observation that several features of the nomenclature found in the inscription seem to match what one would expect to find in Italy in the same period. This goes especially for the cognomina of the freeborn men including the *incerti* with Latin cognomina. Both *Pica* and *Spica* are cognomina one would not expect to find outside Italy, and except for the mysterious cognomen [--]donus (?) the rest of the cognomina, especially *Crispus*, *Lupus* and *Rufus* (two instances among the certainly freeborn and another two among the *incerti*), would fit perfectly into the mid-first century BC milieu of *domi nobiles*. One also wonders how a Munatius established in the East could have picked up the idea of giving his son the cognomen *Plancus*. In the case of the freedmen, things are not that clear, but at least the three Latin cognomina *Licinus*, *Rufio* and *Salvius* could easily be expected to appear in lists of Italian freedmen in the same period. The fact that so many of the freedmen do not have the praenomina of their patrons may also possibly indicate that these men could be recent immigrants rather than freedmen of persons long since established in the East.

On the other hand, there are also names which seem to indicate that some of the men may have belonged to *gentes* that earlier resided on Delos, an observation already stressed by Cooley. Most of the common nomina listed above at n. 40 are attested on Delos in the second and early first centuries BC, but, these being common names, that does not necessary mean much. Instead, the presence in the list of less common nomina pointing to Delos, such as *Audius*, *Granius*, *Mundicius*, *Nerius*, *Stlaccius* and *Tuscenius*, is clearly significant. Moreover, as the majority of the *gentes* on Delos are, as pointed out by Cooley, normally considered to have originated from the commercial centre of Puteoli and from Campania in general, this must mean that many of the men in the list have a Campanian background. It is thus no wonder that one finds the rare

combination *Aulus Aemilius* both in the list and in Puteoli (above at n. 41). There are, however, also names which seem to indicate a background somewhere else in Italy. Above at n. 63 I suggested that the Cusinii with the tribe *Velina* may have come from somewhere in Picenum, and even the Aemilii with the *praenomen Aulus* could perhaps be attributed to Tarracina in S. Latium rather than to Puteoli (ibid.). As for Delos, it is, as mentioned above, normally considered that Delos, an important centre of trade from the early second century to the early first century and with a significant congregation of Italian *negotiatores*, was the main point of arrival for Italians heading for the East, and that members of this Italian community on Delos later, after the decline of Delos in the early first century, scattered throughout the Aegean. Having said that, one surely cannot exclude the idea that Italians on their way to the East could have taken other routes than via Delos.¹¹¹ Hence, in conclusion, I would like to point out that the attestations of some names in the list could be taken to imply that bearers of these names may have arrived at Ephesus via other routes; cf. e.g. *Aninius* (above at n. 44) and *Mucius*, attested not on Delos but in early inscriptions from NW Asia, partly combined with the same *praenomen Aulus* (above at n. 85).

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¹¹¹ Cf. my observations on “immigrants not passing through Delos” in M. Mayer i Olivé, G. Baratta & A. Guzmán Almagro (eds.), *Acta XII congressus internationalis epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae*, Barcelona 2007, 1277f.

THE SYMBOLISM BEHIND THE *DRACO* STANDARD

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Abstract: This paper discusses the symbolic meanings of the *draco* as a Roman military standard. Although similar standards were used by several ancient peoples, the appearance of those standards differed from nation to nation. In Rome it resembled a serpent. While the history and usage of the emblem have been discussed before, the symbolism behind it has received less attention. Thus, my aim is to determine the reason for the standard's anguine form in Roman usage, and what symbolic meanings were attached to it. The *draco* shared a common symbolism with other serpents depicted in ancient sources, but its symbolic meaning also changed over time.

Keywords: *Draco*, Roman military standards, snake symbolism

Introduction

The Roman *draco* military standard was an impressive sight, with its fierce and menacing serpentine head and its long, textile body that writhed in the wind in a manner that made it look like a living creature. The history of the standard is no less fascinating than its physical appearance; the Romans first became acquainted with it as an enemy emblem, but were so impressed by it that they adopted it to their own use. This paper concentrates on the symbolic meaning of the standard, and seeks to answer the following questions: why did the Roman version of the standard resemble a snake? What kind of message did the Romans want to convey with it? What was its significance to the Romans themselves?

Understanding the cultural meanings of military standards is as important as understanding their tactical usage, and studying the Roman *draco* not only gives more information about the standard itself, but also increases our knowledge about Roman belief systems in general. It may also help us to perceive what kind of psychological tools were used in ancient warfare, and also which qualities were considered essential for both an army and individual soldiers.

The symbolic value of the *draco* has not been studied in depth in previous research. No broader monograph on the topic has been written, and the article “The ‘*draco*’ standard” by J. C. N. Coulston is still the most thorough study on the subject.¹ The standard has been discussed mostly in books dealing with the Roman army and military matters. In this article, I approach the *draco* standard from a new angle, by exploring what similarities it shares with other interpretations of the snake in classical sources on a symbolic level in order to answer my research questions. My new analysis of the symbolism of the *draco* is based on both iconographical analysis of the surviving examples and their depictions in art as well as in ancient literature. This analysis will also reveal the changes that occurred in the meaning of the *draco* with the rise of Christianity, and how these changes affected the fate of the standard.

It is necessary to begin with a brief discussion about the relationship between the *draco* and the serpent, and then to understand why the Roman *draco* was as it was, before proceeding to a short overview of the background of the standard.

The *draco* as a creature

In antiquity, the *draco* (derivative from the Greek “δράκων”) was considered to be a real snake, albeit a huge one.² As for the different words for snake, Servius claims that *anguis* refers to an aquatic snake, *serpens* to a snake living on land, and *draco* to a snake sacred to gods. Servius then notes that these meanings are

¹ J. C. N. Coulston, “The ‘*draco*’ standard”, *JRMES* 2 (1991) 101–14. However, see also E. Kavanagh, *Estandartes militares en la Roma antigua: Tipos, simbología y función*, Madrid 2015, 182–221.

² Discussion on the meaning of the word *draco* see e.g. D. Ogden, *Drakōn: Dragon Myth and Serpent Cult in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, Oxford 2013, 2–4; E. Pottier, s.v. *Draco*, *Dar.–Sag* (1892) 403–404; R. Merkelbach, s.v. *Drache*, *RAC* 4 (1959) 226–227.

often confused.³ On the basis of the surviving literature it seems that these words were used almost interchangeably, just as δράκων and ὄφις in Greek, although the division Servius provides is right in connecting *draco* with the divine. The word alluded to the great mythological serpents who had supernatural powers, a hybrid form, and an affiliation with the gods,⁴ although at the same time it was also used of the ordinary snakes of the real world.⁵

The oldest known appearance of the word “δράκων” in literature is from the *Iliad*,⁶ and in one of the passages where the word is used the same creature is also referred to as ὄφις.⁷ The earliest application of the word δράκων in natural history is from *Τῶν περὶ τὰ ζῷα ἱστοριῶν* by Aristotle.⁸ Here Aristotle mentions that the eagle and the δράκων are enemies, because the eagle eats snakes (τοὺς ὄφεις), and it is clear that Aristotle has a real snake in mind. Likewise, Nicander considers δράκων to be a common snake in his *Θηριακά*, which is the first work to give a more detailed description of the animal.⁹ Similarly, Roman authors saw *draco* as a snake. The most detailed and hence the most interesting texts dealing with the subject are the *Naturalis historia* by Pliny and *Περὶ ζῴων ιδιότητος* by Aelian.

In both of these texts, other words for snake are used interchangeably with *draco*/δράκων.¹⁰ In accordance with the literature, classical art presents *dracones*/δράκοντες as snakes.¹¹ As for *draco* the military standard, classical authors used other words for snake to describe it; Arrian mentions that *dracones* were made to look like snakes (he uses the word ὄφις) in order to make them more

³ Serv. *Aen.* 2,202–5.

⁴ Ogden remarks that until the end of the fifth century BCE δράκων nearly always refers to a creature that is either supernatural itself or is possessed by some supernatural power.

⁵ It does not seem worthwhile to try to identify *draco*/δράκων as some certain species of snake. The descriptions of *draco* are so varying that different authors may have had different snakes in mind.

⁶ The word δράκων appears in the following passages: 2,301–320; 3,33–37; 6,181; 11,38–40; 12,195–229; 22,93–97.

⁷ Hom. *Il.* 12,200–209.

⁸ Arist. *Hist. an.* 9,2,3.

⁹ Nic. *Ther.* 438–57.

¹⁰ E.g. Plin. *nat.* 8,26; Ael. *NA.* 6,63.

¹¹ One only needs to cast a glance over Greek and Roman art to see that the creatures called *dracones*/δράκοντες in ancient literature were presented as snakes.

frightening.¹² Claudian uses both *anguis* and *serpens* to describe the standard,¹³ and Sidonius Apollinaris calls it an *anguis*.¹⁴

In light of this evidence, then, it seems apparent that the *draco* the military standard was part of the wider tradition of *dracones*, creatures who might have had supernatural powers but who in their appearance resembled ordinary snakes. Thus, the varied symbolism of the serpent surely applied to *dracones* as well.

The origins of the *draco* standard

It is uncertain when the Romans first became acquainted with the *draco* standard, and from whom they adopted it to their own use. The origin of the standard is also uncertain, but it is strongly connected with the eastern steppe people, and these must have played a role in the standard's transmission to the west. Arrian calls the standard "Scythian" in his Τέχνη τακτική,¹⁵ but he probably means "Sarmatian".¹⁶ During the first centuries before and after the beginning of the Common Era, internal turmoil between different Sarmatian tribes drove some of them from Asia to the area of the Danube, where they came into contact with the local peoples. Presumably the *draco* travelled to the west with these Sarmatian tribes and was then adopted by the Dacians and other local sedentary peoples. The general opinion is that the standard came into Roman use either by adopting it from the Sarmatians serving in their auxiliary units or by taking them from their enemies. The Romans employed Sarmatians in their auxiliary units from the first century CE onwards, and most likely they brought their own equipment with them. In the light of the sources, however, it seems more likely that the Romans adopted the *draco* from their enemies rather than their allies. In Roman art the emblem is first associated strongly with their enemies, and the first depiction of the standard in Roman use is from the end of the second century, while the first enemy *dracones* appear in art roughly a hundred years

¹² Arr. *Tact.* 35,3.

¹³ Claud. 5,185–88; Claud. 7,138–41.

¹⁴ Sidon. *carm.* 5,402–407.

¹⁵ Arr. *Tact.* 35,2–5.

¹⁶ Coulston (above n. 1) 106.

earlier.¹⁷ In Trajan's column the *draco* is an emblem of the Dacians, but at some point after Trajan's Dacian wars the Romans began to arm some of their cavalry troops on the model of the heavily armed Sarmatian cavalry, and the *draco* may have been adopted along with other equipment in this instance. From Arrian we know that *dracones* were used in Roman cavalry parades during Hadrian's reign.¹⁸ It is possible that *dracones* were first used exclusively in parades, and were only incorporated into the family of Roman military standards slightly later.¹⁹

During the second and third centuries the *draco* was used solely by the cavalry in the Roman army, but by the fourth century the infantry had also taken it into use, and it may have become the official standard of individual cohorts.²⁰ During the fourth century the *draco* also became the personal

¹⁷ The Portonaccio sarcophagus, which dates to the reign of Marcus Aurelius and is now at the Palazzo Massimo delle Terme in Rome (inv. no. 112327), contains the first putative representations of the standard in Roman use. The *dracones* on the sarcophagus are not explicitly depicted as belonging to either side, as the main relief presents a chaotic battle scene typical to battle sarcophagi, and the staff of the *draco* standard disappears among the intertwined combatants. However, based on their positioning, the *dracones* are generally interpreted as belonging to the Romans. The *draco*, *vexillum*, and *aquila* are framing the central character, and in Roman art *dracones* were often associated with other Roman standards and were used to highlight the presence of important persons. On the right end of the sarcophagus, two barbarians bow in submission to the Roman general and cavalrymen, who have *dracones* floating above their heads along with a *vexillum*. E.g. Coulston and Töpfer are convinced that the *dracones* of the Portonaccio sarcophagus are Roman: Coulston (above n. 1) 102; K. M. Töpfer, *Signa Militaria. Die römischen Feldzeichen in den Republik und im Prinzipat*, Mainz RGZM 2011, 35, 375–376. Literature on the sarcophagus: D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, New Haven 1992, 301–302. The first enemy *dracones* are portrayed on two marble pilasters, which are now at Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence (inv. no. 59 and 72). The pictorial motif of the pilasters is *spolia* taken from defeated enemies and piled on top of each other. The pilasters are dated to the reign of Domitian, and are originally from Rome, possibly from the Aventine Hill, and are related to the *Armilustrum*. The *dracones* and other objects on the pilasters are ornate and stylized, which raises the question of whether real *spolia* were used as a model or not. Literature: G. A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi: Le sculture. Parte 1*, Roma 1958, 25–26; J. W. Crous, "Florentiner Waffnenpfeiler and Armilustrum", *MDAI (R)* 48 (1933) 73–106.

¹⁸ Arr. *Tact.* 35,2–5

¹⁹ The equipment used in parades were often more ornate than common military equipment.

²⁰ Veg. *mil.* 2,13: *Dracones etiam per singulas cohortes a draconariis feruntur ad proelium*. This passage is the first, and rare, reference to a particular cohort standard. Because of the scarcity of sources, the existence of an official cohort standard has been an unresolved question. As Coulston notes, the third

emblem of the emperor,²¹ however there is some evidence that the rise of Christianity, with its negative attitude towards snakes, caused the standard to be seen with some reserve from the later fourth century onwards. The fourth century poet Prudentius is certainly hostile to *dracones*, and enthusiastically plays with their symbolism in his poems.²² Moreover, the Christian standard, the *labarum*, had become the leading military emblem; the church father Gregory of Nazianzus, a contemporary of Prudentius, reproached the emperor Julian for removing Christian symbols from this “king of standards”, which was positioned at the head of the army before the *dracones* and other military emblems.²³ The *draco* is also no longer depicted in Roman art after the fourth century. The serpent of Eden, the sea serpent Leviathan, the dragon of the revelation, and all the other monstrous serpents of the Bible ensured that Christians would associate snakes with evil, or even with Satan himself. In Christian hagiographies the serpent also symbolises paganism. Quite curiously, despite all of this the negative connotations the serpents were burdened with did not seem to impact the status of the *draco* in the army as dramatically as one might expect. The literary evidence reveals that the *draco* was still used by the army in the fourth and fifth centuries, and also by those Christian emperors who took actions against pagan cults.²⁴ *Draconarii* are mentioned even later in the Byzantine sources: in his

century policy to detach cohorts from their legions may be a reason for the introduction of the *draco* as a cohort sign: Coulston (above n. 1) 110.

²¹ Coulston (above n. 1) 106, 110; Töpfer (above n. 17) 34. This is also evident from Roman art and literature. The examples are discussed below, see n. 24 and 74.

²² In his *Liber Cathemerinon* Prudentius describes how Moses fled from Egypt with the Pharaoh's army on his heels, holding up their *dracones*: Prud. *cath.* 5,55–56. The anachronistic association of the *dracones* with the Pharaoh's troops naturally aims to symbolize the paganism of the Egyptians. In *Liber Peristephanon* Prudentius relates the story of two *draconarii* who want to leave the army after coming over to the Christian faith: Prud. *perist.* 1,33–35. Abandoning *dracones* is a symbol of abandoning pagan gods. In *Contra Symmachum* Prudentius mentions that the *labarum* preceded the *draco* and all other standards at the battle of Pollentia (402), thus ensuring the Roman victory: Prud. *c.Symm.* 2,712–13.

²³ Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 4,66. While Gregory clearly places the *labarum* before traditional Roman standards in this passage, he does seem to be fascinated by the appearance of the *draco*.

²⁴ Libanius describes how *dracones* were present when emperor Valens visited Antioch in 371: Lib. 1,144; Themistios implies that the emperors Constantius II and Theodosius I had *dracones*: Them. Or. 1,2a; 18,219a; Ammianus Marcellinus also mentions the elaborate *dracones* of Constantius II: Amm. 16,10,7; Claudian describes the *dracones* of emperor Honorius: Claud. 7,138–41; 8,570–76; 28,597–605.

Περὶ ἀρχῶν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας, or *De Magistratibus reipublicae Romanae*, Ioannes Lydus discusses the composition of the army, amongst other things, and mentions δρακονάριοι, i.e. δρακοντοφόροι as part of the army.²⁵ The Στρατηγικόν also mentions *draconarii*.²⁶ Furthermore, *draconarii* are mentioned in a number of inscriptions and papyri, written in both Greek and Latin. The topics of these texts vary from administrative documents and legal contracts to funerary inscriptions, and they date mainly from the fourth to the sixth century.²⁷

Two Byzantine signet rings provide rare pictorial evidence for the existence of the *draco* in the Byzantine army. One of these rings is in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 1), and the other, almost identical one is in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.²⁸ A soldier with a halo around his head is carved on both rings. He is holding a *draco* standard in his hand, while simultaneously stamping on a serpent. It almost seems as if the two snakes are represented as opposites of each other: the serpent on the ground symbolises evil forces, while the standard is an emblem of the saintly soldier and waves proudly in the air. The estimated date for the rings is the fifth or sixth century.²⁹

²⁵ Lydus, *Mag.* 1, 46. Lydus may well have described the earlier Roman army, but his intention was to show that there was continuity between earlier Rome and the Byzantine empire, and that the same practices continued in the Byzantine empire.

²⁶ Strat. 12, 8, 7–8.

²⁷ Inscriptions: *CIL* 3, 14333, 1 (Uncertain); *AE* 1891, 105; *ILS* 8881; *IK* 27, 120; *AE* 2002, 624; *SEG* 32, 1554, A36; *MAMA* 1, 218; *CIL* 11, 32968; Ostraca: *SB* 16, 128444; *O. Eleph.* DAIK 255; Papyri: *CPR* 24, 15; *P. Amst.* 1, 45; *P. Lond.* 1, 113, 1; *P. Münch.* 1, 14; *P. Strasb.* 6, 579; *SB* 18, 3860; *SB* 24, 16043; *ChLA* 29, 877. The last example, a papyrus from Ravenna, is dated to as late as the eighth century. The possible reasons for the later appearances of the standard, or its bearers, in the sources are discussed below.

²⁸ The ring in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is made of silver, and its accession number is 41.160.279. The ring in the Victoria and Albert Museum is made of gold, and its inventory number is M 175. For the rings, see H. Nickel, “Of Dragons, Basilisks, and the Arms of the Seven Kings of Rome”, *MMJ* 24 (1989) 25–34. It is noteworthy that the rings bear the inscription “BPATHAA”, which according to Nickel is an archaic Balkan-Slavic diminutive for “brother”. Thus, these rings might be “class rings” of *draconarii*, and they may have belonged to mercenaries recruited from Slavic tribes. In this case, the standards depicted in the rings could also represent the traditional emblems of these mercenaries.

²⁹ A terracotta plaque representing St. Theodore from Vinica, Macedonia (sixth or seventh century), may provide another, later representation of the standard. The saint is represented on horseback and holding an object that looks strongly like a *draco* standard. There is some uncertainty in this

After the sixth century, *dracones* and *draconarii* disappear from the sources almost completely, and appear only sporadically.³⁰ During that time banners became the most popular form of military standard.³¹

Thus, it could be argued that the standard stirred up mixed emotions in the late empire. It remained in use for quite some time, and the reason for this is apparently that Christians were able to find new interpretations that justified its continuous usage despite the serpent's negative reputation in their religion.³²



Fig. 1: Byzantine signet ring. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941. Available under Creative Commons Zero (CC0). <https://www.metmuseum.org>.

However, it was not seen as an appropriate pictorial motif after the fourth century,

identification, however, for St. Theodore was known as an early Christian dragon-slayer and the scene is often interpreted as the saint's triumph over the beast. The dating is also somewhat uncertain. Literature concerning the plaque: C. Walker, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*, New York, 2016, 45–46; 50–51; E. Dimitrova, *The Ceramic Relief Plaques from Vinica. The Most Significant Values of the Cultural Heritage*, Skopje, 2017, 10–11.

³⁰ Isidore of Seville mentions *dracones* in his *Etymologiae* in the seventh century, but it seems that he is describing something he is not familiar with: Isid. Etym. 18,3,3. The tenth century source *De Ceremoniis* mentions *draconarii*, and the *Historia* of Niketas Choniates from the twelfth century refers to the standard. For the latter two mentions see A. Babuin, "Standards and Insignia of Byzantium", *Byzantion* vol. 71 no. 1 (2001) 14–15. When considering later mentions of *draconarii*, one cannot always be sure what was meant by the term, especially without further context, because in the late empire the term was adopted to describe officials in the civil service: *Cod. Iust.* 1,27,1,35.

³¹ There is also the possibility that the terms *draco* and *draconarius* were used anachronistically in later centuries, and that the actual standard in used was no longer similar to the one that was known in the earlier empire. For example, it may be that the *draco* appeared as a motif in the field of a flag at later dates.

³² These are discussed in more detail below.

judging from the fact that it hardly appears after this date in surviving visual sources.³³ Furthermore, during the late empire Rome had persistent conflicts with many barbaric tribes who also used the *draco* standard, and perhaps this, combined with the negative Christian attitude towards snakes, caused the *draco* to be associated with enemies once again.³⁴ There is some pictorial evidence of medieval *dracones*, but whether this is a sign of continuity, rediscovery, or intentional emulation of earlier Roman practices is uncertain.³⁵

Whether the Romans adopted the standard from their enemies or from their auxiliaries, the journey of the *draco* from an enemy standard to the personal emblem of the emperor was enabled by its unique appearance, which made it both a practical and impressive standard at the same time. It was easy to recognize from afar, and it made a huge impression on viewers. In Rome it served important functions, first in the service of the cavalry and then the infantry, perhaps as the standard of the cohort, and lastly as the imperial standard. However, the rise of Christianity altered the way that serpents were perceived, and that was reflected in the diminished status of the *draco* standard in the army. Considering the general lack of evidence, it is hard to form a definite image of the last phases of the standard, but it seems fair to assume that the spread of Christianity changed the way that the standard was perceived and had at least a part to play in its demise.

³³ The special status of standards in the army was hard for the Christians to accept in general, as they saw it as idolatry. E.g. Tert. *idol.* 19,2; Tert. *apol.* 16,8.

³⁴ Some of the literary mentions from the later empire give this impression. Prudentius (above n. 22) has already been cited. In the fifth century, Sidonius Apollinaris contrasts the Roman *Aquila* with enemy *dracones* in his panegyric to Anthemius: Sidon. *carm.* 2,232–233. However, in his panegyric to Majorianus both the enemy and the Romans have *dracones* as their standards: Sidon. *carm.* 5,402–407.

³⁵ *Psalterium aureum Sancti Galli*, now at Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen in Switzerland, portrays a ninth century Carolingian *draco* that looks very ichthyic. The Bayeux Tapestry, now at the Musée de la Tapisserie de Bayeux, is from the eleventh century and depicts *dracones* used at the battle of Hastings. These *dracones* seem to have wings and forelegs. *Dracones* began to have such features in the illustrations of medieval bestiaries. As for the question of medieval usage of the standard, see Coulston (above n. 1) 108. Also I. Lebedynsky discusses the theme in his article *Draco: Dragon Standards East and West*, published in *The Flag Bulletin* no. 164 (1995) 94.

What was the enemy *draco* like?

In Roman art, the head of the enemy *draco* resembles that of a wolf. On the Column of Trajan, for instance, the creature has pointed, erect ears and its mouth is open, revealing a curved tongue and a row of teeth, including long canines (Fig. 2).³⁶ The wolf as an emblem of the Dacians would make sense, as the animal was symbolically important to them.³⁷ Even the word “Δάοι”, by which the Dacians were called “in early times” as Strabo says, is said to derive from a word for wolf. Strabo also states that the Scythians were called by the same name.³⁸ Sometimes the emblem does not look strictly lupine, however, but has more peculiar features. In some cases it nearly resembles a marine creature. In the reliefs from the *Hadrianeum* the *draco* has its typical, pointed ears, but it also has projecting eyes and a snout that brings to mind a dolphin (Fig. 3).³⁹ On both Trajan’s column and the *Hadrianeum* reliefs the enemy *draco* has strips of fabric attached to its body. The reason for



Fig. 2: Draco on the pedestal of Trajan’s column (photo by the author).

³⁶ There are 27 *dracones* on Trajan’s column, the largest and thus the most detailed ones being on the pedestal. Following the numbering of Cichorius (C. Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Trajanssäule*, Berlin 1896–1900), the scenes with *dracones* are: XXIV, XXV, XXXI, XXXVIII, LIX, LXIV, LXVI, LXXV, LXXVIII, CXXII. The *Dracones* on the column are clearly symbols of the Dacians; they are the ones portrayed with the standards, although their Sarmatian allies also appear on the column.

³⁷ Mircea Eliade discusses the relationship of the Dacians and wolves in his article: M. Eliade, “Les Daces et les loups”, *Numen* Vol. 6 Fasc. 1 (1959) 15–31.

³⁸ Strab. 7,3,12.

³⁹ The *draco* is depicted on two of the trophy panels of the *Hadrianeum*. One is now in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome (inv. no. M. C. 764), and the other is in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (inv. no. 6739). Literature: Kleiner (above n. 17) 283–285.

this may have been to add a sense of movement to the standard, and thus make it an even more spectacular sight, but the strips could also represent fins and scales. The enemy *dracones* represented in Roman art actually have strikingly much in common with depictions of an ancient sea monster known as κῆτος in Greek and *cetus* in Latin. In art, the appearance of κῆτος varies: sometimes it resembles a whale, but often it has anguine body

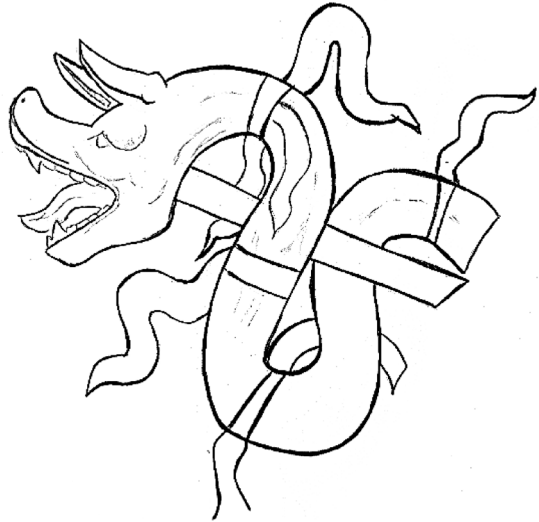


Fig. 3: Draco on the trophy panel of the Hadrianeum, a detail (drawing by the author, after Coulston, above n.1).

with a mixture of features from other animals. These fantastical features could derive from a lack of scientific knowledge of aquatic animals, with imagination filling in the gaps. The idea of such monstrous creatures may have arisen from a fear of the unknown. They may also have symbolised the dangers of the sea in a broader sense, as well as the uncontrollability of nature.

The strange features of the eastern *draco* has led some to think that it may not have been meant to represent a wolf, but rather some kind of hybrid creature, which were common in eastern art. The similarity between them and the representations of sea monsters may be caused by a similar use of the imagination in the face of the unknown, and as a resulting shared symbolism. Vasile Pârvan believes that the wolf-serpent creature of the Dacians has its origin in the art of Asia Minor, and dates it to the second millennium BCE. According to Pârvan, the standard was transmitted to different nations in two different types: the Iranian type had a wolf's head, and the Thraco-Getic type had a reptilian head.⁴⁰ However, the *draco* was used also by the Parthians

⁴⁰ V. Pârvan, *Dacia: An Outline of the Early Civilizations of the Carpatho-Danubian Countries*,

and Sasanians. Lucian of Samosata calls Parthian *dracones* serpents,⁴¹ but it is possible that the Parthian, like the Sasanian, emblem represented the Senmurv, the mythical Iranian creature with a dog's head and forepaws and the wings and tail of a bird.⁴² Sometimes the creature also has scales like a fish or reptile. In Zoroastrian tradition, the snake is considered an "evil" animal, while the dog is benevolent and respected.⁴³ A silver head of a Senmurv, identified as a part of a military standard, has survived, but it may be post-Sassanid.⁴⁴

It seems plausible that the standard developed from a single prototype that possibly represented some kind of hybrid creature. This was then transmitted to different nations, who often altered it somewhat in order to make it fit with their own traditions. Every nation chose a creature that was symbolically important to them and had qualities that made it suitable to serve as a military emblem. This is how the same standard came to symbolize various nations who from time to time fought against each other.

What was the Roman *draco* like?

The physical appearance of the Roman *draco* is fairly well known, as a headpiece of a *draco* standard was found at Niederbieber, Germany (Fig. 4).⁴⁵ The similarity between this object and the *dracones* represented in Roman art and literary

Cambridge 1928, 124–126. Pârvan as a source is old, but he has searched the origins of the *draco* more deeply than most.

⁴¹ Lucian *Hist. conscr.* 29. The passage will be discussed in more detail below.

⁴² P. O. Harper, "The Senmurv", *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* vol. 20 no.3 (1961) 95–101. For more recent view for this dog-bird hybrid see e.g. M. Comparesi, "The so-called Senmurv in Iranian Art. A Reconsideration of an Old Theory", in P. G. Borbone, A. M. Mengozzi, M. Tosco (eds.), *Loquentes linguis: Studi linguistici e orientali i onore di Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti*, Wiesbaden 2006, 185–200.

⁴³ R. Folz, "Zoroastrian Attitudes toward Animals", *Society and Animals* 18 (2010) 370–71.

⁴⁴ The head is now at the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg. The estimated date for the head is the seventh or eighth century, but this dating is uncertain. About the Senmurv head: C. V. Trever, "Tête de Senmurv en argent des collections de l'Hérmitage", *IrAnt* 4 (1964) 162–70.

⁴⁵ The Roman fort at Niederbieber was founded ca. 185 CE and its existence came to an end in 260 CE, when the Franks attacked the *limes* of *Germania Superior*. The object is now at the Landesmuseum Koblenz.

sources allows us to reconstruct an archetype of the Roman *draco*.

The Niederbieber *draco* was found in the *vicus* outside the fort, and is made of two copper alloy sheets, the upper being fire-gilded and the lower one

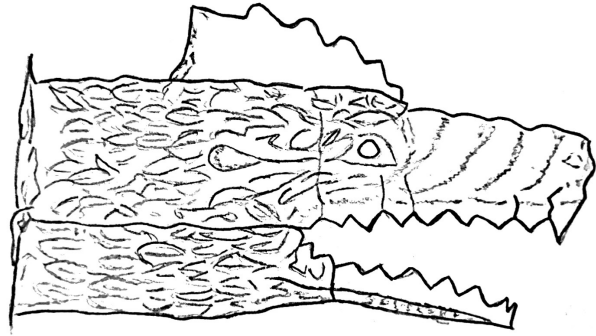


Fig. 4: The Niederbieber *draco* (drawing by the author, after Coulston, above n.1).

tinned. The scales, ears, and other details are embossed onto the sheets, and the nostrils and eyes are small and reptilian. The pupils are left hollow. The snake has a crest above its head, and its snarling snout reveals its open mouth, which is packed with sharp, triangular teeth. The head has a circular hole for the shaft in the throat, and on the top behind the crest. The head measures 30 x 12 x 17 centimetres, and is dated to the ca. mid-third century.

The Niederbieber *draco* has much in common with *dracones* in Roman art. For instance, on the Ludovisi sarcophagus,⁴⁶ which is estimated to be contemporary with the Niederbieber *draco*, the standard is equally reptilian, with its flat, scaled, and crested head. The open mouth of the animal likewise reveals its serrated teeth (Fig. 5). Another good example is from the Arch of Constantine, where *dracones* are represented on the relief made especially for the arch in the fourth century.⁴⁷ The *draco* in the relief is once again very similar to the Niederbieber *draco*, with a crest on top of its reptilian head and its open mouth full of teeth (Fig. 6). Both the *dracones* of the Ludovisi sarcophagus and the arch of Constantine have beards on their chins. The crest of the Niederbieber *draco* is made of metal and is attached on the top of the head, but there is no

⁴⁶ The marble sarcophagus is now at Palazzo Altemps in Rome (inv. no. 8574). The lid is in The Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz (inv. no. O.9066). Literature: Kleiner (above n. 17) 389–390.

⁴⁷ *Dracones* are on the frieze that presents Constantine entering Rome. Literature: Kleiner (above n. 17) 444–55.



Fig. 5: Draco on the Ludovisi sarcophagus (photo by the author).

beard on the chin. It is highly possible that military *dracones* originally had beards, but that they were made of some organic material. Beards and crests are a conspicuous feature of *dracones*. Iconographically, snakes represented with crests in Roman art usually have beards as well. The snakes of Pompeian *lararia*, for instance, are very similar to the *draco* standard, and are usually depicted with crests and beards.⁴⁸ Aelian notes that beards and crests are distinctive characteristics of the male *draco*,⁴⁹ although traditionally both male and female *dracones* could have them. It is possible that by Aelian's time the beard had come to symbolize the manliness of male *dracones*, and this may have been reflected in the symbolism of the *draco* standard, but it seems more likely that the beard and crest symbolised the paranormal nature of *dracones*.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ To be more precise, Pompeian snakes are often presented as a pair, male and female. Usually at least the male is crested and bearded, but both can have crests and beards. E.g. H. I. Flower, *The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden: Religion at the Roman Street Corner*, Princeton 2017, 63. Examples of Pompeian snakes: G. K. Boyce, *Corpus of the Lararia of Pompeii* (MAAR 14), Ann Arbor 1937: 56 (pl. 27, 2); 99 (pl. 17, 1); 110 (pl. 28, 2); 156 (pl. 18, 1); 219 (pl. 15, 1 and 2); 224 (pl. 16, 1); 230 (pl. 27, 1); 316 (pl. 24, 1); 409 (pl. 26, 1); 419 (pl. 16, 2); 442 (pl. 26, 2); 468 (pl. 22, 1).

⁴⁹ Ael. NA. 11,26.

⁵⁰ Ogden (above n. 2) 159–60. Ogden remarks that beard and crest distinguish the great, supernatural



Fig. 6: *Draco on the Arch of Constantine* (photo by the author).

As with their beards, it is possible that *dracones* also had tongues sticking out of their open mouths. According to pictorial evidence, a protruding tongue seemed to be an essential part of the enemy *dracones*, and it looks like the *draco* of the Ludovisi sarcophagus might also have had a tongue in its mouth. *Dracones* were also depicted with notable dentition, and the teeth of the Niederbieber *draco* are serrated.⁵¹

In Roman art, the textile body of the Roman *draco* seems smooth and does not have ribbons attached to it as enemy *dracones* have. According to Gregory of Nazianzus, however, Roman *dracones* had woven scales on their bodies.⁵² When it comes to the colour of the standard's fabric body, Arrian says that the bodies are made of multicoloured cloths sewn together, but otherwise the bodies are usually described as purple.⁵³ The material may have been silk.⁵⁴

dracones from ordinary serpents: no common serpent is represented with beard and crest, although on the other hand they are not mandatory for supernatural *dracones*.

⁵¹ The *draco* in Roman use always looks very serpentine in the surviving sources, although in some cases the *dracones* are not portrayed in detail. The only exceptions are the *dracones* on the Portonaccio sarcophagus. The reasons for their divergent appearance are discussed below.

⁵² Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 4,66.

⁵³ Arr. *Tact.* 35,2–5. It must be remembered that the *dracones* described by Arrian were used in parades, and therefore might have been more ornate than “ordinary” *dracones*. For purple colouring of the *draco* see e.g. Amm. 15,5,16.

⁵⁴ Coulston (above n. 1) 109.

In many ways the Roman *draco* looked more natural than enemy *dracones*: it resembled a real, reptilian snake, whereas the enemy emblems had fanciful features. Ancient writers often emphasize that *dracones* looked like living snakes when the wind made their bodies writhe, and they were seen as both horrific and beautiful at the same time. The open mouths of the beasts seem to have made them especially fearsome in the eyes of an ancient viewer, because this feature is often mentioned. Writers also relate that *dracones* emitted hissing sounds when the wind blew through them. Apparently, some kind of device was attached to the standard in order to make the sound, and this undoubtably added to the impression of them being living, ferocious snakes about to attack.⁵⁵ All in all, the military standard has much in common with other representations of snakes in Roman art, and it seems reasonable to assume that they also shared common symbolic meanings as well.

Why was the snake the emblem of Rome?

The symbolism of the snake is thoroughly characterized by its duality. Throughout history the snake has signified both good and evil, healing and destructiveness, eternal life and death, and so on. The classical tradition likewise includes both horrific, beastly snakes and kind, benevolent ones. This naturally correlates with everyday encounters with snakes: poisonous and constricting snakes can undoubtably pose a real threat to the well-being of humans, but there are also many harmless species. Some snakes were even useful to ancient people, killing off the destructive rodents in their houses, gardens, and fields. One explanation for the polarity of snake symbolism is that in some areas, such as Greece and Rome, the attitude toward snakes was more positive because the species that lived in those countries were mainly harmless, whereas in Asia and Africa the serpent was seen in a more negative light due to the numerous dangerous species in those areas.⁵⁶ This certainly would correlate with the fact that the serpents in the Near Eastern tradition were often regarded as evil creatures, while the Greek and Roman tradition featured benevolent serpents, but it cannot be seen as the undisputed truth. Serpents evoked both admiration and abhorrence nearly

⁵⁵ E.g. Amm. 16,10,7.

⁵⁶ This is the explanation voiced by e.g. Pottier (above n. 2) 405.

universally, and several symbolic meanings were connected to snakes all over the world. This certainly applied to Rome as well, and several factors can explain why the Romans used the serpent as their military emblem.

In his article, Coulston suggests that the Roman *draco* may have come to resemble a snake due to the influence of the cult of the Thracian rider god.⁵⁷ The snake is featured in the iconography of the cult of the Thracian rider, who was identified with “nearly every Greek, Roman, Thracian, or eastern divinity”.⁵⁸ The rider is usually depicted approaching a snake-entwined tree or an altar, or as a hunter accompanied by different animals, one being a snake. Apparently, the cult was connected with concepts of life after death and healing, which are also symbolic meanings associated with the snake.⁵⁹ Yet, because the role of the snake in this cult is not at all martial, it would be strange if it had influenced the appearance of a military standard. Rider cults were common all over the east, and the snake is also featured in the Danubian rider cult. The serpent is often depicted as if floating in the air next to the rider, and sometimes the snake appears not as the companion of the rider, but as a *draco* standard. Dumitru Tudor, who has catalogued the monuments of Danubian riders, emphasizes that the *draco* as a military standard only appears on monuments after the Romans had adopted the standard to their own use, and therefore it cannot be seen as coming directly from the Scytho-Sarmatic or Dacian cultures.⁶⁰

It is not unreasonable to assume that the Romans actively sought out the snake as their emblem due to its characteristics and the cultural response it created. According to surviving evidence, *dracones* of other nations differed from Roman examples in their appearance. After all, military standards were psychologically important to the soldiers who marched under them, and through their standards the soldiers were able to identify themselves with the army and their unit. In this sense, as identity markers, military standards can

⁵⁷ Coulston (above n. 1) 109–10. This is also the opinion of Pârvan, see Pârvan (above n. 39) 125–26.

⁵⁸ N. Dimitrova, “Inscriptions and Iconography in the Monuments of the Thracian Rider”, *Hesperia* Vol. 71 No. 2 (2002) 211.

⁵⁹ According to Dimitrova, the iconography of the Thracian rider is borrowed from Greek funerary art representing the heroized dead, and does not evolve from a native Thracian tradition. Dimitrova (above n. 58) 213–14, 220.

⁶⁰ D. Tudor, *Corpus monumentorum religionis equitum Danuvinorum (CMRED) Vol. 2 The Analysis and Interpretation of the Monuments*, Leiden 1976, 113–17.

almost be seen as national emblems, and it would only make sense that different nations wanted to personalize their standards and make them look different from the enemy emblems.⁶¹ As a matter of fact, the first *dracones* represented in art as being in Roman use are similar to the *dracones* of their enemies: they look like wolves, with pointed ears and canine muzzles. Arrian, on the other hand, mentions that the *dracones* used in cavalry parades looked like snakes. That the Romans may have initially wavered regarding the appearance of their *dracones* might in fact speak in favour of them having chosen the snake as their symbol on their own initiative, for although they apparently had the lupine variation of the standard in use at some point, the snake soon became the only type that the Romans used.⁶² If one accepts that the Romans chose the serpent as their symbol of their own accord, then certain features and traits that are considered characteristic to snakes must be the key to understanding the symbolic meaning of the standard.⁶³

Snakes have several characteristics that usually evoke a response, either biological or cultural, that range from horrified to fascinating or even mystical. They differ from mammals in many ways: they have limbless, elongated, scaled bodies. They slither swiftly and silently and can be quite inconspicuous. They can move on the earth, in water, and climb trees (i.e. move in the air), so it seems they can go anywhere and appear unexpectedly from anywhere. What makes snakes especially frightening is their life-threatening qualities: both venomous and constricting snakes represent death. In ancient times the bite of the snake often meant an inevitable demise. That this death can approach imperceptibly from any direction and suddenly snatch even those in their prime makes it even more

⁶¹ The role of some military standards was mostly tactical, while some of them were important precisely because they symbolized the unity of the army, and ultimately the unity of Rome. Moreover, Roman military standards also had a political nature. As Dirven notes, the standards symbolized loyalty to the emperor and the state. Soldiers swore oaths on the standards and sacrificed to them. Conquered enemies were also obliged to pay honours to the standards as a sign of submission. Thus, the standards and the state were closely entwined in Roman thought: L. Dirven, “ΣΗΜΗΘΙΟΝ, ΣΜΥ , signum: a Note on the Romanization of the Semitic Cultic Standard.” *Parthica* 7 (2005) 132.

⁶² For the first pictorial evidence of the standard in Roman use, see note 17.

⁶³ It is not possible to deal with the wide and varied general symbolism of the snake in the scope of this paper. I have chosen to deal with those I feel are connected to the symbolism of the *draco* the military standard.

frightening.⁶⁴ As for the *draco*, ancient authors such as Nicander and Pliny relate that it is a non-venomous snake.⁶⁵ According to Pliny and Aelian, it rather kills by constricting.⁶⁶ In either case, it was conceived of as perilous, and symbolically those who had such snakes on their side had a type of mastery over life and death.⁶⁷ Thus, on the battlefield, advancing enemy *dracones*, with their bodies writhing in the air and their open mouths hissing savagely, might have had a huge psychological effect on opposing soldiers.

Concerning the open mouth of the *draco*, another factor that makes snakes frightening is that they devour their prey. Some can swallow whole an animal many times their own size. Ancient writers clearly associated this quality of snakes with military *dracones*: as already pointed out, they often mentioned their gaping mouths and seemed to think that this made them dreadful. In his satire *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit*, Lucian of Samosata ridicules a historian who pretends to be an eyewitness to a battle between Parthians and Romans, although he has never set foot outside his hometown. This “eyewitness” describes Parthian *dracones* as living, horrifying snakes that were released from their staffs during the battle and devoured many Roman soldiers.⁶⁸ Although this tale is purposefully extravagant, it may reflect the reality of how *dracones* were perceived from the enemy’s point of view.⁶⁹ Claudian is another author

⁶⁴ J.H. Charlesworth, *The Good and Evil Serpent: How a Universal Symbol Became Christianized*, New Haven 2010, 44–55.

⁶⁵ Nic. *Ther.* 446–57; Plin. *nat.* 29,21.

⁶⁶ Plin. *nat.* 8,12; Ael. *NA.* 2,21; 6,21.

⁶⁷ Real, living snakes may have been used as weapons in ancient warfare exactly because they aroused fear in the opposing side, and threw their lines into disarray. To the enemy these snakes meant danger, and *draco* the military standard had the same meaning on a symbolic level. See e.g. Frontin. *strat.* 4,7,10.

⁶⁸ Lucian *Hist. conscr.* 29.

⁶⁹ That *dracones* are a fascinating yet frightening sight is a recurring theme in ancient literature: apart from Lucian, this aspect is stressed by Arrian (*Arr. Tact.* 35,2–5.), Gregory of Nazianzus (*Greg. Naz. Orat.* 4,66), Ammianus Marcellinus (*Amm.* 16,10,7), Nemesianus (*Nemes. Cyn.* 81–85), Claudian (*5,181–188; 5,387–389; 7,138–141; 8,574–576; 28,601–605*) and Sidonius Apollinaris (*2,32–235; 5,402–407*). Even if the way that *dracones* were described may partly have been a literary *topos*, the literary testimony should not be underestimated. The appearance of *dracones* was very different from other ancient military standards, and no other type of standard is described as vividly in literature. Arrian and Ammianus Marcellinus had military experience themselves and were probably familiar with the standard, yet they seem to be no less impressed by it than other authors. It might also be

who noted the horrible gaping mouths of *dracones*. He relates how some young Roman maidens who were following a triumphal procession wondered whether it was the wind that moved the *dracones* or whether they were really living snakes, about to grab the enemy in their jaws.⁷⁰ Undoubtedly the open, toothed mouth of the *draco* symbolized the snake's ability to devour its prey and served as a threat to the enemy.

Because snakes are able to cause inevitable and sudden death, they were also connected to the concept of power. In one of the minor scenes of the *Ara pacis Augustae*, for instance, a snake is approaching a nest of hatchlings and is about to swallow them. This has been interpreted as symbolizing Rome and its superiority over its enemies, who are like the weak hatchlings of the scene and do not stand a chance against the encroaching might of Rome.⁷¹ Similarly, the *draco* standard could be seen as a symbol of Roman sovereignty over the world.⁷² Later, when the standard was the personal emblem of the emperor, it was lavishly decorated. The body was made of fine fabric and the staff was gilded and adorned with precious jewels.⁷³ The opulence of the standard strengthened the message of power, although as an emblem of the emperor it also had a practical role to fulfil. There was a need for an instantly identifiable emblem when the role of emperors became more prominent in warfare from the third century onwards,⁷⁴ and the *draco* was perfectly suited to the task.⁷⁵

remembered that the ancient world was not as filled with visual and auditive stimuli as the modern world is, and thus the *draco* would have made a much more impressive sight for the ancient viewer than for the modern.

⁷⁰ Claud. 28,564–568. In addition, Gregory of Nazianzus emphasizes the gaping mouths of *dracones* (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 4,66), Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm. 16,10,7) and Sidonius Apollinaris (Sidon. *carm.* 50,402–7).

⁷¹ A. Harden, “Animals in Classical Art”, in G. L. Campbell (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, Oxford 2014, 51.

⁷² Likewise, the *aquila* was seen as a symbol of Roman dominion: Joseph. *BJ.* 3,6,2; L. Hawtree, “Animals in Epic”, in G. L. Campbell (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, Oxford 2014, 75.

⁷³ Amm. 16,10,7.

⁷⁴ Coulston (above n. 1) 110.

⁷⁵ At the battle of Argentoratum, when the emperor Julian saw that some of his cavalymen were about to flee, he rode towards them with his standard. On recognising him by his *draco*, the soldiers rallied: Amm. 16,12,39–40. Snakes were connected with sovereignty, so the choice of the *draco* as the

Considering the snake's reputation as a bringer of death, it is not surprising that it was often seen as a sinister omen, especially if the creature was somehow peculiar in its appearance, or it was seen in an unusual place. For instance, Livy mentions crested snakes as worrisome portents.⁷⁶ The disasters that these portents forecast, of course, was often death. In the same manner, it could be argued, the crested *draco* standard was an omen of approaching death for the enemy who saw it advancing on the battlefield.

The snake was a symbol of chaotic, uncontrollable, and life-threatening forces, and this seems to be the significance of the snake in ancient *draco*/δράκων-slaying myths. These legends may have influenced later Christian myths with similar motifs. In these tales, a hero slays a huge serpent that is terrorizing the area it inhabits. In these stories, the animal is often sacred to and sent by some god.⁷⁷ Although beastly, the animal itself cannot be seen as either good or bad; it is following its nature. Therefore, it is a symbol of unpredictable nature, which is often hostile to human beings in the form of natural disasters.⁷⁸ In myths, it is possible to give a form to these chaotic forces and disarm them through the medium of a hero. As Ogden states, the best way to fight a *draco* was to have a *draco* on one's own side.⁷⁹ Therefore, it could be seen that the sinister forces of the *draco* were needed in order to fight an equally sinister enemy.

The most fundamental symbolic role of the serpent in antiquity, however, was that of a guardian. Ancient mythology knows numerous snakes who guarded a treasure or some other important resource. Ladon, the guardian of the golden

imperial insignia was not merely tactical. Tales of serpentine parentage were connected with many famous men, such as Alexander the Great, Scipio Africanus, and Augustus. The purpose of these tales, of course, was to emphasize the divine origin of these men, as it was a god who had sired them in the form of a serpent. Ogden (above n. 2) 330–41.

⁷⁶ Some of the snake portents in Livy: Liv. 1,56,4; 41,9,5; 43,13,4. We have far fewer reports of such prodigies from later centuries, and therefore fewer examples of snake portents as well, but it seems unlikely that the interpretation of these omens would have altered.

⁷⁷ Examples of ancient *draco*/δράκων-slaying myths: Heracles slaying the Hydra, Apollo slaying Python, and Cadmus slaying the serpent of Ares.

⁷⁸ Fontenrose sees that the roots of such combat myths were in more concrete encounters between herdsmen and hunters and wild animals and brigands. J. Fontenrose, *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origins*, Los Angeles 1959, 217–218. See also Ogden (above n. 2) 26–147, Merkelbach (above n. 2) 229–231 and Pottier (above n. 2) 404, 407.

⁷⁹ Ogden (above n. 2) 215.

apples in the garden of the Hesperides, or Python of Delphi, or the ever-alert guardian dragon of the golden fleece, will suffice as examples. The concept of the snake as a guardian is nearly universal, as it can be found in various cultures all over the world.⁸⁰ The medieval dragon later inherited the snake's role as a guardian of treasure, and thus dragons are known as hoarders of treasures even today.

In Greece, snakes served as manifestations of an *agathodaemon*, a benevolent spirit, that apart from being associated with prosperity and fertility also played a role in funerary cults, and was a protector of households, societies, and territories. Regarding this last role, the Roman concept of the *genius loci* comes close to that of the *agathodaemon*. Snakes portrayed on Pompeian shrines and wall paintings have been identified as these guardian spirits of those places.⁸¹ They are guarding families and their households from hostile intruders, and thus they are menacing to outsiders but protective of their own. This characteristic would certainly have been considered proper for the *dracones* of military standards as well.⁸² As already stated, iconographically the *draco* standard has similarities with Pompeian snakes. Similarly to the *draco*, the Pompeian snakes have crests and beards. With their raised heads they look slightly menacing, as if they were about to attack, although the target of the Pompeian snakes is usually a sacrificial offering. Nonetheless, their open, toothed mouths and protruding tongues are similar to those of the *dracones*, and may be seen as distinctive features of a fierce and relentless guardian judging by representations of *dracones* in classical art. The famous guardian *dracones* of mythology, as well as those of Pompeii, all share these features, whereas *dracones* in other contexts are presented quite differently. For instance, the *dracones* associated with the cult of Asclepius usually seem much more tranquil.

⁸⁰ That snakes were seen as suitable guardians in various cultures is undoubtedly partly due to the fact that they have no eyelids, and thus they seem to be always awake: e.g. Charlesworth (above n. 64) 46. Indeed, the guardian snakes of mythology are usually described as being ever vigilant and never sleeping. Even the word *draco* is thought to derive from the Greek verb δέρκεσθαι, to see clearly: Ogden (above n. 2) 173. When discussing serpents, ancient authors often mention their sharp gaze: e.g. Ael. NA. 6,63; Lucr. 5,32–34.

⁸¹ Other suggestions concerning the meaning of Pompeian snakes have been made, but the evidence in favour of them being *genii loci* seem convincing. On Pompeian snakes as *genii loci*: e.g. G. K. Boyce, "Significance of the Serpents on Pompeian House Shrines", *AJA* 46 (1942) 14–22; Flower (above n. 48) 63–70.

⁸² It is noteworthy that the Senmurv is also considered a benevolent helper of human beings.

Aelian and Pliny the Elder both mention snakes living on the banks of Euphrates who will not hurt the natives living in the area, but will kill all intruders.⁸³ Thus, because of its territorial behaviour, its ruthlessness towards enemies and simultaneous devotion to its charges, the serpent was a sensible choice for the emblem of a military standard, as the Roman army and its soldiers were expected to defend Rome in an equally vigorous manner.

In order for the *draco* to survive in the service of later Christian emperors, as it did for quite some time, the symbolism attached to it most likely had to change. The *draco* may no longer have been seen as a benevolent guardian, but rather as a symbol of God's power and his ability to command even the most fierce and savage beings by sending them against his enemies. In the Book of Numbers of the Old Testament, God sends snakes⁸⁴ among the Israelites who speak against Moses and God in order to show his power. As for the *draco* the military standard, the destructive nature of the serpent was harnessed and focused against the enemy, and the *draco* was no longer an active agent but merely a medium through which God exercised his power.⁸⁵ It might also be considered that certain characteristics of the serpent may have been considered suitable for soldiers, even though they were not otherwise seen as virtues. In the Bible, Leviathan is described as more fearless, mightier, stronger, and fiercer than any other creature.⁸⁶ These were certainly good qualities for a soldier to have, and it might be argued that in a war it was acceptable for a soldier to harden his heart and be fearless and proud like the serpent.⁸⁷ However, yet more profound explanation is needed in order to elucidate how it was possible for the *draco* to survive as a symbol of the Christian emperors and army. In the book of numbers, after God had sent fiery serpents among the people and they began to beg for

⁸³ Ael. NA. 9,29; Plin. nat. 8,93.

⁸⁴ These snakes are "the fiery *saraphs*" of the Bible. *Saraph* means "burning" in Hebrew. Most probably it refers to the burning sensation that the venom of these snake causes.

⁸⁵ Vulg. num. 21,5–6.

⁸⁶ Vulg. Job 41,1–34. The passage uses martial vocabulary to describe Leviathan.

⁸⁷ At any rate, the dragon was a popular motif in medieval heraldry precisely because of its martial qualities, but the ambivalent attitude toward snakes was ever present: for instance, Pope Gregory XIII (16th century) was demonized by his political adversaries because the emblem on his family's coat of arms was a dragon.

mercy, God instructs Moses to build a serpent and put it on a standard,⁸⁸ so that when those who had been bitten looked upon it they would be cured.⁸⁹ A similar type of bronze snake is alluded to in the Gospel of John: the snake that Moses lifts up on a standard in the desert is compared to Christ who is elevated on the cross.⁹⁰ The story of the bronze snake is important to Christian theology, because the serpent symbolizes Christ and the whole episode is seen as a prediction of the crucifixion of Christ and of the resurrection that followed it. It is entirely possible that the *draco* military standard reminded Christians of the serpent standard of Moses, especially when we know that the same kind of symbolism was most likely attached to another narrow, vertical object: the serpent column of Constantinople.⁹¹ This pagan monument continued to be an object of reverence in the Christian era, because it was seen as an apotropaic talisman that prevented venomous snakes from entering into the city. It was a common belief in the Byzantine world that serpent-like demons could be exorcized with their own image, just as *dracones* fought with *dracones* in antiquity.⁹² Because the serpent column was packed with this kind of symbolism and was likened to the bronze serpent of Moses, it came to be seen as a portent of the resurrection of Christ and, ultimately, the triumph of good over evil. Through its association with Christ, the bronze serpent became the counterpart of the evil serpents of the Bible.⁹³ In the previously mentioned Byzantine signet rings, it looks like the standard and the snake under the soldier's feet are opposites of each other. Therefore, despite its anguine form, the standard could be seen to possess similar symbolism as the serpent column; in other words, it was seen as an apotropaic Christian symbol that had the power to ward off the enemy and that ultimately

⁸⁸ The word used in the Hebrew Bible is נֵס (*nes*), a standard, ensign, signal, sign; in the Septuagint, σημεῖον, and in the Vulgate, *signum*.

⁸⁹ *Vulg. num.* 21, 8–9.

⁹⁰ *Vulg. Ioh.* 3,13,16.

⁹¹ R. Strootman, "The Serpent Column: The Persistent Meanings of a Pagan Relic in Christian and Islamic Constantinople", *Material Religion* 10 (4) 432–51. The column was set up as a votive offering to Apollo at Delphi after the battle of Plateia (479 BCE). It was then brought to Constantinople by Constantine the Great. The column represented an intertwined three-headed serpent. The remains are still at the former hippodrome of Constantinople (now *Sultan Ahmet Square*). A part of one of the heads is on display at the Istanbul archaeological museum.

⁹² Strootman (above n. 91) 437–8, 441–42.

⁹³ Strootman (above n. 91) 442–444.

symbolised the victory of Christianity over paganism. This symbolism could explain why the *draco* survived in Christian usage despite the increasingly negativity attitude towards snakes, although it was not entirely able to negate the ambivalent feelings the animal aroused.

Conclusions

As a Roman military standard, the *draco* resembled a serpent and thus differed somewhat from the similar standards of other nations. It has been proposed that the Romans adopted the emblem outright, but while this possibility cannot be excluded with complete certainty, the role of the Romans themselves in the development of their *dracones* should not be underestimated. The personalization of such standards would only be understandable, as military standards were emotionally significant identity markers of the army and nation. Many factors made the serpent a suitable choice for the Romans. The snake was an ancient apotropaic symbol, and while on one hand it was seen as a symbol of destructive, chaotic forces, on the other hand its image was also able to repel these cataclysmic powers. The snake was also a fearsome and merciless predator. It was able to bring death to its prey in various hideous ways: either by poisoning, constricting, or swallowing its victims whole. All of these deaths were painful and feared, which in turn aroused fear towards snakes, and the inconspicuous nature of the creature only increased that fear. Thus, the snake became a symbol of death, and seeing one was often interpreted as an unfortunate omen. Because of its ability to cause inevitable death, the snake was also a symbol of power. When the *draco* became the emblem of the emperor, this aspect increased its significance. Perhaps the most essential symbolic role of the serpent, however, is that of a guardian, and as a military standard the *draco* was a protector of Rome, its grandeur and its people. Thus, it was precisely the ambiguous nature of the serpent that made it an excellent emblem for a military standard: to the enemy it signified death, but to the Romans it symbolized protection and power.

In ancient warfare, psychological factors often played a decisive role in determining the outcome of a battle. The demoralization of the enemy, while lifting up the spirits of one's own troops, was paramount. The *draco* was somewhat unique among ancient military standards because it provided both visual and

auditory stimuli to a person who encountered it. The *draco* clearly made a huge impression on ancient authors, who never cease to wonder at its resemblance to a living snake, and while this may partly be a literary *topos*, the standard must have been an impressive sight to a person not accustomed to it. Many of the symbolic qualities of the snake are universal, and thus any spectator would instantly have perceived the message of the advancing *dracones*. This message changed over time, however, and Christianity ascribed new meanings to the *draco*. Although Christians found a positive symbolism for the standard and were able to continue its use, the ambiguousness of the serpent became emphasized and evidently had its impact on the *draco*, as its appearance in literary and visual sources becomes scarcer and scarcer over time. The design of military standards also changed, and three-dimensional emblems gave way to military banners. At some point the *draco* ceased to exist in the form it was known in the Roman Empire, but the sense of fascination with the animal and admiration of its martial virtues remained, as the dragon became a popular motif in medieval heraldry.

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ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

337. IMMER NOCH NEUE UND SELTENE NAMEN

Diesmal nur wenige Beobachtungen.¹

Abininus: s. unten unter ‘Verkannte Namen’.

Accianus: Kajanto 139 mit einem Beleg aus dem Senatorenstand. Davon scheint eine sekundäre Graphie zu vertreten *Acianus*, belegt einige Male: *AE* 1974, 294 (Velia) *Iulius Acianus*; *AEA* 2008, 102 (Flavia Solva in Noricum); *CIL* XIII 10010, 24 (Instrumentum). *Acianus* wäre als Cognomen sonst schwer erklärbar.

Agaso: *Rep.* 289 aus *CIL* VI 862*. Dazu *ICUR* 22986 *Agaso* (zur Überlieferung C. Carletti, *Epigrafia dei Cristiani in Occidente dal III al VII secolo. Ideologia e prassi*, Bari 2008, 191 Nr. 77).

***Donadei:** Kajanto 217 aus *Greg. M. epist.* 12, 8. Dieser Name verschwindet. Im *Epistolarium* Gregors 12, 8 findet sich kein Name, der auch nur annähernd in Frage käme. Wahrscheinlich hatte Kajanto *epist.* 12, 3 (601 n.Chr.) im Sinne, dort kommt aber ein Name vor, von dem nur in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung eine Nebenform *Donadei* bekannt ist. Die fragliche Stelle heißt bei Norberg (CC 140A, 1982), dessen Text als der beste anzusehen ist, *intolerabilis Donatdei latoris praesentium*; Hartmann in *MGH epist.* II (1899) druckt *Donatdeum*. Beide Lesarten sind handschriftlich überliefert, doch würde ich der Wahl von Norberg den Vorzug geben, da Genitiv gefordert wird. Der nicht überlieferte Nominativ mag *Donatdeus* geheißen haben (zur Erklärung vgl. gleich unten). Die Form *Donadei* findet sich (Norberg zufolge) nur im *Cod. Paris. Nouv. acq.*

¹ Mein Dank geht an Polly Lohmann (Heidelberg) für die Durchsicht meines deutschen Ausdrucks.

1452. Man kann nicht nachvollziehen, woher Kajanto auf diese Form gestoßen ist; ein Lapsus mentis des großen Forschers? Jedenfalls muss er eben diese Stelle im Sinn gehabt haben, da *Donatdeus* sonst bei ihm nirgends angeführt wird.

Donatdeus: Greg. M. *epist.* 12, 3, wo der zu erfordernde Genitiv auf verschiedene Weisen überliefert ist (vgl. den Apparat von Norberg, CC 140A, der *Donatdei*, gegen *Donatdeum* von Hartmann, *MGH epist.* II, bietet). *Donatdeum* ist eine unwahrscheinliche Bildung (es ist der Gott, nicht der Mensch, der schenkt). Aufgrund von parallelen Namen kann man mit gewisser Wahrscheinlichkeit als Nominativ *Donatdeus* festlegen. Vgl. Namen wie *Habetdeus*, der besonders in Afrika, aber auch sonst einigermaßen belegt ist (vgl. Kajanto 217, wo hinzuzufügen *ICUR* 5215; *CIL* X 7744 fem. *Abeddea*); andere von Kajanto angeführte Namen: *Quodvultdeus*, der beliebt wurde (bekannt ist auch *Quoddeusvult* *CIL* X 8045); *Quoddeu(s)* Kajanto mit einem Beleg, füge hinzu *AE* 2001, 2102 (Lambaesis); *Vincetdeus* Kajanto mit einem Beleg, dazu *AE* 1916, 99 (Carthago).

**Ferullus:* Kajanto 268 aus *CIL* X 254. Der Name verschwindet, in der Inschrift ist *Verullus* zu lesen (mündliche Mitteilung von Umberto Soldovieri, dem gedankt sei; zu diesem Namen vgl. unten unter *Verullus*). Ein solcher Name wäre auch etwas schwer erklärbar; Kajanto denkt mit Vorbehalt an eine Ableitung aus *ferus*, was durch nichts einleuchtet. Auch eine griechische Erklärung scheint ausgeschlossen.

Honorina: Kajanto 280 mit vier christlichen Belegen. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 241 mit zwei christlichen Belegen. Da es nicht ganz sicher ist, welche Belege Kajanto mit den von ihm angeführten vier meint, stelle ich hier unten alle mir bekannten christlichen Belege zusammen: *PLRE* II 568 (ihr ganzer Name in *CIL* XI 276) *Iusta Grata Honorina Augusta* (417/418–452?); *ICUR* 6209, 10925b, 15709; *CIL* XI 7207 (Clusium); V 365 (Parentium), 5241 (Transpadana); *AE* 1992, 1080a (Hispanien); *CIL* XIII 3842 (Augusta Treverorum), 6311 (Aqua); *ILTG* 271 (Lugdunum, 495 n. Chr.); A. Zettler, *Offerenteninschriften auf den Mosaikfußböden Venetiens und Histriens* (2001) 220 Nr. 8 (Emona); *CIL* III 9506 (Saloniae); *AE* 2010, 1233 (Dalmatien, etwa 2. Jh.); *CIL* VIII 23038c, 26903; *ILAlg* II 2700 (Celtianis); *I. Altava* 196 (521 n. Chr.). *Honorius -ia* war auch ein nicht ganz selten belegter Gentilname, aber wenigstens die späten Belege sind besser als ein echtes Cognomen aufzufassen. – C. Slavich, *La collezione epigrafica della casa museo dell'antiquariato Ivan Bruschi*, Roma 2019, 57 Nr. 42 ist wohl heidnisch und fragmentarisch und

kann auch [---]ae *Honori[nae]* oder *Honori[llae]* ergänzt werden.

Mustianus: Rep. 366 aus SEG XXXIII 507 (Beroia). Dazu CIL VIII 18831; BCTH 1941–1943, 278 (Lambaesis). Es ist nicht nötig, den Namen in Afrika als epichorisch einzustufen; der Gentilname *Mustius*, obschon häufig in Afrika, kommt auch anderswo vor.

Νερατίολος(?): PIR2 N 40. So soll in *Fouilles de Xanthos* VII 104 Nr. 46 ein Mitglied der senatorischen Familie des Domitius Apollinaris genannt sein. Die Existenz eines solchen Namens bleibt aber ganz unsicher; vgl. O. Salomies, *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature in the Roman Empire* (1992) 152.

Olivula: Rep. 372 aus ICUR 23583. Dazu *Olibula religiosa femina* aus Spolegium Gelas. *Epist. pontif.* 40 p. 453 Thiel = PCBE *Italie* 1550f (zwischen 492 und 496).

Rufiniana: Kajanto 154 = 229 mit einem heidnischen und einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu AE 2001, 429 (Rom, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) [---]viae M. f. *Rufiniane*; ICUR 14601 *Rufinane* (wohl Dativ des Frauennamens, kaum Vokativ des Männernamens), 19270; AE 1980, 540 (Ebora in Lusitanien, circa 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Calpurnia Titi filia Rufiniana*. Der Männername *Rufinianus* war dagegen im allgemeinen Gebrauch.

Rufininus: NSA 1901, 26 (Grumentum, etwa 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Furius Rufininus*. Ganz unnötigerweise wollen Chr. Laes – A. Buonopane, *Grumentum: The Epigraphical Landscape of a Roman Town in Lucania*, Turnhout 2020, 164f n. 91 das Cognomen in *Rufinianus* ändern, weil *Rufininus* sonst nicht belegt sei! Vgl. aber meine Bemerkungen in *Presentazione*, in A. Sansone, *Lucania romana: Ricerche di prosopografia e storia sociale*, Roma 2021, 9.

Sollemnius: Kajanto 221 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu CIL VI 28117 (vgl. unten S. 252); ICUR 12016.

Verulla: EDR 131750 (Volsinii, 2./3. Jh.) *Larcia Verulla*. Zur Deutung vgl. zu *Verullus*, hier gleich unten.

! *Verullus*: Kajanto 254 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu CIL X 254 (gewonnen durch eine Neulesung von Umberto Soldovieri, dem gedankt sein); RIB III 3426 *Secundinius Verullus*. Doch diese Form (wie auch *Verulla*) kann auch gr. Βήρυλλος vertreten, welches Cognomen auch im römischen Westen gut belegt ist (allein in Rom 41mal belegt, mit fünf Belegen für *Berylla*), s. mein griechisches Namenbuch 1220f.

338. FALSCHENAMEN

Allea. AE 2018, 121 aus Rom: *Allea Rufina* heißt die Mutter des Verstorbenen. *Alleus* ist aber kein Name, weswegen hier zweifellos *Alleia* vorliegt.

Gymnes. Diesen Namen will S. Antolini in der stadtrömischen christlichen Inschrift *La collezione epigrafica di Villa Due Pini a Montecassiano*, Tivoli 2005, 72 (= AE 2005, 263) *Gymneti benemerent(i)* festlegen; das Namenwort sei γυμνής-ἦτος 'Leichtbewaffneter'. Dies ist unwahrscheinlich. Der Name heißt viel eher *Gymne*; wie allbekannt, hatten die obliquen Kasus griechischer Namen der ersten Deklination sehr oft den Ausgang *-eti(s)*. Dass *Gymne*, wie auch *Gymnus*, in der antiken Anthroponymie nicht belegt ist,² kann auf Zufall beruhen; dagegen wurde das gleichbedeutende γυμνάς in der römischen Anthroponymie als Frauenname gebraucht: *CIL* VI 10018; V 41 (Pola); *Epigraphica* 51 (1989) 195 Nr. 91 (Lipara, fragmentarisch *Gymn[---]*); *HEp* 2013, 148 (Baetica); in der griechischen Welt als Männername *SEG* XXXV 1309, 2 (Apameia in Pontos, kaiserzeitlich) Μαστρὸς ὁ καὶ Γυμνάς. Überhaupt sind Namen auf *Gymn-* selten; abgesehen von Namen, die zu *Gymnasium* gebildet sind, die anders stehen), kenne ich nur *CIL* VIII 1047 *Gymnicus*; AE 1990, 104 besser *Arctos* 26 (1992) 125 *Gymneros* und AE 1984, 77 *Gymnochares*; aus der griechischen Welt Γυμνικός *IG* II² 2128, 56 (184/5 n.Chr.); Γύμνιτος (Bildung?) *IG* II² 2049, 88 (142/3 n.Chr.).

339. VERKANNTENAMEN

Abininus. *CIL* VIII 11236 aus Capsa in Byzacena ist Grabinschrift eines *Frontonius Fortis Abininus f(lamen) p(erpetuus)*. Die Überlieferung des Cognomens ist umstritten. Der Editor wollte es in *Abidianus* ändern, mit Hinweis auf einige Parallelen in *CIL* VIII. Aber René Cagnat teilt dem Editor mit, *Abininus* stehe fest. Trotzdem finden wir in den Namenindices von *CIL* VIII auf S. 29 des Indexbandes *Frontonius Fortis Abi[d]i[a]nus* und auf S. 74 *Abidianus*. Ich würde mich in diesem Fall auf die Autorität Cagnats verlassen. Ein Umstand könnte freilich für *Abidianus* sprechen, nämlich, dass als zweites Cognomen vorzugsweise Bildungen mit dem Suffix *-ianus* erscheinen, das ist aber keine feste Regel. *Abininus* wird hier zum ersten Mal gebraucht; auch *Abidianus* ist

² Ein unsicherer Fall von Γυμνός *I. Pergamon* II 743–744.

selten (Kajanto *Latin Cognomina* 139 zitiert zwei Belege; dazu Αιλία Ἀβιδιανή IG II² 7701, was freilich auch zu *Avidiana* gehören könnte).

Epaphra. In *Epigrafia ostiense dopo il CIL* (2018) 223, col. II, 1 (= *AE* 2018, 253) drucken die Editoren A. Livio A. l. *Epaphr[od(ito)]*. Das kann sein; aus dem beigefügten Foto zu urteilen fehlen nach EPAPHR zwei Buchstaben. Da aber die Namen in der Inschrift sonst immer ausgeschrieben werden, ist es besser, A. Livio A. l. *Epaphr[ae]* zu lesen.

340. VARIA URBANA

1. *CIL* VI 8644 gilt heute allgemein als Fälschung: so etwa M. Alfiero, *Suppl. It. Imagines*, Roma 1, 2052; S. Panciera, in *Res bene gestae. Ricerche di storia urbana su Roma antica in onore di E. M. Steinby*, Roma 2007, 300f; S. Orlandi, *Veleia* 29, 2012, 190f, 2019, p. 48. Und freilich ist das in den Kapitulinischen Museen aufbewahrte Exemplar zweifellos nicht-antik, wie man an den Buchstabenformen leicht erkennen kann. Der älteste Zeuge der Inschrift ist Ligorio, *Neap.* l. 39 f. 82 = p. 129, der den Text ohne Stellenangabe gibt. Man hat allgemein angenommen, dass Ligorios Text nur eine Papierkopie vertritt und dass der Verfertiger des kapitulinischen Exemplars aus dieser Papierversion schöpft. Dagegen scheint aber zu sprechen, dass Panvinio und Cittadini, von denen der erste den Text von Ligorio wiederholt, der zweite daraus schöpft, die Aufbewahrungsstelle angeben (Villa oder Garten des Iulius III). Schwieriger zu beurteilen sind die großen Unterschiede der Textgestaltung zwischen dem ligorianischen Exemplar und der kapitulinischen Kopie. Was aber entscheidend ist, das kapitulinische Exemplum gibt meines Erachtens keine Fälschung wieder, sondern ist moderne Kopie einer echten Inschrift. Der Text, weder des ligorianischen Exemplars noch der kapitulinischen Kopie, enthält nichts Verdächtiges.

2. *CIL* VI 10683 und 21021 gehören ein und derselben Person, der *L. Laelius* (*L. l.*) *Eros Asiaticus* hieß. Das hat man freilich längst gesehen (*CIL* VI p. 3507 und Bangs Gentilnamenindex 118). Nun wird aber in 10683 die erste Zeile mit *L·AELIO·L·L·EROTI* wiedergegeben, und demzufolge wird an beiden Stellen <L.> *Laelio* konjiziert. Da ist aber keine Konjekture nötig, denn der einzige Zeuge, P. Sabinus, *Cod. Ottob. Lat.* 2015 f. 141v, gibt *L·LAELIO·L·LEROTI*.

3. *CIL* VI 17267 = 33828. Vgl. *Arctos* 53 (2019) 215f. Es sei noch hinzugefügt, dass wohl P·P·ACT von 33828 statt P·P·A·CL von 17267 zu lesen ist. Auch Nymphidia war also Sklavin. Falsch G. Ottavianelli, EDR137082.

4. *CIL* VI 19221 wird von Henzen aufgrund des einzigen Zeugen P. Sabinus, *Cod. Ott. Lat.* 2014 f. 141v folgendermaßen wiedergegeben: HELPINICA·DAVOS·NOMVS. Sabinus hat ·HELPI·MGA·DAVOS·NOMVS·, wie auch Henzen gesehen hat. Das führt eher zu *Helpini Ga, Davos, Nomus*. Dass Sabinus NI mit M wiedergegeben hat, ist ein Fehler, der sich auch sonst finden lässt. Eine *Helpis* wird von drei Gefährten Ga, Davos und Nomus bestattet. Alle vier Namen sind in Rom reichlich belegt, wie auch die *n*-Flexion von *Helpis*. Es sei noch bemerkt, dass die Form *Helpinica* sonst nirgends in lateinischen Inschriften belegt ist (es zählt wenig, dass auch (*H*)*elpinice* nicht belegt ist, denn in Rom ist jedenfalls Ἐλπιν(ε)ίκη öfters belegt, dazu s. mein griechisches Namenbuch 48). Auch in der griechischen Welt ist Ἐλινίκα einmalig, nur aus *IG* IX 1, 287 bekannt, während Ἐλπινίκη in verschiedenen Teilen der griechischen Welt vorkommt. – Henzen behauptet, dass Sabinus die Inschrift mit *CIL* VI 27684 verbinde. Das stimmt nicht, denn die beiden Texte sind voneinander deutlich getrennt.

5. *CIL* VI 28117, 2–3 wird falsch *Sollemmo* gelesen, wie aus dem Foto hervorgeht. Auf den ersten Blick wäre man versucht *Sollemno* zu lesen, wie in EDR133059 (mit Foto) gelesen wird.³ Das Problem ist, dass ein Dativ *Sollemno* statt dem zu erwartenden *Sollemni* sonst nirgends epigraphisch überliefert ist. An sich wäre eine Konfusion der Deklination in vulgärer Sprache möglich, doch sollte man eine Zuflucht dazu nur dann greifen, wenn andere Erklärungsmöglichkeiten versagen. Aufgrund des in EDR publizierte Fotos fragt man sich, ob vielleicht *Sollemnio* mit Nexus von I und O gelesen werden könnte (es scheint, als ob in der Mitte von O ein vertikaler Strich da wäre, sicher ist es aber nicht). Ein solcher Nexus war aber ungebräuchlich; keine Beispiele in Hübners *Exempla scripturae*. *Sollemnius* wurde als Gentilicium meistens in der provinziellen Namengebung gebraucht (*CIL* VI 36356; XIII 7535a, 6158; *AE* 1981, 692; *EDCS* 685 aus Apamea in Syrien. Doch existierte auch das Cognomen *Sollemnius*: ein Beleg vom Jahre 411 in Kajantos *Latin Cognomina* 221; dazu *PIR*² C 1030 (erste Hälfte des 3. Jh.) *Claudius Sollemnius Pacatianus*, wo *Sollemnius*

³ Vidman im Cognominaindex von *CIL* VI S. 333 fragt, ob **Sollemmus* für *Sollemnius* stehen könnte.

wohl als Cognomen aufzufassen ist;⁴ *ICUR* 12016. Unser neuer Beleg in *CIL* VI 28117 lässt sich chronologisch etwa in die zweite Hälfte des 2. oder in die erste Hälfte des 3. Jh. einordnen, in eine Zeit also, da der Gebrauch des neuen späten Cognomensuffixes *-ius* schon eingebürgert war.

6. *CIL* VI 2455* aus Ligorio, *Neap.* l. 39 f. 60v = p. 86 (p. 52 Orlandi) ist zweifellos echt. Der Text lautet *C. Octavio | C. f. Pal. Fructo | architecto Aug(usti); | vixit annis XXVI, | diebus L | C. Octavius | C. l. Pal. Eutyĉhus | pater | filio piissimo | fecit.* Sein Wortlaut hat nichts Verdächtiges; Herzen hat ihn unter die Fälschungen nur deswegen verbannt, weil Ligorio der einzige Zeuge ist. Wie gefährlich dieses Argument ist, habe ich anderswo nachgewiesen.⁵ Große Wahrscheinlichkeit für die Echtheit ist aber Sicherheit geworden, nachdem eine andere Grabinschrift derselben Familie ans Licht gekommen ist: *AE* 1953, 57 *Dis manibus | sacrum. | Doiae Palladi | coniugi digniss(imae) | C. Octavius | Eutychnus | fecit et sibi et | C. Octavio Fructo | filio piissimo archit(ecto) Aug(usti), | qui vixit annis XXVI, dieb(us) L.*

7. In der von L. M. Gigante und G. W. Houston, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 53 (2008) 50 Nr. 19 publizierten Grabinschrift aus einer Nekropole der *via Salaria* (heute in einem Museum in Louisville) sollen *Pompe[ia Eu]tychia* und *Falen[us Anti]ochis* genannt sein (übereinstimmend EDR141205!). Aber *Antiochis* ist ein Frauenname, weswegen *Falenia Antiochis* zu verstehen ist. Die erste Person kann *Pompeia Eutychia(na)* oder *Pompeius Eutychianus* geheißen haben.

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⁴ H. Dessau, *Hermes* 45 (1910) 12 meint, er könne wegen des Namens *Sollemnius* ein Gallier gewesen sein. Dieser für die gallischen und germanischen Provinzen typische Zug, aus Cognomina gebildete neue Gentilnamen auf *-ius*, gilt aber nur für Gentilnamen, während hier doch eher ein Cognomen vorliegt.

⁵ S. z. B. Ligoriana und Verwandtes, in *E fontibus haurire. Beiträge zur römischen Geschichte und zu ihren Hilfswissenschaften*, herausgegeben von R. Günther und S. Rebenich (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, I. Reihe: Monographien 8), Paderborn 1994, 335–351.

TEXTKRITISCHE BEMERKUNGEN ZU ECHTHEIT UND STELLUNG VON LUCR. 1,136–148

HEIKO ULLRICH*

*Nec me animi fallit Graiorum obscura reperta
difficile inlustrare Latinis uersibus esse,
multa nouis uerbis praesertim cum sit agendum
propter egestatem linguae et rerum nouitatem;
140 sed tua me uirtus tamen et sperata uoluptas
suauis amicitiae quemuis efferre laborem
suadet et inducit noctes uigilare serenas
quaerentem dictis quibus et quo carmine demum
145 clara tuae possim praepandere lumina menti,
res quibus occultas penitus conuisere possis.
Hunc igitur terrorem animi tenebrasque necessesit
non radii solis neque lucida tela diei
discutiant, sed naturae species ratioque. (Lucr. 1,136–148)*

135–145 post 79 pos. Brieger || 139 et fortasse delendum cens. Deufert
|| 141 quemuis O : quamuis Γ | efferre Ω : sufferre T² : perferre φ^f || 142
serenas Ω : seueras Bentley et Creech dubitanter in notis || 146–148 damn.
Gneisse, post 135 pos. Brieger, post 154 pos. Deufert dubitanter in notis
|| 147 radii O, Max. Victorin., Cruind. : radiis Γ || post 148 lac. ind. C.
Müller 146–148 deletis

* Die anonymen Gutachter der Zeitschrift haben durch konstruktive Kritik und zahlreiche wertvolle Hinweise entscheidend dazu beigetragen, Argumentation und Gedankengang des vorliegenden Aufsatzes zu klären und an wichtigen Stellen zu präzisieren. Dafür sei ihnen an dieser Stelle herzlich gedankt.

Und ich weiß wohl um die Schwierigkeit, die komplexen Entdeckungen der Griechen durch lateinische Verse zu erhellen, zumal viele Dinge wegen der Dürftigkeit der Sprache und der Neuheit des Inhalts durch Wortneuschöpfungen zum Ausdruck gebracht werden müssen; aber deine Vortrefflichkeit und die Hoffnung auf die Wohltat deiner beglückenden Freundschaft verführen und verleiten mich dazu, jegliche Mühe auf mich zu nehmen und heitere Nächte zu durchwachen, in denen ich erforsche, mit welchen Worten und mit welchem Werk ich leuchtende Helligkeit vor dir ausbreiten kann, durch die du diese verborgenen Dinge vollständig erkennen können sollst. Diese innere Furcht und dieses Finsternis können nicht die Strahlen der Sonne oder das Tageslicht vertreiben, sondern nur die Naturbetrachtung und die Philosophie.

1. Ein korruptes Proöm?

Vergleicht man die Handschriften des Lukrez mit einer beliebigen Edition des Textes, wird man schnell feststellen, dass unter den Herausgebern letztlich nur ein Konsens besteht: derjenige hinsichtlich der Notwendigkeit, zur Herstellung eines lesbaren Textes auf die eine oder andere Weise massiv in den überlieferten Wortlaut, aber auch in Bestand und (seltener) in die Reihenfolge der Verse einzugreifen. Nun gibt es für diesen Zustand der handschriftlichen Überlieferung zwei mögliche Erklärungen, von denen eine sicher und die andere mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit zutrifft: Die über tausend Jahre zwischen der Entstehung des Werkes und den ersten Textzeugen haben notwendigerweise eine Reihe an Verderbnissen hervorgebracht; möglicherweise aber handelt es sich bei dem Epos des Lukrez – ähnlich wie bei der *Aeneis* – zusätzlich um einen Text, den bereits der Verfasser in einem ‚unfertigen‘ Zustand hinterlassen hat.¹ Wer immer sich mit der Herstellung eines authentischen Lukreztextes befasst, sieht sich folglich mit einer grundsätzlichen Frage nach der eigenen Zielsetzung konfrontiert; konsequenterweise formuliert etwa Butterfield 2014 als Aufforderung an den Herausgeber, „to distinguish between the text left by the author (the editor’s

¹ Vgl. dazu neben der ausführlichen Darstellung der Forschungsgeschichte bei Deufert 1996, 20–26, auch Bruno 2017, 56, und Butterfield 2014, 20–5.

goal) and the text ultimately intended by the author (an unreachable but not uninteresting goal)“.²

Besondere Aufmerksamkeit haben vor diesem Hintergrund die zahlreichen Wiederholungen erfahren, die Lukrez verwendet: Anders als die nicht nur für (den überlieferten) Lukrez charakteristische, eher in ihrer Funktion umstrittene Formelhaftigkeit der Sprache³ gilt die Tendenz der Lukrezhandschriften, ganze Versgruppen wortwörtlich zu wiederholen, spätestens seit Forbiger als Resultat der umfangreiche Tätigkeit von Interpolatoren.⁴ Insbesondere Deufert 1996 hat diesen Ansatz u.a. mit einer – auf der Länge der Wiederholungen aufbauenden – regelrechten Systematik der seiner Ansicht nach zu einem großen Teil interpolierten Dubletten verfolgt.⁵ Mittlerweile aber ist auch Deufert von dieser Position wieder abgerückt: „Den damals vertretenen Standpunkt erachte ich jetzt als überkritisch und setze von dem einst verworfenen Textbestand weniger als 60% (rund 220 Verse an etwa 60 Stellen) in Tilgungsklammern“.⁶

Die beiden ersten Athetesen, die Deufert dennoch auch in seiner Edition von 2019 noch vornimmt, scheinen auf den ersten Blick ganz ähnlich gelagerte Fälle darzustellen: Sowohl die Verse 1,44–49 als auch diejenigen 1,146–148 zerreißen die logische Stringenz des Proöms – und beide Versgruppen werden im weiteren Verlauf des Lehrgedichts wiederholt (1,44–49 = 2,646–651; 1,146–148 = 2,59–61 = 3,91–93 = 6,39–41). Während die Tatsache, dass es sich um (später im Gedicht) wiederholte Versgruppen handelt, diese aus heutiger Sicht vielleicht ein wenig vorschnell dem Forbigerschen und Deufertschen Interpolationsverdacht ausgesetzt hat, stellt der jeweils verursachte logische Bruch in der Argumentation tatsächlich ein erklärungsbedürftiges Problem dar. Um diese Argumentationslücke näher zu bestimmen, empfiehlt sich ein Blick auf die Struktur des Proöms, die Sedley 1998 mustergültig aufgeschlüsselt hat:

(1–43) Prayer to Venus

(44–49) The detached nature of divinity

(50–61) Topic of book I: atoms

² Ebd., 15.

³ Vgl. zu dieser neben Bruno 2017, 53, insbesondere Schiesaro 1990, 47–49.

⁴ Vgl. dazu die Forschungsberichte bei Deufert 1996, 15f. und bei Butterfield 2014, 16f.

⁵ Deufert 1996, 31.

⁶ Deufert 2018, V.

- (62–79) Epicurus as liberator
- (80–101) The evils of religion
- (102–135) Wrong and right views on life after death
- (136–148) Lucretius' poetic and philosophical task⁷

Mit der Crux der Verse 44–49, die bereits auf den ersten Blick aus dem inhaltlichen Widerspruch zwischen den beiden ersten von Sedley benannten Abschnitten erhellt, hat sich kürzlich David Butterfield ausführlich auseinandergesetzt und die Verse überzeugend als in den Text eingedrungene Glosse klassifiziert, deren ursprüngliche Absicht in der bewussten Kontrastierung der konventionellen Götteranrufung mit der epikureischen Theologie gelegen haben dürfte;⁸ diejenige der Verse 146–148 allerdings verschwindet in Sedleys letztem Abschnitt „Lucretius' poetic and philosophical task“. Denn unterhalb der Ebene einer derart allgemein formulierten Überschrift ist völlig unverständlich, worauf sich das demonstrativ zurückverweisende *hunc [...] terrorem* in 1,146 beziehen könnte – im gesamten Abschnitt 1,36–145 ist weder von irgendeiner Art von Furcht noch von irgendetwas auch nur im Geringsten Furchterregenden die Rede.⁹ Auf den ersten Blick erscheint also für 1,146–148 die Athetese als ebenso naheliegende Lösung des offenkundigen Problems wie für 1,44–49 – allein, es fehlt eine überzeugende Begründung für die Platzierung der Verse durch einen Glossator oder Interpolator gerade an dieser Stelle.

Die folgenden Überlegungen zielen daher zunächst darauf ab, die Verse 1,146–148 gegen die Athetesen von Gneisse 1878, Müller 1975 und Deufert 2019 zu verteidigen, ohne den argumentativen Bruch zwischen Vers 145 und 146 zu leugnen. Zur Lösung des so entstehenden Dilemmas soll der Rückgriff auf eine Versumstellung von Brieger 1866 vorgeschlagen werden, der die Verse 1,136–145 hinter 1,79 stellt.¹⁰ Da Briegers Umstellung jedoch lediglich

⁷ Sedley 1998, 38; die Gliederung des Proöms durch Blatt 1933, 345 (1–28; 29–43; {44–49}; 50–61; 62–79; 80–101; 102–126; 127–135; 136–149) überzeugt dort, wo sie von Sedley abweicht, nicht.

⁸ Butterfield 2020, 36; etwas indifferent hinsichtlich der möglichen Motivation des Interpolators bleibt Deufert 1996, 32–40.

⁹ Vgl. Deufert 1996, 63f.

¹⁰ Auch Pizzani 1959 hält „la presunta interruzione del naturale sviluppo del pensiero fra i vv. 135 e 146 con l'inserzione dei versi dal 136 al 145“ für eines der schwerwiegendsten textkritischen Probleme des Proöms (131).

den gewünschten glatten Übergang zwischen 1,135 und 1,146 herstellt, aber keinen befriedigenden Anknüpfungspunkt der umgestellten Versgruppe an 1,79 ermöglicht, wird abschließend der Versuch unternommen, den Versen 1,136–145 nicht die Position hinter 1,79, sondern diejenige hinter 1,61, also vor und nicht hinter dem Lob Epikurs bzw. im unmittelbaren Anschluss an das Ringen um eine naturphilosophische Terminologie im Lateinischen (1,58–61) anzuweisen.¹¹

¹¹ Das beste Argument für diese Umstellung liefert ausgerechnet einer der entschiedensten Verteidiger der überlieferten Reihenfolge, wenn Jacoby 1921 im Proöm zwei Motive identifiziert und diese folgendermaßen verteilt sieht: „Jedes der beiden Motive beherrscht drei Versgruppen: das Memmismotiv vv. 1–43; 50–61; 136–145, das Epikurmotive die vv. 62–79; 80–101; 102–135. Ihr Gesamtumfang ist ungefähr der gleiche: 65 zu 74 Versen. Die beiden Motive halten sich äußerlich die Wage, was auf eine Gleichheit ihrer Bedeutung für den Aufbau weist“ (15). Wie sehr Jacoby sich bei seiner Argumentation selbst in Widersprüche verwickelt, zeigt etwa die folgende Bemerkung zu 1,136–145: „Allerdings, diese Verse konnten nirgends anders stehen, als am Schlusse der Einleitung. Es ist undenkbar, sie von diesem Platze zu rücken. Aber ebenso undenkbar ist es, sie als loses Stück oder als Rest eines älteren Entwurfs zu betrachten, die nur der Redaktor hierhergesetzt hat. Denn sie sind unentbehrlich und aufs engste mit der Widmung 1–61 verknüpft als ihr Höhe- und Schlußpunkt. Erst durch ihren Zutritt gewinnt das Memmismotiv nicht nur einen äußeren Abschluß, sondern auch seinen inneren Sinn“ (19). Umso gewaltsamer und von eigenen ästhetischen Präjudizien geleitet erscheint dann Jacobys Erklärung für die Beibehaltung der überlieferten Reihenfolge: „Aber gerade weil der Dichter so entschieden bedacht war auf die gleichgewichtige Ausgestaltung seiner beiden Motive, weil er weder Memmismotiv hinter Epikur noch gar Epikur hinter Memmismotiv zurücktreten lassen wollte, wurde doppelt schwer die Hauptaufgabe, die eine solche Composition stellte, die Einheit des Gesamtaufbaus. Nicht mit zwei Prooemien konnte oder wollte er das Werk beginnen, und das eine Prooemium durfte nicht in zwei aufeinanderfolgende Teile zerfallen, wenn die Grundbedingung alles künstlerischen Schaffens beobachtet werden sollte. So verbot sich auch aus künstlerischen Überlegungen der scheinbar einfachste Weg, als eigentliches Prooemium die vv. 1–16.136–145 dem Werke voranzusenden und darauf mit einem wie immer gestalteten Übergang den Preis der Lehre folgen zu lassen, ehe man in ihre Darstellung selbst eintrat. Es blieb nur eine Möglichkeit, die Motive zu verbinden; eben die, die Lucretius tatsächlich gewählt hat: er mußte sie ineinanderbetten, wobei die Tatsache der Widmung es selbstverständlich machte, daß das Memmismotiv den Rahmen, das Epikurmotive den Kern abgab“ (28). Das Hinweg(v)erklären des evident fehlenden Übergangs zwischen 1,61 und 62 findet seinen Höhepunkt dann in folgenden Ausführungen Jacobys: „In diesen kühn geschwungenen Doppelbigen aber ist das reiche Mittelportal eingebaut, in dem der Dichter asyndetisch – denn auch das Fehlen einer Verbindungspartikel gerade an der Schnittstelle findet jetzt seine Erklärung; Lucretius sah sehr wohl, daß Verbindungslosigkeit hier stärker wirken, das Verständnis des Lesers entschiedener stützen würde, als irgendein für den Sinn nebensächlichen Bindestück – ‚wie von göttlichem Enthusiasmus ergriffen‘ die Erscheinung Epikurs feiert, wie dort in dem asyndetisch gestellten Mittelhymnus ‚die Erscheinung der Liebesgöttin in der Frühlingsnatur‘“ (31).

Ganz neu ist zumindest ein Teil dieses Grundgedankens nicht: Beim Versuch, dem Proöm mit der Umstellung größerer Versgruppen einen höheren Grad an logischer Stringenz zu verschaffen, hat u.a. Martin 1949/50 umgekehrt die Umstellung von 1,50–61 zwischen 1,135 und 1,136 vorgeschlagen;¹² die direkte Abfolge von 1,61 und 1,135 entsteht auch bei den komplexeren Umstellungen, mit denen Canfora 1973 aus den thematischen Blöcken des Proöms einen gänzlich neuen Text herstellt.¹³ Insgesamt jedoch gilt die Umstellung größerer Versgruppen mittlerweile tendenziell als unphilologisch; symptomatisch ist hier etwa das entsprechende Verdikt Deuferts über die entsprechenden „Fehlumstellung[en]“ des Marullus.¹⁴ Dass dessen Vorgehensweise „eher an einen Dichter, weniger an einen Philologen nach heutigem Maßstab“ erinnere,¹⁵ suggeriert dabei natürlich auch, dass eine solche Versumstellung (wie sie ja auch im vorliegenden Aufsatz vertreten werden soll) stets mit der Annahme verbunden sei, dass hier – im Sinne des eingangs angeführten Zitates von Butterfield – versucht werde, einen Text herzustellen, den Lukrez zwar möglicherweise intendiert, aber so offensichtlich nicht (mehr) zu Papyrus gebracht hat.¹⁶

Dieser impliziten Unterstellung soll daher entschieden widersprochen werden: Die vorliegenden Überlegungen beruhen erstens auf der Annahme, dass sich zumindest im Proöm des ersten Buches keine überzeugenden Indizien für den unvollendeten Charakter des Werkes finden lassen, und zweitens auf der Überzeugung, den Nachweis dafür führen zu können, dass die Versetzung der Verse 1,136–145 an ihren heutigen Ort, die dieses ‚fertige‘ Proöm in der

¹² Martin 1949/50, 39–42.

¹³ Canfora 1973, 165f.

¹⁴ Deufert 2017, 161; Deufert spricht hier von den „gewaltsamsten und folgenschwersten Irrtümer[n]“ des Marullus „auf diesen zwei Gebieten“ (nämlich „bei der Versumstellung und beim Ergänzen von Versen“). In ähnlicher Weise hat auch Harrison 2002 das entsprechende Vorgehen dezidiert abgelehnt: „The structure of the prologue of Book 1 of the *De rerum natura* was a celebrated topic of Lucretian scholarship in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A key issue was how coherent and sequential the prologue was; many critics viewed it as rambling and relatively formless, and many of the suggestions made for achieving order and a clear sequence of thought involved transposition of lines on a large scale and other radical ideas“ (6).

¹⁵ Deufert 2017, 161.

¹⁶ Wie sehr solche Vorstellungen tatsächlich die Praxis der Textphilologie zu dieser Stelle im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert prägen, zeigt besonders deutlich der Forschungsüberblick bei Jacoby 1921, 3f.

Überlieferung entstellt hat, mehr oder minder eindeutig auf einen klassischen Abschreibefehler zurückgeführt werden kann. Zusammen mit der Tilgung der – nun auch neuerdings wieder von Deufert und Butterfield zu Recht als Interpolation inkriminierten – Verse 1,44–49 stellt die Versetzung der Verse 1,136–145 hinter 1,61 m.E. ohne allzu großen Aufwand (und abgesichert durch plausible Erklärungen für die beiden Verderbnisse) einen Gedankengang her, der zumindest im Bereich des ersten Proöms eher für ein abgeschlossenes Werk als für ein noch ungeordnetes Nebeneinander verschiedener nicht aufeinander abgestimmter Gedankengänge spricht.

2. Zur Verteidigung von Lucr. 1,146–148

Die Athetese von Lucr. 1,146–148 reicht zwar nicht bis in die Tage Forbigers oder Lachmanns zurück, ist aber gleichwohl ein Kind des 19. Jahrhunderts: Bereits Gneisse 1878 behauptet, die auch an drei weiteren Stellen des Werkes (6,39–41; 2,59–61; 3,91–93) jeweils im Anschluss an das Kindergleichnis überlieferten Verse seien ohne dasselbe undenkbar.¹⁷ Etwa ein Jahrhundert später tilgt Müller 1,146–148 in seiner Ausgabe, hält aber den Anschluss von 1,145 an 1,149 für so fragil, dass er als Übergang einen Vers ergänzt.¹⁸ Damit widerspricht Müller ausdrücklich der optimistischen Einschätzung Gneisses, der glaubt, durch die Tilgung der Verse 146–148 überhaupt erst einen Anschluss der Verse 149–158 an das Vorangehende geschaffen zu haben, weil das *cuius* in Vers 149 ohnehin nicht an das pluralische *naturae species ratioque* anknüpfen könne, sondern nur an das *carmine* aus Vers 143.¹⁹ Müllers Zurückweisung dieser Ansicht folgt Deufert, indem auch er gegen Gneisse betont, dass „der Anschluß von *cuius* (149) an das

¹⁷ „Verba enim hunc terrorem non radii solis neque lucida tela diei discutiant necesse est omnino non habent quo spectent, nisi praecedunt verba veluti *pueri trepidant in tenebris, sic nos in luce (bei Tageslicht) timemus etc.*, neque possunt sine illis compositi esse“ (Gneisse 1878, 69).

¹⁸ „Nunc age, *naturae rationem percipe, Memmi*“ (Müller 1975).

¹⁹ „Habemus enim, si codicum lectionem sequimur, haec: *naturae species ratioque, / principium cuius hinc nobis exordia sumet. cuius ad ratio solum referre debemus, quia species ratioque non potest per hendiadyoin accipi, cum a species genitivus naturae pendeat; id vero, ratio, cuius principium hinc nobis exordia sumet* („die Vernunft, deren Anfang folgenden Ausgangspunkt nehmen soll“) absurdum est. Sublatis autem illis versibus verba *principium cuius hinc nobis exordia sumet* bene referuntur ad *quo carmine demum* (143)“ (Gneisse 1878, 70).

Vorausgegangene – etwa an *carmine* (143) – zu hart ist“.²⁰ Neuerdings jedoch hat Deufert sich von dieser Ansicht Müllers wieder ab- und ganz der These Gneisses zugewendet.²¹

Allerdings stellt die von Gneisse und neuerdings auch von Deufert gegen Müller vertretene Auffassung, das *cuius* in Vers 149 beziehe sich zurück auf *carmine* aus Vers 143, – wie Müller und zunächst auch Deufert zu Recht bemerkt haben – eine Härte dar, die man zwar einem überlieferten, aber nicht einem lediglich durch Athetese hergestellten Text zugestehen möchte. Vor allem ist dem Einwand Gneisses gegen einen Bezug des Relativpronomens *cuius* auf *ratio* energisch zu widersprechen und dies zunächst einmal in inhaltlicher Hinsicht, denn in Vers 149 beginnt mitnichten das *carmen* des Lukrez,²² sondern vielmehr die eigentliche Darlegung der epikureischen Philosophie, eben die *ratio*.²³ Ob diese nun mit der *naturae species* geradezu identisch ist und damit ein Hendiadyoin bildet²⁴ – was Gneisse ja vehement leugnet und als Begründung für die Unmöglichkeit eines Bezuges von *cuius* auf das Subjekt von Vers 148 heranzieht²⁵ –, ist relativ unerheblich, denn Lukrez folgt an dieser Stelle einfach der Schulgrammatik, indem er *cuius* alleine in Kongruenz zum nächststehenden *ratio* und nicht zu einem pluralischen *naturae species ratioque* setzt,²⁶ weshalb man mit Müller und Deufert 1996 gegen Gneisse und Deufert 2018 festhalten

²⁰ Deufert 1996, 64 Anm. 263.

²¹ „Dagegen scheint es mir jetzt nicht mehr erforderlich, nach der Athetese von 146–8 mit Konrad Müller eine Lücke zwischen 145 und 149 anzusetzen: *cuius* in 149 bezieht sich zurück auf 143f. *dictis ... et ... carmine ... clarae tuae ... praepandere lumina menti* und bezeichnet Lukrezens aufklärerisches Dichten“ (Deufert 2018, 13).

²² Eher schon „Lukrezens aufklärerisches Dichten“, wie Deufert 2018, 13 formuliert.

²³ Diese übersetzt Gneisse, 70, zu Unrecht mit dem viel zu allgemeinen Begriff „Verstand“, vgl. dagegen auch Clay 1969, 43f.

²⁴ „*Natura species ratioque*, dunque, dovrebbe essere considerata un'endiadi, traducibile come ‚visione razionale della natura‘, che sintetizza l'obiettivo della poesia filosofica di Lucrezio: dotare i lettori di una visione più acuta, una *species* che riesca, attraverso la *ratio*, a scorgere nella profondità dei fenomeni le loro cause prime e, perciò, a liberare l'uomo dalla sua *caecitas* interiore“ (Beltrami 2020, 311); zum Anschluss der von Lucr. 1,149–158 an 1,146–148 vgl. ebd., 318–320.

²⁵ Gneisse, 70.

²⁶ „Der formelle Anschluß nur an eins der Substantiva, auf die sich das Pronomen bezieht, ist nur bei dem Relativ möglich [...] und hier auch das gewöhnliche.“ (KSt II,1,58 mit Belegen aus den Werken Caesars und Ciceros).

kann, dass der Bezug von *cuius* auf *ratio* dem auf *carmine* nicht nur wegen der größeren räumlichen Nähe, sondern auch aus syntaktischen und inhaltlichen Gründen vorzuziehen ist.²⁷

Die dagegen vollkommen berechtigten Bedenken Gneisses hinsichtlich eines fehlenden Anschlusses der athetierten Verse 146–148 an die Verse 136–145 teilen sowohl Müller als auch Deufert vorbehaltlos. Dieser Auffassung haben auch Regenbogen (mit konkreten Verweisen auf Korrespondenzen zwischen Vers 146 und den Versen 133, 106 und 103) und Lenz (mit dem allgemeinen Hinweis auf die inhaltliche Kohärenz) nur scheinbar widersprochen,²⁸ denn beide stellen über die Verse 136–145 hinweg einen Zusammenhang her zwischen den Versen 146–148 und den Versen 102–135 her, wie Deufert zu Recht bemerkt hat.²⁹

3. Briegers Umstellung von Lucr. 1,136–145 hinter 1,79

Wenn aber nun lediglich vor, nicht aber hinter den Versen 146–148 ein inhaltlicher Bruch festzustellen ist, ist die Annahme einer Interpolation dieser Verse nicht eben die naheliegendste Lösung. Höhere Wahrscheinlichkeit darf daher eine These Briegers beanspruchen, der vermutet, dass die Verse 136–145 an der falschen Stelle überliefert worden sind.³⁰ Wenn nämlich durch das Verschwinden dieser Versgruppe plötzlich Vers 146 hinter Vers 135 steht, scheint das Problem behoben – allerdings nicht für Gneisse und Deufert, die neben der angeblichen Unmöglichkeit eines Bezugs von *cuius* auf *ratio* nun noch ein inhaltliches Argument anführen, wenn der erstere in Anwendung strenger Logik und pedantischer Begrifflichkeit zu bedenken gibt, dass die Totenvisionen

²⁷ Vgl. zu den letzteren auch Clay 1969, 46f.

²⁸ „[...] so weist v. 146 [...] zurück auf v. 133 und weiter auf 106 und 103“ (Regenbogen 1932, 63) bzw. „[...] aber dieser Seelenschrecken ist der Begriff, der das ganze Proömium beherrscht“ (Lenz 1937, 42).

²⁹ Vgl. Deufert 2018, 48 (hier lediglich der Verweis auf die ältere Untersuchung) und insbesondere die dort vorzufindenden, teils wörtlichen Übereinstimmungen mit Gneisse: „Auf diesen in sich geschlossenen Gedankengang folgen nun in der Überlieferung die Verse 146–148, die mit *igitur* eine Folgerung aus dem Vorausgegangenen ankündigen. Diese Folgerung ist evident absurd, zwischen 136–145 und 146–148 besteht nicht die geringste logische Verbindung, weder vom *hic terror animi* noch von *tenebrae* war in 136–145 die Rede“ (Deufert 1996, 63).

³⁰ Brieger 1866, 457.

den Menschen in der Krankheit und im Schlaf heimsuchten und in diesen beiden von geistiger Ohnmacht geprägten Zuständen eine philosophische Naturbetrachtung unmöglich sei,³¹ und der letztere sich dieser Argumentation anschließt, indem er behauptet, die Philosophie könne die den Menschen schreckenden Totenvisionen nicht im akuten Fall verhindern, sondern nur im Nachhinein erklären und so Trost und Beruhigung spenden.³²

Diese Argumentation allerdings scheint mir den grundsätzlich identischen didaktischen Impetus des Kindergleichnisses und der m.E. ursprünglich im Zusammenhang überlieferten Verse 1,132–135/146–148 misszuverstehen. Tatsächlich nämlich könnte man nämlich mit Deuferts Einwänden gegen 1,132–135/146–148 ebenso gut auch die Schlussfolgerung aus dem Kindergleichnis³³ in Frage stellen: Denn hier müsste man entsprechend ebenfalls behaupten, die philosophische Naturbetrachtung könne die Furcht der Kinder im Dunkeln nicht beseitigen, sondern ihnen lediglich das Zustandekommen dieser Furcht erklären und sie so im Nachhinein beruhigen – wozu aber sollte diese Beruhigung dienen, wenn nicht dazu, die unbegründete Furcht für die Zukunft, also für die kommenden Nächte, zu verhindern?

³¹ So behauptet Gneisse „eum terrorem, quo afficimur, si aegrorum dormientiumve mentibus simulacra mortuorum obvia fiunt, ne naturae quidem specie ac ratione discuti posse, quoniam in febribus somniisque nobis obrepat invitis nesciisque“ (Gneisse 1878, 70).

³² „Es gibt aber auch ein philosophisches Argument, das die Verse in jedem Fall verdammt und auch eine eventuelle Umstellung, etwa nach 135, ausschließt. Der vermeintliche *animi terror* in 134–135, die Schau von Totengeistern im Krankheitszustand oder im Schlaf, kann durch die epikureische Philosophie (*naturae species ratioque*) nicht beseitigt (was *discutere* bedeutet) werden; diese kann nur das Phänomen als solches durchschauen und den wieder Geheilten bzw. Erwachten (*uigilantibus*, 133) über das wahre Wesen dieser Phänomene unterrichten und als Vernünftigen auch beruhigen“ (Deufert 1996, 64, zum Verweis auf Gneisse vgl. ebd. Anm. 261).

³³ *nam ueluti pueri trepidant atque omnia caecis / in tenebris metuunt, sic nos in luce timemus / interdum, nihilo quae sunt metuenda magis quam / quae pueri in tenebris pautant finguntque futura. / Hunc igitur terrorem animi tenebrasque necessest / non radii solis neque lucida tela diei / discutiant, sed naturae species ratioque.* (2,55–61 = 3,87–93 = 6,35–41) – Denn wie Kinder zittern und in der undurchdringlichen Finsternis alles fürchten, so fürchten wir manchmal beim hellen Tageslicht Dinge, die man um nichts weniger zu fürchten hat als die Dinge, vor deren vermeintlichem Eintreffen sich die Kinder in der Finsternis fürchten. Diese innere Furcht und diese Finsternis können nicht die Strahlen der Sonne oder das Tageslicht vertreiben, sondern nur die Naturbetrachtung und die Philosophie.

Der von Lukrez formulierte Grundgedanke scheint mir also derjenige zu sein, dass es möglich ist, die durch die Finsternis hervorgerufenen Angstzustände der Kinder (*terrorem animi tenebrasque*; 2,59 = 3,91 = 6,39) noch vor Sonnenaufgang zu bekämpfen und so für einen nachhaltigen Schutz gegen die nächstens immer wieder andrängende Furcht zu sorgen. Dieser realen Finsternis im Falle der (ja lediglich als Vergleichsglied herangezogenen) Kinder aber entspricht auf der Sachebene nun die unbegründete Furcht der Erwachsenen bei Tageslicht – auf diese bezogen muss also das *tenebrasque* bildlich im Sinne einer geistigen Blindheit verstanden werden, die nur die Philosophie nachhaltig und damit auch für etwaige zukünftige Begegnungen mit potenziell furchteinflößenden, in Wahrheit aber ungefährlichen Dingen zu vertreiben vermag.³⁴

In Buch I allerdings verzichtet Lukrez auf dieses Gleichnis und wendet sich stattdessen einer bestimmten Angst der (erwachsenen) Menschen zu: Gemäß der Einbettung der Textstelle in die Polemik gegen die Religion, die Lukrez auf die Lobpreisung Epikurs folgen lässt, handelt es sich um die Furcht vor Höllenstrafen,³⁵ deren Widerlegung Lukrez zuvor bereits durch ein Ennius-Zitat gestützt hat: Dieser habe zwar von der Unterwelt gesungen, aus der ihm Homer erschienen sei – allein, es habe sich ja nicht um den Dichter selbst gehandelt, sondern lediglich um seine *species*, die dort unter den übrigen *simulacra modis pallentia miris* umherwandle (1,124–125).³⁶

Die Angst vor ewigen Höllenqualen sei also unbegründet, weshalb der Mensch sich eher der Erforschung der (oberweltlichen) Natur und der Frage nach dem wahren Wesen seines (aus *anima* und *animus* bestehenden) Inneren zuwenden solle (vgl. 1,127–131). Außerdem solle er erforschen,

³⁴ Vgl. dazu auch Boyancé 1963, 191–193, Garbugino 1989, 28–32, und Giancotti 1989, 218–239.

³⁵ Zur Unterteilung der verschiedenen Arten von Todesfurcht aus epikureischer Sicht vgl. auch Warren 2004, 3f.

³⁶ Zum spannungsvollen Verhältnis zwischen Lukrez und Ennius, wie es in dieser Stelle zum Ausdruck kommt, vgl. auch Clay 1969: „Ennius represents for Lucretius both a forerunner in Latin philosophical poetry and a dangerous rival to the truth. It is the threat of Ennius’ doctrine of the afterlife with its basis in dream visions that Lucretius meets head-on by a reformulation of the argument of his poem (1.127–35)“ (40). Zur Weiterentwicklung dieses Gedankens in Richtung einer Synthese der Aussage beider Epen vgl. Harrison 2002, 4.

*et quae res nobis uigilantibus obuia mentes
terrificet morbo adfectis somnoque sepultis,
cernere uti uideamur eos audire coram,*

135 *morte obita quorum tellus amplectitur ossa.*

146 *Hunc igitur terrorem animi tenebrasque necessesit
non radii solis neque lucida tela diei
discutiant, sed naturae species ratioque.* (1,132–135/146–148)

[...] was uns, wenn es uns im wachen Zustand während einer Krankheit begegnet, ebenso erschreckt wie im Schlaf, dass wir nämlich diejenigen leibhaftig zu sehen und zu hören scheinen, deren im Tode verblichenen Gebeine bereits die Erde umfängt. Diese innere Furcht und diese Finsternis können nicht die Strahlen der Sonne oder das Tageslicht vertreiben, sondern nur die Naturbetrachtung und die Philosophie.

Tatsächlich erscheint der Textzusammenhang der *Hunc igitur [...] species ratioque*-Verse mit dem in Buch II, III und VI direkt davor angeführten Kindergleichnis auf den ersten Blick etwas enger als mit 1,132-135, da das *tenebrasque* (2,59 = 3,91 = 6,39) sich hier direkt auf ein doppeltes *tenebris* (2,56 bzw. 58 = 3,88 bzw. 90 = 6,36 bzw. 38) zurückbezieht, während der *animi terror* (2,59 = 3,91 = 6,39) eine Vielzahl von Verben des Fürchtens wiederaufnimmt: *trepidant, metuunt, timemus, metuenda, pauitant* (2,55–58 = 3,87–90 = 6,35–38).³⁷ In Buch I dagegen ist zwar der Anschluss des *terror animi* (1,148) an das nach der Umstellung nur noch drei Verse entfernte *terrificet* (1,133) problemlos möglich, das *tenebrasque* allerdings scheint auf den ersten Blick ein wenig in der Luft zu hängen.³⁸

Doch auch hier sorgt der Blick auf den argumentativen Gesamtzusammenhang für Klarheit: Die Totenvisionen, deren Verortung in der Nacht (1,132f.: *uigilantibus; somnoque sepultis*) dem *caecis in tenebris* des Kindergleichnisses (2,54f. = 3,86f. = 6,34f.) auch äußerlich entspricht,³⁹ sind ja

³⁷ Vgl. dazu auch von Albrecht 2006, 240f.

³⁸ Zur Verwendung der Alliteration bei Lukrez vgl. auch Bruno 2017, 51.

³⁹ Der im kritischen Apparat von Deuferts Ausgabe aus dem Jahr 2019 unterbreitete, aber letztlich nicht in den Text übernommene Vorschlag, die Verse 1,146–148 hinter 1,154 zu stellen, löst zwar die Frage nach der Ursache des *terror animi* aus 1,146, der seine Entsprechung in der *formido* aus

nach Meinung des Lukrez einzig und alleine deshalb schreckenerregend, weil sie den Trugschluss auf die Existenz eines Lebens nach dem Tod und auf die Existenz einer Hölle verursachen; diese Hölle aber wird unmittelbar vor der langen Digression, in der Lukrez den vermeintlichen Beweis für eine derartige Unterwelt in den *Annalen* des Ennius zu widerlegen sucht, als *tenebras Orci* bezeichnet (1,115).

Zugleich kann das Ziel der Philosophie, die mit *discutiant* (1,148 = 2,61 = 3,93 = 6,41) gemeinte endgültige Beseitigung der irrationalen Ängste,⁴⁰ gerade im Fall der Totenvision besonders nachdrücklich erreicht werden: Wenn wir diese nur deshalb fürchten, weil wir aus ihnen auf die Existenz einer Hölle schließen, kann die naturphilosophische Erklärung des Phänomens uns diese unbegründete Furcht tatsächlich ebenso nehmen, wie man einem Kind die Grundlosigkeit seiner Angst vor der Dunkelheit (die sich mit zunehmendem Lebensalter ja auch tatsächlich verliert) nach und nach vermittelt.⁴¹

Da mir die Ablehnung von Briegers Umstellung der Verse 136–145 durch Gneisse und Deufert also aus den eben angeführten Gründen unberechtigt erscheint, soll der Blick von der Rehabilitierung der durch diese Umstellung entstandenen Versgruppe 1,127–135/146–148⁴² nun auf die neue Position gerichtet werden, die Brieger den Versen 1,136–145 anweisen möchte. Zunächst ist Briegers Feststellung, dass diese Versgruppe keinerlei Verbindung zum

1,151 findet, zerstört aber die Parallelität zwischen der jeweils nächtlichen Furcht der Kranken und Träumenden auf der einen sowie der Kinder auf der anderen Seite. Diese allerdings ist für die Aussage von 1,146–148 essentiell; da in 1,149–154 die Metaphorik von Licht und Finsternis keinerlei Rolle spielt, eignen sich die von Deufert versuchsweise hinter Vers 154 versetzten Verse um das *non radii solis neque lucida tela diei* (1,147) nicht wirklich zur Empfehlung, der allgemeinmenschlichen *ratio* nun durch die *naturae species ratioque* aufzuhelfen.

⁴⁰ So Deufert 1996, 64; vgl. zur Wortbedeutung an dieser Stelle auch *ThLL* V,1, 1374.

⁴¹ Vgl. dazu auch von Albrecht 2006, 243.

⁴² Als Versuch zu einer solchen würdigt Deufert, der Briegers Vorstoß in seinem *Kritischen Kommentar* zur Stelle überhaupt nicht mehr erwähnt (vgl. Deufert 2018, 47–48), denselben immerhin noch im Apparat seiner Ausgabe zu den athetierten Versen 146–148: „*minus displicerent post 135 (quod iam vidit Brieger [1866] 457) aut post 154*“.

Vorangegangenen oder Nachfolgenden aufweist,⁴³ unbedingt zuzustimmen.⁴⁴ Die von Brieger aus dieser zutreffenden Feststellung gezogene Schlussfolgerung, die Verse 136–145 könnten ursprünglich nur hinter der Lobpreisung Epikurs gestanden haben, dagegen kommt nicht nur ohne jede Begründung daher,⁴⁵ sondern ist m. E. auch einfach falsch.

4. Die Umstellung von *Lucretius* 1,136–145 hinter 1,61

Tatsächlich gehören die Ausführungen über die Schwierigkeit, griechische Philosophie in lateinischen Versen darzustellen, nicht hinter, sondern vor das Lob Epikurs; also nicht hinter Vers 79, sondern bereits hinter Vers 61.⁴⁶

*quae nos materiem et genitalia corpora rebus
reddunda in ratione uocare et semina rerum
60 appellare suemus et haec eadem usurpare
61 corpora prima, quod ex illis sunt omnia primis.
136 Nec me animi fallit Graiorum obscura reperta
difficile inlustrare Latinis uersibus esse,
multa nouis uerbis praesertim cum sit agendum*

⁴³ „Die vv. 136–145 stehen, wie jeder *semel admonitus* einsehen wird, nicht an ihrem platze, das *Hunc igitur terrorem animi etc.* in v. 146 zeigt auf das deutlichste, dass vv. 146 ff. unmittelbar auf v. 135 folgen müssen. Dagegen stehen vv. 136–145 weder zu dem vorhergehenden, noch zu dem folgenden in irgend welcher beziehung [...]“ (Brieger 1866, 457).

⁴⁴ Dies bestätigt indirekt ja auch Deufert, wenn er den mangelnden Zusammenhang dieser Verse mit den Versen 146–148 betont und Regenbogen und Lenz zugesteht, dass es Verbindungen zwischen den Versen 102–135 und den Versen 146–148 gibt (Deufert 1996, 63).

⁴⁵ „[...] wohl aber findet der in ihnen ausgesprochene gedanke, der dichter werde die nicht verkannte schwierigkeit, die *obscura reperta Graiorum* klar in lateinischen versen zu entwickeln, zu überwinden wissen, seine einzig angemessene stelle hinter dem preise des *Graius homo* (v. 66) und seiner *inuenta*. Wir stellen also vv. 135–145 hinter v. 79 [...]“ (ebd.).

⁴⁶ Eine Umstellung der Verse 50–61 hinter Vers 135, die (an dieser Stelle) letztlich dasselbe Ergebnis zeitigt, nimmt Martin 1937 in seiner Ausgabe vor; zur Zurückweisung dieses Vorschlags s.u. Wie sehr der inhaltliche Bruch nach 1,61 selbst Verteidiger der überlieferten Reihenfolge in Erklärungsnoté bringt, zeigt vielleicht am deutlichsten die Denunziation dieses Befundes durch Jacoby 1921, der von einer „im Übergang 61/62 dem oberflächlichen Leser besonders auffälligen Verbindungslosigkeit“ spricht (5).

- 140 *propter egestatem linguae et rerum nouitatem;*
sed tua me uirtus tamen et sperata uoluptas
suauis amicitiae quemuis efferre laborem
suadet et inducit noctes uigilare serenas
quaerentem dictis quibus et quo carmine demum
clara tuae possim praepandere lumina menti,
 145 *res quibus occultas penitus conuisere possis.*
 62 *Humana ante oculos foede cum uita iaceret*
in terris, oppressa graui sub religione,
quae caput a caeli regionibus ostendebat,
 65 *horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans,*
primum Graius homo mortalis tendere contra
est oculos ausus primusque obsistere contra
 (1,58–61/136–145/62–67)

Wir pflegen diese [sc. die Elemente] bei der Wiedergabe unserer Lehren den Stoff und die Keime der Dinge zu nennen und sie als die Samen der Dinge zu bezeichnen und für eben diese den Namen der Urelemente zu verwenden, da ja aus ihrer ursprünglichen Existenz alles entstanden ist. Und ich weiß wohl um die Schwierigkeit, die komplexen Entdeckungen der Griechen durch lateinische Verse zu erhellen, zumal viele Dinge wegen der Dürftigkeit der Sprache und der Neuheit des Inhalts durch Wortneuschöpfungen zum Ausdruck gebracht werden müssen; aber deine Vortrefflichkeit und die Hoffnung auf die Wohltat deiner beglückenden Freundschaft verführt und verleitet mich dazu, jegliche Mühe auf mich zu nehmen und heitere Nächte zu durchwachen, in denen ich erforsche, mit welchen Worten und mit welchem Werk ich leuchtende Helligkeit vor dir ausbreiten kann, durch die du diese verborgenen Dinge vollständig erkennen sollst. Als das menschliche Leben auf der Erde in weithin sichtbarer Schande darniederlag, unterdrückt vom Gewicht der Götterfurcht, welche aus dem Himmel ihr Haupt hervorstreckte und die Sterblichen von dort droben mit ihrem schrecklichen Anblick bedrohte, wagte es ein sterblicher Grieche zuerst, die Augen zu erheben und als erster Widerstand zu leisten.

Für diese Umstellung von 1,136–145 hinter 1,61 sprechen m. E. mindestens drei gewichtige Gründe, die abschließend kurz ausgeführt werden sollen: erstens

der Anschluss der umgestellten Verse an die bereits in den Versen 1,58–61 angesprochene sprachliche Problematik (und zumindest stilistisch bedeutsam auch der umgekehrte Anschluss der Lobpreisung Epikurs an die umgestellten Verse), zweitens die Bündelung der in der Überlieferung über das ganze Proöm verstreuten Widmung an Memmius⁴⁷ sowie drittens die Möglichkeit einer plausiblen paläographischen Erklärung für die in allen Handschriften anzutreffende Verderbnis durch die Positionierung der ursprünglich zwischen 1,61 und 62 platzierten *Nec me animi [...] conuivere possis*-Verse hinter den Vers 135.

4.1. Griechische Philosophie in lateinischen Versen

Erstens also handelt es sich bei den Versen 1,58–61 unübersehbar um einen vorläufigen Versuch der sprachlichen Fassung der Atomlehre, in dessen Rahmen immerhin vier verschiedene lateinische Begriffe für die Atome vorgeschlagen werden (*materiem; genitalia corpora; semina rerum; corpora prima*).⁴⁸ Dass auf diesen noch unsicher tastenden Ansatz nun eine grundsätzliche Bemerkung zur Schwierigkeit einer Etablierung philosophischer Fachterminologie im Lateinischen folgt, ist also von geradezu zwingender Konsequenz, zumal gerade das Prädikat *suemus* und der Infinitiv *usurpare* auf einen bislang üblichen – und durch die mangelnde Eindeutigkeit als defizitär ausgewiesenen – Sprachgebrauch hinweisen, der nun durch die Wortneuschöpfungen (*nouis uerbis*) des vorliegenden Lehrgedichts ersetzt werden soll.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Deren Zersplitterung zeigt vielleicht keine Beschreibung besser als der Versuch Blatts 1933, über dieselbe den schützenden Mantel einer der Musik entnommenen Metaphorik zu breiten: „[...] das Memmiusmotiv klingt erst ganz leise an (in I und gegen II am Ende), entfaltet sich voller in III, tritt zurück in 80/1 (V) und gelangt zu voller Geltung in VIII“ (346).

⁴⁸ Zu Lukrezens Übersetzungsleistung bei der Prägung dieser Termini vgl. auch Clay 1969, 39.

⁴⁹ Vgl. zu diesem Zusammenhang auch Gale 1998, 59. So erklärt sich im Übrigen auch eine Beobachtung ganz zwanglos, die Deufert nun zur Zurücknahme seiner in Deufert 1996, 38–39 vorgeschlagenen Athetese der Verse geführt hat: „Gewiss sind die von Lukrez an dieser Stelle zusammengetragenen Begriffe für ‚Atome‘ nicht jene, die er sonst am häufigsten gebraucht, aber sie empfehlen sich – hier zu Beginn des Werkes – durch ihre unmittelbare Eingängigkeit und Anschaulichkeit. Es ist didaktisch geschickt, den Leser auf die ihm noch fremde, aber so grundlegende Atomlehre mit einer bildhaft-anschaulichen Begrifflichkeit vorzubereiten“ (Deufert 2018, 4): Die Begriffe in 1,58–61 sind die bislang im Lateinischen üblichen, die von Lukrez häufiger gebrauchten seine (von ihm zumindest als solche beanspruchten) Wortneuschöpfungen.

Und auch der Anschluss der Lobpreisung Epikurs an das Vorangegangene profitiert – zumindest in stilistischer Hinsicht – von der Umstellung, da das in den Versen 142–145 etablierte Wortfeld aus dem Bereich der Optik (*noctes uigilare serenas; clara [...] lumina; occultas penitus conuisere*) in den nun folgenden Versen 62–67 wiederaufgenommen wird (*ante oculos [...] iaceret; ostendebat; horribili [...] aspectu; tendere contra [...] oculos*).⁵⁰ Inhaltlich freilich liegt eher eine Antithese vor: Während Lukrez die Nächte in heiterer Anstrengung durchwacht, um Memmius über die beglückenden Geheimnisse der epikureischen Philosophie aufzuklären und ein unvergängliches Werk zu schaffen, richtet Epikur seinen durchdringenden Blick auf das Monstrum des menschlichen Aberglaubens, das vor diesem Blick zu nichts zerfällt.⁵¹

Dass das pluralische *nos* in V. 58 in den nun folgenden Versen 136 und 140 in eine erste (*me*) und zweite (*tua*) Person Singular aufgespalten wird, macht die zunächst an eine abstrakte Allgemeinheit gerichtete Aufgabe einer Übertragung der griechischen Philosophie in die lateinische Sprache zudem zu einem Projekt, dem sich konkret der Dichter Lukrez und sein Gönner Memmius verschrieben haben; einerseits wird das nationale Problem so von einer vagen und unverbindlichen Agenda zum persönlichen Anliegen zweier Patrioten umgedeutet und andererseits den beiden Männern, die diese Herausforderung nun endlich angehen, ein prestigeträchtiger Pionierstatus zugewiesen. Vor dem Hintergrund dieser (freilich sekundären) Pioniertat wird dann die (primäre) Pioniertat Epikurs, die durch *primum* in V. 66 auch explizit als solche gekennzeichnet wird, noch einmal als Überbietung der eigenen Leistung

⁵⁰ Vgl. zu diesem Wortfeld allgemein auch Clay 1969, 44–46, von Albrecht 2006, 239, und Ruiz Castellanos 2015, 258. Beltrami 2020, 313f., versucht mit demselben Argument die überlieferte Reihenfolge zu verteidigen und schlussfolgert: „Dal punto di vista argomentativo, insomma, la triade svolge una funzione di cerniera: riprende il filo del ragionamento interrotta dalla digressione sulla poesia, lo suggella in un’efficace sententia conclusiva e lo connette alla sezione successiva, che inaugura la trattazione vera e propria“; das ebenso zögerliche wie widerwillige Zugeständnis einer durch die Digression unter-(wenn nicht zer-)brochenen Argumentation wird in der folgenden Fußnote noch verstärkt: „Così inteso, il passo non risulta perfettamente lineare dal punto di vista logico, e il carattere secondario della ripetizione rimane evidente. Non sembra, tuttavia, un’incoerenza tale da vietare l’ipotesi che la ripetizione sia dovuta a Lucrezio, la cui poetica si fonda spesso su momenti argomentativi legati tra loro da suggestioni visive e metaforiche, piuttosto che da nessi logici in senso stretto“ (ebd. Anm. 20).

⁵¹ Zur Erlöserrolle Epikurs an dieser Stelle vgl. auch von Albrecht 2006, 242f.

markiert und erweist sich so als typisches Produkt des epikureischen Kultes um den Schulgründer.⁵²

4.2. *Memmius als Adressat*

Zweitens aber ist die von Brieger vorgeschlagene Versumstellung – anders als in der folgenden Forschungsdiskussion stillschweigend vorausgesetzt – kein Bemühen darum, die Verse 146–148 gegen eine (ja erst von Gneisse vorgeschlagene) Athetese zu retten, sondern im Kontext der zahlreichen Versuche zu verorten, in oder vor dem Vers 50 eine direkte Anrede an Memmius herzustellen.⁵³ Schon Brieger ist an dieser Stelle im Ergebnis zu denselben Schlussfolgerungen gelangt, die auch Butterfield 2020 aus der – im Titel seines Aufsatzes emphatisch als „the Most Difficult Textual Problem in Lucretius“ bezeichnete⁵⁴ – Crux der Verse 1,44–50 gezogen hat: Anstatt wie Deufert in seiner Ausgabe von 2019 die Konjektur Lachmanns zu übernehmen und den unvollständig überlieferten Vers 50 in der Form *Quod superest, <Memmi>, uacuas auris <animumque>* zu ergänzen,⁵⁵ setzen Brieger und Butterfield vor Vers 50 eine Lücke an, in der sie die entsprechende Anrede verorten.⁵⁶

Grundlage von Briegers und Butterfields Vorbehalte gegen Lachmanns Konjektur bzw. Deuferts Erweiterung derselben ist Bernays' Hinweis auf die *Scholia Veronensia* zu Verg. georg. 3,3, die für Lukrez den Halbvers *uacuas aures animumque sagacem* überliefern.⁵⁷ Dass hier nicht der Ort sein kann, den Disput zwischen Bernays, Brieger und Butterfield auf der einen sowie Lachmann und Deufert auf der anderen Seite – und damit „the Most Difficult Textual Problem

⁵² Vgl. dazu beispielsweise Erler 2020, 37–58.

⁵³ Brieger 1866, 457; vgl. zur Problematik auch Deufert 1996, 38–40. Die Möglichkeit eines Verzichts auf die ansonsten unisono als notwendig eingeforderte direkte Anrede an Memmius erwägt – freilich ohne wirklich überzeugende Erklärung – Jacoby 1921, 59f. Sachlicher argumentiert in dieselbe Richtung Ruiz Castellanos 2015: „Bailey y Giancotti suponen una laguna en el v. 50, incompleto en los códices; suponen una referencia personal a Memmio; pero ya la hubo en el v. 42: *Memmi clara propago*, y se sostiene mediante demostrativos y verbos en 2ª persona a lo largo del fragmento“ (251 Anm. 55).

⁵⁴ Butterfield 2020, 19.

⁵⁵ Lachmann 1850 schlägt im Kommentar *uacuas auris animumque, age, Memmi* vor, folgt aber letztlich Bernays mit der Ansetzung einer Lücke vor 1,50 (21).

⁵⁶ Brieger 1866, 456 bzw. Butterfield 2020, 34f.

⁵⁷ Bernays 1885 [1853], 5.

in Lucretius“ – quasi en passant zu entscheiden, versteht sich von selbst, zumal im Ergebnis ja zwischen beiden Parteien Einigkeit herrscht: Zwischen Vers 43 und (einschließlich) V. 50 muss in irgendeiner Form das *Memmi* gestanden haben, das Lachmann vor Bernays Hinweis auf die *Scholia Veronensia* in den unvollständigen Vers 50 hineinkonjiziert hat.

In jedem Falle ergibt sich daher mit der hier vorgeschlagenen Umstellung der Verse 136–145 eine wohlüberlegte Abfolge: Zunächst spricht Lukrez am Ende des Venushymnus über Memmius (1,42), im – stets abzüglich der zweifellos zu Recht bereits von Pontanus getilgten Verse 44–49⁵⁸ – übernächsten Vers folgt die von Lachmann hergestellte Anrede *Memmi* (1,50) oder alternativ eine äquivalente Anrede in der von Brieger und Butterfield konstatierten Lücke vor 1,50, die jedenfalls in Vers 52 und 54 jeweils durch *tibi* sowie in Vers 140 (der von Vers 54 nach der Umstellung lediglich noch zwölf – und keine 85 Verse mehr – entfernt ist) durch *tua* [...] *uirtus* und in Vers 144 durch *tuae* [...] *menti* wiederaufgenommen wird.

Dass die erste Erwähnung des Memmius bereits am Ende des Venushymnus erfolgt, spricht im Übrigen auch nachdrücklich gegen den Versuch Martins, den durch die Überlieferung zerrissenen Zusammenhang zwischen den Versen 61 und 136 durch eine Umstellung der Verse 50–61 hinter den Vers 135 wiederherzustellen.⁵⁹ Den engen Zusammenhang zwischen den Versen 40–43 und den Versen 50–53, der seinerseits durch Martins Umstellung zerrissen würde, begründet Vahlen mit seiner überzeugenden Deutung des Verseinangangs *quod superest* (1,50) als Verbindung zwischen der Friedensbitte an Venus und der an Memmius gerichteten Aufforderung zur philosophischen Lektüre;⁶⁰ ergänzend dazu könnte im Übrigen auch noch zusätzlich auf die

⁵⁸ Vgl. hierzu den kritischen Apparat der Ausgabe von Deufert 2019 und Deufert 1996, 32–38.

⁵⁹ Martin 1934 in seiner Ausgabe; dieser Anordnung, die Deufert 2018, 4 verwirft, folgt auch Erler 1994, 419.

⁶⁰ „Der Dichter hat an Venus das Gebet gerichtet, dass sie Ruhe und Frieden schaffe im Vaterland, auf dass er selbst seinem Werke obliegen und Memmius nicht durch Sorgen um das öffentliche Wohl abgezogen werde. Und indem er die Gewährung der Bitte nach Dichterart stillschweigend voraussetzt, fährt er fort ‚was noch erübrigt, mein Memmius, wende Dein aufmerksames Ohr meiner Lehre zu‘. Wie wäre das kein richtiger Fortschritt, kein angemessener Abschluss der vorangegangenen Gedankenreihe? Und wie sollte nicht vielmehr des Dichters Absicht zerstört werden, wenn hier anderes gewaltsam zwischen Engzusammengehöriges eingedrängt würde? Und noch von anderer Seite lässt sich der feste Zusammenschluss der Gedanken an diesem Punkte aufweisen. Denn wenn

Parallelität der Geschenke verwiesen werden: Wie Venus Rom den Frieden schenkt (*funde [...] pacem*; 1,50), schenkt Lukrez Memmius sein Gedicht (*mea dona*; 1,52).

4.3. Paläographische Herleitung des Handschriftenbefundes

Drittens aber ist die Entstehung der Verderbnis, also der Ausfall der *Nec me animi [...] conisere possis*-Verse zwischen Vers 61 und (dem heutigen Vers) 62 geradezu ein Schulbeispiel für den sogenannten Augensprung, der im vorliegenden Fall folgendermaßen rekonstruiert werden kann: Der Abschreiber des Archetypus Ω (oder seiner Vorlage) scheint seine Arbeit nach der Niederschrift von Vers 61 (*corpora prima, quod ex illis sunt omnia primis*) unterbrochen zu haben. Als er mit der Kopie fortfahren wollte, suchte er das letzte vor der Unterbrechung niedergeschriebene Wort *primis* in der Vorlage, landete aber zehn Verse weiter unten bei *possis*, das er bei der flüchtigen Suche nach dem Einsatzpunkt für das Fortsetzen der Abschrift zu *primis* verlas.⁶¹ Folglich fuhr er nicht mit dem

Lucretius sagt *vacuas aures animumque semotum a curis adhibe veram ad rationem*, so begreifen wir leicht, von welchen Sorgen abgelenkt er des Freundes Gemüth zur Betrachtung seiner Lehre herüberzuziehen wünscht: hat er es ja eben bekannt, dass nur wenn Friede walte und das Vaterland nicht von Kriegsgefahr bedroht sei, Memmius der Sorge um das Gemeinwohl sich entschlagen könne“ (Vahlen 1877, 488–489; dieser Argumentation, der sich selbst Vahlens Kritiker Jacoby 1921, 9f. nicht ganz verschließen kann, folgt zu Recht auch Deufert 1996, 39).

⁶¹ Dass dieser falsche Einsatzpunkt – abhängig von der unbekanntenen Verszahl der betreffenden Vorlage – auch auf der nächsten Seite gestanden haben könnte, macht dieses Versehen vielleicht sogar noch wahrscheinlicher. Wenn während der postulierten Unterbrechung der Codex geschlossen wurde, ist schließlich keineswegs gesagt, dass er automatisch wieder auf der richtigen Seite aufgeschlagen wurde. Und auch der Wechsel von der linken zur rechten Hälfte einer Doppelseite wäre nach einer solchen Unterbrechung (bei permanent aufgeschlagenem Codex) ohne Weiteres denkbar. Noch größere Wahrscheinlichkeit kann diese Rekonstruktion der Entstehung des ursprünglichen Fehlers vielleicht dann beanspruchen, wenn man für Ω einen Schreiberwechsel zwischen Vers 61 und 62 annimmt; dann hätte also nicht der erste Schreiber sein eigenes *possis* mit dem *primis* der Vorlage verwechselt, sondern ein zweiter Schreiber das *possis* des ersten mit dem *primis* der Vorlage. Ein Schreiberwechsel muss dabei nicht mit der größtmöglichen Dramatik, etwa dem Tod des ersten Schreibers während der besagten Unterbrechung, begründet werden; denkbar wäre schließlich auch ein Szenario wie das folgende: Kurz nach dem Beginn der Abschreibearbeit könnte die Vorlage des Abschreibers an einen überraschenden (hochgestellten) Besucher des Skriptoriums verliehen worden sein, worauf die Arbeit an dem Manuskript bis zur Rückgabe der Leihsache natürlich hätte ausgesetzt werden müssen – diese aber könnte in einem solchen Fall theoretisch bereits nach Stunden, Tagen

ursprünglichen Vers 62 (der dem heutigen Vers 136 entspricht: *Nec me animi fallit Graiorum obscura reperta*) fort, sondern mit dem heutigen Vers 62 (*Humana ante oculos foede cum uita iaceret*) fort.

Dass die zehn ausgelassenen Verse 136–145 (eigentlich also Vers 62–71) für die Überlieferung nicht gänzlich verloren gingen, scheint dem glücklichen Umstand zu verdanken sein, dass dem Kopisten irgendwann zwischen der Niederschrift der heutigen Verse 100 und 135 die eigene Auslassung auffiel. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt hatte er allerdings bereits so viel weiteren Text an das Ende der Lücke angefügt, dass ihm eine Korrektur mittels aufwändiger Rasur ebenso unökonomisch erschien wie die Einfügung einer Randglosse; folglich suchte er selbständig nach einer (seiner Meinung nach) passenden Stelle im weiteren Verlauf des Textes, an der er die fehlenden Verse möglichst unauffällig würde nachtragen können.⁶²

Die Verse 135 und 146, die in seiner Vorlage ja noch unmittelbar hintereinander standen, müssen dem armen Kerl wie ein Geschenk des Himmels erschienen sein: Der von ihm ausgelassene Textausschnitt beinhaltete im ersten Vers das Wort *obscura* und im letzten das Wort *occultas*; in den Versen 132–135 aber ist von Schreckbildern, Schlaf und Tod die Rede, im ursprünglich folgenden Vers 146 gar von *tenebras*! Natürlich sind dies alles recht oberflächliche Entsprechungen, aber unserem unglücklichen Kopisten ging es ja auch gar nicht darum, einen sinnvollen Text herzustellen – er wollte lediglich verhindern, dass seine versehentliche Auslassung von einem späteren Korrektor, also wohl dem Aufseher seines Skriptoriums, bemerkt würde.

Dass die Einfügung der ausgelassenen Verse zwischen V. 135 und 146 möglicherweise sogar einem stichprobenartigen Abgleich mit der Vorlage würde standhalten können, dürfte die Stelle für den verzweifelten Abschreiber dabei noch attraktiver gemacht haben als der oberflächlich hergestellte inhaltliche Zusammenhang: In der Vorlage folgte auf das Schlusswort *possis* (V. 145)

oder Wochen, möglicherweise aber auch erst nach Monaten oder Jahren erfolgt sein.

⁶² Natürlich ist auch nicht auszuschließen, dass der Schreiber die Verse einfach genau an der Stelle anfügte, an der ihm sein Versehen fast achtzig Verse zuvor auffiel; dass er zufällig eine Stelle traf, an der die nachgetragenen Verse zumindest auf den ersten Blick gut in den Zusammenhang eingefügt schienen, hätte dann dafür gesorgt, dass die eventuell von ihm gesetzten Verweiszeichen – anders als in ähnlichen Fällen, in denen der Fehler beim nächsten Abschreiben einfach wieder korrigiert wurde – in der Überlieferung bald verloren gingen und die Verse in der neuen Position weitertradiert wurden.

nämlich im nächsten Vers das Anfangswort *humana* (V. 62), in der Kopie aber stand hinter *possis* nun ein *hunc* (V. 146), das auf den ersten Blick vielleicht mit dem Beginn des (richtigen) *humana* verwechselt werden konnte.

Ob nun erst gar keine Überprüfung der fraglichen Stelle erfolgte oder ob der Korrektor es tatsächlich bei einem flüchtigen Blick auf ein dem *possis* folgendes *hum-* oder *hunc* beließ – jedenfalls blieb die aus der Not geborene Versumstellung im Archetypus Ω stehen und pflanzte sich von dort aus in die weitere Überlieferung fort. Dass dieser durch einen simplen Augensprung verursachte und anschließend wahrscheinlich mit beachtlichem Kalkül kaschierte notdürftige Reparaturversuch über ein Jahrtausend später für die Athetese der (Lukrez in ihrer Korrespondenz zu 2,59–61, 3,91–93 und 6,39–41 wohl nicht ganz unwichtigen) Verse 1,146–148, denen der Dichter als Vorstufe des Kindergleichnisses für Buch I eigens das konkrete Beispiel der Totenvision vorangestellt hat, verantwortlich zeichnen würde, hätte sich der arme Kopist, dessen Furcht vor einer Tracht Prügel oder Schlimmerem wir sowohl die korrupte Reihenfolge als auch die Vollständigkeit der Überlieferung verdanken, wohl nicht träumen lassen – und falls doch, wäre es ihm vermutlich herzlich gleichgültig gewesen.

5. Zusammenfassung

Die Versetzung der Verse 136–145 um beinahe achtzig Verse nach vorne in die Position zwischen Vers 61 und 62 mag manchem als allzu gewaltsamer Eingriff in den Text sowie als bedenklicher Rückfall in die überwunden geglaubten textkritischen Prinzipien des 19. Jahrhunderts erscheinen. Tatsächlich zielt der vorliegende Aufsatz aber keineswegs darauf ab, ein in irgendeiner Weise als ‚unfertig‘ eingestuftes Werk auf dem Wege der Textkritik in den mutmaßlich vom Autor intendierten Zustand zu versetzen; stattdessen sind die hier präsentierten Überlegungen durchweg von der Annahme geleitet, dass das ursprünglich in einer sinnvollen Reihenfolge verfasste Proöm nachträglich, also im Verlauf des Abschreibens, in Unordnung geraten ist. Die vorgeschlagene Umstellung zielt daher ausdrücklich auf die Form des Werkes ab, in der Lukrez das Proöm zu seinem Lehrgedicht der Nachwelt hinterlassen hat. Dass der so hergestellte Text nach Meinung des Verfassers dabei helfen kann, zahlreiche interpretatorische

Probleme, die das Proöm betreffen, einer befriedigerenden Lösung zuzuführen, als dies bislang der Fall gewesen ist, versteht sich daher zwar von selbst, sollte aber nicht als Ausgangspunkt und/oder Leitgedanke der hier vorgestellten textkritischen Überlegungen missverstanden werden.

Dass der paläographische Nachweis für die Entstehung der Verderbnis erst am Ende des Aufsatzes geführt wird, ist vielmehr einfach der Absicht geschuldet, das stärkste und letztlich entscheidende Argument für die Umstellung zuletzt zu präsentieren – und um eben dieses handelt es sich bei dem paläographischen Nachweis angesichts eines solchen gravierenden Eingriffes in die Überlieferung naturgemäß und zwangsläufig. Wer die unter 4.1. und 4.2. genannten inhaltlichen Gründe für die Transposition für stichhaltig, den unter 4.3. geführten Nachweis dagegen für verfehlt hält, wird die vorgeschlagene Versetzung der Verse 1,136–145 zwischen die Verse 1,61 und 62 wohl eher grundsätzlich ablehnen als eine alternative Erklärung zu suchen; wer dagegen die Entstehung der Verderbnis als nachvollziehbar einstuft, der Interpretation des so entstandenen Textes aber nicht oder nur teilweise zustimmen kann, dürfte wohl eher geneigt sein, auf der neuen Grundlage eigene – stichhaltigere und gründlicher ausgeführte – Schlussfolgerungen zu ziehen.

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POMPEIAN ELECTORAL NOTICES ON HOUSES AND IN NEIGHBORHOODS? RE-APPRAISAL OF THE SPATIAL RELATIONSHIPS OF CANDIDATES AND SUPPORTERS

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

Introduction

Local magistrates were elected every year in Roman Pompeii and the campaigns of the candidates involved painted electoral notices covering the façades of the city. This material is unique in the ancient world as they have not been found even in Herculaneum.¹ The texts are simple and contain persons in three roles as can be seen from this example found in the southern part of Pompeii: *Q(uintum) Postum(ium) M(arcum) Cerrinium | aed(iles) o(ro) v(os) f(aciatis) | Euxinus rog(at) | nec sine Iusto scr(ibat) Hinnulus*.² The candidate is obviously the most important person and his name and the office he was running for form the main part of a notice text: Quintus Postumius Proculus and Marcus Cerrinius Vatia ran together for the office of *aedilis*. Almost 2500 notices have been found and a quarter of them (637) also include another name or names, those of supporters – Euxinus and Iustus in the example. The supporters could be individuals and groups as diverse as worshippers of the goddess Isis (*Isiaci*) or petty thieves (*furunculi*).³ The third role is that of the painters who appear in some thirty notices. Their activity is usually indicated by the abbreviation *scr* for *scribit* or

¹ Some electoral notices have been found on tombs and villas outside Pompeii's city walls. One possible electoral notice is known from Herculaneum (Pagano 1987).

² *CIL* IV 9851 on the façade of bar I 11,11. See Chiavria 2002, 47–85 for various elements in the electoral notices.

³ *Isiaci* in *CIL* IV 787 and 1011, *furunculi* in *CIL* IV 576.

scripsit. The example is the only notice signed by Hinnulus but he appears also as a supporter in others.⁴

The electoral notices have attracted much scholarly attention and they have been used to study Pompeian prosopography and to analyze how local elections worked in Pompeii and in early Imperial Italy in general.⁵ The significance of the supporters in the process has been discussed by Henrik Mouritsen and Raffaella Biundo.⁶ The main question concerned the organization and execution of the electoral campaign and the role supporters played in it. The names and the social statuses of the supporters were the main arguments in addition to what is generally known of Roman elections. Mouritsen proposed a centralized campaign organized by the candidates. The individual supporters could participate in the process but were not essential for the execution. He also doubted the significance of the notices for the campaign regarding them as a habitual part of the process without much effect on the outcome. Biundo argued for a grass roots model where the activity of the supporters was needed for the execution of the campaign – although even in her scenario, the candidate was responsible for the main part of the campaign. She also pointed out that the names of the supporters indicate low social status and that even women who could not vote appear as supporters. The elite dominated the electoral process and thus the activity of the supporters with lower status indicates their personal desire to participate in the elections.

The spatial relationships of the notices and supporters were also part of the discussion. Mouritsen compared the general distribution of the notices to those including names of supporters. Both are strikingly similar (Fig. 1) and focus on gaining maximum visibility by placing the notices on the main streets of Pompeii. According to Mouritsen, the grass roots model would have produced a more dispersed pattern for supported notices beyond the main streets as the supporters of lower social status must mostly have lived off main streets. Biundo analyzed the distributions of a sample of campaigns, and she claimed that the notices without supporters were located on the main streets and the supported

⁴ For *scriptores*, see Viitanen 2020.

⁵ For example, Willems 1887; Castrén 1975; Franklin 1980 and 2001; Mouritsen 1988; Chiavia 2002. For Roman elections in general, see Staveley 1972.

⁶ Mouritsen 1988, 60–68 and 1999, Biundo 1996 and 2003. See also Chiavia 2002, 189–258 for further discussion.

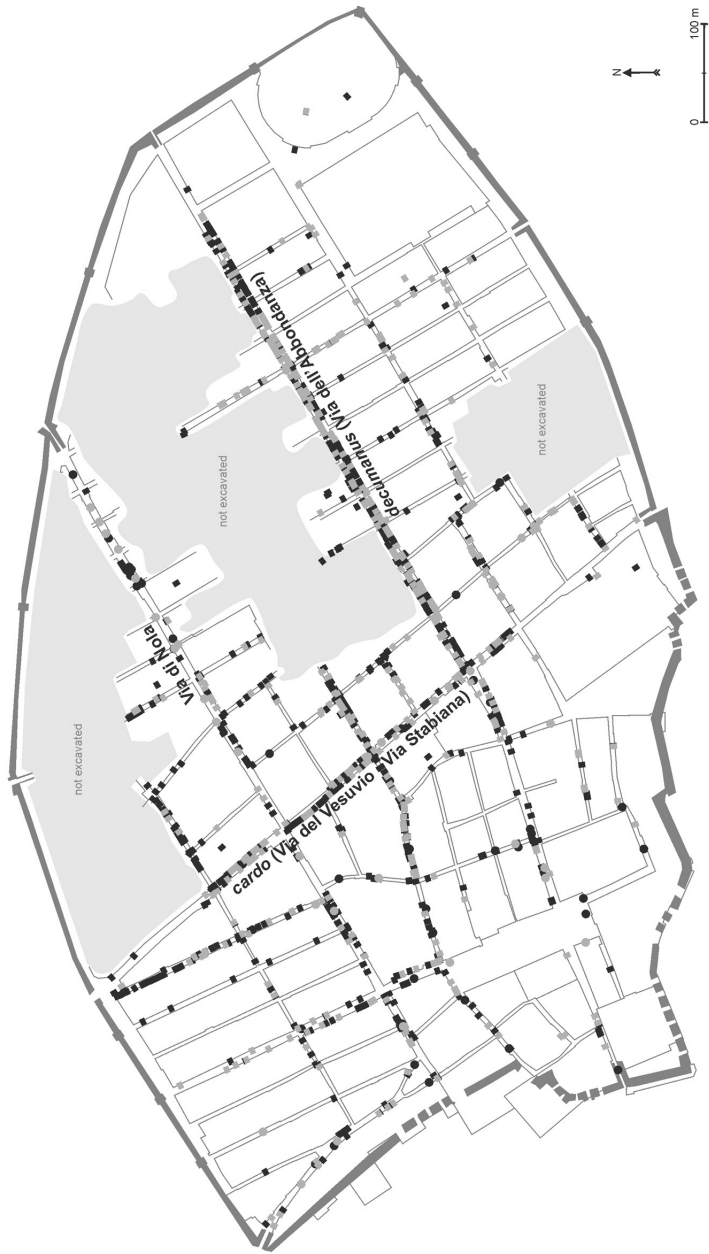


Fig. 1: Locations of electoral notices in Pompeii. Supported texts marked with light grey. Uncertain locations with circles. (Map by author.)

ones were mostly on the side streets on the supporter's houses and/or near the candidate's house. Each was responsible of their own part of the campaign.⁷ Both scholars assumed that supporters could only place notices on their own houses. They regarded the connection between the house and the name on the façade as mostly unproblematic. In addition, neither noted the cases where one person set up more than one notice.

The aim of this paper is to study the spatial relationships of candidates and supporters appearing in the electoral notices. The traditional interpretation is that the candidates focused their campaigns on their neighborhoods⁸ and that supporters had access only to their own house façades. This perception concurs with what is generally thought of texts found from houses: inhabitants produced them (for example, graffiti) or are referred to (for example, seal stamps).⁹ The assumption of the close connection between texts and house inhabitants has been doubted, but no thorough studies on the relationships of people, texts, and buildings in Pompeii have been conducted.¹⁰

For the purposes of this study, all textual evidence related to houses and persons involved in the elections were examined in three ways. The names of candidates and supporters also appear in other texts and to reconstruct the spatial relationships of an individual it is necessary to take into consideration all texts, not only mentions in the electoral notices. Identification of individuals is based on names and to be able to connect names on different materials plausibly to candidates and supporters, an evaluation of the frequency and use of their names in Pompeii was needed. The third approach involved analyzing the collections of texts found from houses and comparing the data across Pompeii as candidates and supporters occur in multiple houses. In the following, the first part provides a short introduction to electoral notices followed by an exploration of their distribution focusing on candidates and their spatial relationships. The

⁷ See note 6 for references.

⁸ Mouritsen 1988, 56.

⁹ Visitors are also often regarded as writers of graffiti (for example, Lohmann 2017, Chapter 8). Maker's marks on pottery, tiles, and many other materials are the exception as they were probably produced elsewhere by persons not related to the houses where the artifacts were found.

¹⁰ The main principles are presented in Della Corte 1965, 9–25. See Mouritsen 1988, 13–23 and Allison 2001 for criticisms. Mouritsen's views on Della Corte's identifications of house inhabitants did not change his own opinion on this basic assumption when interpreting the role of the supporters.

second part involves an evaluation of the evidence for the connections between supporters and houses based on notices and other materials from the houses. The last part discusses cases where the candidates and supporters feature in multiple notices and in other evidence.

It is argued that candidates and supporters in Pompeian elections were not restricted to their own properties or even neighborhoods but could access other façades and areas in the city. They sought to place their notices to the most popular streets for electoral advertising to gain maximum visibility. These observations afford more positive agency to the supporters than has been thought previously. In addition, the exploration raises serious doubts on the traditional assumption that texts from houses were almost exclusively related to their inhabitants.

Electoral Notices in Pompeii

Some 2480 electoral notices have been found and published since the beginning of the excavations in Pompeii.¹¹ They were made in connection with the annual elections for selecting the town magistrates, two *aediles* and two *duumviri*. The notices were painted with red or black paint on the upper parts of the ground floor façades, usually on the plaster covering the wall, but also on some wall surfaces on a thin layer of whitewash. The name of the candidate was usually written in large rustic capitals clearly indicating the most important content. The rest of the text is written with smaller lettering and the supporter appears most commonly at the end of the text, sometimes even below the rest. The same applies to the names of the painters.¹² Most of the electoral notices can be dated to the last decades of Pompeii based on their contents and archaeological evidence.¹³

Pompeian evidence is often plentiful, but it can also be problematic – documentation during the long excavation history has not always been exemplary. Texts have attracted more attention than many other kinds of materials and the

¹¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* IV and its supplements contain all but the notices found in the most recent excavations.

¹² Fioretti 2012 and 2014; Viitanen 2020.

¹³ Chiavia 2002, 114–140. The earlier electoral notices from the 1st century B.C.E. do not contain supporter names and are not included in this study.

large and relatively easily comprehensible electoral notices have one of the best documentation histories among all texts in Pompeii. However, areas excavated before the 1840s feature most of the uncertain find locations and most of the unclear or suspicious readings.¹⁴ Publications are usually the only available source, as in most cases it is not possible to study the original text because the plaster layers with painted texts on façades have usually been left unprotected after excavation and this has led to their destruction. The focus of the published descriptions is on the contents of the texts with few images available for comparison.¹⁵ The locations are described verbally, and, in most cases, this data is reliable when it can be checked against photographs. Most notices can be read with relative certainty based on their formulaic character. They can also be placed accurately on house façades and the uncertain locations plotted on the map complement the distribution pattern without major disruptions. (Fig. 1.)

The candidates have the central role in the notices and some 155 candidates can be identified. The Roman three-part name formula can be reconstructed for many of them.¹⁶ The number of notices for one candidate varies from one to more than a hundred – 20 candidates have 50 or more notices. Most notices, about 2/3 of all, are from the *aedilis* campaigns. In some cases, the candidate ran for both offices at different times, and it is possible to compare the distributions for the campaigns at the start of their political careers (*aedilis*) and in its continuation (*duumvir*). The number of supporters varies in each campaign, but in average about a third of the notices among the most frequently advertised candidates contain names of supporters. Most candidates have at least one or two named supporters even if the total number of notices is low. Candidates also requested individuals and groups to vote them (82 texts). These persons are not only important members of the community, as one might expect, but represent low and high social statuses alike. Many of the candidates acted also as supporters.¹⁷

¹⁴ The northern *decumanus* (modern Via di Nola) is the most problematic street as very few of the notices found along it can be placed accurately. See also Viitanen – Nissinen – Korhonen 2013.

¹⁵ Old photographs published in Varone – Stefani 2009 and elsewhere are invaluable particularly for the southeastern part of Pompeii.

¹⁶ Catalogues in Mouritsen 1988 and Chiavia 2002. The total used here contains *cognomina* that appear with more than one family name and consequently cannot be assigned to a specific person.

¹⁷ See Chiavia 2002, 73–76 for an overview and 364–368 for a catalogue.

The supporters have the second important role in the notices. Usually, one individual supporter is named, but all kinds of combinations of persons and groups occur. Most of the persons are known only by their *cognomen* which makes identifying individuals complicated – one *cognomen* can appear with many family names.¹⁸ The process of identifying 280 individual supporters involved comparing their names to all of Pompeian texts to estimate how common or rare the name is and whether it was occurred with multiple family names.¹⁹ Some *cognomina* appear repeatedly as supporters but are so common in Pompeii that individuals cannot be identified. If such a name was found more than once on one house, it was included in the analyses.²⁰ Among the 75 groups supporting candidates, *vicini* or neighbors are mentioned most frequently (32 texts), but many occupations related to production or commerce appear, such as fullers or bakers. Some of the painters of the notices were also supporters.²¹

Candidate's Choices: Finding Locations for Notices

After the brief introduction to the persons in the electoral notices, the mechanisms of how candidates got their notices on the façades of Pompeii are explored. By the late 1970s about 2/3 of Pompeii had been excavated and most of the texts had been published. A general pattern for Pompeian electoral notices could be established and Henrik Mouritsen was the first to do it in 1988.²² The distributions of notices for individual candidates had been studied already before this and the main aim had been to try to understand the motivation for selecting places for the notices.²³ The distributions were also used to locate possible areas

¹⁸ Catalogue in Chiavria 2002, 327–363.

¹⁹ Catalogues in Chiavria 2002 and Castrén 1975 were used in the process.

²⁰ Total 13 names in 44 texts were excluded: Clodius, Fabius, Amandus, Crescens, Felix, Fuscus, Hermes, Primus, Proculus, Sabinus, Secundus, Verus, and Lucius. There are also some 90 cases where the name is fragmentary or illegible. Coronatus, Genialis, Iunianus, and Nicanor were included based on spatial proximity even if one of the texts is fragmentary.

²¹ See Viitanen 2020.

²² Mouritsen 1988, 47–60.

²³ For example, Franklin 1980 without distribution maps. He did draw maps which are among his study materials deposited in the library of the American Academy in Rome.

where the candidates might have lived.²⁴ Creation of the general distribution map afforded significant insights into the basic principles of the campaigns. Most aimed at maximum visibility on the main streets starting from the gates with a heavy emphasis on the *decumanus* (modern Via dell'Abbondanza) starting from the *forum*. The candidates understood the importance of visibility for their campaigns, but the adherence to the main streets made it harder to understand their other motivations. It had been assumed that the campaigns were centered on the candidate's house and their own neighborhood, but the general distribution made this seem unlikely. The main streets were unlikely to be the neighborhood for every candidate and yet most campaigns focused on those streets. The same applied to the supporters. Despite these observations, the significance of the candidates' own houses and their neighborhoods in the campaign was not questioned.

Mouritsen considered façades of houses as public space where anyone could get their notices painted. Furthermore, the painters were mostly responsible for choosing the places, perhaps according to guidelines set by the candidate.²⁵ However, analysis of the distribution of the notices even on the most popular city blocks shows that they are never evenly distributed. Some house fronts were used more frequently than others. (Fig. 2a.) The analysis of house types shows that although there are about three shops and/or workshops for every elite house (3:1), the ratio for notices is contrary: for every notice on a shop/workshop there are three on elite houses (1:3).²⁶ In addition, façades even in the most popular streets were not used in every election. Moreover, the notices were not placed randomly on the façade, but the texts were painted in a regulated manner.²⁷ The popularity of the elite houses, the clustering of notices on certain houses, and the controlled use of the façades suggest that the household had the power to decide who could have their notices on their façades. The candidates and their families were inhabitants of the city with social, economic, and political connections that could be used to get notices in the desired places. The social prestige afforded by the notices on the façades was probably important for both the candidates and the inhabitants of the houses.

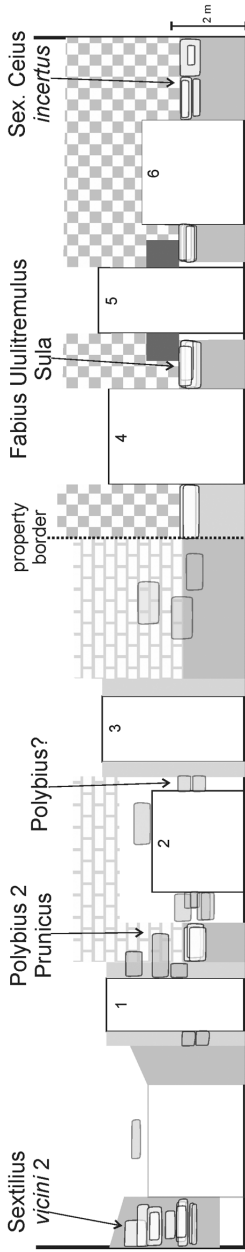
²⁴ Mouritsen 1988, 52–56.

²⁵ Mouritsen 1988, 31–32, 47 and 1999, 517.

²⁶ For analysis of locations, see Viitanen – Nissinen – Korhonen 2013 and Viitanen – Nissin 2017.

²⁷ See Viitanen 2020 for the painting process.

2a South Façade of City Block IX 13



2b South Façade of House III 2,1

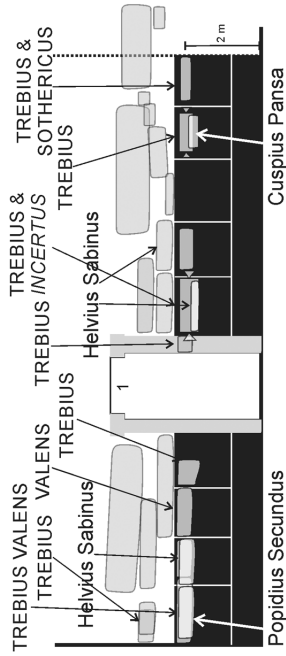


Fig. 2 a: South façade of city block IX 13 showing the different decorations of the two houses and uneven distribution of notices between them. Names and places of supporter notices marked. 2 b: South façade of house III 2,1 with supporter names in capitals and aedilis candidates of 79 C.E. with lowercase text. (Drawings by author.)

Most of the electoral notices were painted on the house fronts, but 38 texts occur inside 20 houses (Table 1). It has been assumed that the candidate promoted himself inside his home and that the supporters were similarly setting up notices inside their houses.²⁸ Half of these notices (20) appear in elite houses and half (18) are in modest dwellings or shop/workshop type buildings. This last group does not concur with the traditional view of an elite house suitable as a candidate's dwelling. The notices were placed equally frequently near the main entrance or further inside the house. The front of the house affords some visibility, but it is difficult to understand why notices were placed in the more private areas deep inside the house. These parts of the houses could have been in such use that the notices had an audience even if this activity cannot be identified. Only two houses contain other evidence to confirm the candidate as a probable member of the household: Vedii in house VII 1,25.46–47 and Iulii in house IX 13,1–3 (Table 2). Neither house was the exclusive place of the family's political activity as they set up notices also on other properties (Iulius Polybius in Figs. 2a and 3). The Iulii house features also a supporter called Ser() Sat() in the peristyle. In seven houses candidates and supporters had different family names. In the case of the Caecilii Iucundi (house V 1,23.25–27.10) it seems quite clear that Appuleius and Numisius were not inhabitants although they appear as candidates in two notices in a courtyard in the western part of the house (Table 2). This sample is small but indicates that candidates – and supporters – could get their notices also inside houses where they probably did not live.

Table 1: Electoral notices inside houses. AMF dat = amphora with a name in the dative, CAND = candidate, GR = graffito/i, PAINT = other painted text, REQ = request to vote, ROG = supporter, SIG = signaculum, ? = uncertain location or reading.

House	Space(s)	CAND/ROG inside	Other evidence
I 7,1.20: elite house	entrance/ outside	Cuspius Pansa REQ	Other supporters

²⁸ Della Corte 1965, 13–15. In some houses, the main door is located further away from the façade, and it is uncertain whether the notices were placed outside or inside the door. To analyze all similar contexts, also houses I 7,1.20 and IX 7,3 were included even though the notices in them were clearly outside, but not on the façade.

House	Space(s)	CAND/ROG inside	Other evidence
V 1,23.25–27.10: elite house	courtyard back	Appuleius, Numisius CAND	Caecilii Iucundi (cf. Table 2)
VII 1,25.46–47: elite house	corridor back	Vedius Siricus CAND	Vedii (cf. Table 2)
VII 15,1–2.15: elite house	entrance	Paquius Proculus 2 CAND Fuscus, incertus ROG	
IX 1,22.29: elite house	entrance/ outside?	Fadius, Iunius CAND Cuspius ROG	Other supporters?
IX 8,6.3.a: elite house	entrance/ outside?	Fro(nto), Verus CAND Urbanus ROG	Other supporters, SIG S() Fruc()
IX 13,1: elite house	entrance to peristyle 4 spaces	Iulius Polybius 8 CAND Ser() Sat() ROG	Iulii (cf. Table 2)
IX 14,2.4.b–c: elite house	garden back	Obellius CAND	
I 17,1: modest house	entrance	Suettius CAND	Shop advertisements?
II 3,8: modest house	<i>atrium</i> , <i>cubiculum</i>	No names?	Other supporters
V 4,1–3: modest house	portico back	Obellius Firmus CAND	
IX 7,3: modest house?	entrance/ outside	Suettius Certus 2x	Other supporters
IX 10,2: modest house?	entrance	Claudius Verus, Lollius Fuscus, Paquius Proculus CAND Obellius, pater ROG Obellius ROLE?	
IX 11,1: modest house?	entrance/ outside?	Consus CAND	
I 7,15–17: workshop	courtyard front	Cerrinius Vatia, Postumius Proculus CAND	<i>Scriptores</i> workshop?
I 12,1–2: shop/ workshop	mill room	Trebius CAND	Other supporters

House	Space(s)	CAND/ROG inside	Other evidence
I 14,1.11–13: inn?	courtyard back	Modestus CAND	Other supporters
II 9,3–4: inn?	front hall	Ceius Secundus 2 CAND (Se)cundanus ROG	
VIII 7,1–4: inn	garden back	Postumius CAND	
IX 3,18: shop/ workshop	shop	No names?	SIG Paccius Clarus

The main streets, particularly the *decumanus*, dominate in the distributions of individual campaigns, but there is also plenty of variation. Most of the larger campaigns with 50 or more notices (20 of them) cover at least one section of the city or the notices are spread across the whole city. It is mostly very difficult to see how the campaigns could be regarded as adhering to a neighborhood. The few houses attributed to the candidates are rarely placed centrally within the campaign distribution as can be seen in the case of Iulius Polybius. (Fig. 2a and 3.) Most of the notices supporting him are near his probable home, but a third of the campaign was directed to the northwestern part of the city and Polybius himself acted there as a supporter. His neighborhood was clearly not limited to the immediate vicinity of his house.²⁹

The locations of supported notices in individual campaigns were part of the discussion on the organization of the campaigns. The distribution along the main streets (Fig. 1) was used to argue for centralized organization and *vice versa*, it was claimed that the supported ones tended to be on the secondary streets and proof for grass-roots activity.³⁰ Comparison of the supported and not-supported notices in individual campaigns indicates that the supported ones tend to follow the general pattern for the candidate without clusters in one area. Isolated supported notices on secondary streets are not common. The uniformity of the distributions of supported and not-supported notices suggests that the candidate and supporters could have co-operated in the campaign design. As

²⁹ The other case with a good house attribution is the Vedii family: the notices for Siricus and Nummianus are clustered south of the house about a block away from it with others scattered in different parts of the city. The attributions for houses of Lucretius Fronto and Pupius Rufus are not as solid, and both had small campaigns. Fronto's notices are in the eastern part of Pompeii and Pupius's in the northwest. Both have clusters around their possible houses.

³⁰ See note 6 for references.

will be seen in the next section, the supporters were not restricted to their own houses or neighborhoods in their participation in the elections and could have contributed meaningfully to the candidate's visibility.³¹

Using connections to place notices on houses probably also explains the lack of evidence for direct competition, for example in the form of defacing competitor's notices. The candidates for one year's election cannot usually be identified, but a relatively good case can be argued for the *aedilis* candidates in the last elections in 79 C.E.³² Cuspius Pansa and Popidius Secundus ran together against Helvius Sabinus and probably Samellius Modestus. All but Samellius Modestus have large campaigns covering the most important streets.³³ Some 280 notices were painted on 220 houses. The competing candidates for *aedilis* appear together on 29 houses and sometimes even on the same façade, for example on house III 2,1 neatly separated from each other (Fig. 2b). All three had a connection with the inhabitants who respected the relationships by promoting each candidate.

For some candidates there are notices from campaigns for *aedilis* and *duumvir* from different times.³⁴ *Aedilis* notices are more likely to be older as it was the entry level office. Usually there are more *duumvir* notices and both campaigns cover the same areas. In three cases, the two campaigns took different patterns. The *duumvir* notices for Ceius Secundus are strictly on the main streets, but the *aedilis* ones are located on the side streets around the city block I 10 and near the eastern end of the *decumanus* (Fig. 4).³⁵ These patterns could result from better preservation of old notices on secondary streets, but they can also relate to changes in the candidate's career: a *duumvir* candidate had more influence and was more likely to get his notices in the most popular places. Majority of the

³¹ See also Viitanen 2020 on how painters were employed in the campaigns.

³² Franklin 1980, 61–62.

³³ The *duumvir* candidates were Gavius Rufus and Holconius Priscus who were apparently in coalition with Cuspius and Popidius. Their opposition could have been Ceius Secundus, who appears together with Helvius Sabinus in one notice, but this remains uncertain.

³⁴ Seven candidates with more than a couple of notices in both campaigns can be found: Ceius Secundus, Epidius Secundus, Gavius Rufus, Holconius Pricus, Iulius Polybius, Popidius Rufus, and Vettius Caprasius Felix. Paquius Proculus and Suettius Certus have only few *aedilis* notices.

³⁵ Vettius Caprasius Felix and Epidius Sabinus have similar distributions with *duumvir* notices on main streets and *aedilis* notices on secondary streets.



Fig. 4: Distribution of notices supporting Ceius Secundus in his aedilis (open stars) and duumvir (squares) campaigns with supporter names by the appropriate notices (open circle). Aedilis supporters with capital letters. Notices with unknown candidature with grey squares. (Map by author.)

duumvir notices are found in the most popular streets when the whole material is considered.³⁶

The candidates used their connections to get their notices on the façades of Pompeii and sometimes even inside houses. The campaigns were usually designed to cover the central streets of the city without a clear emphasis on the perceived neighborhoods of the candidates. It is also possible that their opportunities and choices could vary in different parts of their career. Unfortunately, the problem of the organization of the campaigns cannot be solved based on the distributions of supported and not-supported notices. Co-operation at some level is suggested by the way supported notices remain within the main pattern of a candidate's campaign.

Connecting Supporters and Houses: Inhabitants or Not?

Only a quarter of the notices mention a supporter name. Most of the supporters (159 out of 280, 56 %) are mentioned only once. The perceived connection between them and the houses is based solely on the assumption that they belong together. Interpreting the supporters as house inhabitants and/or owners makes sense intuitively, but the evidence related to this assumption has never been thoroughly explored.³⁷ Matteo Della Corte presented the main methods of identifying house inhabitants by outlining six typical cases. All six include electoral notices with supporter names and in four of them, other evidence for the same person from the house is also available.³⁸ The two cases without other evidence concern Obellius Firmus who appears as a candidate inside two houses and as a supporter inside a third house (Table 1). The assumption that candidates and/or supporters were only able to place notices inside their own houses was shown not to be valid in the previous section. Consequently, Obellius and all the others mentioned in the notices are unlikely to be inhabitants. How well do the remaining four examples fare a detailed examination of the evidence?

³⁶ See Viitanen – Nissin 2017, 126–129.

³⁷ See note 10 for references.

³⁸ Della Corte 1965, 9–20: Caecilii Iucundi and house V 1,23.25–27.10, Lucretius Fronto and V 4.a.11, Vesonius Primus and VI 14,18–20 & VI 14,21–22, Vedii Siricus et Nummianus and VII 1,25.46–47, Obellii Firmi and IX 10,2 and IX 14,2.4.b–c.

Della Corte's models for interpretation are based on cases where the names in the electoral notices have been found in other materials inside the house (Table 2). These materials include bronze seal stamps (*signacula*), stone inscriptions, and amphorae. Graffiti mentioning the supporter's name have also been used. The most spectacular case for a connection between people and house is that of the Caecilii Iucundi and house V 1,23.25–27.10: an archive of wax tablets with the name Lucius Caecilius Iucundus in most of them, an honorary statue to Lucius in the atrium, and an amphora with the family name in the dative case.³⁹ The supporters with the family name on the façade are Quintus and Sextus who can perhaps be considered sons of Lucius. A Iucundus is requested to vote for Caecilius Capella on the other side of the street.⁴⁰ Della Corte's examples include only positive cases where the notices and the other evidence concur. However, there are also equally many cases where the notices and other evidence for the supporter have been found in different buildings (Table 3).

Table 2: Supporters with notices and other evidence for them in one house. Positive cases for house attributions shaded. Abbreviations in Table 1.

Supporter(s) & House	Inside	Façade	Elsewhere	Problems?
B/Vetutius Placidus & Ascula I 8,8–9	AMF gen 3 GR 2	ROG 6 REQ	ROG 3 next door	
Caecilii Iucundi V 1,23.25–27.10	wax tablets statue with inscription AMF dat	ROG 2	REQ opposite	CAND inside Appuleius CAND inside Numisius REQ Faustus ROG Felicio

³⁹ *CIL* IV 3340, 5788, *CIL* X 860.

⁴⁰ *CIL* IV 3428, 3433, 3473.

Supporter(s) & House	Inside	Façade	Elsewhere	Problems?
Epidius Hymenaeus III 4,2–3	AMF dat	ROG 4	ROG opposite	SIG Arrius ROG Polites ROG Piranus? ROG Clodius REQ Alipus AMF dat Horatius
Euxinus & Iustus I 11,10–12	AMF dat 3	ROG		
Iulii Polybius & Philippus IX 13,1–3	SIG Philippus GR Philippus CAND Polybius 8	ROG 2 REQ	REQ opposite ROG 5 in Regions I, VI & VII <i>vicini</i> next block	ROG inside Ser() Sat() ROG Prunicus ROG L. Sextilius
Lucretius Fronto V 4,a.11	GR Fronto 2	ROG	<i>vicini</i> V 4,c–d CAND <i>hic</i> V 4,c–d	AMF gen Ninnius
Pompeius Amaranthus I 9,11–12	AMF gen 3	ROG		SIG Mestrius ROG Astylus AMF dat Pedius
Pupius Rufus VI 15,4–5.24–25	GR	ROG	REQ opposite GR inside IX 2,26	SIG Sepun(ius) SIG Stlaccius SIG Titinia
Rufinus & Parthenope V 1,18.11–12	GR	ROG REQ		SIG Val(erius)
Vedii Siricus & Nummianus VII 1,25.47–47	SIG CAND PAINT	REQ	ROG opposite	
Vesonius Primus VI 14,18–20	statue with inscription	ROG 3	ROG next door	ROG Cornelia
Vettii Conviva & Restitutus VI 15,1.27	SIG 2 inscribed ring	ROG PAINT		SIG Crusius? ROG Hilarus

Table 3: Supporters with notices and other evidence in more than one house. Abbreviations in Table 1.

Supporter	Notices	Other Evidence	Problems?
Bri/uttius Balbus	ROG IX 1,30–31? ROG IX 2,13–14? ROG 2 IX 2,16 REQ IX 2,16	AMF dat V 2,i,e	Uncertain location and role
Cassia	ROG III 4,b	Inscribed ring VI 12,1–3.5.7–8	Same person?
Cerrinius Vatia	ROG VI 17,36–37 ROG VII 2,4–5	<i>Vicini</i> ROG Region III–IV AMF dat? VII 2,16 (cf. Table 5)	
Cornelius Tages	ROG 2 I 8,19	AMF dat I 7,10–12.18	
Diadumenus	REQ IX 1,25–26	SIG VII 12,26–27 votive inscription IX 1,20.30	Same person?
Fabius Eupor	ROG 2 VI 17?	AMF gen VI 15,7–8	
Fufidius Successus	ROG 2 I 8,15–16	SIG V 2,f? AMF gen V 2,d	
Granius Romanus	ROG I 13,9? ROG 2 II 1,10	AMF dat I 8,13	Same person?
Mustius O()	ROG 2 VI 15,3	SIG VII 16,17.21–22	Same person?
Sothericus	ROG I 12,2 ROG & REQ III 2,1 ROG III 2,3	AMF gen? I 12,1–2	
Stephanus	ROG & REQ I 6,7 ROG I 8,3	AMF gen? I 7,18	
Vedius Ceratus <i>lib.</i>	ROG VII 1,26–27?	AMF dat IX 2,9 AMF dat location?	

The first question that should be asked, however, is whether there was a need to attach names to the notices – only a quarter contain a supporter name. The location was part of the message, and the house façade could also be regarded as equivalent of a name. Individual house fronts were often distinctly decorated, and properties could be separated from each other by a glance (cf. Fig. 2a). Even in the simplest decorative scheme of red socle and white top, the height and shade of red of the socle could vary between different properties.⁴¹ Houses could be identified visually and it is likely that in a relatively small town like Pompeii, it was also known who lived in them, especially if the person was important.⁴² In many cases, the location of the notice could have been enough to tell the passer-by who had set it up.⁴³ This could explain why relatively few notices feature the name of the supporter. However, some supporters wanted to display their name prominently. The analysis for notices inside houses indicated that supporters could get their notices inside properties that were not their own and it is also possible that the names on the façades could indicate supporters who did not live in the house.

The simplest way for testing whether the house and the supporter belonged together is to analyze the locations for supporters with more than one notice.⁴⁴ About a third of the individuals (95 out of 280) appear in at least two notices. A third (29) of the supporters with multiple notices set up them on the façade of only one house, but the rest (66) are found on different properties, sometimes close to each other, sometimes on different sides of the city. Requests to vote were directed to 26 persons who also posted their own support notices and, in these cases, both types of notices are usually on the same house or on adjacent properties suggesting that the area was important for this person. Trebius Valens has the highest number of notices as he supports candidates or was requested to vote 11 times – eight of these are on the façade of III 2,1 (Fig. 2b). The frequency of his name on this house makes Trebius a possible inhabitant,

⁴¹ For façades in Pompeii, see Fridell Anter 2010, Fridell Anter – Weilguni 2018, Helg 2018, and Lauritsen 2021. Hartnett 2017, 117–192 for the importance of the façade.

⁴² For example, when Cicero discusses different houses in Rome in his texts, they are commonly identified as properties of important families and/or individuals, cf. Hales 2003, 40–60.

⁴³ Some notices are on property borders without clues as to which house it belonged to. These occur usually on narrow piers between shop/workshops along the main streets.

⁴⁴ Della Corte 1965 does not address these cases.

and he also clearly wanted his name to be seen in this location. But his name could be seen also on three notices on adjacent or nearby city blocks (Table 5) – Trebius could access other properties. The same applies to Iulius Polybius discussed above (Figs. 2a and 3, Tables 2 and 5). The connection between the supporter and the house is not self-evident. Some supporters wanted their name on their own house, but some did not. The same person can appear in many locations and without additional evidence it is not possible to identify which could be their property or properties. It is also clear that supporters were not restricted to their own houses.

Trebius Valens dominated the façade of house III 2,1, but he was not the only supporter there – Sothericus and an unknown person were also mentioned. The houses range from large elite ones to modest shop/workshop type properties. About half (93) of the 226 houses with supporter notices feature multiple names – elite house IX 8,6.3.a and bakery IX 3,19–20 have the most with seven different names. Half of the houses with many supporters are on the *decumanus*, but the other half is scattered along the other popular streets. Many of the names appear also in other locations, but in some cases, all the supporters appear only on that one house. The names are rarely found in other materials (Tables 2–3) and without the additional evidence, even the Caecilii Iucundi or the Iulii, connections to the buildings would not be certain. One of the few collections of supporter names which seems to make sense on its own are the four women on bar IX 11,2–4. The plural *Asellinas* appearing in one of the notices suggests that they were a group, maybe workers of the bar.⁴⁵ Della Corte explains these multiple supporters with familial or other relationships without any evidence to support these interpretations. However, multiple names on one house can be more plausibly interpreted as documenting the connections between the households and the supporters.

Most of the different types of textual evidence used for identifying inhabitants and/or owners are present in the cases listed in Tables 2 and 3 – only mosaic inscriptions are not among them. Their significance and value in the process is somewhat difficult to evaluate as none of them have been studied from this point of view. Some notions are presented here based on study of the different groups of materials and the textual evidence related to houses in Pompeii in

⁴⁵ *CIL* IV 7862–4, 7866, see also Hartnett 2017, 269–275.

general.⁴⁶ The *signacula* or seal stamps tend to be part of the contents of the elite houses⁴⁷ and usually only one is found. If there are more *signacula* in one house, then each has a different family name – the Vettii *signacula* from house VI 15,1.27 are the only exception.⁴⁸ Della Corte explained the multiple family names as inhabitants of different parts of the houses, but the seal stamps have usually been found in the same contexts or in one part of the house suggesting they were administered as property of one household. Explaining the different family names requires further work on this material, but the names are likely to indicate inhabitants.

Amphorae texts contain personal names in different roles: producers, merchants, and recipients of the goods.⁴⁹ Traditionally names in the dative case have been interpreted as recipients of the vessels and thus inhabitants of the houses. A few dozen have been found among some 5000 vessels, usually in the elite houses and often as parts of large collections of amphorae. The processes of how these collections were formed cannot be reconstructed – were they all bought for and used in the house or were they collected from various sources to be re-used? Usually only one name in the dative appears in one house, but there are also cases where more than one name has been found. In two cases, a name in the genitive on an amphora is found also in the support notices on the façade.⁵⁰ The names in the genitive are usually regarded as producers and/or merchants, and it is possible that they were Pompeians. However, they do not usually appear in any other materials, and the connection between the persons and Pompeii remains uncertain. As evidence for identifying inhabitants of houses, amphorae are not very reliable because the roles of the persons mentioned and their connections to be houses cannot be properly understood.

⁴⁶ Similar considerations already in Mouritsen 1988, 13–23 and Allison 2001. Neither attempted a thorough analysis of the evidence, but many of their observations are repeated in the following.

⁴⁷ List of *signacula* in Della Corte 1965. See also Cicala 2014. The find locations of the 104 seal stamps were checked from relevant literature.

⁴⁸ The third seal stamp (N^{Sc} 1895, 109) for P. Crusius Faustus was found high in the volcanic layers covering the northern part of the peristyle. There is no upper floor in that part of the house and the seal stamp probably belongs to a refugee rather than the house contents.

⁴⁹ *CIL IV* for amphorae with texts. Many more were probably found, but not necessarily reported. For problems in amphora studies in Pompeii, see Panella 1975. Peña 2007 provides insight into the texts and Komar 2020 the most recent analysis of wine trade and amphorae.

⁵⁰ Betutius Placidus and Pompeius Amranthus in Table 2.

Graffiti is also a large group of evidence as more than 5600 texts have been recorded. Recent work on locations for writing graffiti has shown that they were scratched mostly in areas of movement: the entrance, *atrium*, and the peristyle.⁵¹ Anyone could have written texts on the façades of houses and a supporter's name in such a text cannot be regarded as significant additional evidence for their connection with the house. The graffiti inside houses are regarded as mostly produced by the inhabitants and added to by visitors. The large number of texts with many different names found in the gardens and peristyles raises questions on the perceived privacy of these areas. Access to different houses and their different parts was tested by tracing multiple occurrences of some rare names in graffiti and painted texts in Pompeii – they can plausibly be considered as produced by the same person. The names of two supporters, Aemilius written backwards as Suilimea and Curvius, together with Cissonius appear in greetings in different parts of Pompeii, inside and outside houses, in the front parts as well as peristyles of houses. Cissonius is greeted in more than one house. (Table 4.) These three cases do not obviously represent all graffiti but indicate a need for further work in examining distribution of names in graffiti. Graffiti inside or outside houses are not particularly good evidence to indicate that the supporter was an inhabitant.

Table 4: Texts by Suilimea/Aemilius, Curvius, and Cissonius in Pompeii. Abbreviations in Table 1.

Suilimea/Aemilius	Curvius	Cissonius
GR outside I 10,18 ROG II 1,2 ROG VII 16,2–3 PAINT VII 16,2–3 greets Cissonius GR outside VII 16,2–3 GR inside VII 7,5 peristyle GR inside IX 1,22 entrance greets Curvius	GR inside IX 1,22 entrance greetings with Suilimea & Sabinus ROG IX 2,18 ROG IX 7,15	GR inside VI 14,39 entrance Crescens greets GR outside VI 14,40–41 Crescens greets GR inside VII 7,2 <i>cubiculum</i> GR inside VII 7,5 exedra Crescens greets GR inside VII 7,5 peristyle Crescens greets GR inside VII 7,5 peristyle PAINT VII 16,2–3 Suilimea greets

⁵¹ For example, Benefiel 2010, DiBiasie 2015, Lohmann 2017.

Tables 2 and 3 list every case where the supporters are known from other evidence: 31 (11 %) out of the 280 individuals. Only half of the cases – 14 supporters from eight houses – feature evidence referring only to one family or one or two individuals. In some cases, every text referring to one person has been found from different contexts. The few positive cases are exceptions when the whole evidence is reviewed as there are dozens of houses where the texts refer to multiple family names and several individuals.⁵² Della Corte solved this problem in a familiar manner: by creating relationships between the individuals without any further evidence to support them.⁵³ How to interpret the relationship between people and buildings is a far more difficult question than what has been previously thought and requires further study, but interpreting the supporters automatically as inhabitants of the houses where they appear is not supported by the evidence.

Visibility in Many Locations: Neighborhoods or Not?

The analyses so far have shown that supporters were not restricted to posting electoral notices on their own façades – they could place their notices inside and outside houses where they did not live. The second assumption on the spatial relationships concerns the areas adjacent to houses of candidates and supporters as especially candidates were expected to focus their campaigns on their own neighborhoods. The opportunities the persons in different roles had in the campaigns are explored by analyzing the distributions of two groups of evidence: candidates acting as supporters and being supported by spatially defined groups such as neighbors and supporters posting multiple notices.

The number of candidates acting as supporters is not very high, only 18 (11 % of the candidates and 6 % of the supporters).⁵⁴ According to the traditional

⁵² Eschebach 1993, *passim*.

⁵³ Della Corte 1965, *passim*.

⁵⁴ Bruttius Balbus, Caecilius Capella, Casellius Marcellus, Cerrinius Vatia, Cuspius Pansa, Iulius Polybius, Licinius Romanus, Paquius Proculus, Pupius Rufus, Trebius Valens, and Veranius Hypsaeus are solid cases. Caprasius, Granius, Melissaesus, and Rustius are likely to be candidates, but without a *cognomen* remain uncertain. The three support notices by Ampliatus have been tentatively regarded as referring to Popidius Ampliatus, but they could also be by three different persons. Ampliatus appears mostly on its own or with Popidius in painted texts and graffiti, but the wax tablets (*CIL*

assumption they could place their support notices only on their own houses. Similarly, it has been assumed that the 32 notices set up by *vicini* or neighbors were usually on or close to the candidate's house or in their common neighborhood. The supporters also include four groups representing different quarters of the city and it is assumed they adhered to their own areas.⁵⁵ No suggestions have been made previously regarding the placement of notices by clients or groups of clients of candidates (18 notices for 13 candidates), but requests to vote them (82 notices for 38 candidates) have been assumed to be located on or near the house of the person mentioned. These two types can be regarded to display the spatial range of the influence of the candidate and/or where the important persons for him were located and have been included as a comparison. The data for the 14 candidates mentioned multiple times is listed in Table 5. The distribution of the notices forms a cluster in six cases adhering to the idea of their name being present in their own neighborhoods – although even in these cases the clients and requests to vote can be located at a distance from the main cluster. The remaining eight candidates were visible in different parts of the city without any clustering of their notices – for example, Cerrinius Vatia was supported equally at both sides of northern Pompeii. Neighbors were also obviously not restricted to the immediate surroundings of the candidate's house. The candidates were active in different parts of the city for example related to their work or ownership of multiple properties. The scattered distributions reflect their whole activity and not just their houses and their neighborhoods.

IV 3340) reveal several family names (cf. Castrén 1975, 248). Fuscus is not included among the candidates although the name has sometimes been regarded as Lollius Fuscus – this *cognomen* appears with several family names (cf. Castrén 1975, 253).

⁵⁵ The number of texts is small, but their distributions do not overlap: *Campanienses* in two notices in the northeast (Regions III–IV), *Urbulanenses* in three notices in the southeast (Regions II–III, in addition, a possible other painted text *CIL* IV 7807 from IX 7), *Forenses* once in the southwest (Regions VII–VIII), and *Salinienses* once in the northwest (Region VI). The two graffiti possibly mentioning *Salinienses* (*CIL* IV 5181, 8099) were found in Regions I and IX not fitting to the scheme. See also Pesando 2016.

Table 5: Multiple notices with candidates as supporters and spatially defined groups supporting them. Distributions with clusters shaded. Abbreviations in Table 1.

Candidate	Candidate	Vicini	Clientes/REQ	Other evidence
Casellius Marcellus	IX 2,18, IX 3,9– 10, IX 3,17–18	IX 3,11–12, IX 3,16–17	REQ 3 times VII 5,14–15	
Claudius Verus		V 2,17–20?, IX 9–IX 10?, IX 9,d	REQ twice IX 10,2	
Cuspius Pansa	REQ inside IX 1,22, IX 1,22–23		<i>Clients</i> VIII 4,27	CAND inside I 7,1?
Lucretius Fronto	V 4,a	V 4,c–d	REQ VII 2,2–3, IX 1,26–27	CAND <i>hic</i> V 4,c–d
Lucretius Valens		III 6,2–3		ROG <i>Satrium ins()</i> III 6,4
Trebius Valens	I 12,2–3, III 1,6, III 2,1 8 times, III 3,6	IX 13,1	<i>Clients</i> IX 7,2–3	
Ceius Secundus	ROG <i>Cei?</i> I 6,15	I 6,16	<i>Cientes</i> I 2,21–22, I 10,18, I 14,11, I 17,4, II 1,1 REQ I 13,3, I 20,3–4, II 2,3–4, VII 3,19–20	ROG <i>Urbulanenses</i> III 4,1
Cerrinius Vatia	VI 17,36–37, Region III–IV	Region III–IV		ROG <i>Campanienses</i> Region III–IV, ROG <i>Salinienses</i> VI 17,16–17?
Epidius Sabinus		IX 1,19	<i>Clients</i> III 1,6 SE, III 4,f	ROG <i>Campanienses</i> Region IV–V
Helvius Sabinus		I 8,6–7, IX 3,26, IX 13,1	REQ I 3,22–23?, II 1,12, III 5,2–3, III 7,1, VII 1,21– 22?	ROG <i>Urbulanenses</i> III 6,1

Candidate	Candidate	Vicini	Cientes/REQ	Other evidence
Iulius Polybius	VI 1,3–4, VI 15,3–4, I 2,28–29, 3 IX 13,1–3	IX 12,6–7	<i>Clients</i> I 8,8	CAND inside IX 13,1–3
Paquius Proculus	I 7,1	I 7,1, V 3 W side*, IX 7,2–3?	<i>Clients</i> IX 2,13 REQ II 3,8–9	CAND inside VII 15,2?
Popidius Ampliatus	Ampliatus? I 10 18, II 2,3, VII 1,11–12	I 12,5, IX 1,27	<i>Clients</i> I 8,6–7, IX 7.9–10 REQ I 12,5, II 1,6, 3 III 2,1, III 3,4	ROG <i>Urbulanenses</i> III 4,3
Vettius Caprasius Felix	Caprasius? IX 1,33–34?	VI 8,22, IX 3,20–21, IX 7,3	REQ II 1,8, VII 4,57, IX 2,16, IX 7,2–3	

* Unpublished text seen in Massimo Osanna's Instagram account posts on June 18, 2018, and June 17, 2020.

It was mentioned above that a third of the supporters posted multiple notices (95 persons) and that the distribution patterns varied in extent – some were clustered, some were in different sides of Pompeii.⁵⁶ In order to study what the spatial patterns were for all individuals and groups participating in the elections, the supporter data was combined with the candidates appearing multiple times. The painters working on making notices acted also as supporters and the notices signed by them were added to visualize their whole spatial presence.⁵⁷ Eight groups also had more than one notice, and the locations are explored for possible motivations for selecting them.⁵⁸ The distributions were studied for 108 individuals and the *duo* Fabii who are the only family group to post more than one notice.

⁵⁶ See notes 20 and 54 for exceptions and problems.

⁵⁷ Florus, Fructus, Hinnulus, Infantio, Papilio, and Paris. Aemilius Celer is included as a member of this group although he was not a supporter. See also Viitanen 2020.

⁵⁸ *Gallinari, Isiaci, lignari, muliones, pistores, pomari, quactiliari, saccari*. Groups such as *discentes, sodales, ordo*, or *populus* are not included as they have no clear spatial connections.

Examining the distributions reveals three different patterns. In the first, the notices in the 54 cases are clustered at short distances: on the same house, the same city block, or the adjacent city blocks (Fig. 5). The second pattern includes 39 cases, and they are located at a greater distance, but usually within a few city blocks (Fig. 6). In the last one with only 15 cases, the notices are clearly in different parts of the city (Fig. 7). The first pattern with clusters is heavily focused on the *decumanus* and particularly its eastern part near the amphitheater. The clustering of notices could be interpreted to indicate local activity, maybe on or near the supporter's house and in that case most of them would live on or near the *decumanus*. In some cases, other evidence for the supporters connects the notices and their domiciles (Tables 2–3). For example, all evidence for the Caecilius Iucundi and the Vedii is neatly clustered in the immediate vicinity of their houses. Sometimes the other evidence comes from neighboring or nearby properties. The materials containing the names of Fufidius Successus and Fabius Eupor have been found inside houses in different parts of Pompeii compared to the locations of their notices. They had access to properties in different neighborhoods and chose to place their notices away from their possible homes. These two cases are strong arguments against assuming automatically that multiple notices near each other refer to the area where the supporter lived.

The two patterns with longer distances between the notices feature a similar trend: at least one of the notices has been placed on the most popular streets (Figs. 6 and 7). The choices of location for the notices with maximum visibility are slightly different. In the medium distance patterns the popular streets in the central part of Pompeii were chosen, but in the long-distance patterns, the focus is on the eastern part of the *decumanus* similarly to the clustered notices. The longest patterns also tend to have notices closer to the city walls than the other two. These differences cannot be explained based on the available evidence as there are no differences, for example, in the types of properties or social statuses of the supporters. The only case with a reliable house attribution is that of Iulius Polybius discussed above (Figs. 2a and 3). Iulius Philippus is also attested in the family house, and he was a supporter in the elections. Both men were visible near the house on the *decumanus* as well as in the northwestern part of the city. Cerrinius Vatia's house is unknown, but multiple notices connect him to different sides of northern Pompeii (Table 5). The patterns with longer distances demonstrate the importance of the main streets for supporters and

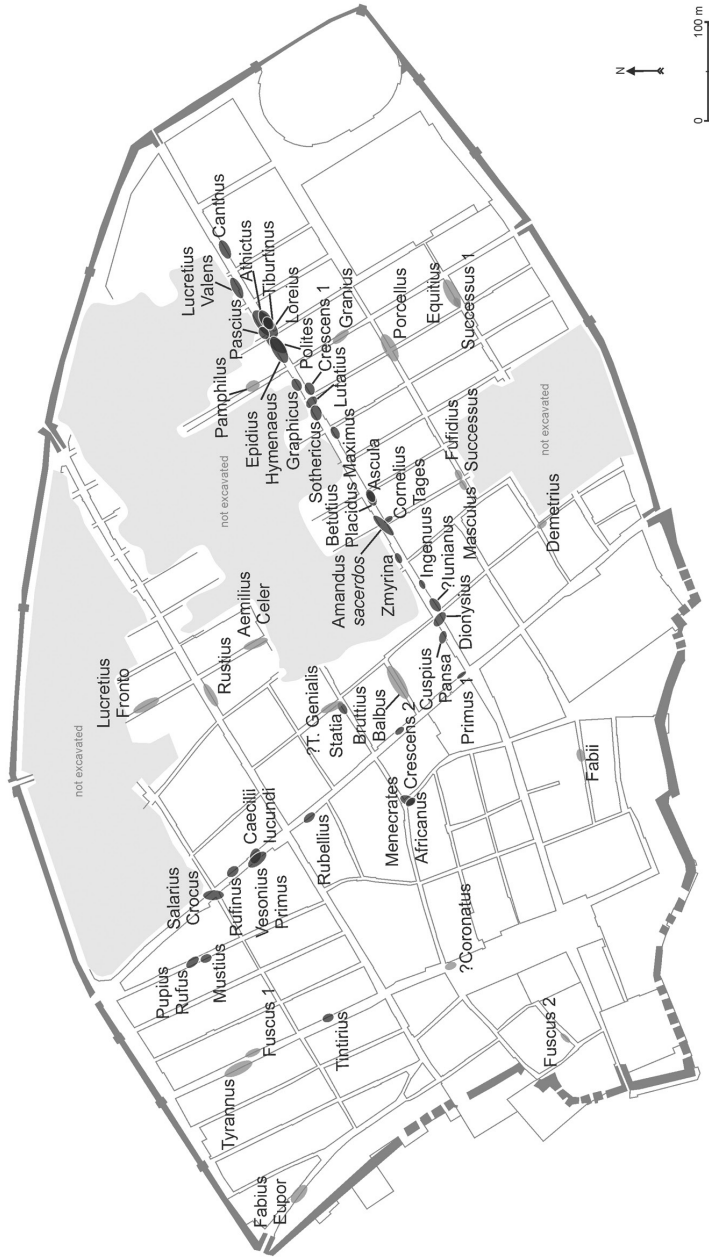


Fig. 5: Supporters with multiple notices at short distances (n = 54). Locations in the most popular areas in black, on secondary streets with grey. (Map by author.)

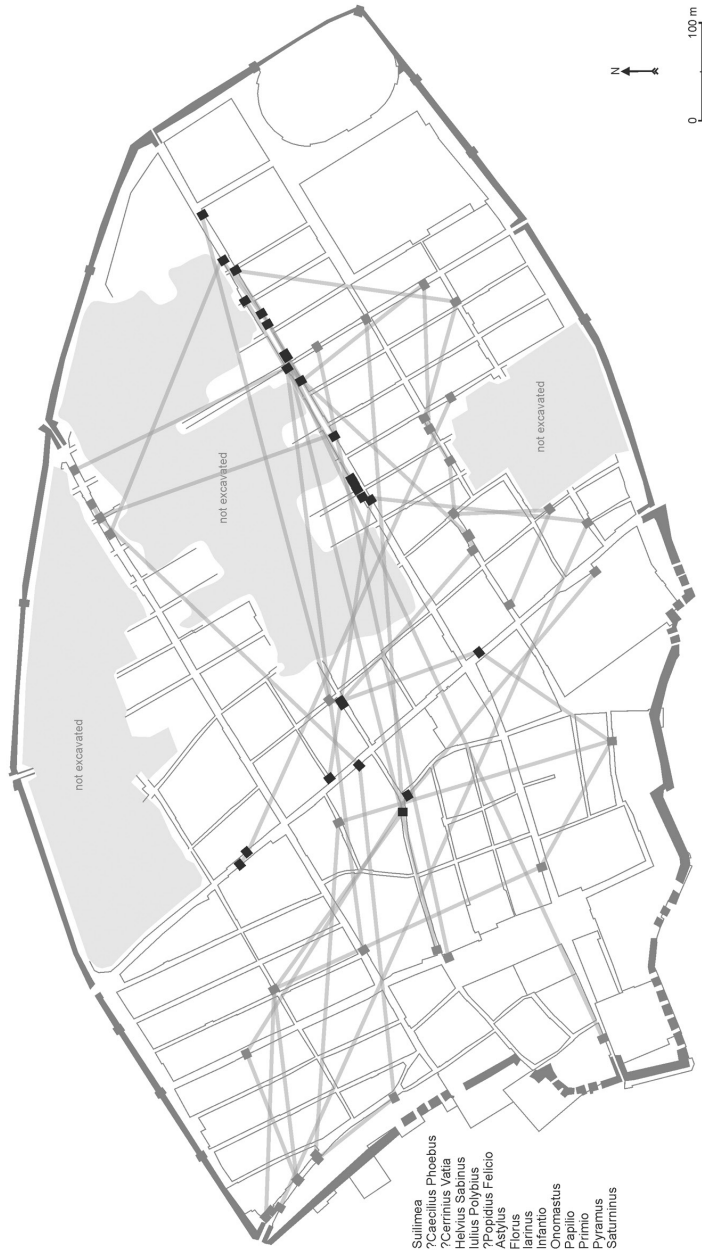


Fig. 7: Supporters with multiple notices at long distances (n = 15). Locations in the most popular areas in black, on secondary streets with grey. (Map by author.)

that they could get their notices on houses in different parts of the city. The ties between the supporter and the inhabitants of the various houses could be based on kinship, friendship, or occupation. Advertisement space on the façades could have even been sold and bought although there is no direct evidence for that. The supporters were not restricted to the neighborhoods where they lived but were active in different parts of the city and wanted their names to be seen by most Pompeians by placing them in the most popular streets.

The significance of different groups as supporters is difficult to evaluate as it is not known if the group label could be used freely or whether a permission was needed. Some are very general, such as *populus* or *Pompeiani* and probably did not require a permission from anyone to get used. When an occupation or activity of the group can be identified from archaeological remains, the notices are often on or near appropriate workshops or other facilities. For example, *muliones* are found on stables near the Herculaneum gate and fullers and other workers in the textile industry on the façades of the workshops.⁵⁹ The notices by worshippers of Isis, *Isiaci*, were placed opposite the entrance to the Temple of Isis but also around the corner on the *cardo* (modern Via Stabiana) – both are on the façades of one house perhaps suggesting an interest in the cult in the household.⁶⁰ In many cases the activities leave no or little archaeological evidence, such as for sellers of chickens (*gallinari*) or fruit (*pomari*). The notices for *pomari* and carpenters (*lignari*) are located near each other, but the buildings offer no clues to understand why the places were chosen. For many other groups, the locations do not seem to make sense from the point of view of the activity or proximity to each other. In some instances, the location was probably chosen to match the activity of the group, but in most cases the available data is not enough to explain the choice. The candidate, the supporter, and/or the household could be connected with the occupation of the groups, but this cannot be automatically assumed.

The different data sets analyzed in this section indicate that the candidates and supporters were not restricted to placing their support notices

⁵⁹ See Liu 2008 for occupational groups in Pompeii; Poehler 2011 for stables; Flohr 2013 for fullers.

⁶⁰ See note 3. Also, bakers near bakeries, inhabitants of the different quarters (see note 55), carriers of sacks (*saccari*) near the forum, and spectators of spectacles (*spectaculi spectantes*) near the amphitheater probably made sense in their contexts. In addition, grape pickers (*vindemitores*) and farmers (*agricolae*) placed their notices very close to the city gates perhaps referring to their connection with the countryside.

on their own houses. They were also not limited to one neighborhood in the vicinity of their house. Both groups were aware of the importance of maximizing visibility and had apparently similar opportunities for placing their notices on the most popular streets. Both groups could have acted independently without co-operation, but the supported notices are rarely isolated from the rest of the candidate's campaign which suggests some level of collaboration.

Conclusions

A thorough analysis of the spatial relationships of the electoral notices and the persons involved in the process provides new insights into the significance of the notices in the elections. The previous interpretations were tied by the assumption of that the candidates and supporters were restricted to their houses and neighborhoods. This has made supporters appear passive and candidates unaware of the opportunities campaigning could have. It is now evident that the candidates could choose different strategies according to the possibilities afforded by their social status, professional, familial, and other relationships. The same applies to the supporters who could get their notices equally likely to neighboring properties as on house façades on the other side of Pompeii. Both candidates and supporters were not aiming their messages merely to their neighborhoods but rather to the whole population of Pompeii. Visibility in the most popular streets was important for both candidates and supporters, and both groups used their connections in the city actively for gaining that goal. Some level of co-operation between them in the design and organization of the campaigns seems likely. Notices were placed on houses based on personal connections rather than ideological agreements and this enabled situations where all the candidates running for one office could be supported on one house. This probably also resulted in great variation in how the individual campaigns were organized and executed. The traditional assumptions made the campaigns seem passive and static, but analyses of the spatial relationships of electoral notices makes them emerge as an active and significant part of electoral process where it was important to inform the voting decisions of the whole electorate.

The second outcome of analyzing spatial relationships of all kinds of texts related to houses is a methodological one. Pompeii is a unique environment for the

study of textual evidence for its abundance and relatively good documentation. The assumptions on the relationships between people, texts, and buildings have been formed over the long excavation history but have rarely been tested. Supporters as house inhabitants has been a central model of interpreting one spatial relationship between texts and houses. Its thorough analysis proved that the positive cases used to argue for the general assumption are rare exceptions and cannot be used to interpret other cases in a similar manner. Most houses feature large collections of different family names and individuals which according to the traditional views should all be considered inhabitants and/or owners of houses – yet many of these individuals can be found in similar materials in other houses. The supporters had a relationship with the household and they can sometimes be regarded as inhabitants, but the latter cannot be automatically assumed. In general, more work is needed to understand why the different names occur in one building. Simple explanations might feel intuitively correct, but preliminary analyses indicate a much more complicated situation.

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THE DOMITII AHENOBARBI IN THE SECOND CENTURY BCE

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Abstract: *This paper deals with the controversial identities of three Domitii Ahenobarbi and argues that two of them belonged to a collateral branch of this senatorial family, contrary to the commonly accepted view. A new stemma of the Domitii Ahenobarbi in the second century BCE is thus proposed.*

In 192,¹ Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus was elected to the consulship: he was the first member of the family to reach the *amplissimus honos*. From that year onwards, the Ahenobarbi established a steady presence at the head of the *res publica* and in the consular *fasti* until the first decades of the Principate.² Their genealogy can be reconstructed fairly easily, but questions remain, notably on the identities of three Domitii attested in the second century. Their identification is crucial to correctly chart the family tree and to understand the early history of the Ahenobarbi.

A. Livy states that a Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus was co-opted as pontifex in 172, when he was still very young (*oppido adulescens sacerdos*).³

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¹ All ancient dates are BCE, unless otherwise noted.

² On the history of the family, see Carlsen 2006.

³ Liv. 42,28,13: *suffectus in Aemili locum decemvir M. Valerius Messalla; in Fulvi pontifex Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, oppido adulescens sacerdos, est lectus*.

- B. A Cn. Domitius (CN·DOMIT) was moneyer in ca. 130. Michael H. Crawford dated his coins in 128, while Harold B. Mattingly argued for 131/130.⁴ Apart from exceptional cases, it is daring to date the Roman Republican coin series of the second century to a specific year;⁵ therefore, the best one can say is that Cn. Domitius' coins were issued around 130. The moneyer's belonging to the Ahenobarbi lineage was questioned by Crawford, as we shall see in some detail below.
- C. A L. Domitius Cn. f. is known from the *SC de agro Pergameno*;⁶ his identity as an Ahenobarbus is taken for granted by all scholars.

A start may be made with the identity of the moneyer Cn. Domitius (B). According to the commonly accepted genealogy of the Ahenobarbi, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, *cos.* 122, stands out as the only available candidate; yet Crawford questioned this identification.⁷ In his view, the time-gap between the coin issues of this Cn. Domitius (*RRC* no. 261, ca. 130) and those of Cn. Domitius (*RRC* no. 285, ca. 116/115),⁸ likely the homonymous son of the consul of 122, is too short: 'it is difficult to regard both moneyers as Domitii Ahenobarbi in the same line of descent. This moneyer [*scil.* Cn. Domitius, ca. 130] is perhaps a Cn. Domitius Calvinus⁹ or a Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus from a collateral branch of the family'.¹⁰

Despite Crawford's caution, this moneyer should not be considered a Cn. Domitius Calvinus. First and foremost, all the Domitii who are known to have held the office of moneyer, and who were, in all likelihood, Ahenobarbi, did not

⁴ *RRC*, 286 no. 261; Mattingly 1998, 158 = 2004, 211.

⁵ Cf. e.g. Wolters 2017, 155–56.

⁶ *RDGE* 12 = *ISmyrna* 589 = *I.Adramytteion* 18 = *Ambascerie*, no. 324; see also Magie 1950, 1055–56 n. 25; Mattingly 1972; De Martino 1983, 161–90; *MRR* III, 23–24, 83; Badian 1986; Di Stefano 1998.

⁷ *RRC*, 286.

⁸ *RRC*, 300–1 no. 285.

⁹ So also Eilers 1991, 172 n. 35.

¹⁰ As proof of this collateral branch, Crawford points precisely to the Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus known as *oppido adulescens sacerdos* and to the L. Domitius mentioned in the *SC de agro Pergameno*. Their identities will be discussed below. Mattingly 1998, 158 = 2004, 211 maintained that the moneyer of ca. 130 was the later consul of 122.

sign their coin issues with the *cognomen*, but with *praenomen* and *gentilicium*, just as is the case with our Cn. Domitius.¹¹ As a matter of fact, it seems that the Ahenobarbi did not promote their *cognomen* in the coinage they produced in the second century, just like other senatorial families (e.g. the Cassii Longini and the descendants of the Servilii Gemini)¹²; it seems that even during the first century the *gentilicium* Domitius was preferred to the *cognomen* Ahenobarbus.¹³ The latter did feature, though, in the imperial coinage of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus in 41/40.¹⁴ The choice was probably prompted precisely by the new renown of the Domitii Calvini, especially of the prominent Caesarian Cn. Domitius Calvinus (*cos.* 53, *cos.* II 40), whose forces had been destroyed at sea by the same Ahenobarbus and L. Staius Murcus in 42.¹⁵ During the second century, when the Calvini were still immersed in the political obscurity in which they sank after the ephemeral success between the fourth and third century,¹⁶ an association of the gentilician Domitius with the noble and successful family of the Ahenobarbi would have undoubtedly been more obvious than one with the Calvini. The decision not to display the *cognomen* Calvinus would have been counterintuitive and possibly damaging for the Calvini; furthermore, that choice would represent a startling exception, if compared to the usual distribution and representative use of the onomastic elements (especially the *tria nomina*) in families belonging to the same *gens*.¹⁷

Although the moneyer Cn. Domitius was, in all likelihood, an Ahenobarbus, he was not probably a member of the consular lineage. The only candidate for an identification with the moneyer should be Cn. Domitius

¹¹ *RRC*, 218 no. 147 (CN·DOM, ca. 189–180), 298–301, nos. 282, 285 (respectively 118 and ca. 116/115; CN·DOMI).

¹² See Zanin 2019; Zanin 2020, 219 n. 18. Note, however, the *cognomen* in Cn. Domitius Ahebobarbus' (*cos.* 122) milestone from Narbonese Gaul: *CIL* I² 2937 = *CIL* XVII 294 = *ILLRP* 460a: *Cn(aeus) Domitius Cn(aei) f(ilius) / Ahenobarbus / imperator / XX*; cf. lastly Kreiler 2020, 34, 210–12, 483.

¹³ Salomies 2021, esp. 555, 558–59, 570.

¹⁴ *RRC*, 527–28, nos. 519, 521.

¹⁵ *MRR* II, 361, 363. On Calvinus, see Carlsen 2008.

¹⁶ Cf. the careers in *MRR* II, 460; Zmeskal 2009, 113. For possible members of the family in the second century cf. Mattingly 1998, 158 = 2004, 212–13.

¹⁷ For some reflections about the representative use and the distribution of onomastic elements among branches of the same *gens* cf. Zanin 2020 and Zanin 2021b, 209–38.

Ahenobarbus, *cos.* 122. A well-known fragmentary decree, issued by the city of Bargylia (*IBargylia* 612) in honour of a certain Poseidonios on account of his services, states that this Ahenobarbus served as ἀντιστράτηγος under M'. Aquillius, *cos.* 129, during the Aristonicus campaign in Asia Minor. The term, originally meaning the 'enemy commander', denotes in the Greek sources that refer to Roman institutions someone 'acting as στρατηγός' (in this case, as a substitute of the στρατηγός Aquillius), and translates the Latin title *pro praetore*. Filippo Coarelli maintained that Ahenobarbus was not a *legatus pro praetore*, as argued from Maurice Holleaux onwards,¹⁸ but a *propraetor*, meaning by that a prorogued praetor.¹⁹ That he was indeed left behind as (*legatus*) *pro praetore* is, however, clearly borne out by the expressions that characterise his *propraetorian* command.²⁰ Coarelli's interpretation does not offer, therefore, a viable argument to prove Ahenobarbus' election to the praetorship in 130. Nevertheless, we know that the *terminus ante quem* for his election to the praetorship is the year 125, as he was consul in 122,²¹ and that, on this scenario, he had to be in Rome in 126 to present and support his candidature. M'. Aquillius returned to Rome precisely in 126 and celebrated the triumph on November 11.²² It is thus extremely doubtful

¹⁸ Holleaux 1919, 4 = 1968, 182; Schleißner 1978, 196–97 no. 334; Eilers 1991, 174. Cf. more recently Daubner 2006², 135; Kreiler 2020, 23, 34, 206–207. On the term ἀντιστράτηγος, see also Mason 1974, 106–8.

¹⁹ Coarelli 2005, esp. 231–33. On the Republican institutional terminology and its Greek equivalents, and specifically on the terms *pro praetore* and ἀντιστράτηγος, see e.g. Giovannini 1983, 59–65; Ferrary 2000, 184–85 = 2017, 345–46; Brennan 2000, e.g. 73, 603; Thonemann 2004; Díaz Fernández 2015, esp. 66–85, 582–83; Kreiler 2020, esp. 22–25.

²⁰ See esp. ll. 13–16: Μανίου τε / Ἀκυλλίου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ κτλ ἀπολιπόντος δὲ / ἐν τῇ [ι χῶρ] α[ι] ἀντιστράτηγον Γναίον Δομέτιον Γναίου κτλ; 'The commander of the Romans (i.e. the consul) Manius Aquillius ... leaving as substitute commander (i.e. delegating the *imperium pro praetore* to) Gnaeus Domitius, son of Gnaeus, in the region ...' (not: 'leaving *the* *propraetor*'; see Holleaux 1919, 4 = 1968, 182–83: 'si ἀντιστράτηγος signifiat ici "propréteur", l'article serait indispensable'). Cf. also ll. 21–22, albeit mostly restored: [- - Κοῖντος Καπίων - - δια-]/[δεξιά]μενος τὴν ἐν[κεχειρισ]μέ[νην] τ[ῶ]ι [Γ]ναίωι [ἀρχὴν κτλ]; '[Quintus Caepio] succeeding to the office (or power) that Gnaeus had been entrusted with ...'. Cf. Brennan 2000, 246, 354 n. 153. For a parallel case, see Habicht – Brennan – Blümel 2009.

²¹ This is obviously inferred from the provisions of the *lex annalis*, on which see above all A.E. Astin 1958, and, more recently, Beck 2005, esp. 51–61; Lundgreen 2011, 74–78.

²² *CIL* I² pp. 49, 176 = *Ill.* XIII 1, p. 559: *M'. Aquillius M'. f. M'. n. pro co(n)s(ule) an. DCXXVII / ex A[sija] III idus Novembr.*

that Ahenobarbus had returned to Rome in time to present his candidacy: it is likely, indeed, that Ahenobarbus served as M'. Aquillius' legate until the end of his task in Asia Minor.²³ The easiest and most plausible solution is that he was elected to the praetorship before the year 130.²⁴

The extremely short chronological gap (or even coincidence) between the moneyership of Cn. Domitius (ca. 130) and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus' military service in Asia (129-126) leads one to rule out an election of the latter to the moneyership around the same years.²⁵ The moneyership was usually held by young men, still far from the minimum age for the praetorship.²⁶ The mention of the legate's sons Gnaeus and Lucius (*cos.* 96, 94) in the Barygia decree corroborates this reconstruction as well.²⁷ The moneyer Cn. Domitius, who held

²³ Cf. *MRR* I, 505–507, 509.

²⁴ This part of Coarelli's argument is valid (2005, 232–33), but his assumption that Ahenobarbus may have been one of the ten legates sent to assist Aquillius is incorrect, since he was one of the consul's 'personal' legates and was left *pro praetore* to guard the coastal regions. On the distinction between 'personal legates' and legates *lecti publice*, see Linderski 1990, 53–54 = 2005, 301–302; Linderski 1996, 389 = 2007, 83 n. 63. Furthermore, some parallel cases of significant time gaps between praetorship and consulship mentioned by Coarelli 2005, 232 concern men involved in the Sullan civil war: P. Servilius Isauricus, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, and L. Gellius Poplicola, who could also have been hindered by his *novitas*; their exemplarity is hence severely weakened. Coarelli's remarks on the chronology of Cn. Ahenobarbus' career stages are instead more compelling.

²⁵ That the moneyers were elected is the most straightforward and coherent solution; see Mattingly 1982, 10–11 = 2004, esp. 228–29; Crawford 1985, 56 n. 6; Hollander 1999, 14–27. The opposite view, advocated by Burnett 1977, namely that the moneyers were appointed by the consuls, is unpersuasive; Burnett himself (1987, 17) later revisited it.

²⁶ Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, *praet.* ca. 130 and *cos.* 122, would have been elected *triumvir monetalis* at the age of ca. 40 years – too old for a moneyer, even in this period. From ca. 130, moneyers seem to be mostly in their thirties (30–35), but still not near to the forties; see *RRC*, 710–11. The strangeness of the moneyership to the fixed *cursus honorum* structure in these years (for instance, the possibility to become moneyer after the quaestorship, sometimes around the mid-thirties) does not represent an obstacle to our reconstruction. For a famous case of moneyership certainly held after the quaestorship, see *CIL* I² p. 200, xxxii–xxxiii = *CIL* VI 1283, 31586 (and p. 4669) = *ILS* 45 = *Itt* XIII 3, 70 a–b, with the discussions by Kreiler 2008 and Tansey 2021.

²⁷ *Ilasos* 612, ll. 37–40; see Coarelli 2005, 233; cf. also Eilers 1991, 174–75. Note that the first-born, Cn. Ahenobarbus, *cos.* 96, was probably both one of the commissioners appointed for the foundation of Narbo Martius in 118 (*RRC*, 298–99, no. 282) and moneyer in ca. 116/115 (*contra* Mattingly 1998, 158 = 2004, 212). Crawford's doubts (*RRC*, 301) about the brief chronological gap between the moneyership of Ahenobarbus' colleague, M. Iunius Silanus, and his alleged consulship in 109 are

office around 130, must therefore be considered a member of a collateral branch of the Ahenobarbi.

Let us move on to the analysis of the other two Domitii mentioned above. The case of L. Domitius *Cn. f. (C)*, a member of the *consilium* of the *SC de agro Pergameno* and most likely an Ahenobarbus, can easily be solved. He must not necessarily be considered the member of a collateral family branch, despite the caution voiced by Crawford, who still worked on the traditional chronology of the document, dating it to 129.²⁸ It is now quite certain that the *SC* was issued in 101;²⁹ as a consequence, L. Domitius *Cn. f.* can be identified with L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, *cos. 94*.³⁰ In the *SC*, the praetorian senators are listed from the third to the eleventh or twelfth position, while L. Domitius occupies the thirty-third place: he may have been ‘the most senior *quaestorius*’, as Mattingly proposed; he did not exclude also a recent aedileship, but this seems unlikely.³¹ We only know that the latest possible date for his praetorship in Sicily is the year 97, since he was consul in 94.³² The short gap between his hardly flattering position in the *SC* of 101 and the election to the praetorship does not represent an argument against the identification: it would have been sufficient an election to the praetorship, for instance, in 100 or 99 to significantly enhance his standing in the Senate.

The case of *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (A)*, on the contrary, is rather perplexing. He was co-opted as pontifex in 172, at a very young age: *oppido adulescens sacerdos*.³³ The term *adulescens* is, of course, very pliable and, in

solved thanks to the new reading of *IPriene* 121 = *IPriene*² 75: the moneyer Silanus was probably the homonymous praetorian governor of Asia province at the end of the second century; see Eilers 1996 and Ferrary 2000, 171–72 = 2017, 333–34.

²⁸ See n. 10.

²⁹ See the studies listed in n. 6.

³⁰ See already Magie 1950, 1055–56 n. 25; Mattingly 1972, 419; De Martino 1983, 170–71; Eilers 1991, 172 n. 35 and Carlsen 2006, 35–36, even though he still favours the old dating. Although the database incorporates Broughton’s Supplements (*MRR* III, 23–24 with reference to some important studies on the *SC*; cf. esp. *DPRR*, *AQU11614*), the *DPRR* entries on the senators of the *consilium* still date the *SC* to 129 (for L. Domitius, see *DPRR*, *DOM13173*).

³¹ Mattingly 1972, 419.

³² *MRR* II, 7; Brennan 2000, 480 and n. 26 (835), 707, 746.

³³ On the meaning of *oppido* see *ThLL*, s. v. *oppido*, esp. 1b.

this case, its meaning is linked to Livy's focus on priestly offices,³⁴ but the usual identification of the pontifex with Cn. Ahenobarbus, *cos. suff.* 162,³⁵ must be ruled out: just ten years separate the co-optation into the pontifical college from the year of the consulship.³⁶ Moreover, the later consul of 162 was, in all likelihood, a member of the ten legates sent to assist Paullus in organising Macedonia and Greece after Pydna; he is listed by Livy (45,17,2–3) immediately after the *consulares*:

in Macedoniam † culpmi † nominati A. Postumius Luscus C. Claudius, ambo illi censorii, <Q. Fabius Labeo ... >³⁷, C. Licinius Crassus, collega in consulatu Paulli; tum prorogato imperio provinciam Galliam habebat. his consularibus addidit Cn. Domitium Ahenobarbum, Ser. Cornelium Sullam, L. Iunium, T. Numisium Tarquiniensem, A. Terentium Varronem.

The rank of Ahenobarbus, Sulla, Iunius, and Numisius is uncertain, and the position of A. Terentius Varro, *praet.* 184,³⁸ at the end of the list is not helpful, as the seniority order after the *consulares* has surely been altered. The last five legates were certainly not all *praetorii*,³⁹ but it would be quite startling if Varro

³⁴ Cf. *ThLL*, s. v. *adolescens*, esp. II. *Adolescens* can equally be referred to men in the age range of ca. 18 to 40 years, according to the context and the intended effect. See e.g. Liv. 44,36,12–14; 38,1 where *adolescens* is referred to Nasica Corculum, *aed. cur.* 169, therefore at least 38 years old in 168; here Livy strikingly shapes a contrast between the rashness of Nasica and the military experience of L. Aemilius Paullus. *Adolescens* tends, however, to be related to very young people, especially when stressed by adverbs like *oppido*, *admodum*, etc.; see e.g. Liv. 33,42,6: *Q. Fabius Maximus augur mortuus est admodum adolescens, priusquam ullum magistratum caperet*. He was the grandson of the Cunctator, died in 196; see Münzer 1909.

³⁵ Münzer 1905, 1322; *MRR* I, 414; *DPRR*, DOM11366.

³⁶ See also Crawford (cf. n. 10, after Mattingly); Eilers 1991, 172.

³⁷ I follow J. Briscoe's Teubner edition (*Livius. Ab Urbe condita libri XLI–XLIV*, Stuttgartiae 1986). Q. Fabius Labeo's name is certain: his mission to destroy the city of Antissa is one of the many actions undertaken by members of the ten legates; see Liv. 45,31,14; cf. *MRR* I, 435; Briscoe 2012, 656. Uncertain is instead Q. Marcius Philippus' name (*cos.* 186, *cos. II* 169), but it is accepted and restored by many scholars; see *MRR* I, 435; Schleussner 1978, 92–93 n. 311; Petzold 1999, esp. 83 = 1999, 420; Briscoe 2012, 656 ('that is plausible enough but far from certain'). If this is the case, the restoration should follow the seniority order: < Q. Marcius Philippus, Q. Fabius Labeo >.

³⁸ *MRR* I, 375.

³⁹ Cf. Briscoe 2012, 657.

was the only senator of praetorian rank. One can surmise that such a crucial committee – charged with the settlement of the Greek East after the defeat of Perseus – consisted mostly of experienced and high-ranked members. We may recall, for instance, the *decem legati* sent to Asia Minor in 189/188 to assist Cn. Manlius Vulso in carrying out the treaty with Antiochus and the settlement of the region: all the members were *praetorii* or *consulares*.⁴⁰ In the case of the committee of 167, five senators were *consulares* (including two *ensorii*) and had, in varying degrees, direct experience of Hellenic matters, above all the senior member, A. Postumius Albinus Luscius (*cos.* 180, *cens.* 174).⁴¹ As far as the other members are concerned, Ser. Sulla is, in my view, a better candidate than M. Cornelius Mamulla for being the Cornelius known as praetor for 175, whose *imperium* was prorogued for 174.⁴² T. Numisius Tarquiniensis was not a senator of praetorian rank, but led an embassy in 169 to resolve the conflict between Antiochus IV and the Ptolemies: although the mission was unsuccessful, Tarquiniensis must have been a man of promise.⁴³

⁴⁰ *MRR* I, 363. The sole exception is Cn. Cornelius Merula, but his *cognomen* is perhaps a mistake for Merenda, *praet.* 194; see *MRR* I, 365 n. 8. Unfortunately, Livy does not provide us with a complete list of the *decem legati* sent in 196 to assist T. Quinctius Flamininus, but at least five members were of consular or praetorian rank (six, if we include M. Caecilius Metellus, highly uncertain): *MRR* I, 337–38.

⁴¹ On the presence of ‘experts’ in this committee, see Clemente 1976, 350–51; Schleussner 1978, 92 n. 311. On the Postumii Albini, see Münzer [1938/39] 2021 with Zanin 2021a, 121, 126–133; Zanin 2021c.

⁴² Liv. 41,21,2 (*Cornelio prorogatum imperium, uti obtineret Sardiniam*); see *MRR* I, 402; Briscoe 2012, 110. See Brennan 2000, 148, 899 n. 88, especially for J. D. Morgan’s proposal of M. Cornelius Mamulla: ‘[Morgan] rightly notes that Ser. Sulla appears in second place (not “immediately,” as reported in *MRR* I 402) after the *consulares* in the list of *decem legati* sent to Macedonia in 167 [...], and so need not be a *praetorius* identical with the Cornelius who was *pr.* 175’. Morgan’s argument fails to persuade, because the seniority order after the *consulares* has been altered, as I have already pointed out. In my view, it is more likely that the praetor was the later member of the ten legates, rather than Mamulla, who, ‘in Livy’s list of legati for 173’ – as Brennan correctly states – ‘is fourth of five, after two individuals whose status as *praetorii* is merely possible, not certain’.

⁴³ *Exc. leg.* p. 323 (78) de Boor = Polyb. 29,25,3–4; cf. Münzer 1937b; *MRR* I, 425; Walbank 1979, 402; Briscoe 2012, 657. In 170 he was one of the two witnesses of the senatorial decree that instructed the praetor Q. Maenius to choose five senators who would settle the new political, social and economic order of Thisbe, firmly controlled by the pro-Roman faction; see *SIG*³ 646 = *RDGE* 2 = *Ambascerie* no. 97; cf. Gehrke 1993, 145–54. T. Numisius may also have been a member of the committee. T. Numisius was possibly the younger brother of C. Numisius, *praet.* 177; Münzer 1937a. Note, however,

What about Cn. Ahenobarbus? Some arguments allow us to infer that he was by then a *praetorius*. First, he was sent in 169, at Paullus' request, as legate to Greece to investigate military conditions together with A. Licinius Nerva, *praet.* 166, and L. Baebius.⁴⁴ The fact that Ahenobarbus' name comes first suggests that he was at the head of the committee and that Nerva, *praet.* 166, was younger than Ahenobarbus.⁴⁵ Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus plausibly reached the praetorship before Nerva. Second, we learn from a Polybian excerpt (30,13,8–10 = *exc. leg.* p. 329 [80] de Boor) that Ahenobarbus was sent along with C. Claudius Pulcher (*cos.* 177, *cens.* 169) to the Achaean League to carry out the orders of the *decem legati* and to investigate the alleged sympathies of Achaean notables for Perseus. In this passage, Polybius described the two senators as the 'most distinguished members of the ten legates' (τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἄνδρας τῶν δέκα, Γαῖον Κλαύδιον καὶ Γναῖον Δομέτιον). Polybius was certainly wrong: Albinus Luscus was senior to Pulcher (*cos.* 177, *cens.* 169) and several legates possessed a higher rank and were nobler than Ahenobarbus.⁴⁶ Polybius' regard for the latter is nonetheless meaningful. Combining these pieces of evidence, we can confidently assume that our Ahenobarbus was a *praetorius* when he was appointed member of the *decem legati*, and that he had been elected to the curule magistracy for the year 170.⁴⁷

the filiation of Τίτος Νομίσιος Τίτου υἱός in the *SC de Thisbensibus* (RDGE 2, l. 5): it cannot be ruled out that T. Numisius was the older brother.

⁴⁴ Liv. 44,18,5–6: *senatus Cn. Servilio consuli negotium dedit ut tres in Macedoniam quos L. Aemilio videretur legaret. legati biduo post profecti, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, A. Licinius Nerva, L. Baebius; MRR I, 426.*

⁴⁵ Compare also the seniority order of the embassy sent to Crete in 171, of which Nerva was a member (Liv. 42,35,7): *in Cretam item legatos tres ire placuit, A. Postumium Albinum [scil. cos. 180] C. Decimium [scil. praet. 169] A. Licinium Nervam [scil. praet. 166]; cf. MRR I, 418.*

⁴⁶ Some scholars, probably influenced by Polybius' passage, argued that the legate Cn. Ahenobarbus may be identified with the father of the suffect consul of 162, namely the consul of 192; see e.g. *MRR I, 422 n. 2.* That would mean, however, arbitrarily setting aside Livy's evidence, which relied probably on official documents or dependable sources, as suggested by the accuracy in citing the legates of censorial and consular ranks; see Walbank 1979, 436, even though he accepts the identity of the legate with the pontifex co-opted in 172; cf. also Briscoe 2012, 657.

⁴⁷ The only possible gaps in the lists of praetors for the 170s are for the years 178, 175, 174, and 170; cf. Brennan 2000, 733–35 and esp. 899 n. 96.

Now that the *terminus ante quem* for the election to the praetorship of Cn. Ahenobarbus, *cos. suff.* 162, has been ascertained, we can return to Livy's text about the Ahenobarbus of 172 (42,28,13): *suffectus ... in Fulvi (locum) pontifex Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, oppido adulescens sacerdos, est lectus.* The term *adulescens*, strengthened by *oppido*, can hardly refer to a minimum 38-year-old man co-opted into the pontifical college. This raises strong doubts about the established stemma of the Ahenobarbi (*fig. 1*).⁴⁸ Claude Eilers argued that the pontifex was a son of the consul of 162 and father of the consul of 122 (*fig. 2*).⁴⁹ His solution cannot be ruled out, but the traditional genealogy of the consular lineage is also plausible, as recognised by Eilers himself: the consul of 162 may have become a father at the age of ca. 40.⁵⁰ In my view, it is safer and more economical to assume that the pontifex was not a member of the main lineage of the Ahenobarbi. The existence of a collateral branch of the family has been already inferred from the prosopographical analysis of the moneyer Cn. Domitius (ca. 130), and the young pontifex Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus would fit very well with this genealogical reconstruction as father of the moneyer.

To chart this less successful line of descent, we shall postulate the existence of other family members, unknown to us or prematurely died.⁵¹ First, an elder brother of Cn. Domitius *L. f. L. n.* Ahenobarbus (*cos.* 192), named Lucius; second, a first-born of the latter bearing, in his turn, the *praenomen* Lucius. This new reconstruction of the genealogy of the Ahenobarbi (*fig. 3*) would also explain the sudden change of *praenomen* that intervened in the family at the end of the third century and already caught the attention of Suetonius.⁵² *Notetur*

⁴⁸ These problems led Carlsen 2006, 32–33 to regard the pontifex and the consul as the same person; cf. also Rüpke –Glock 2005, 947 no. 1476.

⁴⁹ Eilers 1991, 172–73.

⁵⁰ As has been argued above, the consul of 122 was likely elected praetor before 130; by virtue of the *lex annalis* (cf. above n. 21), it is possible to date his birth before 169, about the time his father was elected praetor.

⁵¹ That case would be consistent with the genealogies of other senatorial families: compare, for instance, the uncertainties in reconstructing the whole stemma of the *gens Servilia* or our ignorance about genealogy and magistracies of the Claudii Neroni in the second century; see respectively Zanin 2019 and Münzer 1899, 2773–74; cf. also Zmeskal 2009, 71; Zanin 2021b, 221–23.

⁵² Suet. *Ner.* 1.2: *ac ne praenomina quidem ulla praeterquam Gnaei et Luci usurparunt eaque ipsa notabili varietate, modo continuantes unum quodque per trinas personas, modo alternantes per singulas. nam primum secundumque ac tertium Ahenobarborum Lucios, sequentis rursus tres ex*

Domitiae familiae peculiaris quaedam et ut clarissima ita artata numero felicitas, wrote Velleius;⁵³ more probably, not all the scions of the Ahenobarbi achieved prominence and renown.

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ordine Gnaeos accepimus, reliquos non nisi vicissim tum Lucios tum Gnaeos. See Bradley 1978, 27–28; Salomies 1987, 225; cf. also Eilers 1991, 173 n. 38; Carlsen 2006, 27–28. Suetonius's approximation can be explained precisely by his unawareness of the existence of other family members, prematurely died or of lesser importance.

⁵³ Vell. 2.10.2; Paterculus continues his inflated and erroneous praise: *VII ante hunc nobilissimae simplicitatis iuvenem Cn. Domitii [scil. cos. 32 CE] fuere, singuli omnino parentibus geniti, sed omnes ad consulatum sacerdotiaque, ad triumphum autem paene omnes pervenerunt insignia.* On this passage, see Carlsen 2006, 11–12.

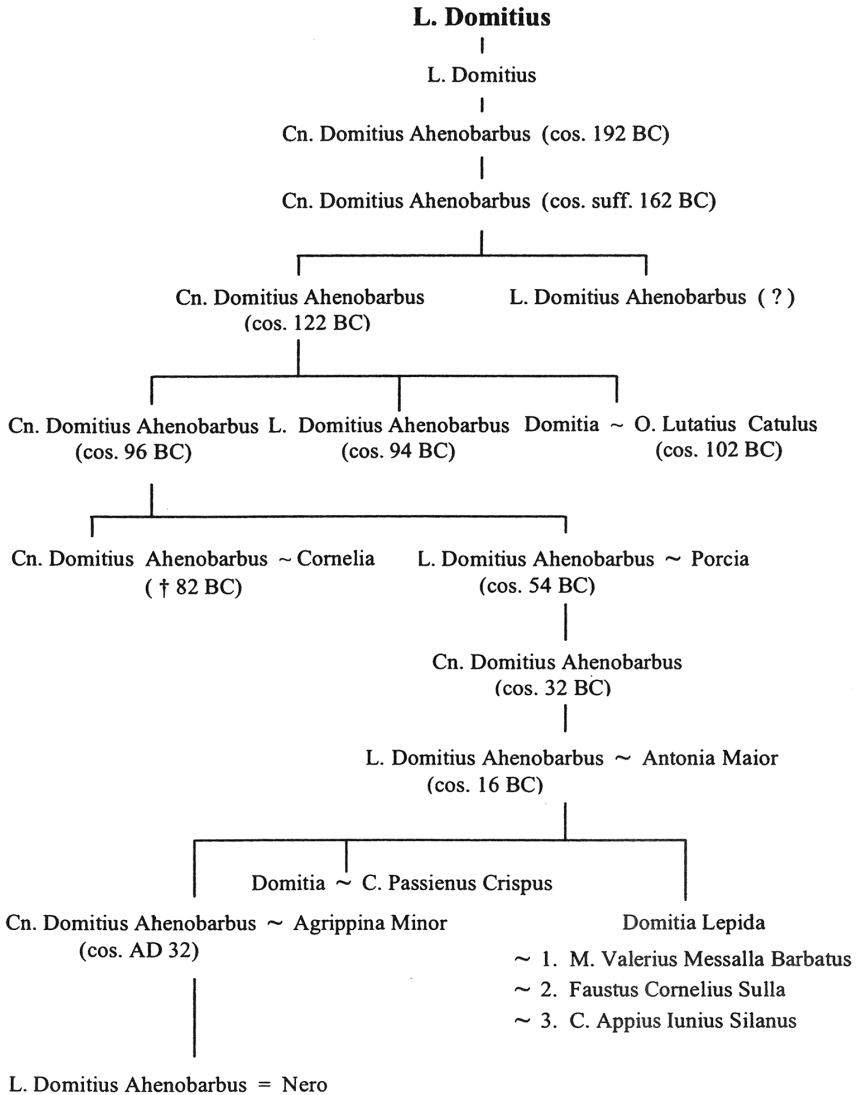


Fig. 1: Genealogy of the Domitii Ahenobarbi according to Carlsen 2006, 10 (© Southern Denmark University Press).

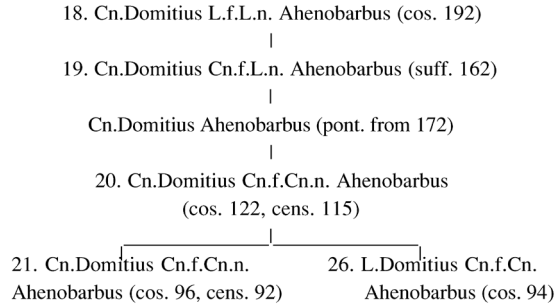


Fig. 2: Genealogy of the Domitii Ahenobarbi according to Eilers 1991, 173 (© Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH).

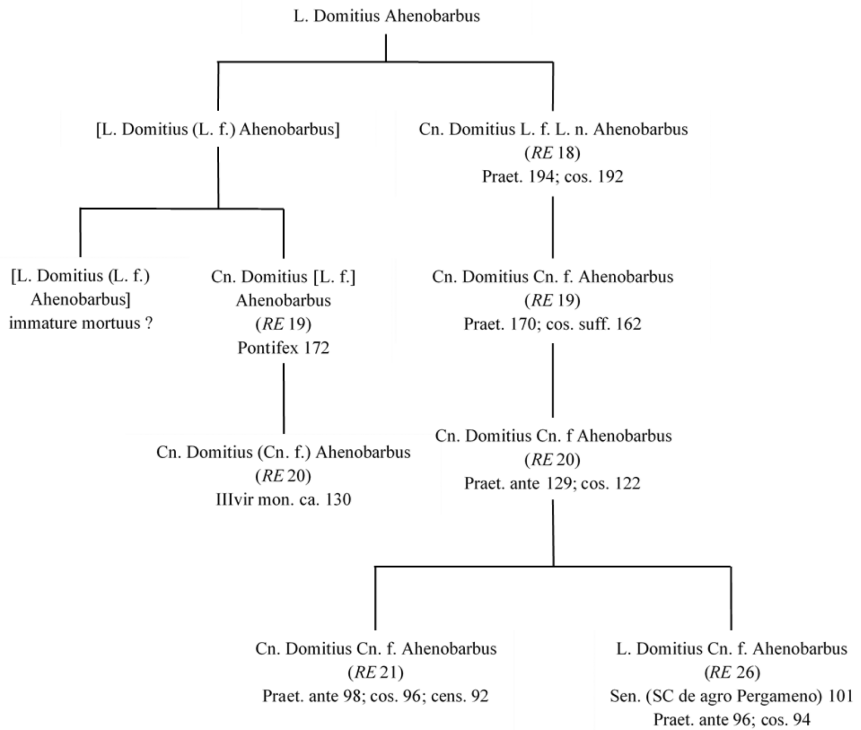


Fig. 3: New reconstruction of the genealogy of the Domitii Ahenobarbi in the second century BCE.

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Wisdom, Love, and Friendship in Ancient Greek Philosophy: Essays in Honor of Daniel Devereux. Edited by GEORGIA SERMAMOGLOU-SOULMAIDI – EVAN ROBERT KEELING. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 391. De Gruyter, Berlin 2021. ISBN 978-3-11-070121-0; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-11-070221-7. X, 351 pp. EUR 119.95.

This volume, edited by Georgia Sermamoglou-Soulmaidi and Evan Robert Keeling, delivers just what its title advertises. It is comprised of fourteen articles on various aspects of the relationships between the rational and non-rational in ancient philosophy. The volume is heavily weighted toward Plato, with nine of the fourteen chapters dealing with problems in Plato's dialogues. Of the remaining five, four are dedicated to Aristotle and one to Epicurus and Epicurean philosophy. The volume is prefaced by a brief introduction, which is largely just a summary of the contents of the book. There is no significant attempt to tie the themes of the essays together, but this is not a defect; rather, the essays' laser focus on the stated subjects speaks for itself. The particular strength of this collection is the willingness of the authors to take on difficult subjects of controversy in ancient philosophy. Whether or not one agrees with their analyses and conclusions, these essays will surely provoke further fruitful thought and discussion. Although it is not possible to discuss each of the essays in detail, I will try, in what follows, to give an idea of the kinds of questions the essays might raise, by focusing only on those essays that seemed to be the most provocative.

In the first essay of the volume, Michael Ferejohn attempts to make sense of a passage in Plato's *Euthydemus* in which Socrates identifies wisdom (*sophia*) with good fortune (*eutychia*). This identification could seem to eliminate the possibility of the occurrence of misfortune. Ferejohn rejects this 'Pollyanna' interpretation as well as a 'Proto-Stoic' one that reads back into Plato the Stoic doctrine that wisdom is the only good, all others being labelled indifferents, a reading which the text of *Euthydemus* does not support. Ferejohn suggests, rather, that the identity claim expresses an identity of practical aim for both wisdom and good fortune. Wisdom is to be pursued since it is within human control and brings good fortune anyway when attained. This is an ingenious resolution of the problem, but one might wonder whether Socrates is just trying to make the point that wisdom allows the wise to make better use of opportunities and goods and that in this lies good fortune.

Andrew Beer examines friendship in Plato's *Gorgias*. He asks why, despite the obvious atmosphere of antagonism permeating the dialogue, Plato makes his characters, particularly Socrates, employ the language of friendship so frequently and deliberately. Beer argues that Plato is aiming at a 'rhetoric of friendship' modelled on Socrates' own approach to conversation, which shows concern for his interlocutor's well-being and the truth. This is in opposition to the agonistic tendencies of the rhetoric taught by Gorgias and employed by Polus and Callicles. Although Socrates' conversations usually focus on a single interlocutor, Beer shows how Plato expands the range of the philosopher's conversational method to take in and improve a whole audience, even a whole city. Beer's essay is an excellent piece and, intended or not, provides evidence for those who see continuity between the accounts of rhetoric in *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus*.

Georgia Sermamoglu-Soulmaidi's essay offers a much-needed look at the significance of the often-neglected dialogue *Alcibiades I*. She acknowledges the dialogue's troubled modern history but chooses to side with scholars who regard the dialogue as authentic. She argues that Vlastos was wrong to claim that Plato did not recognize love of the other for the other's sake. Instead, Sermamoglu-Soulmaidi concludes the opposite, that love in *Alcibiades I* is represented as for the beloved's own sake and as leading the lover to improve the beloved's moral character to make him a better politician. I think that this is quite right. However, I think the author has missed an opportunity to consider that Socrates may not be concerned not only with advancing *Alcibiades'* ambitions, but also with *transforming* them, from aiming at personal power to aiming at establishing the good in the city. This is a welcome contribution to the study of Plato's conception of *eros*.

Edith Gwendolyn Nally tackles the question whether or not the Beautiful Itself of *Symposium* and the Good Itself of *Republic* are the same end (*telos*). She asks why the Beautiful Itself should be the *telos* of an epistemic ascent. Nally rejects 'instrumentalist' and 'identity' interpretations of the relationship between these forms, instead proposing a systematic "co-extension" interpretation, which argues the Beautiful and the Good to be independent forms that are present in all of the same particulars. Nally has argued her point cogently, but I do not see that she has refuted the 'instrumentalist' interpretation, which seems the more natural reading and which regards attaining the vision of the Beautiful Itself as for the sake of achieving the Good. It is hard not to read 211e4–212a7 as implying this. Indeed, even the author's description of the attainment of the Vision of the Beautiful as a *shortcut* to knowledge of the Good seems to suggest the same hierarchical relation.

Mary Louise Gill challenges the reader to doubt the seriousness of Socrates' condemnation of writing in Plato's *Phaedrus*. Gill's argument hinges on a sharp distinction between true rhetoric and Platonic philosophy. She argues that Socrates' conversation with Phaedrus (including both speeches and the discussion of rhetoric) is an example of true rhetoric, and may be either truthful or misleading.

Platonic philosophy is represented by the dialogue itself as written by Plato. In opposition to true rhetoric, it is not intended to persuade Plato's readers of his own opinions, but rather to provoke questions and doubts *about* what he has written. In this way, Plato distinguishes his philosophy from that of rhetoricians like Isocrates. Gill's argument is provocative, but raises perhaps more questions than it answers. For instance, rather than compelling us to doubt Socrates' condemnation of writing, might not her argument, in fact, confirm the seriousness of the condemnation, insofar as Plato refuses to put his own views in writing?

Doug Reed counters the arguments of scholars who paint the Socrates in *Phaedo* as a bad friend. He argues that Socrates does, in fact, give his friends the reassurances they seek (63a6) in face of their impending loss (i.e. Socrates' imminent death), albeit indirectly through the ensuing philosophical discussion. The problem seems to arise from reading a single passage in isolation from the context of the whole dialogue. Fortunately, Reed gathers together enough evidence of that context to show that Socrates shows sensitivity to his friends' concerns. He also shows that the order, structure and character of the arguments for the soul's immortality are Socrates' attempt to guide his friends in the philosophical method and, thus, to prepare them to continue in their orientation to the philosophical life after he is gone.

Gail Fine argues against scholars who believe that Plato posits the possession by soul of an 'innate knowledge' in Socrates' argument from recollection in *Phaedo*. Fine's analysis is compelling if one accepts her interpretation of Socrates' use of *episteme* and its verbal cognates. At the least, it does seem to show that Socrates does not need innate knowledge to make his argument for pre-natal *episteme* work. On the other hand, this interpretation requires Fine to dismiss too easily, I think, Cebes' account of recollection at 73a7–b2, in which recollection depends on *episteme* being *in* souls. Contrary to Fine, I do not see anything in 73b3–10 that suggests Socrates is rejecting this account. These and other details could suggest that there is a sense in which *episteme* of the Forms is still with souls after birth – after all, the pre-natally acquired *episteme* has to go somewhere (even if in memory). I think there is still a mystery here to unravel, though Fine's analysis has certainly contributed to a clarification of where that mystery lies.

Robert Bolton explores *phronesis* in Aristotle as the special knowledge pertaining to moral matters. Bolton argues, on the one hand, that Aristotle does not think *phronesis* can be taught, as some have supposed he did, and, on the other hand, that its operation involves a 'discursive rational process', contrary to those who think it operates by "direct rational intuition or the drive of dominant non-rational desire". Bolton substantiates these claims through a dense analysis of *phronesis*, its experiential foundation and its relationship to desire, marshalling a wide range of evidence as support. Fascinatingly, the author claims that Aristotle employs an analogy of the assent of non-rational desire to reason to the assent to father or friends to argue that virtue "involves coming to

trust reason [...] like a true benevolent parent or friend.” Bolton’s position is well-argued and those who delve deeper into his position will surely be rewarded.

Pierre Pellegrin argues against the view that Aristotle considered political *philia* to be “la forme suprême” of friendship and that, by means of it, Aristotle envisages the city as ideally a society of altruists. Pellegrin shows that, in his ethical works, Aristotle distinguishes between political friendship and perfect friendship. The latter is characterized by altruism and lifelong duration, whereas the former is on the level of contractual relationships, of often fixed duration although not legally formalized. Finally, Pellegrin argues that political friendship promotes a feeling of egalitarianism that, outside its function in a power-sharing society, can be used as an ideological tool by the governed to secure their power, by deceiving the governed into believing that there is friendship and equality between them and their governors. This conclusion will undoubtedly ruffle some feathers, particularly his reading of *Politics* 3.5 and 4.13. Nevertheless, his argument is novel, clever, and certainly due further consideration.

T.H. Irwin compares the treatments of friendship in *Magna Moralia*, whose authorship by Aristotle is sometimes doubted, with those in Aristotle’s *Nichomachean* and *Eudemian Ethics*. He uses the comparison to make a speculative contribution to the position that the *Magna Moralia* is likely an authentic work of Aristotle. In the course of his analysis, Irwin does an admirable job of outlining the differences in treatments of a number of subjects, in each of the three texts: 1) expressed method (missing in *Magna Moralia*); 2) potential vs. prescriptive objects (and the different terminology for them that is used in *Magna Moralia*); 3) intrinsic concern; and 4) self-love, in particular whether the virtuous person is a self-lover. It is the last subject that, for Irwin, shows that *Magna Moralia* is earlier than *Nichomachean Ethics*. Nevertheless, and as he points out, his comparison only focuses on a few passages of the *Magna Moralia*, so that further analysis would be necessary to substantiate his claims about dating and authorship.

Finally, Michael Papazian offers a spirited defence of Epicurus’ high estimation of friendship, on a par with Aristotle’s, which is contrary, as he points out, to what one would expect from a philosopher who promoted *ataraxia*. After all, there are hardly greater disturbances than the griefs occasioned by the death of dear friends, and this seems to be inconsistent with the pursuit of *ataraxia*. Contrary to earlier attempts to defend Epicurus’ self-consistency, Papazian contends that Epicurus accepted that friendship is an external good. He argues that Epicurus countered the grief occasioned by loss of a friend through therapy provided by the support of a network of close, through the reassurance that the deceased no longer suffers, and through the celebration of good memories of the deceased. This is an interesting interpretation, seems to demand an explanation for why friendship is placed on a par (or at least nearly so) with pleasure as a good. Hopefully, Papazian will pursue this position further.

All in all, each of the essays in this collection makes a valuable contribution to the problem(s) it addresses and will, if paid the attention it deserves, provoke further discussion that can only deepen our understanding of ancient philosophy.

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Instrumenta inscripta VIII: Plumbum litteratum. Studia epigraphica Giovanni Mennella *oblata*. A cura di GIULIA BARATTA. Armariolum – Studi dedicati alla vita quotidiana nel mondo classico 3. Scienze e Lettere, Roma 2021. ISBN 978-88-6687-191-0. X, 519 pp. EUR 75.

Diversamente da tante *Festschriften* nel campo classico, che troppo spesso sono di contenuto molto variegato e sparso, questo volume in onore dell'amico e collega genovese Giovanni Mennella offre una nutrita raccolta di studi su un tema ben circoscritto, vale a dire studi sulla documentazione epigrafica scritta su piombo. Il risultato è un'opera riuscita, in cui si trovano contributi interessanti e con nuovi orizzonti, ma com'è inevitabile, anche articoli meno bene concepiti. Di seguito ne tratteremo alcuni che mi sembrano importanti e che apportano nuove conoscenze o che, al contrario, meritano qualche osservazione critica. In genere la ricerca storica, archeologica e filologica, oltre quella prettamente epigrafica può trarre vantaggio dei vari contributi del volume.

Aprè Claude Domergue offrendo una buona analisi della parola *massa* in autori greci e latini. Seguono le edizioni di lingotti iscritti in due articoli di un gruppo spagnolo-francese (Rico, de Juan, Cibecchini), provenienti da un naufragio di Bou Ferrer (Alicante) e di M. Stefanile su masse da Carthago Nova.

Seguono contributi dedicati alle lamelle e alle etichette plumbee dell'Italia settentrionale (a p. 79 la vuole sciogliere ALIIXA in *Alexa(nder)*, perché no? D'altra parte *Alexa* è buon nome maschile greco). Notevoli le testimonianze sulla presenza ebraica nelle Isole Baleari, analizzate da M. Piras. Il risultato più sorprendente: le lamine in piombo ritrovate a Ses Fontanelles (Maiorca), si sono rivelate, grazie alla nuova analisi, essere scritte in lingua ebraica nel IV-V secolo; molto notevole l'uso dell'ebraico. Secondo l'a., i Giudei a Maiorca potevano essere anche proprietari terrieri.

Seguono altri contributi ben documentati con materiale interessante sulle iscrizioni su piombo in Italia: lamelle perforate, fistule acquarie, glandes missiles dal Piceno (G. Paci, S. Marengo, S. Antolini; a p. 113 la lettura della parola CIITINA resta incerta, come pure il suo rapporto con il tonno), una rassegna d'insieme della documentazione epigrafica su piombo nella parte orientale

della *Venetia et Histria* (F. Mainardis). Notevole e ben commentata l'edizione di nuove fistule acuarie da Puteoli (G. Camodeca).

F. Luciani tratta dei *servi publici* come *plumbarii*. Nell'Appendice dell'informativo articolo l'a. raccoglie le testimonianze dei *servi e liberti publici*. In merito all'elenco dei "possible public slaves as *plumarii*" si deve dire che questi possono sì appartenere alla categoria assegnata dall'a., ma non devono necessariamente esserlo; la stessa cosa vale per i "possible public freedmen". Al catalogo va aggiunta *CIL IX 6655* (resa nota nel 1897) *Fortunatus Saepinat(ium)*. All'a. è sfuggito che S2 e S3 sono in *CIL IX 6656 e 6654*, e F1 in 6653. – Interessanti novità agli scavi della metro C a Roma offrono S. Morretta, S. Orlandi, P. Palazzo. – F. Coarelli e L. Benedetti pubblicano nuove *glandes* iscritte del Museo di Fossombrone e le mettono in rapporto con la battaglia del Metauro del 207 a.C. Gli autori le datano in base alla paleografia al III secolo a.C., cosa che a mio avviso resta assai incerto; anche la lettura di alcuni testi resta aperta (le foto, in sé e per sé di buona qualità, non permettono sempre una lettura sicura).

Lo spazio limitato offertomi dalla direzione di questa rivista mi impedisce di trattare con dovuta ampiezza tutti i restanti contributi. Solo un paio di osservazioni. L. Chioffi, "*Instrumentum navis*: ceppo d'ancora al Museo di Anzio" pubblica un'ancora iscritta. All'a. è sfuggito che l'iscrizione non è inedita; fu pubblicata da M. Alvisi, *Studi in onore di A. Bianchini* (1998), 87 sg con foto. Poi la sua interpretazione di C P L come *C(aii) P(opillii) L(aenatis). ((Novem))* non regge (il personaggio sarebbe cos. 172, it. 158), come neppure la datazione al II secolo a.C., "coniugando sapientemente eleganza e cura semiotica" (sic!); per es. la P con occhiello aperto non dice niente su una data antica, in quanto, in realtà, la P è semplicemente stata incisa con meno cura. Le stesse osservazioni valgono per la seconda iscrizione che l'a. spiega come *M(arci) Ac(ilii)*. – La parte finale del volume è dedicata alle *defixiones*, con edizioni di testi interessanti che non possiamo trattare qui più da vicino, anche se ci sarebbe molto da discutere.

Il volume è stato edito con cura. Di refusi e altri piccoli errori ne ho trovati pochissimi: a p. 168 nt. 6 scrivi "österreichischen"; p. 213 Kahrstedt. Salta agli occhi la presenza di contributi in catalano e portoghese in una pubblicazione indirizzata a un pubblico internazionale.

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RAFFAELLA BUCOLO: *Villa Wolkonsky: Storia della collezione di antichità*. Pensieri ad arte 8. Editoriale Artemide, Roma 2020. ISBN 978-88-7575-344-3. 176 pp. EUR 30.

Villa Wolkonsky, oggi sede della *British Embassy* in Roma, ospita un'importante collezione di reperti databili dall'età repubblicana sino all'alto medioevo, alla quale sino ad ora le pubblicazioni scientifiche si sono dedicate assai di rado. Quasi nulla si sapeva sulla sua formazione, ma grazie a questo volume viene colmata una gravosa lacuna nell'ambito delle ricerche sulla storia del collezionismo di Antichità. Il lavoro di Raffaella Bucolo fa parte di un progetto di studio che si inserisce nel contesto degli interventi di valorizzazione e restauro, avviati a partire dal 2011, degli oltre 500 marmi antichi che popolano il giardino della villa, parte dei quali hanno trovato rifugio nel Museo delle Serre Wolkonsky (*Wolkonsky Greenhouses Museum*). I reperti sono stati inoltre oggetto di una campagna fotografica che ha avuto luogo tra il 2018 e il 2019 a cura del *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* col fine di arricchire la banca dati online *iDAI.objects Arachne* (ad oggi però, su 518 schede che riguardano le antichità della villa, solo 153 hanno l'immagine disponibile).

La ricerca sulla storia della collezione trova un grande ostacolo nel fatto che non ne fu mai redatto un inventario completo e che le informazioni d'archivio non sono esaustive al riguardo; ciononostante l'A. è riuscita a tracciarne gli sviluppi a partire dal 1830, allorché la principessa russa Zinaida Wolkonsky (1789–1862) individuò il sito ideale della propria residenza romana in una vigna sull'Esquilino attraversata da 36 archi del braccio neroniano dell'acquedotto claudio, affidandone la progettazione all'architetto Giovanni Azzurri. Non è chiaro come la collezione sia nata, tuttavia è molto probabile che il nucleo originario si debba rintracciare in reperti riemersi *in loco* nel corso dei lavori di edificazione della villa e di sistemazione del giardino. Attraverso il recupero della documentazione archivistica, antiquaria e letteraria, l'A. dimostra come Zinaida fosse stata mossa da precise volontà collezionistiche nel recupero di oggetti provenienti dall'antichità classica: esemplificativa in tal senso è una lettera del 1840 di Fanny Mendelssohn, pianista e compositrice sorella del più noto Felix, grazie alla quale veniamo a sapere che già a quell'epoca il parco della villa si presentava come una raccolta di frammenti architettonici, di busti, di statue sparsi in ogni dove ed inseriti entro le mura dell'acquedotto (p. 36). Il giardino divenne un'attrazione per chi aveva la fortuna di poterlo visitare, sia gratuitamente su invito della principessa, sia a pagamento.

Dopo la morte di Zinaida Wolkonsky, avvenuta il 24 gennaio 1862, la villa fu ereditata dal figlio Aleksandr (1811–1878), il quale ampliò la proprietà acquistando alcuni terreni limitrofi e ne organizzò una nuova sistemazione con l'aiuto dell'architetto Gioacchino Ersoch. Nel corso di questi lavori, nel febbraio 1866 emerse il colombario di Tiberio Claudio Vitale, dotato di una struttura a tre piani, che, tra i monumenti sepolcrali emersi all'interno dell'area della villa (su cui si veda alle pp. 74ss.), può essere considerato il più interessante sia per la qualità dello stato

di conservazione sia per il testo iscritto sul *titulus maior* rimasto *in situ* (CIL VI, 9151). L'A. ne trascrive il contenuto e ne illustra brevemente le caratteristiche, riassumendo i legami familiari intercorsi tra i personaggi ivi ricordati (p. 48): il titolare della sepoltura, *Tiberius Claudius Vitalis*, ingenuo, doveva essere forse figlio dell'*architectus* omonimo menzionato per primo nell'elenco dei dedicanti; seguono *Claudia Primigenia* liberta di un Tiberio e ipotizzabile come la madre del defunto; *Claudia Optata* liberta di un Tiberio e di una donna, verosimilmente figlia dell'*architectus* e di *Primigenia* (la presenza della libertinazione rende difficile l'ipotesi che si trattasse della figlia del defunto); infine troviamo il liberto imperiale *Tiberius Claudius Eutychus*, anch'egli *architectus* (sul tema si rimanda a S. Panciera, "L'architetto *Ti. Claudius Vitalis* e il suo sepolcro", *RendPontAcc* 36 (1963–64) 93–105). Nonostante l'assenza di documentazione archivistica, l'A. non esclude la possibilità che il principe Aleksandr possa essere entrato in contatto con Lorenzo Fortunati (p. 50), noto nella bibliografia archeologica soprattutto per le sue scoperte lungo le vie Latina e Prenestina (interessante è la notizia riportata a p. 27 che Zinaida intorno al 1845 visse a Roma in via degli Avignonesi, dove sappiamo che anche Fortunati risiedette almeno dal 1865 al 1872: si veda M. Erpetti, *Lorenzo Fortunati "intraprendente scopritore" di antichità a Roma e nel Lazio nel XIX secolo*, Roma – Bristol 2020, 89 nota 245).

Parte dei reperti della collezione provengono proprio da scavi effettuati da Fortunati, in particolare quelli del maggio–giugno 1862 presso la vigna che aveva acquistato nel 1859 da Luigi Nardi sita non molto distante da Castro Pretorio. Alle pp. 124–125 vengono elencate le iscrizioni provenienti da questo luogo, anche se non sono esposte secondo l'ordine numerico progressivo del CIL bensì secondo un ordine topografico che è stato seguito nel corso della campagna fotografica degli anni 2018–2019: a esse vanno aggiunte CIL VI, 24353 e 27489. L'A. inoltre presenta nello stesso elenco anche CIL VI, 3446a, 8858, 8963, 9926, 12480, 17142, 17814, 21688, 22277, 23502, 23508, 24268, 24490, 25026, 26243, 28186, 28579, 28865, 29119, 29661, cui per completezza si aggiunge CIL VI, 17471, come certamente rinvenute in questa vigna, anche se è solamente il CIL che lo riferisce (sono infatti assenti nei rapporti di scavo di Fortunati: si veda nuovamente M. Erpetti, *Lorenzo Fortunati "intraprendente scopritore" di antichità a Roma e nel Lazio nel XIX secolo*, Roma – Bristol 2020, 70 nota 144). In riferimento a CIL VI, 12465, 12815, 13053, 13080, 13161, 15291, 15826, 17145, 23434, 28798, 29325 l'A. ricorda a p. 148 nota 84 la notizia per cui nel *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* si fa riferimento al fondo di *Tor Sanguigna* e riporta un'ipotesi, non condivisibile, di Carmela Martino (C. Martino, *La collezione epigrafica di Villa Wolkonsky*, Tesi della Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici dell'Università di Roma "Sapienza", 2015–2016, 153) secondo la quale il toponimo *Tor Sanguigna* sarebbe un errore da parte dei compilatori del CIL per intendere *Tor Sapienza*: ciò è da escludere anche in ragione del fatto che nel CIL viene specificato che vigna Nardi-Fortunati si trovava *extra portam Piam*, mentre la tenuta di Tor Sapienza stava lungo la via Prenestina.

Nel 1878 la villa e la sua collezione passarono a Nadeia (1856?-1923), figlia adottiva di Aleksandr, che nello stesso anno si unì in matrimonio con il marchese Wladimiro Campanari: nel corso dell'ultimo ventennio del XIX secolo, se da un lato la proprietà ora Wolkonsky-Campanari fu privata del proprio isolamento dall'ambito urbano per essere inglobata nel quartiere di nuova costruzione, dall'altro la collezione di antichità crebbe con ulteriori acquisizioni anche grazie al recupero di reperti provenienti ancora una volta dai terreni della villa, come il rilievo dal sepolcro dei Servili (*CIL* VI, 26375). Nel 1922, a seguito di ristrettezze economiche, Nadeia Wolkonsky-Campanari si vide costretta a vendere la villa, che fu destinata a sede dell'ambasciata tedesca. Lo Stato Italiano si preoccupò della tutela dei monumenti antichi e fu realizzato un inventario parziale delle antichità a cura di Paolino Mingazzini. Dal 1944 la proprietà fu amministrata dalla *Allied Control Commission*, organismo militare delle Nazioni Unite col compito di vigilare sul rispetto delle clausole dell'armistizio concluso fra l'Italia e gli Alleati nel corso della seconda guerra mondiale, sino a quando, nel 1946, divenne sede dell'Ambasciata Britannica. L'ultimo capitolo di questo interessante volume è dedicato allo stato attuale della collezione e viene presentata una carrellata esemplificativa di alcuni reperti, la maggior parte dei quali si trova in stato frammentario, e vengono passati in rassegna anche i materiali dispersi o trasferiti altrove. Si tratta di un lavoro ben articolato che ricostruisce le vicende di questa importante raccolta e che si deve configurare come punto di partenza per la stesura del catalogo scientifico di tutta la collezione Wolkonsky.

Marco Erpetti

Le "sel" antique: Epigramme, satire, théâtre et polémique. Leur réception chez les humanistes dans les sources imprimées et manuscrites du Rhin supérieur. / Das "Salz" der Antike: Epigramm, Satire, Theater, Polemik. Ihre Rezeption bei den Humanisten: Drucke und Handschriften am Oberrhein. Édité par / herausgegeben von MARIE-LAURE FREYBURGER-GALLAND – HENRIETTE HARICH-SCHWARZBAUER. Collegium Beatus Rhenanus 6. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016. ISBN 978-3-515-11408-0; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-515-11409-7. 252 pp. EUR 48.

The book focuses on the reception of ancient humorous texts and entertaining genres among Renaissance humanists. It is based on a colloquium held at the Collegium Beatus Rhenanus and includes seventeen contributions by scholars from Basel, Sélestat, Strasbourg, Colmar and Freiburg. The articles deal with humorous genres and contexts ranging from Beatus Rhenanus' readings of *Batrachomyomachia* to Kaspar Stiblin's hexameter satire *Satyra in sicarios* from 1562. The publication is motivated by a regional interest, as its source materials are gathered from the libraries of the Upper

Rhine, where several important texts were printed for the first time. One of the achievements of the book is thus to look at the collections of local libraries and analyse manuscripts and printed books within this regional framework. Alongside more unknown names, the articles shed light on the notions of such prominent humanists as Erasmus of Rotterdam and Marsilio Ficino on humour and ridicule. By focusing on reception studies the individual articles analyse a rich variety of prefaces, marginal notes, paratexts and commentaries made by humanist scholars.

One of the merits of the collection is that its understanding of humour is very broad. The key theme of the volume is satire, which, however, is widely understood and refers more broadly to such amusing genres and discourses as epigrams, polemics and irony, rather than focusing solely on prose satire or formal verse satire. The book would have benefitted from a proper introduction that would have provided an overview of the humorous genres of the time, rhetorical terms relevant to the topic (such as *festivitas*, *cavillatio*, *lusus*, *urbanitas*, etc.), the structure of the book and the main materials. Humour in its different forms has always been important in rhetorical persuasion, symposia and theological controversy, for example, and the volume shows this rich spectrum to its readers. The works are examined philologically and tied to their historical contexts. Cécile Merckel, for example, suggests that Beatus Rhenanus used his commentary on Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* from 1515 in theological criticism. Theoretical perspectives on humour are not addressed in the volume, but some articles have a philosophical or sociological perspective on the subject. Thierry Grandjean, for instance, compares Ficino's and the humanist physician Janus Cornarius's Latin translations of Plato's *Symposium* and analyses these texts from sociological and philosophical perspectives, while Seraina Plotke approaches Erasmus' and Thomas More's epigrammatic poetry in terms of the genre's usefulness and importance in early commercial book production.

The advantage of the overall approach is that the reader gains a colourful picture of the significance of various small entertaining works in their historical or polemical contexts. Good examples of this contextualising close reading are Judith Hindermann's delightful article on Johannes Atrocianius' brief poem on the gendered use of mirrors, Sandrine de Raguanel's comprehensive readings of verbal wit in Paul Volz's correspondence, and Aude Lehmann's detailed reflections on the Lucilian fragment 11,15. The reader is also introduced to various editorial issues and the means of linguistic humour in the target works. Gérard Freyburger, for example, analyses the early Terentius edition by Johannes Grüninger, and Catherine Notter illustrates some editorial problems related to Martial scholarship. Some materials have only a thin connection with satire; David Amherdt's article on Johannes Fabricius Montanus' funerary epigrams, for example, briefly examines their rhetorical techniques and notes that even funerary poems could be written for pleasure.

The limitation of the historical perspective is that the articles are not tied to themes that might be of wider interest to the reader, and thus the collection remains somewhat antiquarian in its

scope. Historical satirical texts could easily be discussed in terms of such significant topical questions as gender, hate speech, or other political issues, for instance, that would be of wider interest to the contemporary reader, but the collection remains in the distance of history, which is also known to be very male-centred. Within this nostalgic perspective the volume successfully addresses many nuanced aspects of ancient humour and its reception in humanist editions.

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ANDREA FRIZZERA: *Roma: la sovranità e il modello. Le istituzioni politiche romane nel IV libro del Contrat social di Jean-Jacques Rousseau*. Studi sul Mondo Antico, STUSMA 15. Le Monnier Università, Firenze 2021. ISBN 978-88-00-78488-7; ISBN (e-book) 978-88-00-86256-1. 198 pp. EUR 18.

Roma: la sovranità e il modello. Le istituzioni politiche romane nel IV libro del Contrat social di Jean-Jacques Rousseau, as the title clearly indicates, is about Jean-Jacques Rousseau's fourth book of *The Social Contract*. It focuses in particular on the parts (Chapters IV–VII) discussing the institutions of the Roman Republic, namely *comitia curiata*, *comitia tributa* and *comitia centuriata*, and the offices of tribune, dictator and censor.

Roma: la sovranità e il modello is based on Andrea Frizzera's Master's thesis, which he completed in 2019 at the University of Padova (*Università degli Studi di Padova*). Despite efforts to unify university curriculums, there is still national variation. This work – at least the present book – is much more extensive than a Master's thesis in Finland and, according to my understanding, in many Anglophone countries. In terms of workload, it could fall somewhere between a Master's and a doctoral thesis, as a licentiate thesis does in Finland. Occasionally, the book resembles an academic thesis: some parts appear to be demonstrations of the author's knowledge rather than integral parts in building the argumentation. This is an area in which a little extra work before publishing a student thesis might have been expected from the editor and the author.

The topic in itself justifies the work's publication. The word sovereignty (*la sovranità*) has been trending in world politics in recent decades. Rousseau, for one, was a strong – although perhaps benevolent – foe of the recent sensation book of (pre)history: *The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity* (New York 2021), written by D. Graeber and D. Wengrow.

Whereas Graeber and Wengrow aim to write for a large audience, Frizzera's intended readers strictly represent academic circles, consisting mainly of classicists and historians who are interested in republicanism, or Rousseau in general. The book has heavy and long footnotes (e.g., p.

100–101), and in addition, the use of the original languages of the quoted texts limits the audience to a small niche of academics. Quotations, both in the main text and in the footnotes, are in Italian as well as at least French, German, English and Spanish – without translations.

Material in the ancient languages Latin and Greek are translated into Italian, and the original text is included in the footnotes. This is one of the ways in which the work resembles a thesis: perhaps a translation and reference to the original text would have been enough. Moreover, many of the quotations in various modern languages could have been replaced with the author's own explanation of the passage – with, of course, an adequate reference to the original source.

Nonetheless, it is not a simple matter to decide how much information about sources to offer one's readers. Admittedly, providing the original text with a translation is more transparent in that linguistically competent readers could quickly compare their interpretation with that of the authors, noting the differences and similarities. However, this abundance of information may sometimes obscure what the author finds most relevant in these passages, thereby detracting from the desired transparency. For example, readers of this book are without a doubt interested in what Livy, Rousseau, and their contemporaries wrote, but their main reason for choosing this specific volume is to learn what Frizzera thinks about the passages – otherwise they probably would have chosen to read the original works. Of course, the original might text be needed on occasions, for example, if it is not easily accessible it should be added in a footnote to help the reader. Many Latin and Greek texts are available online, thus often a translation is more than enough.

Another way in which the book resembles a thesis is that it includes a wealth of background information, but it is not always clear how relevant it all is to the main theme. Chapter 1.1 *Rousseau, Ginevra e l'antico*, for example, goes into a lot of detail about Geneva and its political organization. It is not difficult to imagine that the city influenced Rousseau and *The Social Contract*, but it remains somewhat unclear how this connects to its fourth book. The focus could have been less strongly on Geneva and somewhat more strongly on Rome. It could, for instance, have been restricted to answering the question of how differently or similarly the two cities, Rome and Geneva, functioned as models for Rousseau, which would have emphasized the connection with the fourth book. On the other hand, given that the main discussion of the fourth book takes place later in Frizzera's work, it might have been better to make this comparison in later chapters. Chapter 1.1 would then comprise a very short introduction of Rousseau's possible sources of inspiration, leaving the question of their role largely open at this point to be addressed later.

In addition, in its structure Chapter 2 seems to create an excessive gap between current knowledge of Roman institutions and Rousseau's understanding of them. It is clear that Rousseau did not have the same amount of information as we do, but what is not always clear is why the modern understanding of the institutions is relevant in terms of understanding Rousseau. Given the focus

of the book on Rousseau, it might have been better to combine Chapters 2.1 and 2.2, Chapters 2.3 and 2.4, and Chapters 2.5 and 2.6, and thereby to highlight Rousseau's understanding of the different *comitia*: this would be compared with modern interpretations only when it shed light on Rousseau's thinking.

Frizzera's work strictly follows the tradition of intellectual history: accordingly, the author discusses ideas and concepts on the basis of literary sources and limits the use of visual sources. The book has just one illustration, a reconstruction of a *saepta* in Rome (p. 53, Tabella 4). There are also six tables. The illustration and the tables are based mainly on the work of other scholars, notably Lily Ross Taylor's *Roman Voting Assemblies: From the Hannibalic War to the Dictatorship of Caesar* (Ann Arbor 1966).

As noted above, this subject is at the core of some present-day debates, and as Frizzera states (p. 28), these Roman institutions are often neglected in studies of Rousseau, further justifying the relevance of his work. Frizzera demonstrates that these neglected aspects had an important role in The Social Contract as a constitutional example, tying it to the tradition of republicanism in which ancient Rome was a major player. He also aptly illustrates the connection between ancient sources and Rousseau, but more to the point, he shows that the philosopher often accessed them via later writers. One might well assume that they included thinkers such as Montesquieu, but interestingly, Carlo Sigonio seems to be the key source of Roman institutions for Rousseau. Perhaps the most interesting chapters in the book for readers who are familiar with the subject matter are the two last: *Un bilancio* (4) and *Conclusioni*. For those who are not experts on Rousseau, or on the Roman institutions under discussion, however, the other chapters have a lot to offer, and provide good insights.

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MARCO ERPETTI: *Lorenzo Fortunati, "intraprendente scopritore" di antichità a Roma e nel Lazio nel XIX secolo*. Studia Archaeologica 233. L'Erma di Bretschneider, Roma 2020. ISBN 978-88-913-1933-3. 160 p. EUR 100.

Il bicentenario dalla nascita di Lorenzo Fortunati nel 2019 ha creato l'occasione per la realizzazione di questo volume, nel quale è stato definito il ruolo di uno dei principali attori della scena archeologica della seconda metà del XIX secolo. Il libro è una vera e propria cronistoria, in quanto scandisce negli anni le principali tappe della vita di Fortunati, dalla nascita a Torri in Sabina nel 1819 alla morte nel 1886, arco temporale in cui le vicende private si intrecciano con le scoperte archeologiche.

In poche righe si esaurisce quanto noto della famiglia di origine e dei primi impieghi, come maestro elementare e Soprannumero degli Ufficiali di Polizia alle Porte di Roma, incarico quest'ultimo dal quale fu sollevato probabilmente subito dopo la caduta della Repubblica Romana, con l'accusa di aver raccolto articoli contro il potere papale. Tale vicenda e le difficoltà economiche che ne derivarono sono state lette come la ragione e quindi il punto di partenza per l'avvio dell'attività di scavatore, la cui finalità, almeno iniziale, era quella di guadagnare con la vendita di reperti. Sono identificate quindi le prime richieste per poter effettuare scavi in varie località e i ritrovamenti, in particolare quelli importanti degli edifici sepolcrali e della basilica di S. Stefano Protomartire sulla via Latina, che gli conferirono riconoscimenti e fama. A questi monumenti sono pertanto dedicate diverse pagine con la narrazione dettagliata delle alterne vicende legate alle scoperte e all'acquisto dei reperti.

Seguono con un ritmo serrato, di anno in anno, le ricerche nei vari siti e i relativi ritrovamenti: nelle vigne Marchini, Nardi (poi Fortunati), Michelini, a Castel Gandolfo, sulla via Prenestina nelle tenute di Tor Sapienza, Acqua Bullicante e Tor de' Schiavi, quindi ad Ariccia, Civita Lavinia, Fiorano, sulla via Latina con l'Ipogeo di Roma Vecchia.

All'enumerazione degli scavi si inframmezzano le numerose e spesso difficoltose trattative per il trasferimento, la vendita di reperti e i complessi rapporti con il Ministero, sia per la concessione di licenze, che per le risoluzioni dell'acquisto dei materiali ritrovati.

La cronistoria prosegue seguendo la traccia dei fitti Rapporti, scritti dal Fortunati e inviati a Pietro Rosa e Giuseppe Fiorelli, in seguito alla nomina nel 1874 come impiegato straordinario degli scavi di Roma: in questa sezione sono riportati spesso interi passaggi dei testi di Fortunati redatti durante le sue ricognizioni in diverse località romane e del Lazio, quali l'Abbazia di Santa Maria di Farfa, la chiesa di Santa Maria delle Murelle a Montasola, Santa Maria dell'Arco, Aspra Sabina, la chiesa di Santa Maria in Vescovio, Fara Sabina, Toffia, la villa detta dei Casoni o di Varrone (oggi a Montopoli di Sabina).

Negli ultimi anni della sua vita Fortunati fu nominato conservatore di seconda classe delle antichità al Museo Kircheriano, incarico che dovette abbandonare per ragioni di salute cinque anni prima della morte avvenuta nel 1886 nella casa di Rieti.

Chiudono il testo una serie di utili indici: delle fonti archivistiche, dei monumenti inediti non identificati, elencati per anno e sito di rinvenimento, dei luoghi e delle persone e infine quello epigrafico. Il volume è anche corredato da una documentazione grafica e fotografica che restituisce l'immagine dei reperti, dei documenti di archivio, a volte con schizzi dello stesso Fortunati, e soprattutto dei siti, anche con alcune piante degli scavi.

Nel volume di Erpetti la figura di Lorenzo Fortunati emerge e si definisce attraverso le numerose scoperte archeologiche che lo videro protagonista, ma anche dalle sue stesse parole. Caratteristica del libro è infatti quella di essere ampiamente documentato, non solo con l'indicazione

minuziosa delle carte consultate negli archivi ma, sia in nota che nel testo, sono trascritti lunghi passaggi di lettere, Rapporti, descrizioni e Relazioni, che consentono di cogliere anche il carattere e gli umori di Fortunati, spesso preoccupato per le sue sorti e in aperta polemica con le istituzioni.

Le trascrizioni delle Relazioni, in particolare quelle redatte per Fiorelli tra il 1876–1877, rappresentano un vero tesoro di informazioni sul ritrovamento di numerose tipologie di reperti, dei quali in alcuni casi si è persa traccia. Come dichiarato anche dall'autore si auspica una futura trattazione dedicata a tali Rapporti, vista la mole di notizie desumibili e in queste pagine solo sinteticamente illustrate.

Attraverso questa ricerca Fortunati si connota quale “intraprendente scopritore”, come dichiara il titolo del volume e come lo stesso Fortunati si definiva, viste le sue continue attività di scavo, ma oltre l'intraprendenza colpiscono anche l'esperienza e la perizia acquisite, unitamente alla costanza avuta nel perseguire i suoi propositi nonostante i numerosi ostacoli burocratici, giuridici e le battute di arresto.

Fortunati è infatti principalmente narrato nel suo ruolo di scopritore, ma non mancano le vicende legate all'uomo, ai costanti problemi economici e di salute, che lo condussero anche al ricovero in manicomio ed ebbero ovviamente un impatto sulla sua attività.

La cronistoria, pur nella voluta sinteticità e oggettività nel racconto dello svolgersi degli eventi, fotografa un'epoca storica, le modalità spesso “amatoriali” della ricerca sul campo, con note curiose sul passaggio di informazioni riguardanti possibili tesori da scoprire. Soprattutto si riesce a comprendere lo sfondo sul quale Fortunati si trovò ad agire, quello romano e laziale, un territorio ricchissimo da indagare, ma ancora non sufficientemente tutelato e spesso lasciato alla mercé di interessi privati.

Sortiprendente la quantità di siti e quindi di monumenti, strutture e reperti individuati da Fortunati nel corso della sua vita, che l'autore ha almeno citato non tralasciando l'oggetto più minuto, trattandosi di importanti informazioni per la restituzione dei contesti di provenienza.

Ovviamente trovano maggiore spazio le numerose scoperte epigrafiche, gli scavi più noti, in particolare quelli sulla via Latina e sulla via Prenestina, anche in ragione del fatto che reperti da lì provenienti ebbero sorti tortuose.

Attraverso la vita di Fortunati si riportano all'attenzione non solo luoghi e scoperte, ma anche le figure degli altri personaggi fortemente attivi nel panorama archeologico di quegli anni, che potevano essere più o meno noti studiosi, pubblici funzionari, artigiani e collezionisti. Soprattutto con questi ultimi i rapporti furono spesso senza mezze misure, del tutto problematici, come con il Marchese Giovan Pietro Campana, ma anche proficui e collaborativi. Lorenzo Fortunati ebbe di certo la fiducia del barone Giovanni Battista Camuccini, tanto da guadagnarsi il ruolo di intermediario per l'acquisizione di opere antiche.

Proprio l'individuazione di reperti, principalmente epigrafici, provenienti da scavi realizzati dal Fortunati e in seguito conservati presso palazzi privati e ville, ha permesso di venire a conoscenza di non altrimenti documentati rapporti con famiglie nobiliari fortemente interessate all'antico e intenzionate ad arricchire le loro collezioni: questo il caso della famiglia Wolkonsky presso la cui villa in Laterano, oggi residenza dell'Ambasciatore Britannico, si trova ancora un cospicuo numero di iscrizioni provenienti proprio da terreni indagati dal Fortunati.

Grazie all'espedito della cronistoria Erpetti riesce a concentrare l'avventurosa vita dello scopritore, fornendo un flusso continuo di notizie, riccamente documentate e dalle quali potranno anche essere avviati ulteriori approfondimenti.

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JOSHUA BILLINGS: *The Philosophical Stage: Drama and Dialectic in Classical Athens*. Princeton University Press, Princeton – Oxford 2021. ISBN 978-0-691-20518-2; ISBN (e-book) 978-0-691-21111-4. XII, 271 pp. EUR 39.80, USD 39.95, GBP 30.00.

The diverse intellectual culture of antiquity is enthralling, particularly because the cultural spheres or categories overlap and are more or less unorganized. This is less familiar to later generations on account of the natural processes of cultural differentiation and classification that we employ today. Joshua Billings' book introduces a novel approach with regard to this topic. *The Philosophical Stage* deals with the essential but complex relationship between early philosophical and poetic thought. More precisely, it discusses how ancient Greek drama and philosophical thought before the discipline of philosophy proper are interconnected. As is well known, various philosophical questions are dealt with in classical drama, and Billings states explicitly that ancient Greek drama is essentially philosophical and reflects the development of early Greek philosophical thought. As he puts it, "[the] dramatic texts are themselves developments in philosophical thought, and should be recognized as part of the canon of early Greek philosophical writing" (p. 2, italics removed).

Billings' main aim is to elucidate the view that drama is in itself philosophical, and is thus a philosophical form. Methodologically, he does not wish to refute the established picture, which is related especially to German idealism and represents a more historically oriented method. Consequently, *The Philosophical Stage* is not particularly revisionist. Instead, Billings propounds a twofold approach. First, his approach is based on synchrony, so that the selected material of each chapter is conceived of as an independent whole. More precisely, Billings considers that the

late fifth century BCE is “a constellation of sources”, and its relations are “conceptual rather than chronological” (p. 10). Second, Billings’ approach is based on dialectic in a broad and non-specific sense. According to Billings, ancient Greek dramatic texts are ongoing and open-ended since they are expressive and processual, that is, the texts themselves enact the process of thinking on stage. Furthermore, the three topics of the book are the form of the cultural catalogue, the form of intrigue prologues, and the form of debate. The first form deals with the position of the human species in the hierarchy of existence, the second with the problematic and dubious tools of political authorities, and the third concerns intellectual debate and struggle. Billings analyses, explicates and interprets in detail the contents of these forms using various sources.

The main concept of *The Philosophical Stage* is “authority”, which refers to an agent or agents whose voices are the most important within a society. Billings also believes that “a negotiation of authority” (p. 19) is central to all selected material of the ancients. He means by this that Athenians had become conscious of new modes of thinking, which is manifested in the dramatic texts. As a result, a process of “democratizing of authority” is visible, and “monologue gives way to dialogue and debate” (p. 21). Moreover, the distinction between *mythos* (μῦθος), “mythical”, and *logos* (λόγος), “rational”, which Marcel Detienne has studied, is, according to Billings, relevant because both were used to justify beliefs. In consequence, the notion of *alētheia* (ἀλήθεια), “truth”, had political, practical, and social aspects.

Following the introduction, Billings focuses on the form of the cultural catalogue. This catalogue concerns the hierarchy of existence and relations of power, that is, the separation of powers between gods, demigods, humans and non-human animals. Billings discusses mythical inventors, such as Thoth, Palamedes, Prometheus and Theseus, and various human capacities and important inventions, such as literacy, so that differences in the catalogues can be noticed. Billings also deals with the myth of Sisyphus in the coda. This particular myth manifests doubt about the potentiality of human abilities and scepticism about the existence of the gods, which to my mind also belong to the characteristics of modern man. One of Billings’ conclusions is that two parallel inquiries can be ultimately found: the proper catalogues, which describe the present state and achievements of human civilization, as well as theories about cultural development.

In the book’s second part, Billings deals with the form of intrigue prologues. Late fifth-century BCE drama includes questions about language, truth and existence. Furthermore, the dramatists at this time explored how political scheming and rulers’ deceptions are manifested in society. Billings refers to Sophocles’ *Electra* and *Philoctetes*, Aristophanes’ *Women at the Thesmophoria*, and Euripides’ *Iphigenia in Aulis*, all of which famously deal with lying, plotting, manipulation, betrayal, false identity, trickery and sacrifice in attempting to achieve political objectives. In this context, the key term is *apatē* (ἀπάτη), “deception”, which has ethical, social and political orientations, with

connections to ontological and epistemological questions. As a result, truth is frequently neglected, and *logos* or rationality is separated from truth.

In the third and last part of the book, which concerns the form of debate, Billings examines how *agōn* (ἀγών), “struggle”, and *sophia* (σοφία), “wisdom”, “skill”, or “expertise”, are interconnected in ancient Greek drama, and how *sophia* was understood. Regarding *sophia*, new forms of intellectual authority appeared beside religious tradition in the fifth century BCE, and led to the trend of intellectualism. At the time, one of the forms *sophia* took was agonistic debate. Billings uses the term *agōn sophias*, which concerns the different meanings of *sophia* and debates on what it means to be *sophos*. In this part of the book, he discusses how the term appears in Euripides’ *Antiope* and *Bacchae* and in Aristophanes’ *Frogs*.

In the conclusion, Billings explores the classical discussion between the righteous and intellectual but reclusive Socrates, and Callicles, who advocates natural superiority and personal gain. This debate, which appears in Plato’s *Gorgias*, reflects the *agōn sophias* concerning Socrates’ and Callicles’ opposed views about the ultimate good.

Billings’ book has many strengths. It is well written, its argumentation is sound, it is wide ranging, it is diligently researched, and, above all, it is stimulating. Overall, it has no significant faults, and it unquestionably succeeds in its aims. I have in fact only minor complaints. First, brief commentaries regarding Giorgio Colli’s *La nascita della filosofia* (1975) and Albert Camus’ *Le Mythe de Sisyphe* (1942) might have been useful. Second, although the index is clearly adequate, some minor words are missing, such as καταβάλλω, *sophismata* and *stasis*. Third, I would like to have read more about direct or indirect connections between drama and pre-Socratic natural philosophy. Overall, Billings’ study, with its novel approach, is a valuable and versatile resource. It is undoubtedly a useful addition to research concerning the complex relationship between early Western philosophical thought and ancient drama.

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VANESSA ZETZMANN: *Tragische Rhetorik: Darstellungsweise und dramatische Funktionen scheiternder Reden in der attischen Tragödie*. Hypomnemata 211. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2021. ISBN 978-3-525-33607-6; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-647-33607-7. 292 S. EUR 90.

Zetzmann’ *Tragische Rhetorik* is a broader version of her dissertation on the agonistic speeches in old Attic tragedy (Philipps-Universität Marburg, 2020). Agonistic speeches were an important

part of Attic tragedy, but they can sometimes be somewhat tedious to follow for modern audiences. However, agonistic speeches are not mere squabbles or confrontative disputes, but also include efforts at persuasion and interesting arguments for and against certain positions.

The book consists of three chapters in addition to the conclusions (Chapter Five) and the Introduction (Chapter One), which includes the presentation of such methodological tools as the sociopsychological concept *Theory of Mind* (that is, our varied capacity to analyse and understand others' minds – such as their emotions and intentions – applied to characters in drama, e.g. Jason in *Medeia* constantly making the wrong assumptions about his wife's intentions, which finally leads to tragic consequences (see p. 190)), the so-called politeness theory (pp. 28–30), which features different politeness strategies used in conversation to avoid confrontation, and the so-called *metapragmatism*, which is the most central framework of Zetzmann's book. Furthermore, the text analyses in Chapters Two and Three are conducted from the point of view of *Authoriale Rezeptionslenkung*, that is, how the author guides the reception of his drama, especially with the help of rhetoric: Chapter Two discusses Aeschylus' four tragedies (*Seven Against Thebes*, *Suppliants*, *Agamemnon*, and the pseudo-Aeschylean *Prometheus Bound*), and Chapter Three examines Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Philoctetes* as well as Euripides' *Hippolytus* and *Medea*. Both chapters also contain a clear summing up (*Zwischenfazit*) – that is, the adaptation of the methodological instruments presented in the introduction – and end with a subchapter on agonistic speech in Aeschylus, although not in Sophocles and Euripides.

Chapter Four (with a long title: *Zwischen Kanonisierung und Fluidität des Mythos: Vorläufiges Schreitern als narratives Instrument und Reflexionsrahmen für literarische Mythenbearbeitung*) presents a discussion on myths in the Aristotelian sense (plot and potential plots) through an analysis of the texts: agonistic speech is seen as a narrative device and a framework for how a literary work plays with myths, in contrast to their "canonizing". Alternative plots are often made explicit by the so-called "if not" situations (εἰ μὴ) – a narrative device presented by Irene De Jong: characters may suggest alternative course of actions, which may then not be carried out (e.g., Philoctetes and Neoptolemus are ready to abandon the Trojan War and return home, but change their minds due to Heracles' intervention, *Soph. Phil.* 1367–1395, pp. 240–242).

Pragmatism as such can be seen as an obvious tool for interpreting drama and, in a way, is operative every time we read dramatic dialogue: it means those explicit or implicit references to the individual and social situations of the characters in question, which we interpret from the dialogue. It naturally has a close connection to Austin's speech-act theory, in which linguistic actions are seen not as "mere" words but as actions that can influence future actions. However, *metapragmatism*, for its part, analyses the meta level of the speech; that is, those utterances that refer to the speech itself, when the speakers (the characters in the drama) refer to their own or their interlocutors' speeches. One simple example presented by Zetzmann is Philoctetes' line to Neoptolemus: "Therefore you

speak utter nonsense' (Soph. *Phil.* 1280, see p. 31). Zetzmann lists three functions of a metapragmatic statement in agonistic speech (p. 192, p. 261): it may clarify the situation to the dramatic interlocutor (and the audience), as well as show how the speaker positions himself on the level of cooperation; furthermore, it may present an external criterion for us to estimate the rhetorical utterance (that is, we are prompted to consider whether Neoptolemus is truly speaking "utter nonsense" from the rhetorical point of view). One of Zetzmann's conclusions from her drama analyses is that these kinds of metapragmatic statements are especially numerous in *Philoctetes*, and are most often uttered by the main character himself (p. 185, see also p. 284).

All in all, Zetzmann succeeds in illuminating the functions of agonistic speech as a narrative device, not only as a device to characterise the interlocutors or to take the plot forward, but also including fresh interpretations of myths, when characters present alternative courses of action, as well as elucidating the dramatic situation by commenting on their own or their interlocutor's utterances among their agonistic speeches.

In addition to a list of all of the metapragmatical verses found in the analysed tragedies (pp. 286–287), the book contains two tables (pp. 284–285): the first one counts the numbers of metapragmatical verses in the analysed tragedies – in *rhexis* as well as in stichomythia and in the speeches of specific characters – whereas the second table gives the total percentages, according to which Euripides' (analysed) tragedies contain a bit more metapragmatical verses than those of Sophocles.

The titles of the subchapters 5.1.1–5.1.6 are for some reason missing in the Contents. The list of abbreviations of ancient authors and their works (p. 281) could have been replaced by a simple reference to the OCD. Due to the numerous methodological tools used in this book, an Index of topics would have been helpful.

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Zwischen Assur und Athen: Altorientalisches in den Historien Herodots. Herausgegeben von HILMAR KLINKOTT – NORBERT KRAMER. SpielRäume der Antike 4. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017. ISBN 978-3-515-11743-2; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-515-11752-4. 243 S. EUR 49.

Zwischen Assur und Athen: Altorientalisches in den Historien Herodots is a collection of nine research articles. The focus of the articles is to analyse the Eastern and specifically Persian roots, connections and influences of selected stories in both the chronological and ethnological parts of Herodotus' *Histories*.

The volume begins with Robert Rollinger's *Altorientalisches bei Herodot: das wiehernde Pferd des Dareios I*, where he analyses the role of Ancient Near Eastern story patterns in the enthronement story of Darius. The second article by Anthony Ellis, *Perser, Meder oder Barbaren? Herodots Gebrauch der Persernamen und -sitten: zwischen griechischer Literatur und persischer Ethnographie*, explores the use of the terms 'Persians', 'Medes' and 'barbarians' when Herodotus refers to Persians. In the third article, *Xerxes und der Kopf des Leonidas: Handlungszwänge und Rollenverständnis eines persischen Großkönigs*, Hilmar Klinkott explains the beheading of Leonidas in the context of the Persian tradition of punishment for revolt against the king.

The fourth article is Norbert Kramer's *Herkunft, Transformation und Funktion orientalischer Kriegsmotive bei Herodot*. Kramer examines the technical depiction of Persian siege warfare in the *Histories* and the Persian origins of this kind of depiction. Julia Lougovaya-Ast continues with the enthronement of Darius, the role of horses and Herodotus' use of inscriptions in the fifth article, *Das Reiterrelief des Dareios und Herodots Umgang mit Inschriften*. The sixth article is Dennis Möhlmann's *Der Schiffseinsatz bei der Araxes-Überquerung Kyros' II: Eine Inszenierung persischer Macht?* His topic is Herodotus' description of the Persian technology that Cyrus used to cross the Araxes river in the war against Massagetae.

Monika Schuol writes in the seventh article, *Die gefühlten Reiter: Herodots Skythen-Bild zwischen Realität und Fiktion*, about the new archaeological evidence of Scythian burial customs and how it relates to Herodotus' description. In the eighth article, *Achaimenidische Königsideologie in Herodots Erzählung über Xerxes, Hdt. 7,8–11*, Andreas Schwab argues that Herodotus knew about Persian religious customs regarding kingship and employed this knowledge in his narrative. In the final article, *Die Priester der Despoten: Herodots persische Magoi*, Kai Trampedach examines the depiction of magoi in the Persian court. Trampedach claims that the treatment of the magoi indicates how the Persian court and king are to be understood.

The editors of this volume acknowledge the width of Herodotean literature published over the last two decades and the increased fascination with the *Histories*. This collection is a welcome contribution as it supplements the heavily Anglo-American field. Sometimes research in the German language is omitted, apart from the works of Felix Jacoby a century ago and that of Jan and Aleida Assmann. This collection, however, also places great emphasis on Robert Rollinger's work (in articles by Kramer, Lougovaya-Ast, Möhlmann and Schwab), in addition to his own article in the volume.

The published articles illuminate the connections of Herodotus to the Eastern material admirably, and two articles are particularly successful in this task. The first is Rollinger's article, where he shows how Darius' enthronement story is based on Near Eastern stories and horse oracles. In the other article, Hilmar Klinkott succeeds in showing how Herodotus combines the Persian tradition of storytelling with his own version of the story when depicting the beheading of Leonidas.

The book, which in part began with Margaret Häcker's workshop at Heidelberg University, forms a cohesive whole, many of the articles illustrating similar subjects from different perspectives.

Overall, the writers do not speculate about Herodotus' inner motives or his understanding of Eastern source material, which I find laudable. Instead, they make corrections to former research, when psychologizing about Herodotus' motives without compelling evidence was more frequent. This critique is most evident in Julia Lougovaya-Ast's article about earlier research and the differences of a known story of Darius' rise to power and the Behistun inscription's description of the same event. Lougovaya-Ast is convincing in her claims that Herodotus shows more knowledge of source criticism in differentiating these two representations than he has hitherto been credited with. On the other hand, there are some claims that I did not find to be particularly well founded. Kai Trampedach uses the *Histories* to explain the role of the *magoi* in the Persian court. His analysis is well written, but it does not provide sufficient proof of the claim that the *magoi* as a symbol of the despotic Persian monarchy would mean that Herodotus had an anti-monarchic agenda, as Trampedach claims.

Commentary on previous research is interesting throughout the book. Anthony Ellis comments and builds on the work of Christopher Tuplin in his article about the lexical changes in Herodotus when discussing Persians. Tuplin noted that Herodotus calls Persians 'Medes' in instances when they demonstrated their power, and Ellis points out the different references to the Persians in the ethnographical and historical parts of the *Histories*. Andreas Schwab also documents well the similarities between Behistun's inscription and the *Histories* and the associated research tradition on these similarities.

Some of the articles treat the role of animals in the *Histories* (Rollinger, Lougovaya-Ast, Schuol). They are a welcome addition to research on human–non-human animal relations in antiquity, which has been on the rise. Rollinger's article about the enthronement myth of Darius and the role his horse plays in it shows how Herodotus reworked an older Persian myth and repurposed it in his own story instead of just copying it in the form it was told to him. Monika Schuol discusses Herodotus' description of Scythian funerary customs, comparing them to the archaeological evidence. I did not find the comparison of mythical animals to the animals in the Scythian *logos* very well thought out, as Schuol refers to mythical animals like flying snakes and giant ants almost as a shorthand for unbelievable material in the *Histories*. As Herodotus operates with suspicion and provides caveats about only transmitting what he has been told, an unfavourable comparison of the stories about mythical animals and the Scythian *logos* seems somewhat dated, given that the "liar school" tradition of Detlev Fehling is part of contemporary Herodotean research. Besides this one minor point, Schuol's article is a valuable contribution in combining archaeological and historical sources to provide a better understanding of historical customs.

The articles are generally well written, but the editors have made one editorial choice that I found unfortunate. Some of the articles (Rollinger, Ellis, Lougovaya-Ast, Schuol, Schwab) use Anglo-American research literature quoted verbatim in English instead of referring to the literature indirectly or translating it into German. I would prefer these excerpts to be translated as they rarely convey such information that would be rendered unintelligible in translation. Even if they were translated, their place could well be in the footnotes. On the other hand, the collection does an admirable job in introducing German research and its conceptions of Herodotean themes. Dennis Möhlmann and Norbert Kramer in particular discuss an interesting selection of research literature in German about both Herodotus' subject matter and the general views of Herodotus in research. In order to make the German research tradition more familiar to English-speaking audiences, it would be useful to publish collections such as this one in both German and English.

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The Genres of Late Antique Poetry: Between Modulations and Transpositions. Edited by FOTINI HADJITOFFI – ANNA LEFTERATOU. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston, 2020. ISBN 978-3-11-068997-6; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-11-069621-9. X, 335 pp. EUR 109.95.

This edited volume is a bold enterprise as it addresses two of the main issues that had implications in the literary, political and cultural sphere of Late Antiquity and in Byzantine times: to what degree Christian poetry relied on or departed from models, meter and language from the Classical past, and to what extent this (dis)continuity contributed to shaping a new society. In the introduction to the volume, after a brief summary of late antique Christian poetry (pp. 9–12), the editors comment on how this genre has been approached and studied since the 19th century and discuss the nuanced terminology used in the book to focus on the interactions of Classical and Christian models (pp. 15–20). Then, they describe the organization of the volume, which is divided into two parts: the first deals with minor genres (epigrams, hymns, etc.) whilst the second addresses major genres like epic and didactic poems.

In the first contribution, G. Agosti explores the interactions between Christian and pagan cultural codes as dissonances that contributed to creating the style of Christian poetic forms. Agosti argues that this discontinuity with the pagan past was achieved through a process of adaptation and resemantization of literary motifs from the Classical past, but also by the accompanying of spolia from pagan monuments that were reused in Christian monumental contexts. However, for

Agosti, the distinctive mark of a Christian verse entails the transformation of (p. 49) “traditional language into something new (...) by inserting expressions and phraseology from the Scriptures”. In “Writing Classicizing Epigrams in Sixth-Century Constantinople: the Funerary Poems of Julian the Egyptian”, A. Gullo deals with the (p. 59) “involuntary interferences of Julian’s Christianity” as a way to determine if Julian’s epigrams were Christian or not, given his tendency to use epigrammatic topics that were religiously unrelated. This is a difficult task according to Gullo as (p. 71) “there is nothing specifically Christian” in Julian’s epigrams, just a few nods to Christian phraseology. M. Onorato analyses the cultural and religious implications that can be derived from an intertextual study in “The Poet and the Light: Modulation and Transposition of a Prudential *Ekphrasis* in Two Poems by Sidonius Apollinaris”. Onorato compares how Sidonius borrowed a number of rhetorical strategies from Prudentius’ *Psychomachia* and, especially, an imaginary that he used for different purposes. Thus, while the aesthetics of Prudentius’ work clearly served a metaphysical purpose, Sidonius’ rewriting of some of the *Psychomachia* images in a carmen and in an epigram was more concerned with showing off his rhetorical and literary prowess.

T. Kuhn-Treicher looks into the influences on Gregory of Nazianzus’ poems in “Poetological Name-Dropping: Explicit References to Poets and Genres in Gregory Nazianzen’s Poems”. The versatile production of the poet and theologian includes implicit and explicit references to poets from the Classical tradition that Gregory combined in his oeuvre not only to (p. 98) “downplay the influence of those authors who are in some respect obviously his models”, but also to use the explicit references as moralizing sayings. J. McDonald also focuses on Gregory in his contribution, “The Significance of Meter in the Biblical Poems of Gregory Nazianzen (*carmina* I.1.12–27)”. McDonald contends that the bad reputation of Gregory’s Biblical poems is undeserved and could be explained by an incorrect understanding of the use of Gregory’s polymetry and the intended audience of the poems. M. Jennifer Falcone discusses genre issues in “Some observations on the Genre of Dracontius’ *Satisfactio*”, a contribution that focuses mainly on the rhetorical strategies deployed by Dracontius and on how analyzing them can help us determine the literary genre of this poem. A similar approach is adopted by E. Wolff in “Do Dracontius’ Epyllia have a Christian Apologetic Agenda?”, in which Wolff investigates the role of literary topics from Graeco-Roman mythology and how they had a moralizing function rather than a religious one in Dracontius’ epyllia. Similar conclusions are reached by S. Fischer in “Dracontius’ Medea and the Classical Tradition: Divine Influence and Human Action”. As anticipated in the previous contributions, Fischer highlights Dracontius’ ability to combine motifs and genres from the Classical past in order to rewrite stories like Medea without recasting it under a Christian light. A.M. Wasyl, in “The Late Roman Alcestis and the Applicability of Generic Labels to Two Short Narrative poems”, explores the reception of the myth of Alcestis in the *Alcestis Barcinonensis* and in the cento *Alcesta*. After contextualizing the composition of these

works and their rhetorical constituents, Wasyl makes the case for the relationship between the *Alcestis Barcinonensis* and ancient pantomime. M. Paschalis deals with the influence of Virgil on Juvenecus in “The ‘Profanity’ of Jesus’ Storm-calming Miracle (Juvenecus 2.25–42) and the Flaws of *Kontrastimitation*”. Paschalis proposes that the well-known episode in which Jesus calmed the Sea of Galilee has a much deeper significance in terms of religious disputations in the fourth century as it extolls (p. 196) “the power of the Christian god vis-à-vis the pagan divinity”. In “Writing a Homeric-Christian Poem: The Case of Eudocia Augusta’s *Saint Cyprian*”, M.S. Rigo studies how the empress Eudocia resorted to reusing Homeric verses in order to convey a Christian message suitable for the paraphrasis of a prose tale – the transformation of the magician Cyprian into the bishop of Antioch after his magic had no effect on a virgin protected by the power of the cross.

In “Did Nonnus Really Want to Write a ‘Gospel Epic’? The Ambiguous Genre of the *Paraphrase of the Gospel According to John*”, D. Accorinti examines to what extent Nonnus used different literary genres in his epic rewriting of the fourth Gospel and considers that this work conjugates a number of characteristics from different genres that make its adscription to a single form difficult. F. Hadjittofi analyzes the same work in “Nonnus’ *Paraphrase of the Gospel According to John* as Didactic Epic”, but in this case, Hadjittofi focuses on how Nonnus’ *Gospel* is integrated into the long didactic Classical tradition by focusing on the influences of Hesiod, Theognis and conventions of didactic poetry in the portrayal of Jesus. In “Davidic Didactic Hexameters: The Generic Stance of the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*”, A. Faulkner describes the author of the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* as (p. 272) “a new Davidic Hesiod” given the didactic dimension of the prologue of this paraphrase of the Septuagint Psalms, a poem full of Classical references that should be read figuratively – according to Faulkner – in order to understand their Christian value. A. Lefteratou, in “The Lament of the Virgin in the *I Homeric Centos: An Early Threnos*”, looks into the development of Mary until her transformation into the paradigm of the mater dolorosa by subverting rhetorical topics in the *I Homeric Centos*. The volume concludes with H. Leppin’s “George Pisides’ *Expeditio Persica* and Discourses on Warfare in Late Antiquity”. In this contribution, Leppin adopts a historical approach in order to analyze the literary strategies of Pisides’ epic poem composed to celebrate, in a Christian fashion, the military campaigns of the emperor Heraclius against the Persians in the seventh century.

At this point, it would have been much appreciated if the editors had decided to add a final chapter summarizing the main topics dealt with throughout the book. A more systematic arrangement of the variety of themes featured in this book and their implications on their historical contexts would have helped readers to have a more precise idea of the impact of Christian poetry over such a wide time span. Also, some editorial issues could be improved: homogenization in the writing of some forms (“reuse” and “re-use” coexist); improving footnote 8 in page 40 as it presents the full https address of an internet link; some minor typos like αἰλός instead of αἰλος on page 295.

These points, however, do not diminish the value of this collection of contributions on a topic that has reclaimed more attention from late antique scholars. As has been already stated, the chapters are varied in the topics they address as well as the methodology used to survey the texts under discussion, but the reader will not be left with the feeling of having read a miscellaneous volume. Instead, readers will have a sense of the ποικιλία of topics and forms in late antique Christian poetry.

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THOMAS M. BANCHICH: *The Lost History of Peter the Patrician: An Account of Rome's Imperial Past from the Age of Justinian*. Routledge, London – New York, 2015. ISBN (hardback) 978-0-415-51663-1; ISBN (paperback) 978-0-367-86696-9; ISBN (e-book) 978-1-315-71458-5. XII, 185 pp. GBP 75.

The sixth-century historian Petrus Patricius (also known by his anglicized name *Peter the Patrician*) has to date been largely overlooked by a wider readership, partly due to the lack of a proper edition and a translation of what survives of his text. Banchich's book aims to correct part of this deficiency by providing the first full English translation of the fragments (some having been translated earlier by E. Cary in his LOEB Classical Library edition of Cassius Dio), including those whose origin has been disputed over the years (i.e. the fragments sometimes referred to as *anonymous post Dionem*). The book is part of the Routledge Classical Translations series, which attempts to provide easy access in English to the otherwise less well-known works that have either not been translated before or are no longer easily available.

The book contains a short introduction to the subject matter and the state of research (pp. 1–16), an English translation of both the *Testimonia* about Petrus' life and career, and the full collection of *Excerpta* assumed to have originated from Petrus' work (pp. 17–150), and a selected bibliography and indexes (pp. 151–185). As the Routledge series is mainly meant to provide English translations of these less well-known authors and thus provide easy acquaintance with their works, the other elements around them, such as deeper discussions concerning the structure of the works, their impact and the controversies currently debated in scholarly works, are naturally given less space.

The short introduction to the topic covers Petrus' life as a diplomat and official in the Byzantine court, as far as we know it (pp. 1–3), the structure and nature of the main source (the *Excerpta Constantiniana*) of the excerpts (pp. 3–9), a discussion about the nature of the lost work (pp.

9–11), and an explanation about the translation and commentary (pp. 11–12) followed by related notes (pp. 13–16). As a short introduction to the subject matter the topics covered provide essential aspects to readers who are new to Petrus' work. Some critical aspects are covered by references for further reading, while other issues are often covered with a single sentence or two. Due to the nature of the series format, the introduction is limited, although it does provide a rather insightful exposition of a number of topics for further reading.

The main part of the book is taken up by the translations and their commentaries. The translations are divided into two groups: *Testimonia* and *Excerpta*. The twenty-two references to Petrus' life as a literary figure that are given first originate mostly from other sixth-century authors (i.e. Petrus' contemporaries), such as Ioannes Lydus, Procopius, Menander Protector and Cassiodorus (pp. 17–22). These excerpts are mainly given without commentaries, but the source references to multiple editions and translations often include some prosopographical references to the mentioned individuals (mainly in the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*).

The 215 fragments assumed to have originated from Petrus are presented (pp. 22–150) in columns accompanied where possible by material originating from Petrus' sources (mainly Cassius Dio and Eunapius) or later authors who used Petrus as a source (Ioannes Zonaras), or provided collaborative evidence to the subject matter (Ioannes Xiphilinus). The material is presented in chronological order, the eldest being given first on the left, followed by Petrus' text and on the right by material from later Byzantine historians. The presentation of these different sources side by side enables easy comparison and provides an indication of Petrus' methodologies and interests as a historian.

The English translation tends to follow the original Greek quite closely, thus keeping the original sense of the work more intact, and making it useful for anyone attempting to read the original Greek version of the text. Each fragment tends to be followed by a commentary section that provides some quick references for further reading concerning the topic discussed in the preceding fragment. These commentaries are noticeably lengthier in the section covering the latter half of Petrus' work, starting from the third century onwards, including long discussions about historical events or Petrus' narrative dealing with these events. This unevenness most likely reflects Banchich's deeper expertise and interest in Late Antiquity rather than the earlier periods covered by Petrus.

There are, nevertheless, some mistakes in the translation and commentary sections (especially with names). In fragment 22 (p. 34), which deals with the Parthian embassy sent to Tiberius, the name of the Roman emperor is incorrectly stated in the translation to have been Trajan. Similarly, the name of Vespasian in fragment 112 (p. 80–81) has been incorrectly changed to Nero. It should be noted that the original Greek has the correct names in these cases. The commentaries also contain similar issues. While fragment 93 (p. 72) deals with Otho's suicide, in the commentary the

suicide is instead credited three times to Vitellius. Thus, the more advanced students of the subject matter are advised to always examine the Greek original before making any judgments about Petrus' work.

In addition to these minor mistakes in translation, there are a few emendations to Petrus' text that, if taken as such, would affect our understanding of the quality of the lost *History*, and also of Petrus himself as a historian. As an example, in fragment 51 (p. 52–53) the well-known sayings of Agrippina are indicated to have been stated by Octavia by adding Octavia's name in square brackets to the text. If Petrus truly had meant that these statements were spoken by Octavia, then that would testify either to the poor quality of Petrus as a historian if he had misunderstood his source (Cassius Dio) so badly, or, that he had altered the original text on purpose for some unknown reason. As the Greek text remains today, this emendation follows a strict grammatical indication, but more likely Agrippina had been introduced as the main character of the incident just prior to the selected elements in the excerpt, which makes this emendation rather misleading.

In addition to the bibliography (p. 151–161), the end of the book contains very helpful indexes (p. 162–185) of referred literary sources, people, gods and places mentioned, and correlations of fragment numbering with Müller's edition (*FHG*). All in all, this is a very welcome book, enabling a wider readership to gain easy familiarity with Petrus' work. This is by no means a minor feat, bearing in mind the fragmentary nature of the original Greek and the still ongoing debate regarding Petrus' merits as a historian.

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ARSENII VETUSHKO-KALEVICH: *Compilation and Translation: Johannes Widekindi and the Origins of his Work on a Swedish-Russian War*. *Studia Graeca et Latina Lundensia* 26. Lund University, Lund 2019. ISBN 978-91-88899-69-9; ISBN (e-book) 978-91-88899-70-5. 219 pp. EUR 0.

The works of Johannes Widekindi (ca. 1620–1678), a historiographer of the Swedish Realm, have drawn much less scholarly attention than those of some more famous seventeenth-century royal historiographers, such as Johannes Loccenius and Samuel Pufendorf. Widekindi's literary production is typical of a learned writer of his time, including historiographical works, genealogies, letters, panegyrics, orations and poems, both in Latin and in the vernacular. Among his historiographical writings there are histories of King Gustavus I Vasa (now lost) and King Gustavus II Adolphus. Arsenii Vetushko-Kalevich's doctoral dissertation studies Widekindi's work dealing with Swedish

military campaigns in Russia at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a period of political crisis in Russia known as the Time of Troubles. The work is an important source on the Ingrian War fought between Russia and Sweden in 1610–1617. As a result of the Treaty of Stolbovo (1617), which ended the war, Sweden considerably increased its power in the Baltic Sea region. It gained the provinces of Kexholm and Ingria in the treaty and became one of the largest European empires, thus taking an important step on its way to the Age of Greatness.

Widekindi's work first appeared in Swedish as *Thet Swenska i Ryssland Tijo åhrs Krijgz-Historie* (1671) and then in Latin under the title *Historia Belli Sveco-Moscovitici Decennalis* (1672). In his book, Vetushko-Kalevich shows that the Swedish version was translated from an earlier draft written in Latin, which has not been preserved. The aim of his study is twofold: to investigate Widekindi's sources and his working process as a historiographer and translator. Widekindi's own comments on the working process conveyed in some of his letters add an interesting layer to the analysis. Based on close reading and a rigorous comparison between Widekindi's Latin and Swedish texts and the literary and documentary sources, Vetushko-Kalevich's study not only gives a full account of the sources utilized for *Historia Belli Sveco-Moscovitici*, but also investigates how these sources were used and in that way sheds light on the complicated working process. Moreover, it interestingly illustrates how contemporary learned writers managed their source material, illustrating literary practices such as quoting, copying, rewriting and compiling. The Polish historian Stanisław Kobierzycki, whose work *Historia Vladislai* also deals with the Russian Time of Troubles, turns out to be Widekindi's principal literary source. Most of the other literary sources could be found in the library of the Chancellor of Sweden, Axel Oxenstierna, where Widekindi worked at an earlier stage of his career. As a royal historiographer Widekindi had the documents of the National Archive of Sweden at his disposal; his work contains information on some lost archive materials, which makes the work valuable for modern historians. Even more important for Widekindi's work was the archive of the De la Gardie family, particularly Jacob De la Gardie's reports from Russia. The sources of specific passages of Widekindi's work are thoroughly presented in Appendix 2.

The linguistic analysis carried out with the help of some quantitative indicators (based on TRIX – a translation index method developed by Lars Wollin, 2017) shows that there are many similarities between the Swedish translation of Widekindi's work and other contemporary translations from Latin into Swedish. By analysing the translation technique, Vetushko-Kalevich proves that Widekindi had at least one assistant helping him with the Swedish translation, just as he himself claims in one of his letters. In the literary analysis of the Latin and Swedish versions, Vetushko-Kalevich pays attention to the ideological expressions and textual omissions and transpositions. The study of stylistic differences between versions is particularly illustrative. Not surprisingly, the Latin version is more polished and has more rhetorical embellishment and references to classical Antiquity

than the Swedish one. Widekindi himself commented on this disparity, stating that “the Swedish tongue will lose all the grace of simple and ingenuous sincerity if too much attention is given to its decoration” (Widekindi’s letter to Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, translated by Vetushko-Kalevich). More formalistic and more pedagogical, the Swedish version served a purpose that was slightly different from that of the Latin version.

Vetushko-Kalevich has chosen an interesting topic for his research. By examining Widekindi’s Latin and Swedish versions, his work illuminates the coexistence and interaction of Latin and the vernacular in seventeenth-century Sweden. Moreover, his work contributes to the discussion of the relationship between Neo-Latin and vernaculars in the early modern period, an area that has recently gained much attention within Neo-Latin studies. Vetushko-Kalevich’s meticulous analysis of Widekindi’s working process illustrates how translating worked in practice, that is, how knowledge and ideas were transmitted and exchanged between early modern reading communities.

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Word, phrase, and sentence in relation: Ancient grammars and contexts. Edited by PAOLA COTTICELLI-KURRAS. Trends in Classics – Supplementary Volumes 99. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2020. ISBN 978-3-11-068796-5; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-11-068804-7. XI, 217 pp. EUR 99.95.

The volume consists of six substantial studies based on the papers given in a workshop at the University of Verona in 2016. It opens with two contributions focusing especially but not solely on Aristotle. The comprehensive article by Paola Cotticelli-Kurras scrutinizes two Aristotelian expressions, *leksis eiromene* and *leksis katestrammene*, occurring in Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*, 3.9, and used by Aristotle to define two different rhetorical styles. It is her intention to explore to what extent this discussion involves understanding of such syntactic phenomena known to us as coordination and subordination. For this purpose, Cotticelli-Kurras analyses the development of syntactic relations in ancient rhetoric and grammar, tracing the metalanguage arising in these contexts until the times of the Latin rhetoricians Cicero, Quintilian and Aquila. She found no conceptual correspondence between the modern notion of subordination and the ancient use of *hypotaxis*, concluding that “the history of the development of the grammatical and of the rhetorical sphere have gone separate ways with respect to the question of the syntactic structures, even if the former could have had a possible start in the Aristotelian theory of the composition” (p. vi).

Giorgio Graffi discusses the use of the term *rhema* in two early texts of Aristotle, the *De Interpretatione* and the *Poetics*. It turns out that the meaning of this term as used in the latter treatise comes close to the contemporary concept of ‘verb’, and the discussion focuses on the morphological and phonological aspects of words. In the former treatise, which deals with the structure of the logical proposition, syntactic and semantic functions are at issue, and the term is best translated as ‘predicate’ since it can refer not only to verbs but even to nouns and adjectives in the predicate position, as connected with the copula ‘to be’. Regarding the term *logos*, in a narrow sense, it points to a unit of speech capable of expressing truth and falsehood, for which the presence of *rhema* is crucial. In this sense, the *logos* is usually translated as a statement or a proposition. In a broader interpretation, however, it can mean “any form of unitary speech”, including the grammarians’ ‘sentences’, as Graffi concludes (pp. 90–91).

The essay by Roberta Meneghel is an important contribution to the concept of “transitivity”, which served to account for the syntactic relations of valence and argument structure in the works of ancient grammarians from Apollonius Dyscolus (2nd cent. AD) to Priscian (c. AD 500). Meneghel explores the many aspects and levels of description involved in this multifaceted concept, namely morphology (nominative – oblique cases), semantics (agent – patient), and pragmatics (one or two persons involved in a state of affairs), being also crucial for the active – passive transformation. One of her main focuses is the metalanguage relating to this phenomenon, and above all the Greek *diabasis* and *metabasis* together with their derivatives, and the corresponding Latin terms *transire*, *transitivus* and *intransitivus*; the noun *intransitio* was coined in the Middle Ages. The essay by Stella Merlin Defanti contains a detailed analysis of Priscian’s classification of interrogative and indefinite nouns comparing it with Donatus’s popular manuals, in which interrogative and indefinite words are included among the pronouns.

Matthaios offers an excellent survey of the famous quarrel supposedly having taken place between the ‘anomalists’ and ‘analogists’ in Hellenistic times. Our principal source for this conflict is Varro’s *De lingua latina*. In Book 9.1 Varro sets the scene for the story, in which the Pergamonian grammarian Crates is an anomalist who had borrowed his tools from Chrysippus, the founder of Stoic logic, and the analogists are the two Alexandrian grammarians, Aristophanes and Aristarchus. We know that Chrysippus had composed a treatise on anomaly, which, according to Diogenes Laertius (7.189), dealt with the lack of correspondence between the word-form and the word-meaning. By contrast, the analogy – one of the main criteria of the linguistic norm known as *Hellenismos* – was concerned with the regularity of morphological patterns of inflection.

As a result of *Quellenforschung* as pursued in the twentieth century, the focus in dealing with this controversy shifted from analogy and anomaly to the opposition between *empeiria* and *tekhne*,

that is, to the epistemological status of grammatical doctrine. Matthaïos argues against this line of argument, criticizing the views of David Blank in particular.

In the early interpretations of the analogy – anomaly quarrel, it was assumed that a fully developed grammar had already been developed at the time of Aristophanes and Aristarchus, and that their work culminated in the *Tekhne* attributed to Dionysius Thrax. In the late 1950s, however, severe criticisms against the authenticity of the *Tekhne* were raised by an Italian scholar, Vincenzo di Benedetto. The outcome of di Benedetto's scrupulous analysis in two articles was that only the introductory section of the textbook attributed to Dionysius was original whereas the technical part of this manual reflected later stages in the development of grammar.

To conclude his valuable survey, Matthaïos turns his attention to the obscure position of Crates in this story, whereby he presents his own contribution to this debate. According to Varro, Crates and his followers maintained that anomalies are omnipresent in language and especially in the inflection system. Matthaïos scrutinizes the few testimonies from Aristarchus's and Crates's Homeric studies concerning the number of the ambassadors sent by Agamemnon to Achilles. Aristarchus thought that the members were two, Odysseus and Ajax, basing his argument on the dual number used in the passage. Thus, the meaning was consistent with the state of affairs depicted in the Homeric text. By contrast, Crates thought that Phoenix was also a member of this embassy, and for him the passage was an instance of *anomalía*. For Crates, it provided evidence for the limitations of the analogical procedure. The use of the dual ending was in Crates's view a matter of linguistic usage, another important criterion of *Hellenismos* (p. 108–111).

Antonella Duso and Renato Oniga explore the early stages of linguistic thought in Rome as it is presented in Svetonius's (75–160) work on the Roman grammarians and rhetoricians (*De grammaticis et rhetoribus*). The emergence of linguistic consciousness in Rome seems to coincide with the birth of Latin literature, that is, with Livius Andronicus's translation of the *Odyssey* into Latin. "Livius Andronicus was therefore, as his contemporary Alexandrian philologists, a poet, a grammarian, and an exegete at the same time" (p. 54). This tradition of poet-scholars continues in the works of Ennius, Naevius, Accius and Lucilius, and the linguistic themes treated by them include, for example, etymologies, orthography, and analogy, alongside issues arising from Homeric exegesis. This kind of work "presupposes the knowledge of the linguistic theories elaborated by the Alexandrian grammarians for the edition of the Homeric texts", as the authors state (p. 54).

The article highlights the early developments of Latin grammar, which is an under-researched area. However, it would have been a good idea to spell out more clearly what kind of linguistic knowledge deserves to be called a 'linguistic theory' and to what extent a distinction was drawn between philology and grammar (in a more technical sense) in Svetonius's treatise. Svetonius uses the term *studium grammaticae* indistinctly, but he was writing in the second century AD, when

the term (*ars grammatica*) was established, as is attested by Quintilian (AD 35–95). Cicero, however, tended to use such expressions as *studium litterarum* (*de part. or.* 22.80) and (*litterarum cognitionem et poetarum, de orat.* 3.32.127) instead of (*ars grammatica*) in talking about the study of the Liberal Arts.

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GIUSEPPE CAMODECA: *Puteoli Romana: Istituzioni e società. Saggi.* Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale” – Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo / UniorPress, Napoli 2018. ISBN 978-88-6719-135-2. 606 pp. EUR 0.

Giuseppe Camodeca is an eminent authority on Roman epigraphy and history in general, but he is perhaps best known for his work not only on documents written on wax tablets found in Pompeii and Herculaneum, but also on the epigraphy of Roman Campania in general. He has published widely especially on the great commercial port city of Puteoli (modern Pozzuoli), and to call these studies seminal and ground-breaking is certainly no exaggeration. Moreover, as Camodeca himself observes on p. 233, studies on Puteoli are often of more than local interest. It is therefore very good to have “some” contributions (“alcuni contributi”, p. 9) published by Camodeca (in what follows “C.”) between the years 1977 and 2104 republished as chapters in this volume with the necessary addenda (cf. below). Two unpublished contributions have been added, and the whole has been furnished with detailed indexes. The result is one of the most useful and important epigraphical publications of the last few years – but there is even one more attractive side to it, as the whole book can be downloaded as a PDF for free. As for the addenda, C. observes on p. 9 that they are included within square brackets. This, however, seems to mean only major additions, for example those on p. 50 and 60, with a reference to a find of 2005, and at the end of ch. 8, there is a separate section labelled Addendum. In fact, the contributions published here in general leave the impression of being thoroughly modified, with numerous references to work published *after* the original publication of a particular contribution. For example, the Introduction (p. 13–39), on the economic and social history of Puteoli between Augustus and the Severans, taken from a 1992 publication, contains no square brackets but is “ampiamente modificato e aggiornato” (p. 13 note *) and contains many references to work published after 1992. The fact that the Introduction deals with the earlier imperial period until the Severans is not to be taken to mean that only this period would be in the focus of the volume as a whole. In fact, although no contribution is devoted exclusively to Republican Puteoli (but the late

Republican period is touched upon here and there) there are also chapters on late Antiquity. The whole is amply illustrated by photos (partly in colour) and maps.

The Introduction is followed by altogether fourteen chapters. Ch. 1 (p. 41–82, originally published in *Puteoli* 1 (1977) but now “ampiamente aggiornata” (p. 9f.), is on the *regiones* and *vici* of the city (on p. 74f., Puteoli is compared with other cities with *vici* and *regiones*). On p. 50, n. 35, I am sure C. is correct in suspecting that the consular date AD 241 in *CIL* X 521 (now assigned to Puteoli) may belong to an earlier inscription on the same stone, for the text itself seems to be datable to the fourth century. Chapter 2 (p. 83–95, from *Ostraka* 2000) deals with the graffito *CIL* IV 10676 from Herculaneum mentioning a *num(m)ularius* based in the *vicus Tyanianus* (reading corrected by C.; cf. p. 342) in Puteoli, moving on to general observations on bankers in Puteoli. In chapter 3 (p. 97–128, from *Les élites municipales de l'Italie péninsulaire des Gracques à Néron*, 1996), C. studies the local elite between the late Republic and Nero, the study being based on material appearing in the well-known wax tablet archive of the Sulpicii and in more than 100 inscriptions datable to this period (p. 99). In addition to observations on the main elite *gentes* and their representatives, C. also deals with e.g. the elites' building activity and nomenclature (p. 109f.). This contribution ends with a list of family names attested in Puteoli between the late Republic and the Julio-Claudian period (p. 124–126). This should be contrasted with the much longer list of *all* nomina attested in Puteoli at the end of the book, on which see below). Furthermore, there is an *addendum* with a new inscription (now *AE* 2018, 521) illustrating the family of the Bovii.

Chapter 4 (p. 129–146, originally published in *Puteoli* 1979) is on the “political power and the commercial interests” of members of the Annii family including the freedman Annii Plocamus, who was engaged in eastern trade. As this is a subject on which there is important recent work, C. observes (p. 129 note *) that a complete updating of this contribution would have meant rewriting the whole, and this contribution has thus been left much as it was when originally published. In chapter 5 (p. 147–159, from *Donna e vita cittadina*, 2005, but leaving out the sections on Cumae and Nola in the original contribution) C. studies the inscriptions of locally prominent female members of the Sextii family. Chapter 6 (p. 161–198, from *Le ravitaillement en blé de Rome*, 1994) deals with Puteoli as a port for the importation of grain and with the grain trade in general. The first section of this chapter is based on data from the archive of the Sulpicii (quoted in the Appendix on p. 187–198), whereas the next sections deal with the infrastructure (quays, *horrea* etc.) pertaining to the port and the procurators and minor officials responsible for the *annona*. On p. 161 C. says that he has furnished the text with only bibliographical additions, but note the substantial *addendum* on p. 183 on recently published texts confirming a conjecture by C. The *annona* and the infrastructure of the port are also the subject of the first part of the following chapter 7 (p. 199–231), published here for the first time. Part 2 is essentially the publication of several Greek graffiti of visitors to Puteoli found

in a *taberna* in corso N. Terracciano. Part 3 is the final publication of a 31-line honorific inscription from AD 129 which also cites a decree of the decurions and enumerates the honorand's numerous benefactions. The first part of the text with the decree was already known (see *AE* 2008, 372); here is now the rest (now *AE* 2018, 536), containing some very interesting details. The same text has also been published by Camodeca in N. Andrade & al. eds., *Roman Imperial Cities in the East and in Central-Southern Italy* (Ancient Cities 1, 2019) p. 339–348.

Chapter 8 (p. 233–263, from *RPAA* 2000/01, but with an addendum on recent excavations) deals with the stadium of Puteoli, identified as such only in the 1970s. The interest in its very existence is stressed by C., for the only other known stadia in the West outside Rome are in the “Greek” cities Naples and Marseille. The author then connects the stadium with the passages of the *Historia Augusta* on Hadrian's death in Baiae and his (preliminary) burial in Puteoli, accompanied by the establishment by Pius of a *quinquennale certamen*. In chapter 9 (p. 265–306, a combination of two earlier contributions), C. studies two decrees of the decurions, *AE* 1999, 453 (originally in *Il capitolo delle entrate nelle finanze municipali*, 1999) and *AE* 1956, 20 (originally in *MEFRA* 2007), producing a much better text (now *AE* 2007, 373). In chapter 10 (p. 307–327; originally in *Oebalus* 2007), C. studies a number of elite persons and families from the late 2nd c. The background of P. Manlius Egnatius Laurinus, duovir in 187, and of his double nomen appear from the inscription published here (now *AE* 2008, 373), mentioning this man's parents, a Manlius, *Sp(uri) f(ilius)* and thus of illegitimate birth, and an Egnatia. C. then goes on to study the Nemonii of the same period. This is a rare nomen, and not attested in Puteoli before Pius; also elsewhere (except in Egypt) the attestations do not seem to be earlier than the second century (p. 311, with nn. 16 and 17). This, combined with the fact there are both early and later Nemonii in Egypt (cf. p. 311, n. 27 and p. 319) and that names beginning with *Num-* (with a short *u*) are often rendered as *Νεμ-* in Greek sources (cf. *Νεμέριος* for *Numerius*, *Νεμετώριος* for *Numitorius*, *Νεμέτωρ* for *Numitor* in Dionysius and Diodorus) makes me wonder whether *Nemonius* could in fact be a version of *Numonius* (attested several times especially in and around Lucania), the Nemonii in Puteoli (and perhaps elsewhere) thus perhaps having a background as Italian Numonii settled in the East, and then moving back to Italy having become Nemonii. This chapter concludes with a list of the decurions attested in the second century (but note that they all reappear in a general list of magistrates, priests and decurions on p. 538ff.).

Chapter 11 (p. 329–350; originally in *Le vie della storia*, 2006) deals with foreigners settled in Puteoli (note e.g. the correction of “lucophori” in *CIL* X 1578 in *iugophori* on the basis of a new inscription, now *AE* 2006, 312, and the emergence in *AE* 2006, 314 of a new *vicus*, called *Tyrianus*). Chapter 12 (p. 351–421, from *Puteoli* 1980/81) is a very substantial contribution on late antique Puteoli, based especially, but not exclusively, on honorific and other inscriptions (some of them fragmentary) from the late third and the fourth century. In this period, inscriptions tend to be wordy

and can thus be more informative – but at the same time more in need of interpretation – than earlier inscriptions. This chapter also includes lists of known patrons of Puteoli and of representatives of the local elite (some of the also attested as patrons). In ch. 13 (p. 423–438, from *Arctos* 2014), C. publishes an inscription in honour of one Tannonius Chrysanthius, a young man described as *togae* (apparently a genitive defining *primus*, cf. p. 431 with n. 26) *primus fori Campaniae* and as the son of an *ex-consularis provinciae Byzacenaе* (note the list of all known governors of this province on p. 436–438), but goes on to deal with the Tannonii of Puteoli in general.

Finally, there is ch. 14 (the other contribution that was previously unpublished) which is essentially an almost 100-page inventory of all attested inhabitants of Puteoli with a nomen (p. 441–537, with the EDR number supplied for each entry). It is important to note that this inventory will be of great use not only to students of Puteoli, but also to students of Roman emigration to the East, as many Romans attested in the East in the Republican period are thought to have arrived there from Puteoli or from Campania in general. The inventory is followed by a list of all attested local magistrates (cf. above) and by another (p. 542–545) of inscriptions published in *CIL* in the chapter on Puteoli but are now known to have come from other places. The book, a splendid document of outstanding scholarship, finishes off with a substantial bibliography and, as already pointed out above, detailed indices of names, subjects and sources.

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Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editum. Vol. IV suppl. 4,2: Inscriptiones parietariae Pompeianae. Ediderunt HEIKKI SOLIN – ANTONIO VARONE – PETER KRUSCHWITZ adiuvantibus STEFANO ROCCHI – ILENIA GRADANTE. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2020. ISBN 978-3-11-072969-6; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-11-072920-7. XXI–XLVII, 1557–1912 pp. EUR 219.

The most recent *supplementum* to volume IV of *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, numbered 4.2, brings the publication of Pompeian wall inscriptions almost up to date. The 400-page-long volume contains mostly comments or corrections to the more than 10,000 texts that have previously been published, but some painted texts are published for the first time. In fact, only the texts from the recent excavations along the alley between city blocks V 2 and V 3 remain unpublished. The editors, Peter Kruschwitz, Heikki Solin and Antonio Varone, are renowned scholars in the field of epigraphy, including that of Pompeii. Their expertise is tangible in every line of text, and little can be added to

the entries on the new texts compiled by Varone. Reviewing such a volume is somewhat challenging, but browsing through it, I started to think about the format of publication and the effect it has when studying the texts.

For the past decade, *CIL IV* has been one of my most important tools in studying Pompeian wall inscriptions and their spatial relationships. The pros and cons of how these texts are published are familiar, especially when the research question does not focus specifically on language or content. The format of the new entries in the current volume maintains the conventions set in the previous *CIL IV* volumes. This tradition was established in the mid-19th century, and relatively little has changed since then. But is the information provided sufficient to answer the questions current scholars ask? And is the format – a traditional book (also available in electronic format) – the most efficient way to publish and update the massive data set?

Wall inscriptions have been a valued find from the beginning of the excavations: they are mentioned in the reports and were also part of the drawings and paintings made of Pompeii. More systematic study and publication of these texts started in the 1840s when regular reports of the excavations started to be published in scholarly journals. How the texts included in *CIL* were selected and documented is rarely discussed, but it should be noted that *CIL* is not the responsibility of the authorities maintaining the site (currently *Parco Archeologico di Pompeii*, PAP). Did the scholars working on the texts have access to all the excavated areas? Are all areas studied and published systematically? Is the data collected by the excavators available for the epigraphers working on the texts? In this volume Varone refers to the former director Massimo Osanna's social media accounts and the Pompeii in Pictures website for photographs and details of the locations (for example, on p. 1594), but not to the documentation made by PAP. Many texts have been published before their inclusion in *CIL*, which allows data to be corrected, and thus the *CIL* version is usually the most important reference. It would also be important to know how exactly the material published in the *CIL* was collected.

The data provided by the entries for each text is particularly important when *CIL* is the only publication. The emphasis in the description is on the transliteration of the text in addition to providing some basic data such as location, technique and size, as well as references to previous research. Notes also often include comments on the reading and meaning of the text. Graffiti and amphora texts are sometimes accompanied by drawings, but this is only rarely the case with painted wall inscriptions. The current volume includes photographs, which are a useful addition to the general information. The organization of the texts is based on location, using the familiar Pompeian address system. However, to collect all the texts related to one house, it is necessary to go through both volumes *CIL X* and *CIL IV*, and the many sections they contain based on material, technique of writing, chronology and content. The original publications and online

databases also often add important contextual information that is not included in the relatively sparse *CIL* entries.

The publication of photographs and drawings of texts from the PAP archives has made clear the importance that images have for the quality of data (A. Varone – G. Stefani, *Titulorum pictorum Pompeianorum qui in CIL vol. IV collecti sunt: Imagines*, Roma 2009 and A. Varone, *Titulorum graphio exaratorum qui in CIL vol. IV collecti sunt: Imagines*, Roma 2012). Photographs covering larger sections or entire walls can be used to check location data and content. The expressions used in the entries, such as “left of x”, are often vague and in the past could mean almost anything. Photographs also reveal the conventions applied when painting texts. Placing graffiti in a drawing or a photograph would give an immediate idea of their size and placement. Images also make it possible to analyse the scripts used and to draw conclusions on how, for example, electoral campaigns might have been organized. (For painters and painting, see E.-M. Viitanen 2020, “Painting Signs in Ancient Pompeii: Contextualizing *scriptores* and Their Work”, *Arctos* 54 (2020) 285–331.) Current graffiti scholars such as R. Benefiel, J. DiBiasie Sammons and P. Lohmann have also argued for systematic documentation of graffiti with drawings and publishing these drawings in addition to photographs. This would enable identifying individual scripts and discerning how many hands were responsible for creating graffiti found in one context, or possibly where in Pompeii someone wrote graffiti. Considering that a very large proportion of old finds have been destroyed since they were revealed, the publication of new texts should always contain good quality images of the text itself and of its general context, preferably with scales for size and colour.

However, locating texts is often difficult even with quite a lot of data. In the current volume, graffiti *CIL* IV 1593 is placed near door V 4,7. The description in *CIL* IV,1 is *in sexta pila ante pontem (viae Boscanae)* and the bridge mentioned is marked on the map at the end of that volume near the eastern edge of city block V 3. Other maps from the 1840s confirm the route of the Via Boscana. The location given for it is based on the current bridge, a later structure located over the southwestern corner of city block IV 1, although the correct location for the graffiti is the eastern part of V 2. (My thanks to Joonas Vanhala for pointing out the correct location.) Even photographs can be difficult to interpret. The photo on p. 245 in Varone – Stefani 2009 is placed at III 3,4 and the electoral notice is identified as *CIL* IV 7647. However, the kind of stucco relief decoration seen in the photograph has not been found on the façade of III 3. The text is actually *CIL* IV 7148 (almost identical to 7647) and is found on the façade of I 6,3, where the remains of the decoration still exist. In the current volume, the electoral notice *CIL* IV 11032 in a photograph cannot be located. It was covered with glass, but even this fact has not helped to place it. The original archival record refers to VI 14,20, but the structures and decoration do not match with that façade. Exploration based on where such a doorway could be found led to city block I 19, possibly doorway 10 or 13.

Unfortunately, the current photographs of that area show that the walls are in such bad shape that it is difficult to be sure.

CIL is based on paper book format, which makes the use of volumes cumbersome even with the help of indexes. The electronic version of the current volume enables searches for some elements, but it is not possible to search, for example, for emended sections in the same way as in a full-text database. Two online databases include Pompeian texts, but in their current stage they are auxiliary tools rather than replacements of the *CIL* publications. *Epigraphik Datenbank Clauss-Slaby* (<http://www.manfredclauss.de/gb/index.html>) contains almost all the published texts from Pompeii. However, as it provides only the text, it is primarily a tool for data mining and exploration, and the collected data should be checked against other publications. The second is *Epigraphic Database Roma* (<http://www.edr-edr.it/default/index.php>), which currently includes only some of the texts from Pompeii, although each entry provides plenty of additional data, including images. In both databases, search functions are still limited mostly to the content of the texts. In Pompeii, the locational data is an important aspect and finding an easy way to use it would be a helpful addition when studying them.

The way the materials are published informs and guides how they are studied. *CIL*'s emphasis on content and language directs one towards work on those themes. Small data sets can be collected relatively easily, but it is difficult to know what they represent when considering the whole material. Many other aspects of the culture of writing and reading in Pompeii remain unexplored or have only been analysed superficially. Recent work on the locations of Pompeian graffiti has demonstrated great regularity in them, and the usual places are some of the most public and visible spaces in Pompeian houses – graffiti writing was not a forbidden or hidden activity in ancient times (see for example, P. Lohmann, *Graffiti als Interaktionsform*, Berlin – Boston 2017). The graffiti habit is also often described as being ubiquitous and practised by most Pompeians. However, the 6,000 graffiti that have been recorded and published were written in a time span of some 150 years – the earliest dated text from the Basilica (*CIL* IV 1842) is from 78 BCE. It is likely that most graffiti are from the 1st century CE, but even for that period of time, the number of known texts means only about 75 texts per year – not a large amount in a city which might have had 10,000 inhabitants. It is also quite rare to be able to identify more than one text by one person – Roman naming conventions and common names make identification hard, but lack of data on scripts and styles makes them almost impossible to study efficiently.

Many of the assumptions concerning graffiti, painted texts and the culture of writing in Pompeii should be explored more rigorously. The list of different topics to be studied ranges from the formation process of the text editions to onomastics and beyond. Our current understanding is still as fragmentary as the texts themselves often are. Much work needs to be done and having

proper tools to do it would be essential – the *CIL* as it is now is not perhaps the best possible tool for approaching the written material of Pompeii.

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Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editum. Vol. IX suppl. 1: Regio Italiae quarta. Fasc. 2: Marrucini – Paeligni – Vestini. Edidit MARCO BUONOCORE. Berlin – Boston, De Gruyter 2019. ISBN 978-3-11-067164-3; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-11-071762-4. CXXV–CLXXX, 1267–1712 pp. EUR 239.

In huius ephemeridis volumine anni 2020 (*Arctos* 54 [2020] 403–409) scripsi de fasciculo primo (edito a. 2018) continente titulos Samnii Frentanorumque. Quae in universum ibidem scripsi de supplemento scripto a Marco Buonocore (“B.”) ad *Corporis* voluminis IX partem eam, quae dedicata est titulis regionis IV, cum non putem hic esse repetenda praeter hoc unum, agi de opere magnifico summis laudibus digno, possum iam transire ad ipsum opus. Hic fasciculus dedicatus est titulis Marrucinatorum Paelignorum Vestinorum ita, ut contineat addenda ad titulos editos in corpore Mommseniano anni 1883 nn. 3012–3648 et 6316–6346 et 6408a–6412a (item ad titulos quosdam alios a B. primum attributos gentibus supra dictis) et titulos novos, scilicet qui post a. 1883 innotuerunt, nn. 6974–7638, id est titulos plus quam 650; hi tituli novi quomodo sint distributi inter tres populos supra dictos, hic apparet:

	paginae huius voluminis	numeri
Marrucini	1267–1305	6974–7039 66
Paeligni	1306–1545	7040–7446 407
Vestini	1546–1693	7447–7638 192

Notabilis mihi videtur numerus satis magnus titulorum Paelignorum. Quomodo tituli tam “veteres” quam novi distributi sint in capitula hac tabula illustratur (in qua ratio titulorum falsorum et alienorum non est habita):

Marrucini	<i>CIL</i> IX (1883)	<i>Ibid.</i> add.	<i>CIL</i> IX S. 1:2
(2019)LXVI. Teate	3012–42	6316–8	6974–7039
Paeligni			
LXVII. Pagus Interpromium	3043–73		7040–7099

LXVIII. Sulmo	3074–3136. 3227a.	6319–21. 6408a	7100–7220
LXIX. Pagus Lavernae	3137–3143		7221–7225
LXX. Corfinium	3121a. 3144–3301.	6322–46. 6408b–12a	7226–7381
LXXI. Superaequum	3181. 3245. 3302–35		7382–7446
Vestini			
LXXII. Aternum vicus	3336–3341		7447–7448
LXXIII. Angulus	3342–3346		7449–7450
LXXIV. Pinna	3347–3374		7451–7493
LXXV. Aufinum	3375–3413		7494–7519
LXXVI. Peltuinum	3323. 3414–3512. 4209		7520–7596
LXXVII. Furfo	349* . 3513–3568		7596a–7604
LXXVIII. Fificulanus (“Vicus potius quam Pagus” –)	3569–3601		7605–7621
LXXIX. Aveia	3602–3648. 4194		7622–7638

(De numeris crassioribus v. *Arctos* 54 [2020] 404.) Cum legi addenda ad titulos editos iam in *Corpore* anni 1883, observavi titulos aliquot qui temporibus Mommseni exstiterunt iam desiderari; sunt autem (praeter frustula quaedam minoris momenti) e.g. hi: 3013. 3015. 3017. 3021 (nota titulum tempore Mommseni fuisse Teate in curia). 3022 (“hodie in museo”). 3025sq. 3033. 3037 (“Chieti in museo”). 3043 (id.). 3053. 3056. 3060. 3080 (titulus L. Stai Murci). 3094. 3116. 3130. 3154sq. (tituli senatorum). 3161sq. 3167. 3180. 3182 (“litteris pulcherrimis”). 3192. 3208. 3215. 3232. 3234. 3245 (“litteris pulchris et satis antiquis”). 3248. 3256. 3264. 3272. 3281. 3309. 3311. 3312. 3313. 3315. 3329 (“litteris antiquis”). 3345sq. 3363. 3365. 3374. 3375 (carmen in honorem Silvani). 3376. 3384. 3391sq. 3395. 3397. 3403. 3407. 3409sq. 3422. 3447. 3482. 3498. 3501. 3504. 3587. 3597. 3600. 3605sq. 3609sq. 3611. 3628. 3630. 3632. 3641sq.

Sunt tamen etiam tituli quidam, qui Mommseno erant noti ex libris tantum antiquioribus, sed qui post *CIL* editum sunt denuo reperti: e.g. 3014 (pars tituli); 3129. 3147 (cum im. phot.). 3274 (cum im. phot.). 3337 (cum im. phot.). 3359 (cum im. phot.). 3400 (exstat im. phot. facta a. fere 1960). 3517. 3590. 3596 (cum lectione meliore). 3620. Praeterea notandum est titulos iam in *Corpore* Mommseniano editos multos hic esse depictos photographice, e.g. 3014. 3019. 3036. 3044. 3046. 3051. 3052. 3064. 3075. 3087. 3099 (sed titulus iam periit). 3101. 3110. 3124. 3136. 3144. 3147. 3156. 3160. 3163. 3175sq. 3179. 3186. 3193. 3203. 3210. 3216sq. 3219. 3233. 3237. 3239sq. 3274. 3304. 3310. 3312sq. 3318. 3320–22. 3325. 3327. 3334. 3337sq. 3351. 3353sq. 3356. 3359. 3378. 3382. 3385. 3386. 3387. 3402. 3405. 3323. 3414. 3416. 3419. 3421. 3423sq. 3435. 3437–40. 3443. 3448. 3450. 3457sq. 3464. 3468sq. 3479sq. 3487. 3495sq. 3508. 3512. 3515. 3517. 3521sq. 3535. 3552sq. 3555sq. 3569.

3572. 3574sq. 3578. 3583. 3586. 3602. 3612. 3614. 3617. 3627. 3629. 3631. 3637. 3643. 6316. Lectiones denique titulorum quorundam ita a B. sunt correctae, ut hi tituli hic sint repetiti sub numero novo; nota e.g. 6976 (= 3016). 7086 (= 3071). 7243 (= 3173). 7272 (= 3200). 7265 (= 3209). 7286 (= 3214). 7293 (= 3235). 7317 (= 3270; legendum est *Petidiae*, non *Suetidiae*). 7314 (= 6412). 7546 (= 3507 addito fragmento novo). 7565 (= 3511). 7545 (= 3507). 7665 (= 3511).

Quod ad titulos post Mommsenum repertos attinet, inter eos, qui in hoc volumine proponuntur, non sunt multi omnino inediti, id quod ut puto inde partim explicatur, quod ipse B. ante hunc fasciculum editum numerum maximum titulorum in ephemeridibus et libris variis edidit; praeter frustula quaedam observavi titulos ineditos hos: 7162. 7178. 7224 (titulus notabilis non facilis interpretationis). 7270b. 7563. 7567. 7581. 7588. 7596a (tabulae duae ad eandem aram pertinentes in quibus memorantur sacrificiones, *agnum Iovi Astilico*, quae appellatio nova est, et *agnum pul(l)u(m) Hyntae Tebrae*, quod nomen videtur posse conferri cum quibusdam vocabulis quae leguntur in tabulis Eugubinis Umbris). 7601a. 7629a. Tituli qui non leguntur in *AE* vel in *EE* vel in *CIL* I² et ideo fortasse a studiosis adhuc ignorabantur sunt praeter frustula quaedam e.g. 7048. 7053. 7056. 7057. 7060. 7065–71. 7073. 7077. 7080. 7083. 7091. 7097sq. 7340. 7492. 7506. 7507. 7521. 7526. 7532. 7535. 7545. 7547. 7549 (in quo memoratur nomen *Arquitius*, ante hunc titulum repertum notum ex solo titulo urbano *CIL* VI 12352). 7550. 7552 (titulus Ti. Caesiae Crescentinae cuiusdam, quae potest fuisse liberta Ti. Catii Caesii Frontonis consulis a. 96 p. C.). 7555. 7561. 7564. 7568–70. 7575–77. 7579sq. 7582–87. 7597. 7603sq. 7609sq. 7613–17. 7629.

Ut iam factum est in fasciculo anni 2018 dedicato titulis Samnitium et Frentanorum, capitula singula continent primum addenda et corrigenda ad titulos editos a Mommseno a. 1883, deinde titulos novos. Ad titulum quemque proponitur commentarius omnia explicans (at vide infra ad nomina quaedam notabiliora) et bibliographiam omnem necessariam laudans; quibusdam titulis, praesertim carminibus, additur versio Italica (e.g. 7104. 7106. 6328. 7256. 7271. 3321. 3337. 7447. 3368. 7489. 3375. 3409. 3429. 3473. 3488. 7556. 7566. 3513). Quanti laboris hoc opus fuerit, apparet vel ex titulo 7386, quem B. edidit “ex diagrammate a De Nino ipso delineato, quod Romae repperi apud *Archivio di Stato*”. De titulis, quorum lectio vel interpretatio a B. corrigitur, notemus e.g. hos (hoc loco non loquar de titulis attributis aliis civitatibus quam in *Corpore* a. 1883; observari tamen potest hoc, titulum 4194 sepulcralem Sex. Sentii Caecilianii consulis a. 75/76 iam attribui [p. 1685] Aveiae pro Amiterno; sequitur, ut hic homo videatur esse origine non, ut sumitur in *PIR*² S 388, Amiterninus sed Aveias): **3058**: vv. 10–14 postea additos esse vidit B. **7052**: *Rufrio* (ita *ILS* 7494a) corrigitur in *Rufio*. **6319**: non est “tabella aenea” (Mommsen) sed lucerna. **7221** = *CIL* IX 335*: titulus hic dedicatus *I.O.M.* iam restituitur inter genuinos. **3156**: de nomine restant litterae *-ciae* (*-viae* B. in editionibus prioribus); ita non iam potest cogitari de Lucilia Benigna ea, quae memoratur in 3155 et 3157. **6344**: Bene B. vidit hic memorari nomen *Salvidii*. **3471**: Intelligendum

esse *Caesienae* bene vidit B. In universum notabile est B. in commentariis ad titulos a se antea editos se ipsum hic et illic corrigere (e.g. 7293. 7296. 7340. 7391. 7397. 7399 [*Rutiliae* pro *U[rs]iliae*]. 7420. 7463. 7485. 3406. 7494 [*Lapsicidio* pro *Appuleio*]. 7536. 7573). In titulis singulis sive tractandis sive explicandis interdum tamen mihi videtur B. paulum erravisse aut necessaria quaedam omisisse. Hoc mihi hic liceat illustrare quibusdam exemplis (in titulis laudandis secutus sum ordinem eum, in quo tituli in hoc volumine proponuntur ita, ut mixti inter numeros *Corporis* a. 1883 sint numeri huius supplementi).

7003 *Alexander Maraidi Sex(ti) s(ervus)* (cf. 7305 *Polipi T. s.*, 3518 *Munatidi A. ser.*, 3527 *Acuto Noni C. s.*): in definiendo tempore horum titularum potuit laudari opusculum quod scripsit de nominibus servorum antiquioribus A. Oxé, *RhM* 59 (1904) 108–140, qui p. 140 observat nomina huius generis, in quo praenomen patroni memoratur post nomen, in usu fuisse a Sulla usque ad finem rei publicae liberae praeter titulos quosdam sacros (“sakrale Inschriften”), in quibus nomina huius generis inveniuntur etiam “postea” (“länger”; ex p. 124 apparet eum significare decennia tria prima aetatis Augusti). **7017**: in lectione tituli omissum est vocabulum *filio*, cum ex im. phot. appareat inscriptum esse *L(ucio) Poditio L(uci) f(ilio), filio suo* (de vocabulo *filio* repetito cf. *Arctos* 27 [1993] 95sqq.). **7055**: “*posit* pro *posuit*” (eadem observantur saepius, e.g. ad 7075. 7187. 7192); at *posit*, quae forma non est rara, scriptum est potius pro *posiit* vel *posivit*, quae sunt formae aliae perfecti verbi *ponere*; cf. *posit* 3192 et 7314, *poseit* 7156. 3212. 3247, *posieit* 7179. 7180. 3267, *posierunt* 3198. 7380. 3325. **7071**: *Rest ‘i’ t’ u’ t’ a’*: mihi hae litterae non videntur postea additae (cf. p. CLXXIX *Additamentum antiquum*) sed eo ipso tempore quo litterae aliae a lapicida inscriptae, minoris tamen paulo moduli ideo, quod cognomen totum in eodem versu inscribere voluit (idem dixerim de 7079). **7086** (= 3071) v. 5 *divi* ; 6 *ire*. **7099**: addi potuit *Hireneti* esse dativum nominis *Irene*. **3078**: *iventutis* mihi videtur non tam “forma” quam potius ratio quaedam scribendi, secundum quam litterae duae *VV* redduntur una *V* (ut e.g. *vi(v)us* 7143 et 3190; *iu(v)enis* 7253; *Primiti(v)us* 7324; *Lasci(v)us* 3473); ita hoc loco scripserim non *iventutis* sed *i(u)ventutis*. **3098**: addi potuit interpretatio compendii *Brit.* (*Brit(tiae)* putaverim). **3100**: mihi, ut iam Mommseno, titulus videtur valde suspectus cum propter seviratum patri ingenuo attributum tum propter nomen gentilicium *Lampridii* et praenomen filii brevium *Luc.* in titulo qui prae se fert speciem tituli non recentioris aetatis (sed propter vocabulum *incomparabilis* non antiquissimi) et indicationem patris omissam inter nomen et tribum filii. **3117**: *MISIRVM* sine dubio a Phoebonio errore lectum est pro *meserum* (i.e. *mensium* gen. pl.), quae forma hic et illic in titulis recentioris aetatis invenitur (*ICVR* I 3740; *CIL* III 2602; *ILJug.* III 1958; *menserum* *AE* 1986, 601 Sirmii). **7147**: ad hunc titulum *Vibae* (sic) *Metiae T. (f.) anacethae Ceriae* enumerantur tituli Osci alias *anacetas* (v. sim.) memorantes; ex his titulis n. 8 *Salutae Caediae C. f.* fortasse debuit addi titulis in *CIL* receptis, cum propter formam nominis et vocabulum *f(iliae)* videatur aut Latinus aut certe paene Latinus. Ceterum mihi quoque videtur posse sumi vocabulum *anacetae* significare

sacerdotem (cf. B. p. 1371; cf. *sacerdotes Cereris* nn. 7148sq.). **7149**: addi potuisset hic (item n. 3203 et n. 3306) agi de nomine *Vārii* eo, in quo littera *a* est longa, et quod distingui debet a nomine *Vārii* (cf. de his duobus nominibus Schulze p. 249). **7160** *incomparabili pu[dicitia] potius quam pudicitiae?* Inter *solam* et *erga* fortasse non est ponenda virgula, cum quae sequuntur videantur explicare ea, quae praecedunt; *erga* (in *erga adfectionem eius maritalem*) enim hoc loco videtur significare idem fere ac *propter* (cf. J. Linderski, *Roman Questions* II [2007] 374). **7164**: V. 15 *quoniam sperabant se citius [anteire?] suos* (scil. filios mortuos): adverbium *citius* mihi non videtur optime convenire verbo *anteire*; nescio an debeat potius cogitare de *revidere* vel sim. (cf. *persequi tam cito quam ipsi cupiunt* in vv. 19sq.; verbum quod desideratur in v. 15 vertitur ‘rejoindre’ in versione in AE 1989, 247) V. 16: Fortasse *eo<run>dem?* Coniunctio *dum* mihi videtur causalis (fere = *quia*). V. 18: *qui* putaverim esse delendum. V. 31: *comportare* (in *si qui te rogarit, qui hoc comportarit*, “ha fatto” B.) propter ea quae sequuntur (*nam ipsa miseria docet etiam barbaros scribere misericordias*) mihi videtur significare idem fere ac *scribere* (ita etiam Linderski, *ibid.* p. 374) ita ut hoc verbum sit relatum non ad ipsum monumentum, sed ad inscriptionem. V. 35: *quid* in *si quid la<p>sus* (“se qualche errore”) intelligendum videtur esse adverbialiter aut corrigendum est in *qui{d}*. V. 40: *in[tulerit]* (in *si quis hoc sepulchr[um]* [sic] *aut hunc titulum laeserit, in[tulerit]*, (*sit*) *illi* vel *illis*) *fortuna mala* eqs.) non bene intellegitur, et in v. 41 pro *mer[itu]m* mihi videtur posse legi id quod expectaveris, *mer[itu]s* (participium verbi *mereor*); ita proposuerim hunc locum (vv. 40sq.) legendum esse ita: *si quis ... laeserit, in[ferat] illi mortem* (vel sim.) / *fortuna mala et quod mer[itu]s est*. In commentario p. 1381 “*imprecamus pro imprecamus*” corrigendum est in “*imprecamus pro imprecamur*”. **7182**: “Nomen Opp(e)ii”: at *Oppius* non est idem nomen ac *Oppeius*, quod nomen habet suffixum *-eius* (Graece *-ήιος*). **7192**: Addi potuit in commentario P. Pinarium P. f. esse patrem, P. Pinarium P. f. Coronam, qui primus in familia sua habuit cognomen, filium. **7224**: Cum nomen *Istacii* non sit notum, ego in v. 2 suppleverim *Istaci[di]a*; quamquam observandum est nomen *Istacidii* extra Pompeios rarissime inveniri. **3168**: mihi pronomen *is* videtur esse referendum non ad Alfium Maximum sed ad Herennium Rufum. Praeterea titulum attribuerim saec. I potius quam II. **3174** [---f.] *Ser. ICVNDO Cretasio aed(ili)* eqs.: videndum, num possit sumi *ICVNDO* errore esse aut inscriptum aut lectum pro *Iucundo*; secundum cognomen *Cretasius* putaverim esse nomen gentilicium (aliunde non notum, sed cf. *Cretarius* et e.g. *Caeparius* ~ *Caepasius*) quo hic homo sit usus pro cognomine secundo. **3259** (titulus qui ante Mommsenum periit): cum adsit mentio patris *C. f.* sumendum mihi necessario videtur praenomen ipsius Pulfidii excidisse. **3262**: ego de praenominibus *Fertor* (quod post Fertorem Resium regem Aequiculum, qui primum ius fetiale invenit, non memoratur) vel *Faustus* (quod fuit praenomen Corneliorum patriciorum) non cogitaverim. **3266**: cum De Nino cognomen mulieris legerit *Salutae*, non video cur hanc lectionem non probemus; apparet praenomen muliebri antiquum, quod Corfinii saepius invenitur, saec. p. C. II iam factum esse cognomen (ut saepius factum est in

praenomine virorum). **7289** “Nomen Cristidii hic solum in titulis Latinis occurrit”; addi tamen potuerat idem nomen Corfinii memorari etiam in titulis semilatini laudatis in hoc fasciculo p. 1443. **7340**: nihil meo quidem iudicio obstat, quin sumamus nomen *Maglatii* esse gentilicium (quo homo in n. 3267 memoratus usus sit pro cognomine); nescio an possit cogitari de forma syncopata nominis **Magulatius* (cf. *Magul(i)us* et e.g. *Sullius* ~ *Sullatius*, *Velius* ~ *Velatius* etc.). **3319**: cum littera *G* in titulis saepius habet eandem formam ac littera *C*, quaerendum mihi videtur, num nomen possit intellegi non *Acrius* sed *Agrius*, praesertim cum *Agrii* inveniantur Superaequi (7398). **7392** “saec. I. medio p. C. n. tribuerim”: “p. C.” videtur esse error pro “a. C.”, cum omnia in hoc titulo indicent aetatem fere Ciceronianam. **7410** et in indice p. 1702: mihi nominativus nominis *Colcini* (dat.) est *Colc(h)is* (quod cognomen legitur in titulo Pinnensi 3363). **3356**: “Caii Lucii”: at hic et in titulo qui sequitur 3357 memorantur non *C.*, sed *Cn. Lucii*. **3363**: mihi iam videtur posse quaeri, num *Dressel* in titulo “evanido” errore legerit *SALVDEIAE* (quod nomen alibi non memoratur) pro *Salvidenae*. **7482**: pro “sententia tristissima” fortasse intelligendum est “tritissima”. **3393**: “Cognomen Caesiae non reperio in ... *Repertorium*2” (cf. ad n. 3463 de cognomine *Atilii*): at *Caesius* est nomen gentilicium, et notandum est in *Repertorio* inter cognomina non esse recepta gentilicia quae in usu erant pro cognominibus veris. **3426**: Hic titulus honorarius a *B.*, qui in hac re sequitur opinionem *F. J. Vervae*t, attribuitur *Domitio* illi *Corbuloni*; ex commentario autem non apparet, quae iam sit vera lectio versus primi incipientis, ubi *Dresselius* videtur legisse [*P*]risco. **3429**: nomina eorum, qui scribundo adfuerunt (quae verba in versione Italica sunt omissa), videntur excidisse; nisi sumi potest ex sequentibus significari universos. **3487**: recte ut puto *B.* litteras *A-L-L* habet pro nomine gentilicio (e.g. *All(ius)*); ita videndum, num quod sequitur, quod lectum est *MART*, possit intellegi *marit(us)* litteris *I* et *T* inter se conexas. **3497**: intelligendum esse *Tymeleni Digniae Aquilae* (*servae*) putat *B.*; si ita interpretamur, sumendum est *Thymelen* fuisse servam *Digniae*, uxor *Aquilae* cuiusdam (*Aquila* enim cognomen est non mulierum sed virorum). At cogitari fortasse potest de cognomine ante nomen posito ita, ut memorata sit *T(h)y mele Dignia* (= *Dignia T(h)y mele*), uxor *Aquilae*. **3512**: cognomen *Bonifacius* mihi non videtur esse corrigendum in *Bonifatius*. **3549**: hic homo, ut mihi quidem videtur, appellatus est *P. Rufrius T. f. Qui. Pius Pudens* (cf. *Vornamen* p. 298 adn. 64); filio post indicationem patris *T. f.* additum est, ut significaretur *Pudentem* fuisse filium non *Titi* alicuius, sed *T. Rufri* *Parmenonis* qui titulum posuit. **3582**: si nomina *Bruttiae V. f. Sabinae* bene lecta sunt, nullo modo potest agi de liberta *C. Brutti Praesentis* consulis. **7631**: *Te(r)tius Pomp(oni)us Pom(ponis) f.* Praenomen *Tertius* cum inveniat praesertim in Italia septentrionali, quaeri potest, num potius agatur de praenomine eo, quod in titulo *AE* 2010, 432 reperto *Urvini Mataurensi* brevitur *Tet(-)*.

Id porro paulum miror, *B.* hic et illic nihil dicere de nominibus quibusdam quodam modo notabilioribus, praesertim cum saepius aliquid dicatur ad nomina non rara (e.g. 7072 ad nomen *Mevii*). Notavi e.g. haec nomina quae quodam modo potuissent illustrari: **7053** *Aburrius* (addi

potuisset hoc nomen reperiri etiam Albae Fucente: *CIL* IX 3726 = I2 1768). **3104** *Sebiticus*. **3252** *Erindini* dat. **6409b** *Nafidi* dat. **7293** *Augia* fem. **3367** *Sicyonius*. **7492** *Aurician(us)* (hoc cognomen, ductum ex cognomine virorum *Auriculae/Oriclae*, hic videtur memorari primum). **3442** *Sinitius*, **3542** *Estanius* (nomina quae alibi non memorantur). Notari potest etiam hoc, in titulis quibusdam praesertim (sed non solum) Corfiniensibus legi cognomen *Paelinus* vel *Paelina* (cf. *deam Pelinam* 3314); ad hoc cognomen refertur 6999 et alibi ad ea, quae B. scripsit in *Epigraphica* 1997 p. 246 = Id., *Abruzzo e Molise* I p. 330, ubi tamen solum memorantur alia exempla huius cognominis, cum potuisset addi agi de forma quadam vulgari vel populari cognominis *Paelignus* (cf. *Marsus Sabinus* eqs.), id quod apparet vel ex eo, quod Sallustius Paelignianus consul anni 231 in titulis quibusdam dicitur *Paelinianus* (*CIL* X 6769; *AE* 1914, 164 [Beneventi]).

At haec omnia videbuntur minoris momenti iis, qui considerant primum laboris huiusmodi corporis scribendi magnitudinem et deinde eiusdem laboris fructum, scilicet hoc ipsum volumen 500 fere paginarum. Ut iam supra scripsi, agitur de opere magnifico quod et mihi ipsi et innumerabilibus rerum Romanarum studiosis erit utilissimum. Ita non possum non ipsi Marco Buonocore agere gratias eodemque tempore gratulari eidem.

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STEFANO ROCCHI – ROBERTA MARCHIONNI: *Oltre Pompei: Graffiti e altre iscrizioni oscene dall'Impero Romano d'Occidente. Introduzione, testo, traduzione e commento filologico*. Presentazione di ANTONIO VARONE. *The Seeds of Triptolemus – Studies on the Ancient Mediterranean World 1*. Deinotera editrice, Roma 2021. ISBN 978-88-89951-29-3. 160 pp. EUR 16.

This study has its origins in the obscene inscriptions discovered on the walls of Pompeii. The Pompeian material is well known and has been studied extensively, while similar material found elsewhere in the Roman Empire has received less scholarly attention. The aim of Rocchi and Marchionni's study is to present and examine a selection of obscene writings from other parts of the Roman Empire, focusing on the sources written in Latin. This thematic approach is a welcome one as many obscene inscriptions are buried in separate volumes of epigraphic editions. The book is the first in a new series, edited by Stefano Rocchi and Spyridon Tzounakas, which promises to offer new and innovative scholarship about the ancient world. With this well-crafted book the series is already delivering on its promise.

The book is aimed both at scholars of Roman Antiquity and non-expert readers. It begins with a preface by Antonio Varone and a thorough introduction to the topic of ancient obscenities by Stefano Rocchi. The introduction covers the subject matter of ancient obscenities, their typology, language and style, and where, when and by whom these obscenities were written, always drawing the examples from the source material of the book. Each of the obscene inscriptions is presented in its own chapter with detailed information and illustrations, and with commentaries that are easy to read yet informative enough to be of value for scholarly use. Indices of the epigraphic and literary sources cited in the book are included. A general index would have been useful, but its absence is not a major detriment to a book of this size. The reader can easily find the relevant subject matter by glancing at the texts and the commentaries on the individual inscriptions. This study is based on the most recent research on ancient obscenities, and previous research is often cited and discussed in the commentaries on the individual inscriptions.

The primary material of the book consists of a selection of 23 obscene inscriptions that have been found in Italy and the Roman provinces of Pannonia Superior, Germania Superior, Gallia Belgica, Lusitania and Numidia. They have also been chosen with a wide chronological distribution (from the first c. BCE to the fifth c. CE) and have been produced using different materials and techniques. This anthology provides a good overview of the variety of media in which obscenities can be found, such as graffiti, stone inscriptions, mosaics, bricks, tableware and lead bullets. The geographical and chronological range of the material also makes it clear how widely obscene texts were produced in Antiquity. The inscriptions are presented in order, starting with those found closest to Pompeii in Italy and continuing farther away into the provinces. This geographical ordering of the inscriptions is a traditional way of presenting inscriptions in epigraphic corpora and makes the geographical distribution clear to the reader, though a map of the locations would have been a useful additional visual aid. The relative chronology of the inscriptions, however, is more difficult to follow, and the criteria for the dating of many of the inscriptions are not mentioned in the commentary.

Each inscription is presented with a photograph and a line drawing, if both are available, as well as a transcription, a translation and detailed information on its provenance, dimensions, physical location, dating and bibliography. If some of the details are unknown, this is clearly stated. The translations are a helpful addition to the standard epigraphic information for those who are less experienced with the Latin of the inscriptions. This overview is followed by a commentary both describing the inscription in general terms and analysing the language and content of the inscription in detail from different philological and historical points of view. Comparable graffiti from Pompeii and elsewhere and passages from Roman literature are often cited for context. One thing that was lacking here, however, was information about the dating of a few of the inscriptions. It is also unfortunate that the authors did not explain on what grounds the approximate dates were arrived

at – whether it was the physical context, the language, the letterforms or some other feature of the inscription – as they have done with some of the other inscriptions.

The authors are conscious of and open about the different ways in which these inscriptions can be interpreted, and refrain from offering overly simplistic explanations. The uncertainties of this type of epigraphic material are made clear, as they should be. Although this is a minor detail, it is worth pointing out how accurate and up to date the references to the Pompeian graffiti are. This is not always the case in investigations of this kind, as many studies still cite old and outdated interpretations of Pompeian graffiti. One would, of course, expect nothing less from the authors, who have both worked with the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, where new and corrected editions of Pompeian graffiti are being prepared. Incidentally, the only clear error I found was on page 68, where the name in the graffito *CIL IV 3146* should be *Secundus* and not *Serenus*.

This study is an excellent starting point for anyone interested in Roman obscenities and the sources containing such inscriptions. The book admirably achieves its goal of presenting a wide range of obscene writings in a scholarly manner, while at the same time being accessible to a wider audience. The inscriptions presented in this book also prove that the obscenities found in Pompeii were not unique to that city. On the contrary, the same obscene expressions were used in different parts of the Roman Empire over a long period of time. My only real complaint is the small sample of material, as I would have liked to read much more on this topic. On the other hand, the chosen sample allows for a more in-depth analysis of the included inscriptions. Hopefully, this book will inspire new studies of a similar nature – for instance, of the obscene inscriptions in Greek. Obscenities open up new and interesting perspectives on the social norms and language of the ancients, as Stefano Rocchi and Roberta Marchionni demonstrate in their book, and these obscenities deserve to be studied in their own right.

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JOHN SCHEID: *Tra epigrafia e religione romana. Scritti scelti, editi ed inediti tradotti e aggiornati. Vetera* 22. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2019. ISBN 978-88-7140-976-4. 320 pp. EUR 47.

As the title suggests, this collection of articles by John Scheid is intended to illuminate the use of epigraphic sources in the study of Roman religion. Their special and versatile character as well as their irreplaceable contribution to our knowledge of this ancient society and religion is a main theme of the volume. In the preface, Scheid states that he has during his long career gradually started

to use epigraphic material systematically in his research into the history of Roman religion. This collection of articles illustrates this path. The articles stem from the 1980s to the 2010s and most of them were originally in French, though they have been translated into Italian for this volume. In the introduction, S. further contextualizes the immense value of the epigraphic material for studies of ancient society. The importance of inscriptions for our understanding of ancient religious practices is especially well shown regarding, for example, the Arval Brothers, a college of twelve priests, who have been at the centre of Scheid's interests for several decades.

The scope of the first chapter concerns the practices of rituals and religion in general. In analysing earlier research, Scheid emphasizes the need not to lock the analysis to a certain point, but to approach ancient society and its practices with understanding and a sense of curiosity. Regarding Roman religion, it is impossible to make rigorous generalizations or exact interpretations of the rituals (pp. 21–29), as Scheid points out. Then again, the inscriptions, and in particular surprising new finds, can provide exact information about the important cultic occasions, as the article on *ludi saeculares* shows (pp. 31–43). Furthermore, S. shows how the community took measures to secure its well-being by cancelling the cultic activities if their validity could not be guaranteed (pp. 45–54). Thus, the rituals had specific purposes and significations for the community. This is elaborated further in the next two articles, which analyse the dedications (pp. 55–59) and votive inscription (pp. 61–63) – in fact a graffito – of a private individual. By examining the vocabulary and formulae used in the inscription texts, one gains a better understanding of the Roman practices whose purpose was to secure the relationships between the gods and humans. The section is concluded by two articles that further illustrate the importance of analysing the contexts and probable purposes of the inscriptions – questions that increasingly interest epigraphists in the 2020s. In the penultimate article (pp. 65–74), Scheid discusses the much debated marble plaque (*IGUR* 109) of a certain Gaionas, whose complex identity and manifestations of his cultic activities provide an interesting case concerning illuminating inscriptions with information on Roman religious practices. The last article in this section (pp. 75–84) focuses on prohibitions against certain foods used at banquets. This theme invites us to study religious regulations within the context of the practices of lived religion.

In the second section, Scheid analyses inscriptions in relation to ancient society. In the opening article (pp. 87–95), the problematic character of the *collegia* is analysed, and their functions and relations are discussed regarding their potentially suspicious, foreign or dangerous impact on social cohesion. In the following article (pp. 97–106), Scheid investigates the famous inscription of Torre Nove (*IGUR* I, 160), which has been of interest to epigraphists as well as prosopographers since the 1930s. In this analysis he shows how an inscription can play a key role in illustrating the position of an individual as well as the history of a whole family. The question of what the epigraphic evidence can tell us about multicultural and multilingual individuals and communities is at the heart

of the section's concluding article (pp. 107–114). An analysis of coexisting cults and practices and of the variety of different ethnic and linguistic groups introduces us to the volume's third chapter, which is about religion in Italy and the provinces. The famous *Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum* (*TPSulp*) are discussed first. This source provides rich evidence regarding religious life, even if this is not immediately obvious as its original function was to be a financial archive of the *Sulpicii* (pp. 117–122). Rather than providing knowledge about larger families or the *collegia*, the inscriptions tell us about individuals (see pp. 123–130 and 131–138) and their position and activities within their communities. The third section ends with an article that discusses the wonderful discovery of a fragmentary inscription found in Carthage (pp. 139–160). In his detailed analysis and reconstruction, Scheid proposes that the inscription is related to the cult of Ceres and deals with regulations concerning the cult practices.

In the fourth section, the main theme is power and the rituals connected to its social manifestations. Particularly the legitimization process of the emperors' rise to power is analysed in the two studies (pp. 163–169 and 171–184), in which the main sources are the acts of the Arval Brethren. The ambiguities of the manifestations of imperial power are analysed in the concluding article (pp. 185–193). This article discusses what can be concluded about the geographic, temporal and practical differences in the development of emperor worship.

The last chapter of the volume is entirely dedicated to the cult of the Arval Brothers and the epigraphic monuments they produced. Scheid has devoted the major part of his time and patience to the study of this interesting and mysterious cultic college from the 1970s onwards, and has continued to do so in the 2020s. The first article in this section discusses the discoveries in the Arval Brothers' sanctuary, in Magliana (pp. 197–215). The excavated documents mainly consist of the *acta* of the Arvals. The advantage of the Arval Brothers' documents is that they increase our knowledge not only about the Arvals' own cultic practices and membership, but also about the political history of Rome, chronology, topography and the religious activities of society on a large scale. In the following article (pp. 217–239), the fragments of some of the *acta Arvalia* are analysed, resulting in a new reconstruction of a fragment dating to 38 CE. The membership and protocol of choosing the Arval Brothers' *promagister* are discussed in the following article (pp. 241–252). Although the formulations of the Arvals' inscriptions may seem somewhat monotonous at first, a surprisingly versatile spectrum of issues and events are recorded in the *acta*, as the fragmentary inscription from year 186/7 indicates (pp. 253–262). In the last article (pp. 263–273), S. shows how the epigraphic material allows us to gain knowledge about the dynamics of emperor worship and the cultic activities of the Arvals.

There is no general conclusion to this book. Instead, to compensate for this, there are complementary remarks on several articles. Overall, the volume vividly presents the rich impact which epigraphic material provides for the study of the discipline. However, it would no doubt have

been of benefit to this volume if there had been some discussion about the future of the discipline and the methods available through the latest technology to analyse inscriptions. Moreover, although the epigraphic sources clearly enrich our knowledge about ancient society, the monuments and texts are annoyingly mute in certain respects. For example, what followed from the dedication process is a question which hardly ever emerges from an epigraphical text itself, although it is important for a historian. But having said that, Scheid's collection of articles encourages the researchers to boldly ask these challenging questions and to study further this valuable material.

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SILVIA TANTIMONACO: *Dis Manibus: Il culto degli Dei Mani attraverso la documentazione epigrafica. Il caso di studio della Regio X Venetia et Histria*. ARYS – Antigüedad, Religiones y Sociedades, Anejos vol. VII. Biblioteca de la Facultad de Humanidades, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Madrid 2017. ISBN 978-84-16829-19-4. 400 pp. EUR 28.50.

Is it worthwhile to dedicate years of study to just two letters? A question along these lines opens the preface to Silvia Tantimonaco's book, *Dis Manibus: Il culto degli Dei Mani attraverso la documentazione epigrafica*. My short answer to the question is 'yes', particularly when the two letters are *D* and *M*. The formula *D(is) M(anibus)* is familiar to us from Roman funerary monuments of the imperial period. Indeed, the formula is so common that it is often overlooked, with few people bothering to put any serious thought into it. Yet the commonness of the formula is precisely what makes investigating it important.

On the whole, Tantimonaco's book is first and foremost an epigraphic study and thus its primary audience are those working with Roman inscriptions. However, various anthropological and cultural historical aspects are also discussed, which makes the book useful to anyone interested in the cult of the *Manes*, Roman funerary practices, and the Roman 'culture of death' more broadly speaking. Moreover, the epigraphic catalogue, with its broad social spectrum, has its uses for those interested in the societal and onomastic situation in the regions of Venetia and Histria. The book consists essentially of an introduction, three main chapters, and a concluding discussion. These are followed by a catalogue of images, epigraphical concordances, a list of abbreviations, and a lengthy bibliography.

Chapter 1 (pp. 13–20) is a concise introduction to the topic, clarifying the objective, scope and method of the study. Here Tantimonaco explains her choice to focus on the material from *Regio*

X. Due to its rather early Romanisation and many important urban centres, the region offers a rich epigraphic record, particularly in terms of funerary inscriptions. Furthermore, the epigraphy of the region is well studied in modern works and is available in online databases, particularly in the Epigraphic Database Roma (EDR), which is of course helpful in the collection, contextualisation and dating of the sources. The geographical limitation is therefore reasonable and the material is certainly sufficient for the main purpose of the book, namely to investigate the Roman practice of furnishing epitaphs with the formula *D(is) M(anibus)*.

Chapter 2 (pp. 21–66) explores the nature and cultic context of the *Manes*, thus providing a cultural historical background to the phenomenon. An attempt to find a straightforward definition of the *Manes* is a problematic matter, as pointed out by the author. Much of the first part of the discussion here focuses on the characteristics and powers of the *Manes* and their relationship with the other spirits of the dead, particularly the *Lemures*, but also other supernatural beings who are associated with the dead and domestic cults (*Penates, Lares, Genii*). In the second part of the chapter, the discussion proceeds to how the Romans believed the *Manes* came into being, how the spirits were appeased, and through what rites they were honoured.

Chapter 3 (pp. 67–98) provides a philological-historical overview of the formula itself. The first part of the chapter focuses on various typological and linguistic aspects, including *inter alia* a presentation of the different variants of the Latin formula along with its Greek counterparts (e.g. Θ(εοῖς) Κ(αταχθονίοις)) as well as some general syntactical/grammatical observations (e.g. the formula *D. M.* + the name of the deceased in the nominative/dative/genitive). The author also points out some regional and chronological variation in the distribution of certain variants of the formula (e.g. *D. M. et m(emoriae) aet(ernae)* in later periods). The second part deals with a matter of great interest to epigraphers, that is, the use of the formula as a means of dating inscriptions. The general consensus has been that the abbreviated *D. M.* would normally indicate a date no earlier than the late 1st c. CE, and even the extended formula is rare in earlier times. Tantimonaco, referring to some early cases from Rome (collected by H. Solin) as well as to some examples in the book's catalogue, concludes, however, that the use of the formula, abbreviated or extended, should not be used alone as evidence when dating inscriptions. While I generally agree with this sentiment, one should remember that such early cases are only a small fraction of the tens of thousands of inscriptions with the formula from all over the Latin West. Furthermore, I believe that some of the early examples in the book's catalogue may in fact be from a later period (I will return to this point later). In any case, Tantimonaco is certainly right when pointing out the risk involved when treating the formula as a secure chronological marker without taking into consideration broader contextual and circumstantial factors regarding the monument. The third part of the chapter deals with the legal aspects of the *Manes*, while the rest of the chapter

focuses on another interesting phenomenon, namely the persistence of the formula in Christian epigraphy.

Chapter 4 (pp. 99–320) constitutes the main and most essential chapter of the book, including the epigraphic catalogue of 808 inscriptions from *Regio X* (pp. 108–283) along with the author's observations and analyses (pp. 284–326). In the first pages of the chapter, Tantimonaco gives a detailed account of the methodology used to collect and present the data. In short, the catalogue, following the geographical boundaries of *CIL V*, only takes into consideration inscriptions with the formula *D. M.* (and its variants) and not, for example, epitaphs dedicated to *Dei Parentes, Dei Inferi*, etc. This is understandable, given the theme of the book. The catalogue is arranged geographically, after each urban centre (starting from those in Histria and then proceeding to those in Venetia). Each inscription has been assigned an identifier, consisting of the first two letters of the find place and a number (so that e.g. VE10 is inscription number 10 from Verona). This is followed by separate fields for the bibliography (i.e. the EDR-id and a list of source publications), a transcription of the Latin text, the date, the type of formula, and 'other notes' (these include such things as information on the monument, iconography, names and social context). The criteria for the dates, which are given to many but unfortunately not all of the inscriptions, are not specified 'per ragioni di spazio'. It is, however, elsewhere explained that they are based on the dates given in the source publications and/or databases. The transcriptions do not take into account specific diacritic markers, such as punctuation below the letters, since they are not, as it is explained, considered relevant for the purpose of the study. In general, it seems to me that the transcriptions are largely similar to those of the Clauss/Slaby database (EDCS), including the occasional exclamation marks in parentheses, marking any orthographical and grammatical deviations from the 'classical standard'.

The catalogue is followed by a series of interesting observations. I will not give a detailed account of all the individual findings, but will instead try to provide a general overview of the section and highlight some points that I found particularly interesting. First, it has to be said that Tantimonaco presents the observations in a clear and concise manner. The reader will particularly appreciate the numerous statistical tables, diagrams and pie charts, which greatly facilitate the understanding of the quantitative aspects of the survey. The observations begin with a statistical overview of the geographical distribution of the material. This is followed by a linguistic analysis with tables and charts illustrating the quantities of the different variants of the formula, the grammatical structures involved, and the placement and integration of the formula within the inscriptions. After this comes a chronological analysis of the inscriptions and their linguistic features. The author explains that only such inscriptions have been considered here that can be dated 'con una certa sicurezza', which of course is understandable (even if in reality many of the dates are tentative rather than secure). It is interesting to observe that a surprisingly large number of cases are from the first

century CE (16%). This number even includes some cases from the earlier half of the 1st c., but as noted above, some of these cases could, in my view, also be from a later period e.g. TE1 (CIL V 570) and TE12 (only referred to by its EDR entry), which probably date from the 2nd, not the 1st c. (cf. the dates in the EDR). In the case of VE50, the inscription (CIL V 3372) informs us that the deceased was killed *a Daciscis in bello proelio*. It seems likely to me that this Dacian war refers to a much later period than the 1st c. (*Daciscus*, moreover, tends to be a late form). Nonetheless, there are also cases that clearly date from the early 1st c., e.g. AL15 (AE 2005, 601), though it may be pointed out that in this particular case the *d* of *D(is) M(anibus)* has been inscribed later to replace a previously erased *l* of *l(ocus) m(onument)* (a picture of the monument is provided in the appendix). Be that as it may, Tantimonaco does not only discuss the early but also the later chronology of the inscriptions, including some interesting linguistic observations, e.g. the tendency in the 4th century to write the formula as a syntactically separate element, followed by the personal name in the nominative rather than the dative or genitive, reflecting the loss of an active understanding of the formula's semantic value.

Semantics are discussed in greater detail in the next section ('analisi semantica'). Here Tantimonaco presents some interesting earlier cases in which the formula is not found at the beginning but in the middle of the inscription. A recurring feature seems to be that the person whose name precedes the formula was alive by the time the monument was erected, indicated e.g. by *v(ivus) f(ecit)*. A practice like this must be taken as an indication of a certain level of consciousness regarding the semantic value of the *adprecatio*. But as noted above, at some point this started to change (the author also returns to this point later). After the semantic analysis, attention is turned to various observations of a social historical nature. The survey, it is noted, represents 'tutte le categorie del corpo civico', including epitaphs of decurions, local magistrates, priests, professionals of different kinds, soldiers, veterans, gladiators, etc. The great number of former slaves is also noted, their status mostly deduced by their bearing of Greek cognomina. Another interesting group are people whose place of origin differed from their place of death, as judged by textual and onomastic evidence. Inscriptions that explicitly mention the person's geographical origin are obviously clear (of the type *domo Perusia* or *natus in Norico*). Using names as evidence of geographical origin is, however, a trickier matter. For example, in a couple of cases the cognomen *Florentinus* seems to be taken as an indication of the name bearer's origin, but naturally there are other perfectly plausible solutions (e.g. the name being derived from *florens* or inherited from a relative).

After the 'dati sociologici', Tantimonaco devotes a separate section to the analysis of the material from each major urban centre with more than 100 inscriptions (i.e. Pola, Aquileia, Verona, Brixia). The last part of the chapter discusses the functions of *adprecatio*. Many of the key points are also discussed elsewhere in the book. One important hypothesis is that the abbreviated formula of

the type *D. M.* or *D. M. S.* was often used as a decorative element, without there necessarily being any connection to its original significance (see my comment above). Tantimonaco also discusses here some of the juridical aspects of the material as well as matters pertaining to the deification of the deceased.

Finally, chapter 5 (pp. 327–330) summarizes the key findings of the book in a brief manner. This is followed by an appealing section of 27 images (pp. 331–350), mostly of funerary monuments from the catalogue, but also including a map of the region. The bibliography (pp. 379–396) is quite extensive and up to date. All in all, the book is professionally written and the data and observations are presented in a clear manner (this is not self-evident when dealing with a work of this size). Tantimonaco's book will surely become an important work of reference for many scholars of Roman epigraphy and funerary culture.

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GIULIA TOZZI: *Le iscrizioni della collezione Obizzi*. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2017. ISBN 978-88-7140828-6; ISBN (e-book) 978-88-7140-868-2. 260 pp. EUR 32.

Nella provincia di Padova, presso il Castello di Catajo, residenza della famiglia Obizzi, si trovava una cospicua collezione di arte e antichità; fu l'ultimo erede della famiglia, il marchese Tommaso Obizzi (1750–1803) ad accrescerla. Alla morte del marchese, le proprietà degli Obizzi passarono per via testamentaria al duca di Modena Ercole III d'Este e poco dopo per eredità alla casa d'Austria. Questi passaggi determinarono l'avvio della dispersione della collezione. Per quanto riguarda le numerose iscrizioni, sono conservate pressoché interamente nel Kunsthistorisches Museum di Vienna. Di tutto questo l'a. riferisce abbondantemente nell'introduzione. Le iscrizioni provengono da Roma, Italia settentrionale e Dalmazia e vengono pubblicate con commenti abbondanti (a volte anche inutilmente abbondanti) e accompagnate da un completo corredo fotografico. L'edizione stessa è condotta con cura e acribia, testimonianza della buona qualità degli studi epigrafici padovani.

Osservazioni su singole iscrizioni. L 2: la forma arcaica *eisdem* non sta per *eidem*, che anch'essa sarebbe arcaica e irregolare, la forma normale classica essendo *idem*. – L 11: a giudicare da una foto in Ubi Lupa Erat, la lettura del difficile testo offerta dall'a. è buona. Ma, come sospettò già Mommsen, seguito dall'a., è senza dubbio falso, come dimostrano parecchie anomalie di nomenclatura, cui accenna l'a. – L 27: la lettura di 5 resta incerta. Mommsen ha voluto vedere RB, mentre Kränzl – Weber stampano [--] *jib(erta)*, ma se la lapide era irreperibile dal 1957, loro non

hanno potuto vederla. Stando all'autorità del Mommsen, insisterei su RB. Ciò rappresenterebbe il gentilizio abbreviato di Hilara; nota che anche il gentilizio del marito è abbreviato. – L 34: La lettura QVINTELLO sta bene, a giudicare dalla buona foto di Ubi Lupa Erat; ma non rappresenta un cognome autonomo, bensì è forma secondaria di *Quintillo*. – L 46: c'è qualche confusione nel commento; la lapide ha [---]iamus, ma l'a. parla di [---]ianus. Il cognome del secondo personaggio poteva essere *Priamus*, ben noto dappertutto in Italia, a cominciare da Roma (28 attestazioni nel mio *Namenbuch urbano 560*) (Bassignano, *Suppl. It.* 15, 112 pensa a *Iamus* che tuttavia compare solo di rado). – L 47: testo difficile perché molto evanido; la foto non permette un controllo. Ma se *Aurelius Phileta* è lettura buona e se *Aurelius* davvero è il gentilizio del personaggio, allora in *Phileta*[---] deve celarsi il cognome dell'uomo; poteva essere *Philetaerus*, ben noto nell'onomastica romana. Nota che il nome femminile *Philete* mostra solo eccezionalmente una *a* nella desinenza (conosco soltanto *CIL X 4300 Popidiae Ser. l. Philetiae*). L'andamento del testo potrebbe essere più o meno questo: [---] + S+++ P(ubli) f(iliae) Aurelius Phila[etarus] frater sorori, q(uod) decuit [facere o simili]. La clausola (quod) decuit si riferisce di solito al rapporto tra genitori e figli; forse qui era scritto qualcosa come *frater sorori quod decuit facere pater filiis*, che non sono nominati nel testo. Se la datazione alla prima metà del I secolo proposta da Bassignano coglie nel segno, non è da escludersi che la moglie ingenua poteva essere stata priva del cognome. – L 55: difficoltà causa il cognome di Culcia; l'a. stampa *Culciae* [..? I]reni. Tra CVL CIAE e RENI mancano ± due lettere, per cui la sola *Ireni* sembrerebbe integrazione troppo breve e patronimico o l'indicazione dello stato libertino di Irene troppo lunghe. Inoltre – e questo pesa di più – in un'iscrizione eseguita con cura la grafia *Ireni* per *Irene* sarebbe sorprendente. Proporrei di leggervi *Culciae* [Ag]reni. Il grecanico *Agre* fu in uso discreto in Italia, e la flessione *-eni(s)* del genitivo e dativo dei nomi greci in *-e* è ben nota. Integrazioni come [Ephy]reni o [Euag]reni (forma effettivamente attestata in *JCUR 18696*) sembrano troppo lunghe. Lo stesso vale se leggiamo [---]beni: forme come *Calybeni* o *Phoebeni* (attestata in *CIL VI 24387, 27526, Suppl. It.* 1 Falerii Novi 46) o *Stilbeni* (attestata in Slavich, *La collezione epigrafica della casa museo dell'antiquario Bruschi di Arezzo* [vedi *Arctos 54 (2020), 409*] 54a) o ancora *Thisbeni* (attestata in *CIL IX 1839, 7633*) sembrano troppo lunghe. (L'affermazione che *Papus* sarebbe greco e l'accenno a *Latin Cognomina* di Kajanto sono contraddittori.). – L 59: non scriverei *vet<e>rani*, essendo *vetranus* una grafia secondaria ben nota e giustificata dalla pronuncia. – L 68: leggi *Marcelinē*. – G 7–10, 16, 17 sono dette provenire da Renea, probabilmente a ragione. Sarebbe stato utile saperne in generale qualcosa di più; ora l'a. ne dà solo qualche fuggevole osservazione in varie parti dei commenti delle singole iscrizioni. – G 29: notevole il nome Έννίωv del noto fabbricante di vetri da Sidone, un assoluto unicum. L'a. sembra associarsi all'opinione secondo cui si tratterebbe della versione greca di un nome semitico che mi convince minimamente. Piuttosto abbiamo a che fare con un nome latino, derivato dal gentilizio *Ennius*, col suffisso cognominale *-io* usato spesso per formare nuovi cognomi dai gentilizi. La gens

Ennia è attestata più volte nell'Oriente greco, per es. *CIL* III 266, 12141; *I.Ephesos* 664B, 1183. Cfr. *Arctos* 39 (2005), 168.

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EDOARDO VOLTERRA: *Senatus Consulta*. Edited by PIERANGELO BUONGIORNO – ANNAROSA GALLO – SALVATORE MARINO. *Acta Senatus* B 1. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017. ISBN 978-3-515-11370-0. 222 pp. EUR 79.

Il senatus consultum de Plarasensibus et Aphrodisiensibus del 39 a. C. Edizione, traduzione e commento. Edited by ANDREA RAGGI – PIERANGELO BUONGIORNO. *Acta Senatus* B 7. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2020. ISBN 978-3-515-12637-3; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-515-12640-3. 205 pp. EUR 83.

Die senatus consulta in den epigraphischen Quellen. Texte und Bezeugungen. Edited by PIERANGELO BUONGIORNO – GIUSEPPE CAMODECA. *Acta senatus* B 9. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2021. ISBN 978-3-515-12604-5; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-515-13037-0. 458 pp. EUR 104.

The three volumes reviewed here are a part of an interesting series *Acta senatus*, described on the Steiner Verlag homepage (<https://www.steiner-verlag.de/brand/Acta-Senatus>) as having come into existence as part of a project “Palingenesie der Römischen Senatsbeschlüsse” (“Palingenesis of the Roman Senate Decisions”), based at the Institute for Legal History at the University of Münster. The publications of this series are divided into two sections, A and B. Section A (“Palingenesis”) is meant to host those volumes that consist of “an annotated palingenesis of the Roman Senate resolutions from 509 BC to 284 AD”; section B (“Studies and Materials”) “collects essays, monographs, conference proceedings, and other publications on the Roman Senate and its normative, administrative, political and judicial activities”. Volumes belonging to section A are (at the time of writing this review) still in preparation (no details are revealed), but there are already ten volumes, published between 2017 and 2021, in section B. Three of them, numbers 1, 7 and 9, will be discussed in this review.

The first volume in the series consists essentially of the reproduction of the two entries on *Senatus consulta* by Edoardo Volterra, an eminent Roman law scholar (1904–1984), for the *Nuovo Digesto Italiano* of 1940 and the *Novissimo Digesto Italiano* of 1969. The articles have been printed in reverse order, that of 1969 on p. 77–185, that of 1940, much shorter, on p. [187]–[208] (in this entry, the page numbers shown, and used below, 1–20, are those of an offprint from the original edition,

where the page numbering was 25–44; there was apparently no room on the individual pages for the addition of the page numbers in this new edition). The reason for the reversed order is the fact that the 1969 entry (“dalle dimensioni quasi monografiche”, p. 7) is Volterra’s main contribution on the subject, whereas the 1940 entry has been added in order to illustrate the evolution of Volterra’s aims and methods (cf. p. 7). From the point of view of the aims of the series *Acta senatus* it should be noted that Volterra himself was working on an “edizione completa dei *senatusconsulta*” both in 1940 (p. 2 n. 1, where Volterra says that he wishes to “poter presto dare alla stampa” the book he has been busy with “for some years”) and in 1969 (p. 81 n. 1 and p. 85, with similar expressions, including “presto”; cf. P. Buongiorno’s contribution, below). In any case, both articles consist of an introduction to various aspects of the *senatus consulta* followed by an annotated list of all decrees, collected from all possible sources. In the *Digesto* entry of 1940 there are 191 *senatus consulta*, while in the 1969 entry there are altogether 201. In addition to the reproduction of Volterra’s two articles, this book also contains two substantial introductory chapters, both of great interest, that by P. Buongiorno on Volterra’s plans for an edition of the *senatus consulta* (p. 11ff.) and that by A. Gallo. Gallo’s chapter consists of a comparison of the two *Digesto* entries, with detailed observations on various modifications introduced by Volterra between 1940 and 1969. The differences in the numbering of individual paragraphs are illustrated by three comparative tables by S. Marino (p. 73–76). At the end of the book, there are detailed indexes, again by S. Marino, with references to both versions of Volterra’s *senatus consulta* and with a number of interesting footnotes pointing out some of the differences, e.g. mistaken references corrected in the later version, etc.

Volume no. 7 of the series is a new edition, by Andrea Raggi and Pierangelo Buongiorno, of an important document inscribed on the so-called “archive wall” in the Carian city of Aphrodisias. This inscription is the *senatus consultum de Plarasensibus et Aphrodisiensibus* of 39 BC, some parts of which were described for the first time in the early 18th century. However, it was essentially published only in 1982 by Joyce Reynolds in *Aphrodisias and Rome* as no. 8 (the double designation of the inhabitants referring to the sympolity of the two neighbouring cities of Plarasa and Aphrodisias, cf. *Aphrodisias and Rome* p. 1). This particular document, unfortunately only partly preserved, is of interest because because of the light it sheds on Rome’s handling of Asian cities seen as allies, but it is also significant because of its date in the turbulent years following the murder of Caesar, the reference to the opinion of the triumvirs Antony and Octavian, and the list of senators “present” at the drafting of the resolution of the senate.

Chapter 1 is an introduction to the historical background of the document, while chapter 2 consists of a very detailed exposition of the earlier descriptions of different parts of the text and of the document itself as inscribed on the “archive wall”. Chapter 2 also provides the edition proper, including translations into Italian and Latin and a line-by-line commentary. Some aspects are dealt

with in more detail in chapter 3, where there is a section on the consular date, the mentions of the consuls in the text and on the prosopography of the senators taking part in the drafting of the resolution. There are also further sections on the document itself and its *propositio*, on the *asylia* of temple of Aphrodite and on the nature of the *libertas* of Aphrodisias. Finally, chapter 4 contains editions of two related documents, namely *Aphrodisias and Rome* no. 6 (the letter of Octavian) and no. 9 (here, ἄκοντες seems to have been omitted from the translation of lines 7–9 on p. 145 n. 213 and p. 162). At the end, there is a bibliography including works published as late as 2019 (but not “Ries, *Prolog und Epilog*”, cited p. 64 n. 95) and remarkably detailed indexes. As for the text itself, one can observe progress both in some larger issues and in some details. Concerning larger issues, Raggi and Buongiorno have now replaced the consuls with the Aphrodisian legate Solon son of Demetrios as the presenter of the *relatio* (l. 16, cf. the commentary p. 106–8 with references to other cases in which foreign ambassadors are attested as authors of *relationes*); and Raggi and Buongiorno now see lines 36/7–39, which deal with the *asylia*, as belonging, as its last component, to the section expounding the *sententiae* of Antony and Octavian (cf. p. 133f.). There is also an interesting discussion concerning the fact that some subjects seem to turn up for the second time in lines 55ff. of the document (see p. 115f.). As for minor innovations in the text, note e.g. that the man’s tribe in l. 11 has now been corrected from *Aniensis* to *Arn(i)ensis*, and that the nomen of the other man on the same line has been corrected from *Sedius* to *Hedius* (following E. Badian’s suggestion). The result is a remarkable piece of solid scholarship and a book that will be used with profit by all those interested in Rome’s dealings with eastern allies in the triumviral and early Augustan periods.

It must, however, be said that there are also some details that I am not altogether happy with, mainly in the case of names and the Latin translation. Concerning the presentation of the text, I think many would prefer to have the translation – either the Italian or the Latin – on the pages opposite to the corresponding sections in Greek. As it now stands, the original Greek text is on p. 48–56, followed by the Italian translation only on p. 57–60 and by the Latin one on p. 60–62. Moreover, it might have been a good idea to place the useful synopsis of the contents of the text, now somewhat unexpectedly coming at the end of section 3:2 on p. 120f., immediately before (or perhaps after) the Greek text. As for prosopography and names, I found the references to modern literature in some cases less than satisfactory; e.g. in the case of M. Valerius Messalla Rufus (p. 93), a reference to *PIR*² V 148 would have been more useful than that to Broughton’s *MRR*. The nomen *Ateius* should surely be transcribed as Ἀτίϊος (thus e.g. Plut. Crass 16.3; cf. Πομπήϊος etc.) rather than as Ἄτειος (p. 48). As for the accentuation of the tribes *Anie(n)sis* and *Arn(i)e(n)sis*, I think that they should be accented Ἀνιῆνσις Ἀρνιῆνσις. We do find Ἀνιῆνσις on p. 98 – but it is presented as a variant of Ἀνιῆσις, and the accentuation with the acute is found in all other mentions of these tribes on p. 48, 49 and 64. On p. 63, it is said that the name of one of the urban quaestors, mentioned in line 2 in the genitive as

(ἐπι) Μάρκου Μαρτι[---], could be either Μαρτίου or Μαρτιάλου (in the latter case, according to the authors either the nomen or the praenomen – if one assumes that Μάρκου could be corrected in Μαρκίου – would have been omitted by the lapicide). However, Μαρτιάλου is certainly not a correct genitive of Μαρτιάλις, and *Martialis*, a name that is only found during the empire, is not really a suitable cognomen for a senator in 39 BC. As for the alleged difficulty arising from the use of the “variante ortografica” Μαρτίου which is said to be “non molto diffusa rispetto al più comune Μαρκίου”, there is nothing wrong with the quaestor being called *Marcus Martius*, as *Martius* (which is of course not a “variant” of *Marcus* but a different name altogether) is a nomen that is also attested for imperial senators. Where the Latin translation (p. 60–62) is concerned, I observed a number of slips and errors: line 32: *ne quem magistratum pro[ve magistratum ...]* (for *magistratum*); line 56: *quo iure quaeque* (for *quaque*) *religione*; line 74: *urbanibus* (for *urbanis*) *quaestoribus* (I would prefer the order *quaestoribus urbanis*); line 76ff. in *[patrum ordinibus (for gradibus) ... sedere]* (speaking of rows in the theatre); line 80f. *referrent uti [senatus eis datus sit (for daretur); placet ... eis senatus (for senatum) dari*; line 90ff. *utique ... in Capitolio pro[ponantur, itemque eas?] tabulas ... [proponere licet]* (for ... *proponantur et uti eas tabulas ... proponere liceat*); line 91: *in se]natu hoc consulto decreto* (for e.g. *cum hoc senatus consultum factum est*) *fuertunt patres CCC (senatus consultum cannot be the object of *decernere*; instead, *facere* s. c. is not uncommon*; line 92: *foedere*. Finally, there is the translation of the clause in lines 73f. (p. 61) *Quod L. Marcius Censorinus, C. Calvisius Sabinus consules verba fecerunt, d(e) e(a) r(e) i(ta) c(ensuerunt): uti consules* etc. I wonder here about *quod*, for there does not seem to be any other decree of the senate or of some other institution in which *quod* followed by *verba facere* would have been used in this way, without any further specification. Normally we find in this position a summary of what is being proposed formulated either as an *AcI* or with *de* + ablatives (including normally a gerundive). Now *quod* is meant to be a translation of *περί (δὲ) ὧν* (... ὑπατοὶ λόγους ἐποίησαντο, περί τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων ...), and, seeing that there seems to be no space for further elaboration of the nature of the proposal of the consuls, a more suitable translation of *περί ὧν* could be (if followed by *de ea re*) *de qua re*. However, that phrase does not seem to be attested in this context, and the whole passage should perhaps be subjected to a new scrutiny. For one thing, it is surely notable that, as far as I can see, in the *senatus consulta* in Greek collected in R. K. Sherck’s *RDGE*, the formulation *περί ὧν* is, unlike in this case, always followed by some specification (see e.g. *RDGE* 2. 5. 9. 10B. 11 [with ὑπὲρ]. 18. 22. 23. 26 c).

The third volume discussed here, no. 9 in the series, is a multi-authored one consisting of the following contributions (on the Steiner Verlag homepage, the contributions are said to be in German and Italian, but there is in fact also Famerie’s contribution in French):

- P. Buongiorno and G. Camodeca, *I senatus consulta nella documentazione epigrafica dall’Italia* (p. 9–53);

- W. Eck, *Senatus consulta* in lateinischer Sprache auf Inschriften in den Provinzen (p. 55–81);
- K. Harter-Uibopuu, Die Publikation von *senatus consulta* in griechischen Inschriften (p. 83–105);
- Gallo, *Senatus consulta de Bacchanalibus*. Normenpluralität in der Tafel von Tiriolo und in der livianischen Überlieferung (p. 107–145);
- V. Walser, Das sogenannte *Senatus Consultum Popillianum* (p. 147–169);
- É. Famerie, Le sénatus-consulte relatif au règlement des affaires de Phrygie (RDGE 13): Nouveau texte, nouveau contexte (p. 171–185);
- S. Saba, Riflessioni sui trattati fra Roma e le città greche (p. 187–197);
- S. Viaro, Note sul cd. «*senatus consultum de pago montano*» (p. 199–244);
- S. Marino, Centro e periferia in età sillana: il *sc. de Stratonicensibus* (p. 245–293);
- D. Bonanno, Riconoscere un dio ‘*ex senatus consulto*’: La disputa tra gli abitanti di Oropo e i *publicani* romani (73 a. C.) (p. 295–312);
- A. Raggi, Prolegomena a una nuova edizione del *sc. de Aphrodisiensibus* (p. 313–330);
- S. Lohsse, Zum *SC. Calvisianum* und der Strafgerichtsbarkeit des Senats (p. 331–342);
- A. Terrinoni, *Ludi, lucar, memoria*: un contributo allo studio dei *senatus consulta* nei commentari augustei dei *ludi saeculares* (p. 343–368);
- M. Rizzi, Il *senatus consultum de nundinis saltus Beguensis* e lo *ius nundinarum* nell’Africa romana (p. 369–395);
- A. Parma, *Decreta decurionum* epigrafici: Esempi di registrazione delle delibere dell’*ordo decurionum* (p. 397–410);
- R. Wolters, *SC* und *EX SC* auf Münzen der Römischen Republik und Kaiserzeit (p. 411–437).

In P. Buongiorno and G. Camodeca’s instructive contribution of on *senatus consulta* (abbreviated in the following as “SC” or in the plural as “SCta”) in Latin found in Italy, the authors present an overview of e.g. the structure and the contents of SCta, the relation of the inscribed versions with their “archetypes” as filed in the senate archives, and of their publication. The exposition is based on observations on various documents (e.g. p. 21ff. on *AE* 1978, 145 from Larinum, a city that has also produced a yet unpublished fragment of a SC, quoted on p. 24f.; p. 26ff. on *CIL* X 1401) and also takes into account inscriptions that only mention SCta without quoting them. (On the other hand, note p. 31 on the inscription of the arch of Claudius *ILS* 216 – not 219 –, apparently quoting from the relevant SC without pointing that out). The contribution ends with a useful appendix (p.

33–50) listing, on the one hand, all inscriptions found in Rome and Italy quoting at least in part SCta (only 14 documents between 186 BC and Hadrian). On the other, we are given all the inscriptions found in Rome and Italy mentioning SCta without actually quoting them. The items in this section are divided into various categories (dedications to emperors, public works, etc.). In the next chapter by W. Eck, the author studies the SCta in Latin found outside Italy, none of them being datable to the Republican age (p. 58; on the same page, Eck observes that Greek versions of SCta are more common than Latin ones, referring to the contribution of Harter-Uibopuu). Altogether thirteen different SCta have been at least partially preserved, some of them in more than one version from different places, the result being that we know of SCta found in 24 provincial cities (p. 59f.). There is also a section on SCta referred to, but not quoted, in provincial inscriptions in Latin. The individual SCta are discussed in two groups. There are those dealing with events related to the *domus Augusta* (p. 68ff., e.g. the SC *de Cn. Pisone patre* discussed at length; cf. p. 73f. on AE 2011, 1809) and those dealing with practical matters (p. 74ff.; e.g. the SC *de nundinis saltus Beguensis* of AD 138, the only SC found in the West inscribed on stone rather than on bronze, p. 75; cf. below the contribution on this text by M. Rizzi). At the end of this contribution, there is a reference to a fragmentary new document from AD 14, apparently part of a SC, now published by P. Rothenhöfer in *Gephyra* 19 (2020).

K. Harter-Uibopuu studies the SCta in Greek inscriptions, especially from the point of view of their publication. This contribution contains interesting observations on several documents, e. g. on that of 105 BC from Astypalaea (*RDGE* 16; cf. S. Saba, p. 187ff.), unfortunately lost, containing a SC followed by the treaty between Rome and the island state. In a remarkable contribution, A. Gallo studies the documents concerning the repression of the *Bacchanalia* in 186 BC, consisting of SCta and the consuls' edicts, as reproduced in Livy and in the well-known inscription. The inscription contains both extracts from the SC of October 7 and a consular edict referring to other SCta in this matter (p. 126). Note on the same page the useful summary of all documents in chronological order with references to Livy (cf. p. 133f. in more detail) and the inscription (note the text, with “normalized” forms in brackets, on p. 138f. and the detailed analysis of its contents on p. 140ff.) and to the “Parallelüberlieferung”.

A. V. Walser deals with the SC *Popillianum* (referred to several times as such, but with the addition of “the so-called” in the heading and e.g. on p. 148) dealing with matters following the death of King Attalus in 133 BC (*RDGE* 11, found in Pergamum). The praenomen of the person in l. 3 who “consulted” the senate was established as [Πό]πλιος by M. Wörrle in 2000 (cf. also É. Famerie on p. 181). We now know that this is P. Popillius C. f. (Laenas), and that the date is thus 132 when he held the consulate. As for the exact date, Walser suggests reading [No]εμβριών in l. 5. This document seems to have been the decree that dealt with the recommendations of the senatorial commission that had been sent to Asia in 133 in order to find out what should be done about the king's bequest of Asia

to the Roman people (p. 148). There is a new edition, with translation, of the inscription on 161ff.; the two fragments of the same decree found in Synnada and published by T. Drew-Bear in 1972 have been incorporated. On p. 148, the author observes that this edition is an “anticipation” of the edition of the same text in a supplement to the *Inscripfen von Pergamon* currently under preparation. The document (RDGE 13, found in Synnada and dealing with the “règlement des affaires de Phrygie”) studied by É. Famerie belongs to the same historical context. The inscription was published in 1886, then lost until 1978, when T. Drew-Bear published a fragment of it he had found, and in addition a new fragment containing parts of approximately the same text. The document, as preserved, contains the end of the SC *Popillianum* (see above) and the beginning of a SC *Licinianum*. The praenomen of the *relator* called Δικίνιος Ποπλίου [υίός] has now been established as [Πό]πλιος, and the person is thus not, as previously thought, C. Licinius P. f. (Geta) consul in 116, but P. Licinius P. f. (Crassus Dives Mucianus), consul in 131.

Having begun with a presentation of the Astypalaeon dossier (RDGE 16) consisting of the SC dealing with the renewal of the treaty between Astypalea and Rome, then of the treaty itself, and finally of the decree in honour of the Astypalaeon ambassador, S. Saba moves on to discuss some treaties between Rome and Greek cities attested indirectly. The exact point of this short paper is not immediately obvious to the reader. Back in Rome, S. Viaro studies the fragmentary SC known as *de pago Montano*, found near the porta Esquilina and dealing with topics such as *ustrinae* and *stercus* (CIL I² 591), taking of course into account related documents such as the well-known edict of the praetor L. Sentius (CIL I² 838 etc.). Though only consisting of a few lines, the inscription is of interest from several points of view (see p. 200). In spite of this, this contribution of more than 40 pages, written very much in the style of Italian legal historians, seems a little overlong. This is especially due to the author’s inclination to cite long extracts of ancient sources rather than summarizing the points essential for her argument (e.g. various authors on *puticuli* in n. 24; almost a page of citation of the *tabula Heracleensis* in n. 50). I cannot find “Hope, *Contempt*” (n. 84) in the bibliography (where the scholar Grelle appears between his colleagues Panciera and Pareti on p. 241).

S. Marino deals with the SC *de Stratonicensibus* and the documents attached to it (RDGE 18) and presents the text on the whole identical with RDGE except for the addition of the fragment published in 2002 (AE 2002, 1423) and a few modifications (p. 247). The author then goes on to discuss in great detail the two letters of Sulla preceding the SC (with observations e.g. on the titles Ἐπαφρόδιτος and *Felix* and on many other things, some of which in my view are less relevant, as e.g. in nn. 44 and 48) and then the SC itself. The discussion of this SC is a most informative analysis of the lengthy text. At the end, the author discusses the decree that is attached to the preceding documents (OGI 441, lines 129ff.) but is not connected with them and is omitted in RDGE. In an instructive contribution, D. Bonanno deals with the SC *de controversiis Oropiorum et publicanorum* of 73 (RDGE

23). Embedded in a letter addressed to the Oropians by the consuls of 73, this is a complex document that includes references to three earlier SCTa and to other “atti normativi” (for a useful summary, see p. 303). Unfortunately the author was unable to use the article on the same document by C. Müller, in A. Heller & al. (eds.), *Philorhōmaios kai philhellèn. Hommage à Jean-Louis Ferrary* (2019) 391–417 (with text, translation, photo, etc.), which must have appeared too late for her to know about it.

A. Raggi’s contribution on the SC *de Aphrodisiensibus* is in fact of earlier date than the edition of the same document by Raggi and Buongiorno (cf. above), which is not mentioned in the bibliography (p. 330). Its presence in this volume is explained by the wish of the editors to retain this contribution as a trace of an earlier phase in the study of the document (p. 313 n. *); in any case, note the useful summary of the contents of the SC on p. 324 (in some ways better than the summary in the edition Raggi and Buongiorno, p. 120f.). St. Lohsse discusses the SC *Calvisianum* on *repetundae* of 4 BC (*RDGE* 31), cited in one of the edicts of Augustus found in Cyrene. Regarding the passage χωρίς τοῦ κεφαλῆς εὐθύνειν τὸν εὐληφότα etc., the author observes (p. 340) “Die Kläger sollten nicht erwarten dürfen, dass der Senat sich in irgendeiner Weise mit Vorwürfen befasste, die die Verhängung einer Kapitalstrafe nach sich ziehen mussten”. In general, this SC promoted the move from *quaestiones* to the jurisdiction of the senate (p. 341).

In her contribution, A. Terrinoni discusses the SCTa cited in the acta of the *ludi saeculares* of 17 BC, beginning by presenting the text (p. 346f.). The author suggests two modifications in the text of fragment a+b, *qua summa soliti [sint facere ludos] saeculares XVvir(i) sacr(is) faciund(is)* instead of *locare ludos* (l. 2f.) and *[In comitio in curia I]ulia* instead of *[Eodemque die in curia I]ulia* (l. 8). However, she does not introduce these modifications into the text (in which the phrase *q(uod) d(e) e(a) r(e) f(ieri) p(lacuerit)*, appearing several times, must of course be corrected to *q(uid) d(e) e(a) r(e) f(ieri) p(laceret)*), discussing both suggestions separately on p. 350f. and 358ff. The article also contains an interesting section (p. 352ff.) on the meaning of the term *lucar*. M. Rizzi’s contribution on the SC *de nundinis saltus Beguensis* (in Numidia) of AD 138 is essentially a line-by-line commentary of the text which exists in two practically identical exemplars. The text of version A is quoted on p. 371f. (in line 12, correct *desiderio* in *de desiderio*), version B in n. 10. In the commentary on the opening lines, the author discusses the documents (none earlier than the first century AD) dealing with the modalities of *nundinae*, for which authorization is known to have been given either by the senate or a provincial governor or, from the Severan period onwards, the emperor himself (cf. the summary on p. 380). There are also observations on the handling and the archiving of senate documents. The commentary on the SC proper is divided into sections on the *praescriptio*, the *relatio* and the short decree (repeating much of what was proposed in the *relatio*). I observed some curious errors in the Latin (e.g. *Nigrus* for *Niger* p. 382) but also in other details (e.g. the author “Rank” being cited on p. 383 where the reference should in fact be to [F. X.] Ryan’s book on *Rank and Participation*).

The following contribution by A. Parma is on municipal decrees, a subject on which Parma is a well-known authority. This is a short but informative overview of the contents and the formulations of the decrees as preserved to us. Parma is surely right in assuming that the decrees we have are in most cases heavily edited summaries or even mere extracts of what was in fact said at the meetings of the decurions (p. 406). In any case, one hopes that Parma's much-awaited corpus of the decrees will soon materialize. Finally, there is R. Wolters' contribution on the formula (*ex senatus consulto*) found on a large number of Roman coins, both republican and imperial. The use of this formula had several functions, its use being in no way stipulated by law (p. 427).

The volume is concluded by remarkably detailed indexes.

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ORNELLA SALATI: *Scrivere documenti nell'esercito romano. L'evidenza dei papiri latini d'Egitto tra I e III d.C.* Philippika 139. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2020. ISBN 978-3-447-11451-6; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-447-39025-5. 244 pp. EUR 64.

The Roman army operated its basic communications in written form. As can be expected, this communication included official as well as more private documents. The official dealings were written mainly in Latin, even if in Egypt Greek was also used, especially in more private relations. The contents and themes of army files have been studied earlier, but the layout and other technical details of the documents have not been tackled so far. In addition, the general production and archiving of army information have been defectively studied. This production and archiving forms the main focus of this book.

Many kinds of texts were needed for Roman soldiers: commands, instructions, reports, passwords, various lists of personnel, provisions, correspondence and so on. All this documentation shows clearly that the Roman army was enormously organised in striving to register every activity in its units, which implies, moreover, that the daily production of various written documents must have been extraordinary. The practice also suggests that the output was, at least partially, archived. However, only a tiny part of these documents are extant, mainly in the few climatically suitable conditions where papyrus or wood has survived.

Ornella Salati (S.) has collected and analysed all the accessible Latin documents written on papyrus together with a few ostraka from Egypt from the 1st to the 3rd centuries. S. has also chosen comparative data from Bu Njem, Dura Europus and Vindolanda, if similar types of documents

have been found from these sites. The book looks for an answer to the question whether the army documents were uniform in their layout and form. The total number of documents studied is 77, and among the Latin ones some Latin-Greek bilingual texts are included. The analysis is divided into four chapters: 1) Reports relating to Units: *acta diurna*, various daily, monthly and strength reports and *pridiana*, 2) reports relating to personnel, 3) reports relating to administration, and 4) further official correspondence between soldiers.

The chapters all have the same structure and proceed by rigidly following the same order of analysis. This arrangement makes the reading of the volume somewhat monotonous, almost like going through an uninspired student paper, offering, finally, as its result that the layout and typology of the documents were quite similar in the Roman army, even if minor exceptions also existed.

The analysis primarily describes the layout, structure and procedural style of the various document types, and it is competent and careful. There are, however, some unfortunate shortcomings in the book's layout. The most conspicuous defect is the relation between the photos and the document numbering: there is no connection between the 43 photos of the documents and S's own numbering of the documents (1–77). It is irritating to follow the analysis without a reference to a possible photo, if one is included. As it is now, the reader must remember the actual source reference to connect a photo plate with the number of the document analysed in the text. This lack of correspondence is even more annoying if one wants to check the author's analysis of a document without immediate access to its edition(s) at hand. The option to check it in, for example, www.papyri.info, is useless, as this otherwise most useful tool seldom if ever has photos of the Latin papyri that are included in it.

S. has included an adequate bibliography and the volume has a special value for those who are interested in the mostly technical aspects of Latin documents written in the Roman army.

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Emotion and Persuasion in Classical Antiquity. Edited by ED SANDERS – MATTHEW JOHNCOCK. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016. ISBN 978-3-515-11361-8; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-515-11364-9. 321 pp. EUR 56.

Emotion and Persuasion in Classical Antiquity collects selected papers from the workshop held at Royal Holloway, University of London, in June 2013. As the editors note, these are among the best papers and have been selected because they fit together into a coherent collection. This is clearly the case, although any real discussion between the papers is not easily found.

This is a very literary collection. Most papers discuss texts in fine detail, and although the texts discussed are situated in their social and cultural contexts, at least to the extent that is possible in such short articles, most of the articles focus very much on how the particular texts analysed used something that could be called emotion to persuade their readers.

In general, the concept of “emotion” is used in a very vague sense to indicate something that seems obvious and simple to understand, an unproblematic concept. This rather naive sense also extends to the use of various emotion names. The Greek and Latin words are mostly uncritically translated into English, and the corresponding emotions are a simple set of basic emotions: hate, love, desire, envy, etc. Kate Hammond’s contribution, “‘It ain’t necessarily so’: Reinterpreting some poems of Catullus from a discursive psychological point of view”, on how to read the emotional content of Catullus’ poems, is one of the few articles in the collection that manages to bring forth the question of how and in what sense are we even able to understand the potentially complicated emotional states Catullus tries to evoke in his readers. To some extent, the same could be said about Matthew Johncock’s study of emotional appeals in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (“‘He was moved, but ...’: Failed appeals to the emotions in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*”). Federicia Iurescia’s study of Plautus’ comedies (“Strategies of persuasion in provoked quarrels in Plautus: A pragmatic perspective”) addresses similar questions by studying how quarrels were promoted in the plays.

In all these cases, the reader was supposed to feel something; there is another set of papers dealing with situations where people definitively felt something, usually negative, in connection with politics. Amanda Eckert’s paper (“‘There is no one who does not hate Sulla’: Emotion, persuasion and cultural trauma”) is an insightful analysis of the long shadow cast by Sulla in the Roman psyche, and how this was still relevant decades later. In “Anger as a mechanism of social control in Imperial Rome” Jayne Knight analyses how imperial anger functioned as the performance of power, and how presenting imperial power could be used to discredit past emperors. Judith Hagen’s “Emotions in Roman historiography: The rhetorical use of tears as a means of persuasion” adds to the imperial emotive toolkit by showing how tears could also be used to convey a sense of seriousness, be the speaker a general or the emperor himself, and how tears were among the means politicians used to persuade people.

Two papers explore ancient discussions on how to use emotions. Lucy Jackson (“Greater than *logos*? Kinaesthetic empathy and mass persuasion in the choruses of Plato’s *Laws*”) discusses the role of the *chorus* in Plato’s *Laws*, especially in its role of evoking emotional responses through kinaesthetics. This is a particularly interesting contribution, managing to convey both the alienness of Greek culture as well as the advanced level of social understanding they might well have had. While it might be self-evident for an avid observer of dance performances that watching movement causes some feelings in the observer, the idea that the Greeks might well have understood this and used

it fluently is novel and very useful. Jennifer Winter in her study of how Xenophon in *Hipparchicus* advises the cavalry general on the use of emotional tools (“Instruction and example: Emotions in Xenophon’s *Hipparchicus* and *Anabasis*”), focuses more on showing how the examples for the cases in *Hipparchicus* were to be found in *Anabasis*, and therefore, that the reader was expected to already have read the earlier text; in this case, the emotions are a side matter, but the case is clear.

There are three papers that deal with popular texts, i.e., textual material produced by and for everyday communications by unknown, more or less ordinary people. Irene Salvo analyses the emotional language used in love spells and erotic curses (“Emotions, persuasions and gender in Greek erotic curses”), and is able to draw some interesting results that may alter the view the reader has of the self-image of the authors of the spells and curses. The relation with other people, social structures and divinities may not be quite as simple as often thought. Likewise, Angelos Chaniotis (“Displaying emotional community – the epigraphic evidence”) is able to challenge the conception of Greek *poleis* being based on a strict social separation between people of different classes by showing how the language used in epitaphs actually evokes the whole *polis* independent of individual status. Eleanor Dickey (“Emotional language and formulae of persuasion in Greek papyrus letters”), on the other hand, is able to show by reading the emotional language in Greek papyrus letters from Egypt how there is no direct continuity between Greek culture and the local Egyptian culture, even though the language used is the same, simply because the linguistic forms are so different. This conclusion may be challenged, but the argumentation seems sound.

A final group of articles, which are in fact the first five in the book, deals with Greek oratory, both deliberative and forensic. These articles (Chris Carey: “Bashing the establishment”; Brenda Griffith-Williams: “Rational and emotional persuasion in Athenian inheritance cases”; Ed Sanders: “Persuasion through emotions in Athenian deliberative oratory”; Guy Westood: “Nostalgia, politics and persuasion in Demosthenes’ *Letters*”; and Maria Fragoulaki: “Emotion, persuasion and kinship in Thucydides: The Plataian debate (3.52–68) and the Melian Dialogue (5.85–113)”) form a very compact and coherent whole that should be read by anyone interested in the use of emotive arguments in Greek oratory. There is little need to analyse these articles in further detail. All treat their subject very similarly, namely analysing emotives as triggers that were used in speeches (or letters, in the case of Westwood) to arouse an emotional state in the recipient. These papers do not have especially clear arguments, but they illustrate the subject matter very well, although in rather limited contexts.

Overall, the quality of the papers is quite good. On the other hand, relatively few of them stand out as really interesting contributions to the theme, mostly being content to describe rhetorical practices. In many cases, the text is unnecessarily convoluted, leaving the reader in the dark as to what the author actually wanted to say.

I am not sure who to recommend this book to. For a reader interested in the history of emotions, there is little beside the few highlights I pointed out in the beginning, nor does this book serve as an introduction to the theme as the papers are all rather narrowly focused.

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ADAM ZIÓŁKOWSKI: *From Roma Quadrata to La grande Roma dei Tarquini: A Study of the Literary Tradition on Rome's Territorial Growth under the Kings*. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 70. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2019. ISBN 978-3-515-12451-5; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-515-12452-2. 352 pp. EUR 58.

This volume, penned by the eminent Polish scholar Adam Ziółkowski, is a study on the territorial expansion of the city of Rome in the regal period – or, more accurately, on the historical traditions concerning this gradual urban extension at the dawn of Roman history. Methodologically, it is primarily a historical investigation of those traditions, but it also considers material evidence and archaeological research.

The urbanistic development of Early Rome is, in many respects, an extraordinary one. Long before the inception of the republican period, the primordial 15-hectare settlement on the Palatine evolved into the “the Great Rome of the Tarquins”. This urban entity, comprising about 400 hectares, was at the time by far the greatest non-Greek city on the Apennine peninsula, that is, and quite remarkably, bigger than any of the Etruscan cities to the north. While broadly agreeing on the origins of what was perceived as the Romulean city and on the eventual outcome of the extension under the kings, as plainly evidenced by the “Servian Wall”, the ancient authors provide somewhat differing accounts of what occurred in between. This is where the focus of the present study lies, but it also engages with modern archaeological research on the prehistory and early history of Rome. This is, as we know, research that has frequently called into question several of the most basic constituent elements of the traditional accounts. For instance, it has been suggested that the Palatine was inhabited much earlier than the 8th century BCE and that there was an even earlier settlement on the Capitol. Moreover, scholars have also hypothesized an extensive (200–300 hectares) “proto-urban centre” on the site later occupied by Rome.

The professed principal aim of the study is to assess the value of the traditional accounts that all unanimously insist that the city grew out from the Palatine. I quote (p. 8): “The subject matter I want to study can be reduced to two basic questions: what is the worth (or, perhaps, what

was the basis) of the unanimous opinion of our sources that the Palatine was the cradle of the City of the Quirites, and whether it is possible to detect in our written sources dependable information on intermediate stages of her growth.”

The investigation is articulated in five numbered chapters preceded by a short Foreword (pp. 7–10), setting out the scope and objectives of the book. In the first chapter (1. Introduction, pp. 11–39), Z. provides an overview of the subject in modern scholarship and discusses the methodological and technical problems pertaining to the study of Early Rome in general, and of her territorial growth in particular. In the second chapter (2. Before the City, pp. 40–68), he deals with the traditions concerning settlements on the site of Rome before the foundation of the Romulean city. The author addresses his main subject in the third and fourth chapters. In the former (3. Rome’s territorial growth in written sources 1: The direct dossier, pp. 69–146), he analyses textual passages that expressly state or imply that a given zone was added to the city. In the latter (4. Rome’s territorial growth in written sources 2: The indirect dossier, pp. 147–195), the author examines reports on structures that erudite Roman and Greek imperial authors date to times prior to the reign of Servius Tullius, and on a host of institutions, cults, rites and legends that were connected with the early kings. In the final chapter (5. Explaining Rome’s birth and growth: literary tradition and archaeological evidence, pp. 196–262), he juxtaposes his analysis of the literary sources with the archaeological evidence. The book concludes with three appendices (A–C: Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.41–56, pp. 263–269; Tac. *Ann.* 12.24.1–2, pp. 270–273, and “Urban *pagi* and the earliest City”, pp. 274–283), a chronological table (Table 1, p. 285), a table listing places connected with the *Septimontium* and the toponyms used for the Roman hills in ancient writers (Table 2, pp. 286–287), a series of maps of Rome (Figures, pp. 288–305), an extensive and most valuable bibliography (Bibliography, pp. 307–333), and three indices (Indices pp. 335–352)

The author, contending in his analysis of the literary sources that the ancient authors do convey reliable and useful data on Rome’s early development, concludes that the city of the *Quirites* really did emerge on the Palatine and that it evolved in one continuous growth between the Romulean foundation of the *urbs quadrata* and the “Servian-Tarquian achievement”. The author maintains that such an interpretation of the evidence of the written sources passes well the test of confrontation with the archaeological material. Obviously, whether or not Z. is right in this contention will be a matter for further scholarly debate. But whatever direction future research takes, this book constitutes a timely and stimulating contribution to the ongoing discussion on the history and archaeology of Early Rome.

Oltre "Roma Medio Repubblicana": Il Lazio fra i Galli e la battaglia di Zama. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Roma, 7-8-9 giugno 2017. A cura di FRANCESCO MARIA CIFARELLI – SANDRA GATTI – DOMENICO PALOMBI. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2019. ISBN 978-88-7140-985-6. 468 pp. EUR 60.

Nel 1973, la mostra *Roma medio repubblicana* aveva presentato un lavoro di sintesi delle conoscenze riguardanti un periodo, quello tra i secoli IV e III a.C., decisivo per la storia e i rapporti tra Roma e il Lazio antico. A distanza di più di quaranta anni dalla mostra, due Convegni Internazionali, uno riguardante Roma e l'altro il Lazio antico, tenutisi, rispettivamente, ad aprile e a giugno del 2017, ritornano ad interessarsi a questo periodo storico. Il volume curato da Francesco Maria Cifarelli, Sandra Gatti e Domenico Palombi è il risultato dei lavori presentati al secondo convegno, che ha trattato le vicende del Lazio antico fra il sacco di Roma da parte dei Galli e la battaglia di Zama. L'opera si avvale del contributo di numerosi studiosi e di un ampio materiale letterario, epigrafico e archeologico ed ha come intento l'integrazione delle scoperte avvenute dopo la mostra del 1973.

In un suo intervento nel catalogo della mostra, Mario Torelli aveva affermato che la colonizzazione romana ed i rapporti di Roma con il Lazio antico furono caratterizzati da due fasi distinte: una prima fase arcaica, che terminò nel periodo dell'invasione gallica e una seconda successiva alla sconfitta della Lega Latina nel 338 a.C. Quest'ultima fase segnò la fine dell'autonomia (che perdurò spesso solo a livello formale) delle città e delle colonie latine e l'accentramento del potere decisionale sulla pianificazione e sulla fondazione delle colonie nelle mani di Roma. Le scoperte e gli studi degli ultimi anni hanno però quantomeno posto seri dubbi su un così dirompente effetto della sconfitta latina e hanno presentato modelli più variegati di sviluppo per il Lazio antico nel periodo tra i secoli IV e III a.C. Le nuove testimonianze hanno causato un acceso dibattito, che si intravede anche nei contributi presentati da vari studiosi all'interno di questo volume. Proprio nel primo contributo dell'opera, Jeremia Pelgrom pone l'accento sul fatto che da quanto si evince dalle fonti letterarie antiche, non sembra che la data del 338 a.C. venga percepita come un momento che abbia portato un cambio decisivo nella strategia coloniale romana.

Nel secondo contributo, invece, Monica Chiabà ribadisce il cambio decisivo della politica romana nei confronti degli ex alleati latini dopo il 338 a.C. In questa data *Aricia*, *Lanuvium*, *Pedum*, *Nomentum* e forse *Lavinium* vennero inglobate nello stato romano come *municipia optimo iure*, seguendo il modello già adottato per *Tusculum*, che conservò la cittadinanza pur avendo partecipato alla guerra contro Roma. Due tra le più potenti città latine, *Tibur* e *Praeneste* rimasero formalmente indipendenti come *civitates foederatae*, ma subirono confische di territorio. Tutte queste comunità mantennero una autonomia formale, con magistrature cittadine locali, ma persero l'indipendenza a favore di Roma. Questo assetto amministrativo costituisce per Chiabà la prova della creazione da parte di Roma di un modello scaturito dalle conseguenze della Guerra Latina e che permetterà ai

Romani di possedere un avamposto diretto per la futura penetrazione verso la Campania e il Sannio, nonché un archetipo per i futuri assetti amministrativi in altre zone d'Italia. Chiabà cerca di fornire un ampio quadro sulla situazione del Lazio dopo il 338 a.C. e la riorganizzazione politica attuata dai Romani nella regione. Mentre in molti punti la studiosa riesce a rappresentare con chiarezza la sua ricostruzione, in alcuni le sue tesi sono meno convincenti. In particolare, i casi di *Velitrae* e *Antium* sono quelli a destare maggiori dubbi. Chiabà afferma ad esempio che i due centri fossero latini fin dalla loro fondazione, ma che essi furono successivamente occupati dai Volsci. Mentre ciò è probabile per quanto riguarda *Velitrae*, diverso è il discorso per *Antium*. Per quest'ultima, Chiabà si basa sulla notizia data da Polibio (3, 22), riguardante il primo trattato Romano-Cartaginese del 509 a.C., dove *Antium* è accomunata ad altri centri, non solo latini, tra le comunità rientranti nella sfera di influenza di Roma. Questo non può rappresentare, quindi, una prova inconfutabile della latinità di *Antium* all'epoca della sua fondazione. Inoltre, la presenza di altre comunità non latine, come la rutula Ardea, tra Roma e *Antium* rende dubbia la caratterizzazione di *Antium* come comunità latina prima dell'occupazione volsca. Per quanto riguarda l'ordinamento di *Velitrae* e *Antium* dopo il 338 a.C., Chiabà non sembra prendere una posizione netta sulla concessione di piena cittadinanza alle due comunità o se questa fosse invece *sine suffragio*. L'opinione prevalente tra gli studiosi contemporanei è che, nel nuovo ordinamento, a *Velitrae* fosse stato concesso lo *status* di *civitas sine suffragio*. *Antium*, invece, con la fondazione della nuova colonia di diritto romano, dovette ricevere i pieni diritti di cittadinanza.

Le testimonianze numismatiche sembrano confermare un quadro più composito di un mero processo unidirezionale sotto egemonia romana. Come evidenziato da Marleen Termeer nel suo contributo, le produzioni bronzee delle colonie latine nel III sec. a.C. presentano caratteristiche ed influssi sia latini che romani. Nel suo contributo sulla monetazione argentea del *Latium*, Gianluca Mandatori pone l'accento sul fatto che nella prima metà del III secolo a.C., quindi ben dopo la dissoluzione della Lega Latina, le colonie latine di *Alba Fucens*, *Cora*, *Norba* e *Signia* emisero nominali argentei che adottavano il piede ponderale foceo-campano ed erano quindi influenzati dal mercato magnogreco e campano di quella parte del Mediterraneo. Questo stato di cose ebbe breve durata, ma continuò fin quando Roma mise a punto il sistema denariale basato sulla moneta argentea, facendo così diventare superflue le produzioni argentee locali.

Nel suo importante contributo sulla forma e sull'organizzazione urbana del *Latium vetus*, cioè quella parte del Lazio antico abitata originariamente, seppur in varie fasi e con modalità differenti, dai Latini e che comprendeva il territorio che, sulla costa tirrenica, partiva dalle foci del Tevere e confinava a sud con la pianura pontina e comprendeva all'interno i Monti Albani, Prenestini e Tiburtini, Domenico Palombi fa giustamente notare che le comunità latine furono parte integrante dei processi di urbanizzazione già a partire dal VI sec. a.C. Questo fenomeno dovette tener conto

delle diverse condizioni topografiche del territorio (si è parlato spesso di “città del tufo” e “città del calcare”, secondo un felice ritratto di Francesco Cifarelli), ma fu nondimeno generalizzato in tutte le città del *Latium vetus*. Anzi, come afferma lo studioso, queste comunità furono tra le prime a sperimentare l'applicazione di principi ortogonali tra il V e il III sec. a.C., tanto che si è pensato ad un'origine latina dell'organizzazione ortogonale delle colonie fondate da Roma dopo il 338 a.C. e di un'influenza latina sulla pianificazione urbanistica del *Latium adiectum*. Palombi conclude il suo intervento caratterizzando come “latinizzazione” più che “romanizzazione”, il processo di urbanizzazione dell'Italia dopo la conquista romana.

Le considerazioni presentate da Palombi vengono essenzialmente condivise dal contributo di Francesco Cifarelli per quanto riguarda l'urbanizzazione del *Latium adiectum*, quel territorio che era abitato in origine da Ernici, Volsci e Aurunci e corrispondente grosso modo alla parte meridionale della moderna regione del Lazio e a quella settentrionale della moderna Campania. La riorganizzazione del territorio e la forma delle città del *Latium adiectum* sembrano seguire schemi di origine latina più che romana, indipendentemente dagli aspetti topografici che condizionavano i vari siti. Così, nelle aree interne della regione, i nuovi piani urbanistici sembrano ispirarsi a quelli sviluppati nelle aree interne del *Latium vetus*, quelle “del calcare”, con la monumentalizzazione delle acropoli, lo sfruttamento dei pendii con il terrazzamento e l'uso dell'opera poligonale, come ad Alatri e Ferentino. Per quanto riguarda i centri in pianura e sulla costa, si privilegiò una pianificazione ortogonale o quasi ortogonale, anch'essa di ispirazione latina, come nei casi di *Fundi*, *Aquinum* e *Privernum*.

Per quanto riguarda la cultura figurativa del Lazio antico nei secoli IV e III a.C., Filippo Demma dimostra come l'arte figurativa latina sia parte integrante di quella *koinè* stilistica che accomunò artisti etruschi, magnogreci, sicelioti e romani durante quel periodo storico. Essa contribuì all'espressione figurativa del periodo con produzioni caratteristiche, ma che allo stesso tempo subirono influenze di maestranze non latine, come ad esempio etrusche per quanto riguarda gli incisori di specchi e ciste di *Praeneste* ed etrusche e magnogreche per i coroplasti, ma sempre adattando i modelli allo stile e al gusto latino.

Nel suo contributo sulla cultura religiosa latina nel periodo medio-repubblicano, Clara Di Fazio fa notare come, seppur tentando di integrare i culti latini al sistema istituzionale romano, Roma non cercò mai di eliminare il sostrato latino dei culti dell'antico Lazio, con cui condivideva un milieu religioso comune. Questo è dimostrato nella pratica dalla continuità dei culti. Il *pantheon* latino includeva divinità quali Giunone (con le epiclesi di Moneta, Regina e Sospita), Fortuna, Diana, Cerere, Vesta, Venere, Giove, Ercole e Marte, che continuarono ad essere popolari anche dopo la conquista romana. Per quanto riguarda le pratiche rituali, queste ricalcano quelle coeve comuni alle comunità italiche e magnogreche, come il pasto rituale, la miniaturizzazione degli oggetti votivi e la deposizione degli stessi in depositi stratificati nel lungo periodo.

Nel suo intervento sull'architettura dei santuari latini medio repubblicani, Giuseppina Ghini afferma che la conoscenza delle strutture per il periodo di interesse dello studio è stata a lungo limitata da diversi fattori, come i rifacimenti di molti santuari durante la fase tardo repubblicana, che hanno spesso obliterato in maniera effettiva le strutture precedenti e le metodologie di scavo prive di documentazione e finalizzate al ritrovamento di materiale di valore artistico adoperate negli scavi ottocenteschi, causando la distruzione di strutture considerate non di interesse. Questi fattori hanno influenzato a loro volta gli studi moderni, che si sono a lungo concentrati sulle strutture visibili, per la maggior parte di fase tardo repubblicana. Gli scavi più recenti sembrano però indicare per il periodo medio repubblicano, seppur in presenza di interventi di ristrutturazione e di allargamento degli spazi santuariali, come possibile azione dello stato centrale romano, una continuità dei culti, come si può evincere in molti importanti santuari latini a Nemi, *Praeneste*, *Tibur* e *Gabii*. Che l'azione romana fosse volta alla continuità si evince, ad esempio, dalla prima monumentalizzazione dell'ex santuario federale latino di Diana Nemorense dopo la Guerra Latina e dai rifacimenti del santuario di Giunone Sospita a *Lanuvium*. Il culto della dea fu portato anche a Roma e fu inserito nei culti pubblici.

Il lavoro include poi numerosi interventi sui vari progetti di scavo, molti dei quali ancora in corso, che hanno interessato il Lazio antico negli anni recenti e che forniscono nuove testimonianze riguardanti il Lazio medio repubblicano. Di particolare interesse sono i resoconti di Zaccaria Mari sulle campagne presso le necropoli di *Tibur* e *Corcolle*, nell'*ager Praenestinus*, il contributo degli studiosi del progetto italo-tedesco riguardante i dati preliminari delle ricerche presso il tempio di Diana Nemorense e quello degli studiosi del Segni Project riguardanti i contesti medio repubblicani del sito.

L'opera *Oltre "Roma Medio Repubblicana": Il Lazio fra i Galli e la battaglia di Zama* costituisce un importante contributo che va ad arricchire le conoscenze riguardanti un periodo della storia del Lazio antico che, seppur cruciale per gli sviluppi storici della regione, è ancora relativamente poco conosciuto. Ad oltre quaranta anni dalla mostra *Roma medio repubblicana*, il volume ha il merito di sottolineare, sulla base di dati storiografici ed archeologici, il ruolo dei popoli latini nello sviluppo culturale della regione anche dopo il dissolvimento della Lega Latina nel 338 a.C. e, anche dopo la perdita dell'indipendenza politica dopo quella data, il loro contributo decisivo nel processo di integrazione della penisola allo Stato romano. I contributi dei vari autori spaziano dall'analisi storiografica del periodo medio repubblicano alle descrizioni delle più recenti campagne di scavo, con enfasi anche sul materiale epigrafico, sulle pratiche funerarie, sulla cultura figurativa, sugli aspetti rituali e di culto, sull'urbanistica, sulla topografia dei santuari e sull'economia del Lazio antico. Pur constatando una mancata messa in evidenza degli aspetti collegati agli assetti istituzionali rispetto al numero degli interventi, come segnalato da Luigi Capogrossi Colognesi nell'intervento

introduttivo al volume, dovuta forse più ad un mancato ricambio generazionale degli storici del diritto che ad una scelta precisa degli organizzatori del convegno, il volume si caratterizza come un'opera di grande importanza.

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FRANCESCO GRELE – MARINA SILVESTRINI – GIULIANO VOLPE – ROBERTO GOFFREDO: *La Puglia nel mondo romano: Storia di una periferia. L'avvio dell'organizzazione municipale*. Collana Pragmateiai 29. Edipuglia, Bari 2017. ISBN 978-88-7228-833-7; ISBN (e-book) 978-88-7228-833-7-1. 400 pp. EUR 55.

Questo volume è la seconda parte di uno studio riguardante la storia, l'amministrazione e la struttura socioeconomica della Puglia antica, dopo che quest'ultima era entrata in contatto con la potenza romana. In antichità, quella che è la moderna Puglia comprendeva le regioni di Apulia e Calabria. Mentre il primo volume della serie aveva trattato il periodo tra le guerre sannitiche e la fine della guerra sociale nell'89 a.C., questo secondo volume interessa il periodo che intercorre tra il ritorno di Silla dalla guerra mitridatica nell'81 a.C., che vide eventi distruttivi come la campagna contro Spartaco e poi le Guerre Civili, fino al censimento del 28 a.C. Quest'ultimo fatto integrò permanentemente la regione nello Stato romano.

Gli autori si affidano a diverse fonti per studiare le vicende della Puglia romana nel periodo interessato da questo studio. Gli strumenti impiegati per questo scopo consistono nelle testimonianze tramandateci dagli autori antichi, in un ampio materiale epigrafico e in parte nelle testimonianze archeologiche. Tutte le microregioni della Puglia romana, dal promontorio del Gargano, attraverso le fertili pianure del Tavoliere, dalle ancora poco conosciute zone confinanti con la Lucania, a Taranto, all'importante porto di Brindisi, fino alle coste del Salento, sono trattate dai punti di vista storico, economico e sociale. Le informazioni presentate in questa opera dimostrano come questa regione, che era morfologicamente, economicamente ed etnicamente eterogenea, fu inglobata nello Stato romano e come la sua fertile terra la fece diventare teatro di conflitto o nodo vitale e logistico per l'approvvigionamento di cibo sia per la popolazione civile romana, che per gli eserciti impegnati nelle campagne militari.

Quest'ultima questione si può evincere dalle considerazioni contenute nel primo capitolo, dove Marina Silvestrini analizza gli eventi storici che si succedettero nella regione durante il periodo esaminato da questo lavoro. La Puglia romana fu di vitale importanza per la massiccia produzione

di grano. Per questo motivo, questa divenne teatro bellico durante la rivolta di Spartaco o durante le Guerre Civili. Inoltre, Silvestrini analizza i modelli di appropriazione terriera in favore dei sostenitori delle fazioni uscite vincitrici dai conflitti civili e gli effetti distruttivi causati da questi eventi all'economia e alla popolazione della regione.

Nel secondo e nel terzo capitolo Francesco Grelle, avvalendosi delle testimonianze letterarie ed epigrafiche, si concentra sulla riorganizzazione amministrativa che interessò le comunità della regione dopo la concessione della cittadinanza romana a tutti gli alleati che non si erano uniti alla lotta contro Roma durante la Guerra Sociale. A causa di questi sviluppi politici le comunità della Puglia romana, che comprendevano coloni romani e latini, oltre che popolazioni indigene e città originariamente greche come Taranto, persero definitivamente la loro autonomia. Diverse comunità della regione vennero assegnate a tribù romane. Nuove amministrazioni municipali furono create con lo scopo di facilitare l'incorporazione della regione nel sistema amministrativo romano. Questo stato di cose fu definitivamente cristallizzato dal censimento del 28 a.C.

Nel quarto capitolo, servendosi ampiamente del materiale epigrafico, Silvestrini analizza diversi aspetti delle società delle antiche Apulia e Calabria di quel periodo. Il capitolo descrive non solo informazioni concernenti membri delle classi dirigenti e dell'esercito, ma evidenzia come individui di condizione servile o liberti siano rappresentati in maniera rilevante nella documentazione epigrafica. I membri di queste classi sociali cercavano di accrescere la loro posizione e possibilmente la loro condizione promuovendo le loro opere e le loro conoscenze. Dal materiale analizzato emergono non solo l'importanza delle classi dirigenti, spesso connesse al potere centrale romano, ma anche i vantaggi tratti da persone di più bassa condizione sociale, ma associati ai membri delle classi dominanti da rapporti clientelari. Il materiale epigrafico non segnala solo lo stato sociale di questi individui, ma anche l'importanza di certe attività, come le produzioni di olio, grano e vino e l'allevamento di bestiame, per l'economia della regione.

Anche il quinto capitolo pone l'accento sull'aspetto economico. Giuliano Volpe, basandosi sulle testimonianze archeologiche, conferma l'importanza della produzione cerealicola, come già suggerito dalle informazioni fornite dalle fonti antiche e dal materiale epigrafico. Questo è particolarmente evidente nella parte centro-settentrionale della regione, dove la produzione di grano era superiore a quelle olearia e vinicola, anche se olio e vino provenienti dalla Puglia romana erano esportati in tutto il Mediterraneo.

Nel sesto capitolo Roberto Goffredo, basandosi su testimonianze archeologiche ed epigrafiche, tratta lo sviluppo delle città della Puglia romana durante il periodo interessato dallo studio. Il quadro ottenuto dallo studio svolto da Goffredo è quello di una esiguità di città e municipi fondati dopo la Guerra Sociale. Contemporaneamente, lo studio rileva la crescente importanza delle aree urbane e l'estesa monumentalizzazione dei centri cittadini, spesso come conseguenza

dell'impulso dato da patroni locali associati allo Stato romano durante il periodo augusteo, in seguito ad un simile fenomeno di sviluppo verificatosi a Roma.

Nel settimo e ultimo capitolo, Goffredo si concentra sulla situazione nelle campagne. Lo studioso si basa sui dati ottenuti da scavi archeologici, ricognizioni e fotografie aeree, al fine di analizzare le tipologie di destinazione dei terreni impiegate nella regione e di discutere dei vari modelli di insediamenti rurali comuni nel periodo di tempo trattato da questa opera. Come nel caso delle aree urbane, anche le campagne della Puglia romana furono fortemente influenzate dagli sconvolgimenti politici avvenuti dalla Guerra Sociale fino al censimento augusteo del 28 a.C., con assegnamenti, confische e redistribuzioni di terra a diversi gruppi o singoli individui favoriti dai caotici eventi.

La Puglia nel mondo romano: Storia di una periferia. L'avvio dell'organizzazione municipale è una buona fonte di informazioni per un'ampia analisi della Puglia romana nel periodo cruciale che culminò con la fine dell'indipendenza della regione e la sua definitiva integrazione nello Stato romano. Pertanto, l'opera è un buon complemento al primo volume della serie. Le informazioni fornite sono trattate in dettaglio e riguardano un ampio campo di aspetti concernenti le vicende della regione, delle sue comunità e della sua economia durante gli anni che condussero alla vittoria finale di Augusto ed alla sua divisione dell'Italia in regioni. Tuttavia, si evince un certo squilibrio tra le fonti impiegate, in favore della documentazione letteraria ed epigrafica, mentre le testimonianze archeologiche sono sfruttate in modo minore. Oltretutto, il lettore avrebbe forse auspicato maggiori informazioni riguardo agli aspetti religiosi e culturali, che sono invece trattati solo in maniera marginale, poichè la religione e i culti possono spesso essere importanti indicatori di continuità e discontinuità nella struttura sociale, culturale e politica di una regione antica.

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VILLE VUOLANTO: *Children and Asceticism in Late Antiquity: Continuity, Family Dynamics and the Rise of Christianity*. Ashgate, Farnham – Burlington 2015. ISBN 978-1-4724-1436-6. VIII, 263 pp. GBP 70.

At first sight, Christian asceticism challenged almost everything that made up traditional Graeco-Roman views and practices of family life. Yet, in the perennial debate about the continuity and change that Christianity introduced, Vuolanto aptly and cautiously demonstrates how the ideological framing of asceticism very much facilitated this transition. In other words, the patristic writers of the

fourth and fifth century were keen on emphasising how apparently new and unheard of practices very much fitted into a tradition which had existed for centuries.

The book opens with a chapter on the discourses of family strategies. “Hoping for continuity, facing oblivion” seems like an apt motto for both pagan and Christian families whose members hoped to live on in their children and their successors, not only biologically, but also socially and psychologically (see Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2, 28, 72 quoted on p. 34). Despite the explicit ‘anti-family’ trends in the synoptic gospels, hagiography and monastic literature, a resistance towards ‘wrong’ asceticism also existed. ‘To hate your parents’ obviously runs against the idea of *pietas*, and one should only do so when they stood in the way of God or the church. On some occasions, familial *pietas* must be put in second place after *pietas* for God, but overall, conducting a pious and dutiful family life remained a crucial element of Christian spiritual life. This is even more apparent when reading the third chapter, in which family metaphors abound: ascetics as fathers and mothers of the church, the church as a mother, the abbot as a caring father, and so on. The same emphasis on tradition and continuation appears in chapter four on the issue of immortality. Contrary to what might be expected ascetic men and women are represented as fertile and fruitful, the latter as wives of Christ, the former as spiritual fathers. Chastity, too, leads to the much aspired to continuity and immortality.

Decision making in the domestic sphere is the topic of a fascinating fifth chapter. Again, Vuolanto takes a nuanced stance, soothing notoriously harsh statements like Jerome, *Epistula* 14, 2 (cited on p. 95). Struggles and conflicts about entering a monastery did indeed occur, but the same happened when a son opposed parental preferences for a marriage candidate. For girls, the option of resistance barely existed, be it in the case of marriage or of opting for monastic life. But given the situation of home asceticism, resistance would not have made much difference to the daily life of a woman in any case. When we take into account mortality and the probability of (one of) the parents no longer being alive at the moment of the decision making, we may presume that resistance was probably more a topic of debate than real. Moreover, sending a son to a monastery or a daughter to a nunnery to take their vows often suited family strategies. While Vuolanto is sceptical both about claims concerning disabled daughters being sent to a nunnery for lack of suitable marriage candidates and about infant exposure in the vicinity of monasteries, he emphasises how other strategies were used to secure an inheritance and a family estate. Indeed, the patrimony given to ascetics was not apassed on to future offspring, and might well be used as a (spiritual) investment for the whole of the family.

Those who tend to idealise the poverty of clerics might do well to read Vuolanto’s paragraphs on ‘profits for the ascetics’ (p. 138–145), where we encounter members of the clergy inheriting and leaving money by testament to their relatives. Here, I found particularly instructive Saint Augustine’s

words on people wanting to enter monastic life in order to be honoured by those who had previously despised them (Augustine, *De opere monachorum* 22(25), quoted on p. 144). As explained in chapter seven, asceticism paves the way for spiritual progeny, reputation and memory – a continuity which could be achieved by means of one’s name or a funerary monument. At the same time, we read about families who carefully selected one member to secure the secular path of marrying and having offspring, while the other family members opted for asceticism.

Children are the main theme of chapter eight. Particularly in the case of women, a strong tradition of asceticism as freedom existed, setting them free from the pains of marital conflicts, childbearing and having children (see also the rich contributions in S. Huebner, C. Laes (eds.), *The Single Life in the Roman and Later Roman World*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2019 – with a chapter by Vuolanto on ascetic women). On the other hand, some ascetics had (grand)children, and both the material and immaterial solace of children was recognised. ‘First children, then chastity’ was a practical but seldom resorted to option (note also the peculiar case of the Abeloim, mentioned on p. 191, who according to Augustine, *De haeresibus* 87, lived together as couples without having intercourse and opted for adoption).

In an instructive conclusion, Vuolanto further clarifies his main points. In order to make onerous ideals and asceticism digestible, patristic writers simply had no other option than to rely on family discourse and the continuation of identity. This was not only a matter of rhetorics. In daily life, too, ascetics more often than not had to rely on age-old family strategies in order to perpetuate their name, prestige and economic survival. Many of these assumptions on the importance of the family must have been unspoken or unconscious – it is the historian’s task to ‘name’ such traditional values (see also p. 44). Ideally, a study like this moves on from a mere history of ideas to a broader socio-cultural history. Supported by a flawless and stylish edition, a most useful bibliography of primary sources (given the difficulties of tracing down some of the patristic texts), an exhaustive list of secondary sources (in which, surprisingly, no page numbers are indicated for contributions to volumes), and a helpful index, Vuolanto has resolutely succeeded in his task. His focus on continuity does not deter from the fact that certain aspects and ascetic practices of the new religion must have looked shocking to non-Christians (see C. Laes, “Young and Old, Parents and Children: Social Relations in the Apophthegmata Patrum”, in C. Krötzel, K. Mustakallio (eds.), *De Amicitia: Social Networks and Relationships in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Rome, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, 2010, p. 115–134). Continuity undoubtedly existed together with change, and in studying such an intricate topic, Vuolanto’s monograph is a true masterpiece.

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L'ABC di un impero: iniziare a scrivere a Roma. A cura di GIULIA BARATTA. Armariolum – Studi dedicati alla vita quotidiana nel mondo classico 1. Scienze e Lettere, Roma 2019. ISBN 978-88-6687-164-4. VIII, 202 pp. EUR 35.

According to a recent survey, quantification of how many people were literate in antiquity is not only impossible, but even undesirable. Such an inquiry would detract from the astonishing range of contexts and functions that made written symbols meaningful to their readers as well as historically significant (P. Ripat, “Literacies”, in C. Laes (ed.), *A Cultural History of Education in Antiquity*, London 2020, 117–134). By now, the bibliography that has sprung from W. V. Harris’s groundbreaking monograph, *Ancient Literacy*, Cambridge MA 1989, is indeed considerable, and the best way forward seems to be to make detailed inquiries into specific cases – epigraphical, iconographical, archaeological – in order to add to the general picture. This seems to have been the aim of the admirable project that took the form of a series of encounters set up by Giulia Baratta, which resulted in the present volume.

The book opens with a solid overview by Marc Mayer i Olivé on the overall presence of writing in many epigraphical documents, including *tegulae* and numismatical evidence (p. 4–28). Francesca Boldrer does what is essential, but often omitted, namely looking at the entry *littera* in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. She limits her research to Plautus and Cicero, but even despite this limitation, telling observations on the importance of writing and monuments for the continuation of memory come to the fore (p. 29–42). In her chapter on coercive education in Roman schools, aptly entitled “La letra con sangre entra”, Giulia Baratta offers some important new insights into the iconographical evidence concerning corporal punishment (p. 43–56; for the erotic figure 6, see C. Laes, “Most Subversive Suffering: Pain and the Reversal of Roles in Graeco-Roman Antiquity”, *Hyperboreus* 27,2 (2021) 213–237), though she failed to notice some contributions on this well-studied topic (J. Christes, “Et nos manum ferulae subduximus. Von brutaler Pädagogik bei Griechen und Römer”, in U. Krebs and J. Forster (eds.), *Vom Opfer zum Täter? Gewalt in Schule und Erziehung von den Sumerern bis zur Gegenwart*, Bad Heilbrunn 2003, 51–70; C. Laes, “Child Beating in Roman Antiquity: Some Reconsiderations”, in K. Mustakallio, J. Hanska, H.-L. Sainio and V. Vuolanto (eds.), *Hoping for Continuity: Childhood, Education and Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Rome 2005, 75–89). A richly documented and well informed overview, including the most recent bibliography and new readings, is offered in Silvia Braitto’s chapter on child graffiti (p. 57–74). There follow two detailed studies on very specific items: Antonio Varone on a previously unedited *defixio* from Stabiae (p. 75–94) and Alfredo Buonopane with a most convincing interpretation of AE 1994, 1876 as an instance of homophobic bullying (p. 95–102; see also C. Laes, “Children and Bullying/ Harassment in Graeco-Roman Antiquity”, *Classical Journal* 115,1 (2019) 33–60). The most striking feature of the

volume is undoubtedly the strong focus on detailed studies for a specific region: a chapter by Silvia Forti on oil lamps from Leptis Magna (p. 103–120); a contribution by Cristina Bassi on literacy and the use of letters in the Alpine regions (p. 139–157); Silvia M. Marengo on alphabets and the colonisation of the Hadriatic Regions V and VI (p. 159–168); and Fulvia Mainardis on the reception of administrative epigraphical documents in municipalities of Italy in the Late Republic and Early Empire (p. 181–202). Cultural approaches characterise both Javier Velaza's chapter on alphabets as ritual elements in the ancient world (p. 121–138) and Simona Antolini's study on the famous new letters, the inverse digamma and the half H, as developed by Emperor Claudius (p. 169–180; the latter letter, incidentally, occurs in Germania Inferior too, as witnessed by C. Rüger, "Eine Ubica aemulatio Claudi Caesaris? Beobachtungen zu einem Graphem in Niedergermanien", *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia* 24 (1985) 159–166 and T. Vennemann, †, *Sprachwissenschaft* 19 (1994) 235–270).

Overall, this is a most important and well-edited volume that deserves full attention in the ever-growing debate on ancient literacy. Both the editor and the contributors deserve all praise.

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LAURITZ NOACK: *Religion als kultureller Ordnungsrahmen in Platons Nomoi*. Philippika 143. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2020. ISBN 978-3-447-11484-4; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-447-39033-0. VIII, 140 S. EUR 38.

For a long time, Plato's last work – probably partly not written by him – the *Laws* remained largely unread among the Platonic corpus, mostly due to its style, which had been regarded as less vivid than most of his other dialogues, as well as its emphasis on religion, with curious references to folk beliefs and folk religion. However, in recent decades the *Laws* has aroused considerable interest. In addition to an extensive commentary by Klaus Schöpsdau (1994–2011), several monographs on different aspects of the *Laws* have been published, especially about the cultural institutions of Greek *poleis* (for instance, *Performance and Culture in Plato's Laws*, edited by Anastasia-Erasmia Peponi, 2013). Lauritz Noack's book is a recent contribution to this "renaissance" of the *Laws*. It is a reworking of his dissertation (Philipps-Universität Marburg, 2019). The title of the book contains, again, the difficult concept of *culture*, which Noack addresses briefly in a footnote (p. 5 n.19). Although the common notion of the religious emphasis of the *Laws* is of course valid (the dialogue famously begins with the word θεός), Noack's starting point emphasises that the *Nomoi* is a philosophical work: in the *Laws* we have a philosophical approach to society, and the references to folk religion are an important

means for the people of the new settlement to accept the new legislation. To reinforce his argument, Noack introduces a fresh methodological tool, the so-called *New Institutional Economics* (NIE), as his framework for analysing the “laws” in the *Laws*.

When speaking of Plato’s dialogues, including the *Laws*, it is always worth remembering that they are both argumentative and dramatic. The setting of the *Laws* is dramatic enough: three old men from Athens, Sparta, and Crete are walking in Crete and discussing, first, the religious foundation of laws, and then the creation of laws for a new settlement in Crete. They are reworking the organizations and institutions of existing *poleis* to create an ideal polis. There are to be two main methods of making people comply with this new kind of polity: the new laws, and the so-called preludes to law (πρροίμια), which are first introduced in Book Four (722d–723a). The preludes are the means of persuasion, whereas the laws also operate by compulsion (a punishment follows from breaking the rules of a law).

After the Introduction (Chapter I), Noack provides a brief survey of the emphasis on religion and theology in the *Laws* (Chapter II). After that, he analyses the two imaginary speeches to the new settlers, which are reported by the Athenian interlocutor at the end of Book IV and the beginning of Book V (Chapter III. “Die Generalansprache”). The central argument in the first (715e7–718a6) is that good citizenship equates with concentrating on worshipping the gods, whereas the second speech (726a1–734e2) states that the second most important work for the citizens of the new polity, after worshipping the gods, is cultivating their souls. This abstract ideal is made more concrete through the preludes of the laws of the new polity, which make this kind of idealised life possible for the citizens of the new settlement. The preludes to the laws are discussed in the next chapter (IV “Die Proömien”, Noack also uses the term *Gesetzvorworte*), after which follows the main part of the book, namely the application of the methodological tool, the New Institutional Economics (NIE), to analysing the proposed institutions, both on an internal and external level, as well as some individual preludes to the laws (Chapter V. *Die Neue Institutionenökonomik*).

What, then, is the “NIE”? According to Noack, the NIE analyses and predicts human behaviour under the influence of institutions (p. 78), and emphasises that there are different types of rules, the breaking of which cause different kinds of sanctions. A table on pp. 84–85, by two researchers of Institutional economics, Daniel Kiwit and Stefan Voigt, illustrates these points: there are conventions (e.g., grammar), ethical rules (e.g., Kant’s categorical imperative), customs (e.g., social manners), formal private rules (e.g., the “laws” of the economy), and finally codes, the various *corpus jure*. Only the last ones are “external”, in regard to their surveillance and sanctions (sanctioned by polities) – all the others are “internal”, in the sense that they include different aspects of self-commitment, restrictions, and control. Thus, the NIE emphasises that most rules overlap with the sphere of culture, which is usually understood as not quite a controlled process, but as developing

“naturally”. The cultural sphere is undoubtedly formalized in the ideal *polis* as proposed in the *Laws*, insofar as certain behaviours that are normally not subject to any control are regulated and sanctioned.

Noack analyses three preludes: preludes to marriage (VI 772d5–774c2), preludes to rules pertaining to finding and obtaining treasures, which relates to the concept of inheritance (XI 913a1–914a5), and, thirdly, testaments (XI 922d4–8). Through these chosen examples, Noack argues that the concept of *homo economicus* in the NIE – that people are primarily interested in maximizing their personal benefit (see p. 78) – can be compared with the equally vague concept of pleasure in the *Laws* (cf. II 664b-c: a life of pleasure and a life of virtue are the same) as the basis for a person’s decision making. However, the preludes to the laws in the *Laws* are mainly ethical rules, and they override the cost-benefit calculation and encourage citizens to take actions that run counter to their maximization of benefits – such as not accepting one’s monetary inheritance. This argument does not solve the problematic “pleasure principle” in the *Laws* but, all in all, the NIE is an interesting tool for analysing the complexities of the many quite curious stipulations in the longest work of Plato’s *oeuvre*.

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Natur – Mythos – Religion im Antiken Griechenland / Nature – Myth – Religion in Ancient Greece. Herausgegeben von TANJA SUSANNE SCHEER. Postdamer altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 67. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2019. ISBN 978-3-515-12208-5; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-515-12209-2. 297 pp. EUR 54.

The title of this volume, edited by Tanja Susanne Scheer from papers presented at an international meeting at the Georg-August Universität in Göttingen in 2015, is very interesting and immediately thought-provoking. What is ‘nature’ here, and how will the relationship between nature and religious-mythical spheres of ancient life and thought be understood in this book? This interesting and intriguing bilingual volume consists of fourteen articles divided into four sections. They are briefly discussed below and at the end I present a few thoughts which the volume provoked in me.

Scheer sets the scene with her informative opening introduction. She takes a brief and useful look into a research tradition in which religion has been variously conceptualised and interpreted in relation to nature. Nature is approached against a backdrop of the humanist or romantic ideas of *Naturreligion* and *Naturmythologie*, or as a concept mirroring evolutionary theories of religion

from the imaginary *Ur-religion* coined by the early ethnologists and historians rooted in 19th-century German Romanticism. Scheer proceeds to the more modern interpretations of ancient Greek religion, where the role of nature (or rather the environment) has shaped the understanding of religious practices through political and social influences and changes. She regards the interaction between nature, myth and religion as a central dynamic in the mythology and in the living world of the Greeks.

In her article, Katja Sporn promises to employ a diachronic perspective to explore the existence and role of natural features in the spatial and practical arrangements of cults in ancient Athens. She discusses the role of 'natural elements' (mountains, hills, rocks, rivers, springs, trees) and 'natural features' (e.g. trees, thunderbolts) in the spatiality and *praxis* of the cults. This contribution is a good introduction to the richness of the material that the concept of 'nature' can provide for a further understanding of the cultic arrangements in Athens. However, in this case it remains unclear where the usefulness of 'nature' as an analytical concept begins and where it ends. This ambiguity results in all-encompassing and rather general statements which are self-evident: "all sanctuaries are situated in one part or the other of the physical landscape..." (p. 30). Similarly, the terms 'natural element', 'natural feature' and 'natural place' come across as overlapping here, and hence the reader may well ask where lies the difference between a natural feature in the landscape and a man-made use and reuse of it?

Richard Gordon's contribution excellently contextualises the place of nature in relation to religion in German neo-humanist discourses from Romanticism to Early Industrialisation. Gordon first explores how the notion of nature resonated in German academic discussions relating to contemporary university education. Secondly, he investigates how this new ethnographic information shaped the views of Greek religion not as a place inhabited primarily by godly pseudo-people but rather as an 'organic' socio-cultural system in its own right. Thirdly, he analyses the effects of early industrialisation, when nature was regarded as something to be conquered and tamed. The author follows the shifts in the representation of nature in Greek religion. In the late 18th century, nature was seen from the perspective of aestheticizing graecophilia. It was filled with godly beauty and people themselves were regarded as *Naturvölker*, holding innocently and rather naïvely to *Naturreligion*. By the mid-19th century, nature was treated as a target for superior action by humans, who could take control of it and use it for their own benefit. Its place in Greek religion was now within institutions and practices and was no longer merely found in myths. Gordon points out that there is not necessarily a direct causal connection between these discourses. His examples also fascinatingly echo the shifts in the tradition of the study of ancient Greek religion during the last 100 years, when we have observed various 'turns' in the focus of research from the emphasis on the 'cultural' to the 'social' role of religion in ancient Greece.

Jennifer Larson's article is an interesting and enjoyable inquiry into the views and beliefs that the Greeks might have held towards nymphs and natural phenomena associated with them. In her case study, Larson first reviews the old Taylorian concept of animism and then places it in the framework of theories developed in the cognitive science of religion. This implies, for example, a question whether it is possible (and if so, how) to hold beliefs which are logically contradictory. Based on the so-called dual-process model of cognition, Larson argues that the Greeks could have perceived nymphs and the cultic complex relating to them as both physical entities in nature where a cult *praxis* could have been realised, and as animistic entities endowed with mind. This was enabled by the perception of nymphs as existing in a mythological realm of reflective cognition. Larson's article is an important case study which builds on carefully studied primary material interpreted in an innovative interpretative framework. Her results illustrate the mechanism in which a folktale (mythology) may exceed the logic resulting in coherent, sustainable beliefs.

In his article, Jan Bremmer pays attention to the rivers and river gods. He provides a very useful survey of the river gods worshipped in Greece and provides polyomic evidence of rivers and cultic activities connected with them. He calls this 'conceptual hydrology' and interestingly discusses the anthropomorphic deities associated with rivers as well as the role of rivers as a border between the domain of the living and the dead. Bremmer uses the term 'river cult' on various occasions and here the question arises as to what a 'river cult' might have been in practice: were rivers themselves objects of worship or was it rather a more abstract personification of a river that was used in local identity building and was accordingly ritually addressed?

Esther Eidinow discusses winds in the ancient Greek imaginary. Since winds are not stable natural phenomena, and may present risks, the author places them into 'hazardscapes' which created both opportunities and hazards. When personified, winds tended to be characterised as threatening, even monstrous, with powers beyond human control. Eidinow remarks that we have surprisingly few myths about winds as actors and agents, regardless of the personifications of specific winds appearing rather frequently in written and visual sources. It is perhaps not surprising that there is relatively little evidence for the cult of specific deities whose *epikleseis* suggests control over winds (p. 120). Possibly the reason could be in the nature of the winds themselves: as ubiquitous, changeable elements of nature, they would not be easily pinned down to a specific local cult.

In her article, Renate Schlesier takes us to the kingdom of fauna and flora by looking into the fragments of Sappho. She provides a good survey of references to animals (dogs, chickens, bovines, sheep, pigs, horses, goats, various birds and fish) and plants (flowers, especially roses, trees, fruits and herbs) in Sappho's texts. In these texts, fragrant flowers and clothing made of materials from animals, are associated with the sensual aspects of the goddess Aphrodite through references to seeing, hearing and touching. The poetess paints a mythical world as a 'dreamscape' of drowsiness (p.

140) in its closeness of nature, where the goddess could wander about, in contrast to humans who are tied to a human-made, constructed environment. This reflects the implicit relationship between the goddess of love and nature in Sappho's fragments.

Julia Kindt's contribution on divine zoomorphism and the anthropomorphic divine body beautifully draws together the central themes of this volume. The author takes an informed look at how these two phenomena intersect in Greek religion. Kindt argues that the animal body provides a supplementary code to the more widespread anthropomorphism of the Greek gods. She examines so-called 'shape-shifters', the deities who temporarily take an animal form through self-transformation, either to camouflage themselves or to show off their powers to transgress the boundaries that humans are tied to. Kindt's thesis is that divine zoomorphism allows increased opportunities for a divine body to navigate the compromise between divine immanence on the one hand and divine transcendence on the other. Divine zoomorphism supplements the set of symbols for divine qualities in the more prominent anthropomorphism by either defamiliarising or temporarily depersonalising the god by allowing him or her to become a member of a specific species. Kindt argues that this "presents the ultimately insurmountable ontological gap separating humanity from divinity". This might well be the case, but we could also argue that such transgressions between divine, human and animal form and spheres reflect the idea of multiplicity in totality, where boundaries are not insurmountable ontological gaps.

Dorit Engster writes on dolphins and dolphin riders, concentrating on the human-animal relationship. Anthropomorphism is a central theme here, too. Since the Archaic period onwards, dolphins were often attributed with human-like characteristics; they were believed to have an ability to express emotions, love poetry and music and to build strong emotional bonds with each other. Engster shows that dolphins go beyond mere anthropomorphism: as manifestations of godliness and as human helpers they were mediators, building a connection between the realms of gods, humans and animals, and standing between these categories themselves.

Marietta Horster addresses the recently much-discussed questions concerning pollution and purity as well as cleanliness in communal and religious life. She draws mainly from the classical Athenian tragedies and the epigraphical material from sanctuary sites, and takes up the notion of *eukosmia*, good order, as a requirement in Greek sanctuaries, ensuring that tidiness and external appearance of space was met with the right disposition towards the holy place. This leads to her notion (p. 214) that "nature is a man-made concept of divine order", itself an interesting and rather provocative suggestion, which could have been further developed in the article.

David G. Romano's contribution provides an archaeological perspective. Romano describes the material evidence from the sanctuary of Zeus at Mount Lykaion in Arcadia that he discovered during the archaeological project he had been co-directing since 2004. Romano's article projects the

themes that often pertain to archaeological investigations at cult sites: the question of (and search for) continuity of cultic activity from prehistory onwards, and the identification of remains and finds that correspond with textual evidence, Pausanias in particular. Mount Lykaion as the birthplace of Zeus, as described by Pausanias and Callimachus, has been one of the driving forces in the project. Romano sees a long continuity of cult activity at the site: “we have at Mt. Lykaion a likelihood of the continuity of a cult from the 16th century BC through the Iron Age and as far as the Hellenistic period”, and adds, “it was Zeus who was worshipped here in the Mycenaean period from the 16th century onwards” (pp. 227–8). Romano’s article is informative in its own right, yet it fails to address the concept of nature as an operational and fruitfully interpretive concept in relation to Greek religion. This results in a self-evident notion: “The combination of nature, mythology and cult is certainly present at the Sanctuary of Zeus at Mt. Lykaion” (p. 231).

Arcadia is also the main context in Anna C. Neff’s article on the use and roles of water in Arcadian myth building and local identity formation. Neff points out that changeability and the unpredictability of the rivers and waterways add to their cultural and religious importance in Arcadia, which is prone to both flooding and droughts. Therefore, the power (and vitality) of rivers was regarded to be the work of the gods and was explained by specific local mythology. As a consequence, cultic handlings were employed to ward off risks. Neff interestingly describes how local cults affected both the landscape and the cultural memory of the people.

Angela Ganter’s contribution to the volume is a short, enjoyable and innovative study on Theban identity, seen as being between nature and religion through an ‘encoding’, a dichotomy between (civilised) *asty* and (wild, untamed) *chora*. Ganter explores the relationship between *ethne* and the landscape/environment in Theban myths and shows, for example, that the building of walls around a city can be regarded as a process of pacifying the surroundings and defining space for social life by excluding the dangers from the outside. Ganter handles the three core concepts of the book in an impressive and balanced way.

The last article in the volume is Tanja Scheer’s study on the concepts of autochthony through discourses about earth in myths and cults in ancient Arcadia. The author considers the meanings of autochthony, which generally implies a thought that the Arcadians (in this case) were earth-born, possessed their own soil and as inhabitants had always been there. She discusses the concept interestingly from its mythical meaning to the construction of ethnic and social group entities, since autochthony endows a strong sense of distinctive, location-specific regional identity. The author notes that being born from the earth is a norm in Greek thinking. It refers to the primeval past and the origin of mankind, but it was harnessed to function as a building block in local traditions. Sheer skilfully considers autochthony as a means to emphasise specificity both politically and historically by extending its mythological content to sanctifications of legal claims. This concluding article

successfully draws together the main themes of the book and provides the reader with an enjoyable case study in which nature, myth and religion form a triad of interconnected concepts.

Edited contributions from international meetings often portray the usual problem: the uneven quality of the contributions is their usual downside, and this volume is no exemption. The interaction between nature, myth and religion is addressed extremely well in some of the articles, while others leave the reader wondering what was their interrelational role in the argumentation. 'Nature' is conceived variously as the environment, the landscape, or space, as spatial and even as mental space. It is, of course, difficult to define such a huge concept as 'nature' for specific interpretive purposes, and in this volume it is occasionally taken as self-evident (e.g. "sanctuaries were situated in physical landscape"). However, as we have seen, nature as an analytical concept does provide highly interesting possibilities to further our understanding of ancient Greek religion, but its content has to be carefully considered on a case by case basis.

A couple of fascinating recurring themes emerge as focal points in the articles of this volume. First, the question of the formation of local identities through myths relating to landscape, nature and natural features in the wild or the built environment. Nature is indeed a surprisingly central entity in the process of forming the conception of *ethne*. This notion was often associated with taming the wilderness of (mythicised) nature and rendering it into a suitable landscape for the needs of organised social life. Second, anthropomorphism and zoomorphism are the most commonly shared thread in nearly all of the contributions. Anthropomorphism is closely related to personifications that also encompass more abstract entities, such as heavenly bodies and seasons, which are not covered in the current volume. We can probably consider nature to have been perceived as a pre-existing and eternally present, albeit continuously changing, backdrop to gods and deities who appeared in it with their powers and spheres of dominion. In this view, anthropomorphism itself would function as a means to take hold of things, to control and in one way 'humanise' nature. Therefore, we encounter another interpretive possibility to consider the joining together of nature, myth and Greek religious *praxis*, namely a potential pantheistic (under)current crystallised in the concept of nature. As Greek polytheism is on the surface centrally theistic, I do not wish to claim that it should be regarded as pantheistic. In theological argumentation and in the philosophy of religion, pantheism is often regarded as incompatible with a theistic belief system. The demarcation of powers would render the omnipotence, omniscience and infinite powers of the Greek gods impossible. However, on the basis of this volume the view that Greek religion can be seen to be marked by at least pantheistic currents is unavoidable. Pantheism itself as a concept has porous and disputed boundaries, but its main core starts from the assumption that there is a similarity and even uniformity between gods and nature, and that divinity is thoroughly immanent in nature. We frequently encounter this idea in Greek thought, although in ritual *praxis* it is more difficult to pin down. Perhaps future research would

benefit from a thorough look into pantheistic ideas in Greek religion. This volume certainly paves the way for that project and it is recommended to anyone interested in the relationship between religion, myths and nature.

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MATTIAS P. GASSMAN: *Worshippers of the Gods: Debating Paganism in the Fourth-Century Roman World*. Oxford Studies in Late Antiquity. Oxford University Press, New York 2020. ISBN 978-0-19-008244-4. XI, 236 pp. GBP 55.

The religious and intellectual milieu of Late Antique Rome in the fourth century has increasingly been the focus of classical scholars during the last couple of decades. The Christianization process of the Roman Empire, in particular, has fascinated numerous scholars. Some scholars tend to emphasize religious toleration and the pluralism of the period between the reigns of Emperor Constantine and Emperor Theodosius, while others see conflict and competition. Such concepts as ‘pagan revival’ and ‘pagan resistance’ have had a long life in classical scholarship. In recent scholarship, the Christianization of the Roman Empire has been seen as a long process of accommodation. There were religious tensions and even violence, but ‘pagans’ and Christians were no longer obvious enemies. Social class, tradition and shared values united them despite the religious differences.

In his monograph Mattias P. Gassman focuses on definitions of religion and, in particular, on views of traditional polytheistic religion in Late Antique texts. One central theme of his book is the range of attitudes of Roman emperors to traditional cults, going into greater detail with texts by Lactantius, Firmicus Maternus, Symmachus, Ambrosius, Praetextatus and Paulina. The book is chronologically structured, beginning with the tetrarchic era and ending at the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries. Gassman first analyses some essential concepts he uses throughout his book, such as ‘religion’ and ‘paganism’, the latter being defined as an artificial structure created by Christian authors in the course of the fourth century. He also pays attention to the division created by Franz Cumont in the early 20th century between ‘traditional Roman religion’ and ‘oriental mystery cults’. This division has been much criticized and largely abandoned by scholars of Roman religion during the past few decades. Such a division can obviously not be seen in Late Antiquity.

Gassman starts by analysing the earliest author of his study, Lactantius. Lactantius is an interesting example, since he started his career as a teacher of rhetoric during the reign of Diocletian, when he converted to Christianity, and he wrote his most important works after the tetrarchic period,

during the reign of Constantine. Gassman focuses on Lactantius' description of traditional Roman religion in his major work, *Divinae institutiones*. He argues that even though the *Divinae institutiones* is primarily an apologetic text that defends Christianity, Lactantius does not simply disapprove of pagan cults but tries to explain their origins and development. Thus, Lactantius' work is the first Christian text in Latin to study the history of pagan religion thoroughly.

Analysing texts by Firmicus Maternus, Gassman moves on to discuss the relationship of emperors to traditional Roman religion after Constantine. Gassman also pays attention to Firmicus' extensive astrological manual, but focuses primarily on his polemical text *De errore profanarum religionum*, which he characterizes as being openly hostile towards polytheistic religion. Gassman argues that Firmicus develops a new method of polemicizing against pagans by representing Christianity and traditional polytheistic religion as opposed ritual and theological systems. Gassman sees the effect of Firmicus' background as an astrologer in his views on religion. Polytheistic religion – 'profane religion' – is the Devil's work and the many gods are the Devil's offspring. Firmicus appeals to the emperors to destroy the remnants of traditional pagan religion.

In Chapter 3, Gassman first discusses a short anti-pagan polemic written by an anonymous Christian author in an extensive collection of theological texts, dating from the 370s or the 390s. The author is usually called Ambrosiaster. Gassman considers this text to be extraordinary in its systematic vision of polytheism and its use of the new terminology of *paganitas*. Gassman parallels the texts by Firmicus Maternus and Ambrosiaster with some contemporary pagan inscriptions. More specifically, he discusses taurobolium inscriptions found in the area of the so-called Phrygianum, the cult site of Magna Mater and Attis in front of the present-day basilica of St Peter in Rome. These inscriptions represent the religious interests of the pagan senatorial aristocracy who tended to participate in several cults and hold several priesthoods at the same time. Gassman compares this new religiosity of the senatorial aristocracy to the systematized pagan religion defined by Firmicus Maternus and Ambrosiaster.

The latter part of Gassman's monograph is dedicated to two well-known, basically pagan cases. The first is the famous dispute concerning the altar of Victoria, which was ordered by the Emperor Gratianus to be removed from the House of the Senate in 382. The removal of the altar had a huge symbolic significance. As Gassman puts it, this act meant that the wellbeing of the Roman state and its rulers no longer depended on traditional religion. The pagan-minded senators were opposed to the new imperial legislation that was hostile towards polytheistic religion and they sent embassies to the imperial court concerning this matter up until the 390s. Gassman analyses texts by both pagan and Christian elite members that refer to this affair, focusing primarily on Ambrose and Symmachus, who both tried to influence the religious policy of the emperor. Gassman examines the ways in which spokesmen from two different institutions, the Christian church and the Roman senate,

presented traditional Roman religion to the emperor. This discussion is one of the most interesting sections in Gassman's book, even though the affair of the altar of Victoria is widely discussed and we do not know on what grounds the decisions concerning this case were eventually made in the imperial court. Gassman points out that the influence of Ambrose and Symmachus may not have been as strong as their rhetorical texts suggest. Gassman offers a new reading of Symmachus' text by arguing that it was not in fact an appeal for religious toleration, or for the equality of Christianity and paganism, but for the restoration of the status quo before the anti-pagan actions of the emperors.

The last major example of the religious attitudes of pagans and Christians in fourth-century Rome that Gassman discusses is the memory of the influential and respected pagan senator Vettius Agorius Praetextatus. He examines the various ways in which the members of the Roman elite – pagans and Christians – reacted to Praetextatus' death and the different attitudes to traditional religion and religion in general that these reactions reveal. There were various attitudes to religious matters not only among Christians but also among pagans. Both epigraphic and literary sources concerning Praetextatus' commemoration do exist. Among the inscriptions analysed by Gassman there are honorary inscriptions by Vestals and by Paulina, Praetextatus' widow. Gassman's analysis of the criticism expressed by Symmachus against the actions of the Vestals might well have benefitted from a slightly wider view on the role of Vestals in imperial Rome. Furthermore, a gender perspective might have been useful in discussing Paulina's activities, even if gender is not the focus of the book. Is it, ultimately, Paulina's genuine voice we hear in the epitaph she erected to her late husband, or a combination of social norms and expectations and her personal emotions? In any case, the competition between various actors about managing the memory of Praetextatus is a fascinating topic. Gassman argues that the competing religious views and political strategies of the pagan senators suggest that polytheistic religion still played a significant role in the increasingly Christian Rome of the late fourth century.

Gassman claims that the objective of his book is to shed light on the multiplicity of discourses concerning traditional polytheistic Roman religion, both among Christians and pagans. Gassman succeeds well in his objective by providing the reader with a nuanced analysis of rich material. It is a collection of five case studies, but the reader may well ask why Julian's reign is omitted or why Augustine is referred to only briefly. However, overall Gassman offers convincing new readings of his sources and a multifaceted interpretation of the complexity of religious discourses during the fourth century.

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Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum. Nova Series III. Institutum Historicum Ordinis Praedicatorum/Angelicum University Press, Roma 2018. ISSN 0391-7320. 398 pp. EUR 55.

Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum. Nova Series V. Institutum Historicum Ordinis Praedicatorum/Angelicum University Press, Roma 2020. ISSN 0391-7320. 280 pp. EUR 35.

This review covers two volumes of the journal *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* (AFP) that, as one could guess from its name, concentrates on the history of the Dominican order. Further information on the journal and its history is found in my review of the first two volumes of the Nova Series (*Arctos* 52/2018, pp. 268–70).

Volume III is a thematic issue concentrating on the topic ‘*Dominicans and Civil Authority*’. As is the custom of the AFP, the individual articles stretch from the Middle Ages well into the twentieth century. The geographical distribution of this issue is also wide as it covers not only European history but also that of Latin America and Africa. The articles are:

- Maria Conte, ‘Il lessico politico negli *Ammaestramenti degli antichi* di Bartolomeo da San Concordio’
- Kirsten Schut, ‘Politics and Power in the Works of John of Naples’
- Stefanie Neidhardt, ‘The Dominican Observant Reform: Interests and Interdependencies’
- Haude Morvan, ‘Au cœur des affaires. La nation Florentine et les freres Prêcheurs Lyonnais’
- Alfonso Esponera Cerdán OP & Alejandro López Ribao OP, ‘Un ejemplo del regalismo hispánico sobre la Orden de Predicadores en el siglo XVIII. Descripción de la documentación contenida en la *Relatio de la visita canónica* a las Provincias dominicanas de México, Puebla, Oaxaca, Guatemala y Santa Cruz en 1778’
- Alicia Fraschina, ‘El monasterio Santa Catalina de Sena de Buenos Aires y la experiencia reformista: 1821-1824. Antecedentes, legislación y consecuencias’
- Jacopo de Santis, ‘L’Ordine dei Predicatori nella Roma repubblicana del 1849. I rapporti con l’autorità civile tra pregiudizi politici e casi di violenza anticlericale’
- Juan Francesco Correa Higuera OP, ‘Le Dominicains en Colombie au XIXe siècle: l’évolution de l’Ordre face a des mouvements d’indépendance et aux reformes liberales’
- Cynthia Folquer OP, ‘Fray Ángel María Boisdron OP y la cuestión social. Tucumán, Argentina (fines de s. XIX y principios de s. XX)’
- Anton Milh & Dries Vanysacker, ‘«Faire vivre l’Ordre au temps révolutionnaire».

The Dominicans in Congo under Changing Civil Regimes'

- Daniel Minch & Stephan Van Erp, 'Creation, Civil Authority and Salvation.

Edward Schillebeeckx's Political Theology after Vatican II'

As no reviewer can be expected to cover all the riches in this volume, I shall only concentrate on a few articles that might well be of interest to *Arctos's* readers. Maria Conte's article on Bartolomeo da San Concordio's *Ammaestramenti degli antichi* is particularly interesting from the point of view of the late medieval translations of classical texts into vernacular languages. *Ammaestramenti* was a translation of Bartolomeo's Latin work *Documenta antiquorum*. The latter was basically a summa on the virtues particularly directed towards the administrators of Italian city states, such as Florence, where Bartolomeo himself resided at the Dominican convent of Santa Maria Novella. The *documenta* consisted of forty distinctions and used many classical and patristic writers as *auctoritates*.

The most interesting point of the *Ammaestramenti* is that it is one of the very few cases where the original author of the Latin text translated his own work into a vernacular, in this case Italian. Hence, the differences in the translation compared to the original Latin text were not caused by the different personality or style of the translator but were instead the result of conscious choices. Conte's article deals with this process in a very stimulating and original manner.

Another noteworthy article is Haude Morvan's piece about the Florentine merchant community that lived in Lyon during the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern period. Morvan focuses on the intriguing co-operation between such expatriate communities and mendicant orders. There were two reasons for that. Firstly, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries mendicant churches were often repaired and enlarged, allowing foreign communities to set up their own chapels and choirs as meeting places and places of worship. Secondly, the mendicant orders were centrally governed and international organisations. Due to the mobility of friars from one convent to another, it was likely that a foreign community would find others who spoke their language – and indeed, there were several Italian friars at the Lyon Dominican convent. The primary focus of this article is architecture. Morvan presents an interesting example of how the Italian custom of building a retrochoir behind the actual choir came to be adopted at the Lyon Dominican church on account of the Florentine merchant 'nation'.

While I cannot discuss in any detail the rest of the articles here, it is worth mentioning that they are all of high quality and deal with a variety of different topics. This, or indeed any volume of the AFP, is not solely useful to scholars interested in theology, religious history, or more exclusively the history of the Dominican order. Rather, there is also something of worth for philologists, cultural historians, historians of art and architecture, and even for aficionados of political history.

Volume V of the AFP Nova Series is slightly thinner and consequently includes fewer articles, namely:

- Philipp Thomas Wollmann, ‘...Ad Marchias’. Kritische Überlegungen zur Reise des Heiligen Dominikus in die Marken’
- Lydia Schumacher & David d’Avray, ‘Aquinas and the Place of Canon Law in Legal History’
- Frederik Felskau, ‘Black Friars in a Northern European Hanseatic City: The Dominicans of St Mary Magdalen in Lübeck (c. 1227/29-1531)’
- Alfonso Esponera Cerdán OP, ‘*Status quaestionis* sobre la irradiación de la reforma de la Provincia de España desde 1516 hasta finales del siglo XVI’
- Francisco José García Pérez, ‘Los predicadores Dominicos en la Corte de Carlos II (1665-1700)’
- Riccardo Saccenti, ‘The End of the Middle Ages and Religious Renewal. Heinrich Denifle and the Debate on the End of the Middle Ages’

This volume concentrates more on traditional church history than volume III; however, it is not without interest for those pursuing other areas of study. Philipp Thomas Wollmann’s article, for example, is a thought-provoking example of the problems involved in interpreting medieval Latin sources. It revolves around the term ‘ad marchias’ (the borderlands) in connection with a Dominican chronicle describing Saint Dominic’s diplomatic mission to find a suitable marriage for King Alfonso of Castile’s son. The chronicle does not specify where Dominic went ‘ad marchias’. Carefully comparing and analysing contemporary Latin sources, Wollmann comes to the conclusion that the march in question must have been the March of Istria.

Frederik Felskau’s article on the Dominicans of Lübeck is essential reading for any scholar curious about the history of the Baltic region during the Late Middle Ages. This lengthy article of over sixty pages deals with the current research situation concerning the arrival and establishment of the Dominicans in Lübeck, their role in Lübeck’s urban history and in wider political contexts, and the Dominican influence in the social history of the city, most notably in taking care of the poor and the sick. As Lübeck was the most influential of the Hanseatic towns, its Dominicans were also influential not only within the city and its close proximity, but within the whole Baltic region.

Another notable article in this volume is Riccardo Saccenti’s piece on Heinrich Denifle, one of the most influential Dominican historians of the twentieth century. Although Saccenti briefly covers Denifle’s vast production, including the all-important *Cartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, the real focus of the article is Denifle’s magnum opus *Luther und Luthertum in der Ersten Entwicklung quellen und mäßig dargestellt* (1904) on Martin Luther. Denifle sets out to analyse Luther’s complete literary production, seen in its contemporary context and in the context of scholastic tradition. This is something that has not been previously explored by Protestant scholarship, which by and large has

been satisfied with treating Luther's *opera omnia* as a coherent and homogeneous monument to the great man, and Luther himself as a saintly person.

Denifle's starting point as a Catholic scholar was to show that Luther was deeply influenced by tradition and that his writings changed from being reform Catholic into eventually becoming harmful and heretical. In this he was almost like a mirror image of a contemporary Protestant historian, Paul Sabatier, whose *La Vie de Saint François d'Assise* (1894) was a similar endeavour to challenge the hagiographic image of Saint Francis.

While, not unexpectedly, Protestant scholars were not particularly happy with the outcome, they nevertheless gave credit to Denifle's sound historical-critical analysis and acknowledged a number of his conclusions. One could say that Denifle's work served as the beginning of a new paradigm for Luther and Reformation studies on both sides of the confessional line. Saccenti's merit is that he provides readers with a comprehensive analysis of Denifle's contemporary context and influences, as well as his continuing importance for Luther scholarship.

Both volumes also have a reasonably large number of pages given over to book reviews. They are written in a number of languages and cover a wide variety of literature that has some connection with the Dominican order.

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TIZIANA CARBONI: *La parola scritta al servizio dell'imperatore e dell'impero: lab epistulis e la libellis nel II secolo d.c.* Antiquitas I 70. Dr. Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2017. ISBN 978-3-7749-4078-9. 289 pp. EUR 73.

One of the peculiarities of the administrative operation of the Roman Empire, and of the emperor at its centre, was its reliance on letters as a method of communication and governance. The emperor wrote to and received letters from officials around the empire, from cities and communities and even from individuals, to an extent unprecedented in the ancient world. This correspondence was at the core of not only the governance of the empire but also the spread of Roman law. The two imperial functionaries who were tasked with writing on behalf of the emperor were titled *ab epistulis* and *a libellis*, the individuals who handled letters written to the emperor and petitions presented to the emperor, respectively. They were equestrian officials whose activities and backgrounds, especially their capabilities in the field of law, have recently been the subject of considerable speculation and interest.

Tiziana Carboni's book is an ambitious attempt at analysing these officials and their activities from the reign of Hadrian to the Severans, compiling a prosopographic picture of the people and their works. It is, in both the good and bad, a doctoral thesis that has been turned into a book, meaning that it is well researched and exhaustively documented, but at the same time it remains very careful in its conclusions.

As is typical in prosopographical studies, the work is divided into clear categories; firstly that of persons and documents (chapters 2 and 3, respectively), which are then further divided into subchapters by emperor. This categorization is neat, although less than compelling as a way of writing history. The chapters are based mainly on the source materials, as is the timeframe chosen, considering that the period under investigation is the same that has given us the most sources on these officials.

The great service and the most notable achievement of the book is that it provides comprehensive lists of the people who served as imperial secretaries and, most importantly, lists of the associated documents that have been preserved, both from epigraphic and from literary sources. Thus we have a good overview of, for example, the 121 letters sent by Hadrian, with linkages where available to the secretaries who wrote them based on the dating of the letters. There are also corresponding lists of rescripts, linked with the secretaries *a libellis* with the same method. In many cases these categories are mixed; for example, the famous rescript of Hadrian to Iulius Tarentinus, preserved in the Digest of Justinian (D. 42,1,33), is found in both lists.

There are, however, a number of limitations that this approach leads to. The first is that the author does not engage with the many important and long-standing controversies that she outlines in the beginning of the work (pp. 9–17), heated debates whose participants are a veritable who's who of the big names in the field. Thus, we are left with little to go on, for instance, regarding the question of how independently such secretaries worked in relation to the emperor or what level of legal expertise the secretaries were required to have (p. 210–3). Among them were, of course, some of the greatest names in Roman law, such as Domitius Ulpianus, from whose pen comes no less than 40% of the Digest. Thus, by not engaging with this issue the author has denied us some potentially very interesting conclusions.

This is not to say that the book does not contain creative and novel ideas. The author presents a hypothesis (p. 214 for *ab epistulis*, p. 219 for *a libellis*) of how the interaction between the emperor and the secretaries could have operated. While the reconstruction itself is by no means unlikely, what is surprising is that it is presented without documentation or references to sources. Such hypotheses about the developments and the possible mechanisms of operations are laudable, but the reader does have some concerns regarding the fact that issues such as the existence and use of an archival service that would have preserved all imperial letters and rescripts is assumed rather than discussed.

In conclusion, Carboni's work is enormously interesting, and grounded on solid basic research that will be useful for all who work in the field. As a reader, I would wish that she would have followed this with a monograph wherein she would draw more fully the conclusions tentatively now outlined, accompanied by a proper engagement with the relevant discussions.

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Antike Wirtschaft und ihre kulturelle Prägung / The Cultural Shaping of the Ancient Economy. Herausgegeben von / Edited by KERSTIN DROSS-KRÜPE – SABINE FÖLLINGER – KAI RUFFING. Philippika 98. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2016. ISBN 978-3-447-10674-0; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-447-19565-2. XVI, 320 pp. EUR 69.

This collection gathers together presentations given at “The Cultural Shaping of the Ancient Economy” workshop. This workshop, and consequently the contributions in this collection, investigate the interconnectedness of culture and economy in the ancient world. The theoretical framework for this work is New Institutional Economics (NIE) theory, and the purpose of the collection is to provide examples of how this theoretical tool can be used to analyse economic practices.

In the beginning of the book, Jeffrey Korn presents the main arguments of NIE, its theoretical basis and its uses. Kai Ruffing continues this discussion by showing how NIE could be used as a tool to bridge the traditional primitivism–modernism divide in discussions of ancient economies. The other fourteen contributions discuss different aspects of economic history over a wide time span and geographical area, roughly covering the ancient empires of the Middle East, Egypt, Greece and Rome. Contributions relating to land ownership rights show how different the solutions to similar problems can be. Two papers discuss land ownership institutions and their relationship to both state power and regional power. Evelyn Korn and Jürgen Lorenz explore the role of state power in the gradual disappearance of private ownership rights, while Giulia Torris investigates regional power in her study of owning and renting in the Hittite state. Jesper Carlsen considers similar questions related to the changes in institutional position of small tenants in imperial legislation in the early Roman Empire.

Contributions on the role of institutions in practice show how particular culturally and socially defined institutions guided different economic practices and their development. Laetitia Graslin-Thomé's article studies economic institutions and organizations as promoters and inhibitors of development in Mesopotamia, Wim Brokaert investigates how shared mental models created institutions, especially agency, associations and munificence in the Roman context, and Eivind

Heldaas Seland shows, using Palmyra as example, how long-distance trading networks and local institutions connected.

Trade, especially long-distance trade, is a complicated operation that requires a large number of institutions to function. The various contributions on this theme show how different kinds of institutions fulfilled different roles in managing exchange in different contexts. Kerstin Droß-Krüge describes different types of principal-agent relations, with three variations on the roles of masters, owners, slaves and freedmen, showing well what discussion about “institutions” is all about. Vincent Gabrielsen’s analysis of Roman associations as creators and manifestors of generalized trust, (“our members are trustworthy”) vs. private trust (“I know that guy to be reliable”) offers a useful distinction. Sven Günther sees Piraeus as a special economic zone and shows how this is an improvement over Polanyis “ports of trade”. In the same vein, Oliver Stoll sees the transcultural zones and economic institutions on the Roman *limes* as creators of conditions where trade and commerce can operate.

It may be somewhat obvious that Sabine Föllinger’s analysis of Plato’s economic thought in the light of NIE may not bring too many surprises, since Plato is already known as a conceptual and theoretical thinker, but Stefan Schorn’s analysis of the practical vs. public ideals for officials in Hellenistic Egypt is illuminating.

Perhaps the most challenging of the themes covered in this book is the combination of technology and material cultural with NIE. How does one analyse institutions in material practices? And what does an “institution” even mean when one’s sources are stones and paintings? Nicolas Monteix’s analysis of the technological elements of wall panels in Pompeian room decoration and their relation to house occupation does have some problems with this, but Ute Versteegen’s analysis of the reuse of building material and decoration, and patterns of hidden vs. visible reuse manages to suggest some ways in which the methodology might actually work.

It is not always apparent in the contributions what the role of NIE actually is, and consequently it is not always apparent what added value the inclusion of NIE could bring to scholars working with the themes of the contributors. However, some contributions are excellent demonstrations of the way in which theoretical concepts can open up discussions at a completely new level. But although the book’s contributions exhibit a wide variety of times and places in their themes, they rarely interact with each other. While a reader might gain some specific insight into a particular question in individual articles, the best use of this book is when it is read as an introduction to how ancient economic historians thought about their subject, and how New Institutional Economic theory can find a place in that context.

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BETTINA KREUZER: *Panathenäische Preisamphoren und rotfigurige Keramik aus dem Heraion von Samos*. Samos 23. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2017. ISBN 978-3-95490-212-5. VIII, 122 S. EUR 58.

Bettina Kreuzer's volume on the fragmentary collection of pottery assemblages from the Heraion of Samos is a detailed and useful study of Panathenaic amphorae as well as several types of red-figure material recovered during the archaeological fieldwork there. It is the 23rd volume in the Samos publication series, the earlier 22nd volume having presented the black-figured pottery from the same location. Both volumes have been written by Kreuzer.

Kreuzer is an acclaimed scholar of Greek pottery. She has worked widely on several different types of vessels and their iconography. Her expertise in attributing painters is brilliantly shown in the present work. This volume, covering assemblages from the 6th to the 4th centuries BCE, continues her well-researched and well-written series of publications. The book opens with an introductory chapter presenting the subject matter at hand and covering some background information about the types of vessels presented, before advancing to the actual descriptions and the catalogue with the photographs and drawings. In general, the presentation style is very logical and structured, although the heavy use of abbreviations might make casual use of the volume somewhat confusing. However, a welcome addition to an often very formulaic genre is the accurate indices of themes, mythological figures and different painters (p. 94–95), which will doubtless prove useful to other scholars of this subject, especially those studying iconography.

Prize amphorae were awarded to the victors at the Panathenaic games, an athletic contest held in Athens every four years in honor of the goddess Athena. The games were founded in the middle of the 6th century BCE and continued to be held in one form or another until the late 3rd or early 4th century CE. Several of these black-figure amphorae (filled with olive oil made from olives from the sacred grove of Athena) were given to each winner, thus making the amphorae a relatively widespread find in archaeological contexts. Some were painted by famous vase painters, such as Exekias or Lydos. The obverse of the amphorae had a depiction of Athena Promachos on the front, with several recurring features that can also be easily seen in the many fragmentary sherds included in the volume at hand. These include the aegis of the goddess, her shield (with various discernible devices), the peplos worn by the deity, or columns topped by standing cocks. The reverse of the amphora, on the other hand, would have had a depiction of the contest for which the vessel was awarded. Thus, the Panathenaic amphorae provide an interesting and rewarding area of research.

Obverse sides of the amphorae are the main focus, and are thus presented first. They include some large fragments or groups of fragments, such as MSP 5 (Pl. 2) or MSP 7 (Pl. 4), MSP standing for *Maler der samischen Preisamphoren*. This anonymous painter receives a convincing treatment in

the first chapter as well, along with Eucharides Painter, since some of the fragments are attributed to him or her as well. Kreuzer's bibliography is impressive and a valuable resource for anyone interested in the study of Panathenaic prize amphorae. Even with the most minuscule pieces, she is able to provide detailed and accurate descriptions and interpretations.

Red-figure pottery takes up a large part of the volume, but the variety is huge, as is to be expected. Indeed, the mass of fragments seems to be rather difficult to approach compared to the relatively uniform shapes and iconography of the prize amphorae. Many of the red-figure fragments come from secondary contexts and are rather worn and small. Despite this, Kreuzer closely examines several impressive pieces. The interpretations given regarding the small but intriguing pelike fragments K 6306 (p. 62–63, Pl. 22), possibly depicting the birth of the goddess Aphrodite, are very well researched and show admirable skill. A similar creative versatility is shown in Kreuzer's long discussion on a seemingly insignificant piece, K 7104 (Pl. 30, p. 92), of a nude male figure playing a cithara. Much attention is given to an unattributed collection of krater fragments from the 4th century BCE, No. 54 (Pl. 25, p. 70–72). These depict a complicated setting with a shrine and several female and male figures surrounding a seated Herakles with his club, with a flying Nike next to him. Kreuzer's comments about this scene are intriguing and stir the reader's imagination, although no clear identification can be given.

Some technical details could have been handled with more care. Although the photographs are mostly of good quality, some of them seem to be slightly overlit. Fragments of MSP 6 (Pl. 3) are confusingly arranged, with only a slight resemblance to their assumed actual sequence on the complete vase. Same hasty arranging can be seen on K 7539 (Pl. 13), where the parts of the chariot wheel do not quite align with each other. It is also unfortunate that the volume is completely black and white, for which the financial realities of scientific publications are to blame in general, and not the author. Nevertheless, a few full color plates would have supported Kreuzer's erudite descriptions nicely, since different shades of black, red, brown, and orange are of vital importance in describing the fragments. Photographs of some of the described sherds are also missing altogether, mostly because they are published elsewhere, although they are still referred to in the text.

Despite these minor drawbacks, the volume is a work of brilliant scholarship and a valuable contribution to the study of Athenian painted pottery. It shows marvelously how scrupulous work can shed light on even the most fragmentary of research materials.

Nikolai Paukkonen

Töpfer – Maler – Schreiber: Inschriften auf attischen Vasen. Akten des Kolloquiums vom 20. bis 23. September 2012 an den Universitäten Lausanne und Basel / Potiers – peintres – scribes: inscriptions sur vases attiques. Actes du colloque tenu aux Universités de Lausanne et de Bâle du 20 au 23 septembre 2012 / Potters – painters – scribes: Inscriptions on Attic vases. Proceedings of the colloquium held at the University of Lausanne and Basel from 20th to 23rd September 2012. Edited by RUDOLF WACHTER. *Akanthus Proceedings IV.* Akanthus Verlag für Archäologie, Kilchberg – Zürich 2016. ISBN 978-3-905083-37-8. 168 pp. EUR 50.

The articles compiled in this volume have their origin in a colloquium held at the University of Lausanne and Basel in 2012. They are dedicated to the discussion about inscriptions on Attic vases and, as its editor Rudolf Wachter points out, they augur a renewed interest in the field. The book maintains a fruitful dialogue with the traditional literature and research about vase inscriptions (the works by John Beazley, François Lissarrague, Henry Immerwahr) but also introduces new perspectives and analyses. The most important part of the book consists of a short introduction by Rudolf Wachter and nine articles with illustrations. At the end we find a very useful list of concordances and an index of names and subjects.

In the Introduction, Wachter argues for the importance of the conference in showing the potential of the new researches dedicated to Attic vase inscriptions and calls attention to the importance of the development of the AVI online database (Attic Vase Inscriptions / Attische Vaseninschriften), the continuation of Henry Immerwahr's CAVI (Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions). The first chapter by Georg Simon Gerleigner explores the motif of the riddle of the sphinx of Thebes in black and red pottery. He presents a detailed study of the iconography and the text of these two types of vases, and reflects on the complex connection between images and inscriptions. Kristine Gex analyses the Douris signature on vases not decorated by the Painter Douris himself. She studies in particular the "Douris Inscriptions" on cups attributed to the Cartellino Painter, and explains them through Cartellino's admiration of Douris: Cartellino imitates Douris' style and pays tribute to his model, introducing even his name as a sign of respect. Alan Johnston deals with the historical and geographical development of the use of marks in pots from the eighth to the fourth century. The author finds small marks on the vases of the eighth century (simple letters and signs of property); by the seventh and the sixth centuries the use of marks increases and the author identifies them as clear trademarks. The evidence of trademarks decreases gradually during the fifth century and becomes minimal after the fourth century BC. Cécile Jubier-Galinier offers an accurate study of the inscriptions in late black figure pottery, considering at the same time the chronological uncertainties about the subject. She concludes that the group of late black figure paintings is not uniform (some of them integrate writing and images, some others do not)

because they are produced by different atelier traditions, and there are chronological discrepancies inside each group. Thus, the Emporion and the Haimon paintings scarcely include writing, while the Painter Diosphos uses signs and pseudo-inscriptions. On the other hand, the production of the Sappho Painter is unique and heterogeneous (sometimes we find legible words and a thoughtful and studied use of writing, sometimes nonsense inscriptions). The chapter “Athenaios epoiesen”, by Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter, deals with the attribution of that signature to Phintias and Xenophantos. The expression of the title is understood as a sign of pride in exceptional products and as a revindication of the persistent activity of Athenian vase manufacturers after the Peloponnesian War. Angelos P. Matthaiou discusses ten inscriptions on Attic vases, mostly graffiti between the sixth century and the middle of the fourth century BC, in order to highlight the need for a critical edition of the corpus of Attic graffiti and dipinti. This edition will be a significant contribution to the study of Attic language and its cultural environment. The Attic nonsense inscriptions and the inscriptions in which the term *kalos* appears are the subject of the next chapter by Jan-Matthias Müller. He points out that, at first sight, these two types of inscriptions give the impression of redundancy, triviality and arbitrariness, and generally raise more questions than answers. Thus, in order to reach a better understanding, he proposes to classify them in extradiegetic, diegetic, intradiegetic and metadiegetic inscriptions. This examination provides the author with a new frame to assess the narratological and pragmatic functionality of the corpus studied. In a short but well-researched chapter, Leslie Threatte discusses the use of the dipinti on Attic black and red figure vases as evidence of the reconstruction of the Attic dialect. The linguistic phenomena analysed are the omission of the nasal before the consonant, general to most parts of Greece and not specific to Attic; the use of the form EIMI for the first person singular of the verb to be, a normal spelling in Attica, opposed to the Ionic version EMI; and the use of XΣ and ΦΣ instead of Ξ and Ψ, which requires more evidence to yield accurate results. Rudolf Wachter dedicates the last chapter of the book to a linguistic as well as literary approach to early Greek inscriptions in relation to the origin and spread of the alphabet.

The book is remarkable in the accuracy of the researches of the studies discussed, their clear explanation and the relevance of the discussions. In addition to what has already been mentioned, one of its greatest merits is the thematic unity that it achieves. Each chapter, although dedicated to a specific subject – even with different theoretical and methodological approaches, as we have seen – is connected to the others by a common thread that not only gives depth to the final product, but also results in a very engaging read. The material aspect of the edition is also noteworthy: the quality and size of the pages enhance the impeccable photographs and drawings that not only illustrate but also complement the body of the chapters. Finally, I would like to highlight that although the focus of the publication is on Greek vase inscriptions, the implications of the results and reflections presented

provide valuable information for the specialist in other areas of Ancient Greek studies – archaeology, history, literature, art and Ancient Greek language – which evidence its interdisciplinary scope.

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CATERINA PARIGI: *Atene e il sacco di Silla. Evidenze archeologiche e topografiche fra l'86 e il 27 a.C.* Kölner Schriften zur Archäologie 2. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2019. ISBN 978-3-95490-366-5; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-95490-721-2. 240 pp. EUR 98.

The study of Roman Athens has most often been concentrated on the activities of Augustus and Hadrian, and the time between the siege and destruction by Sulla in 86 until the founding of the province of Achaia by Augustus in 27 has largely been ignored. Post-Sullan Athens has been treated in passing in *Athens, The City beneath the City: Antiquities from the Metropolitan Railway Excavations* (2001), the *Studi di Archeologia e Topografia di Atene e dell'Attica* series (2008–) by the Italian Archaeological School at Athens, and in various notices in the *Archaologikon Deltion*. This shortfall in our knowledge of Athenian history has now been amended by Caterina Parigi with her systematic study of the city in the first century BC, including the time both before and after the Sullan siege.

The presentation of the historical context is followed by eight chapters focusing on topographical districts or structural categories: the walls, the necropoleis, the Kerameikos, the Agora, the Acropolis and its slopes, the area further south of the Acropolis and approximately the district of the modern Makriyanni, the Areopagus and the residential quarter in the valley towards the Pnyx, and finally the area to the east of the Agora. Each chapter covers the respective excavation histories, literary and epigraphical sources, a description of the monuments, and an analysis of the sources, followed by concluding remarks. Furthermore, each chapter is supported by generous appendices listing the associated sources and finds. Taking such a large and heterogeneous body of information and presenting it as interesting reading has demanded great persistence from the author.

The period in question has usually been seen as a somewhat “decadent” transition from a Greek Athens to a Roman Athens. Also, that the actions of Sulla and his troops were a catastrophe for the city, especially in the economic sense, from which it recovered only during the reign of Augustus. By tracing the actual condition of the temples and other structures, the use of various building techniques, and the evidence for and dates of restorations, the author has been able to suggest, e.g., whether the structural effects were due to actual destruction and pillaging – and even to trace the routes the Sullan troops must have taken through the city – or were rather due to natural

deterioration. As to the city walls, in light of the archaeological data she concludes that the reported destruction of the north-western part of the circuit as described by ancient authors seems to have been somewhat exaggerated. Instead, only minor damage was detected between the Dipylon and the Sacred Gate, not dissimilar to that in the south-eastern and south-western parts of the wall. Neither was the moat filled in all at one time; rather, it seems to have been done only gradually. The area of Kerameikos was certainly involved in the siege of Sulla, but burials went on without any change in the rituals. While the nature of some buildings, such as the Pompeion, did change, the materials for reconstruction were apparently used, according to the author, in places more in need of immediate repair. Our information on other necropoleis comes mostly from the metro excavations and is therefore sporadic, but neither in them was she able to detect changes in burial practices.

This important book is the product of an immense quantity of research, from which the author has drawn interesting reflections and conclusions. Without a doubt there may be future nuances in interpreting the evidence, but the substance of this book would be difficult indeed to ignore. Some editorial reconsideration might have removed the superfluous use of italics and also conformed many names to more standardized orthography, but overall it is a sound study covering a neglected period of Athens' history.

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