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INDEX

Maxwell Hardy	*Ovid's Public Poetry:* Tristia *5,1,23–4*	9
Paul Hosle	*An 'Ars Poetica' Acrostic in a Poem of Alberto Mussato*	27
Ilkka Kuivalainen	*From Affection to Violence: The Treatment of Animals in Pompeian Sculpture*	33
Tuomo Nuorluoto	*An Unpublished Latin Inscription from Castelnuovo di Porto Including a New Nomen with the Suffix* -aienus	57
Włodzimierz Olszaniec	*A Corruption in* Ciris *530?*	65
Leena Pietilä-Castrén	*A Note on a Helmeted Marble Head in a Finnish Art Museum*	69
Olli Salomies	*Latin Cognomina in* -illianus *(Addendum) and Nomina in* -inus	83
Heikki Solin	*Analecta Epigraphica 341–343*	101
Jyri Vaahtera	*Bibulus and the* Hieromenia *(ἱερομηνία) of 59 BC*	111
Jamie Vesterinen	*Generals' Dreams before Battle: An overview of a Recurring Motif in Ancient Historiography (4th c. BC – 3rd c. AD)*	127

De novis libris iudicia 189

Index librorum in hoc volumine recensorum 255

Libri nobis missi 259

Index scriptorum 267

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OVID'S 'PUBLIC POETRY': *TRISTIA* 5,1,23–4

Maxwell Hardy*

Abstract: Critics have long struggled to assign a definitive sense to the words *publica carmina* in Ovid, *Tristia* 5,1,23: are these 'public poems' meant to be the *Metamorphoses*, the *Fasti*, the *Tristia*, or something else entirely? After surveying all the referents so far proposed and showing them all to be unsatisfactory, this paper argues that *carmina* is in fact a transcriptional error for *commoda*, occasioned by a scribe's untimely recollection of *carmina* from v. 15, and that by *quod superest, animos ad publica commoda flexi*, "henceforth, I have directed my mind towards the public interest", Ovid means to suggest, perhaps ironically, that in ceasing to write the "lascivious" love poetry which he renounces in vv. 15–20, he is thereby performing a service (however undeserving of the name) to the "common weal" of Roman social morality.

The fifth and final book of Ovid's *Tristia* begins with a renunciation. Drawing a contrast between the frivolous poetry of his youth and his present doleful verses, Ovid in 5,1,15–26 claims to regret ever having written amatory elegies, and to have since directed his mind towards "public poems":[1]

delicias siquis lasciuaque carmina quaerit, 15
praemoneo, non est scripta quod ista legat.
aptior huic Gallus blandique Propertius oris,
aptior, ingenium come, Tibullus erit.

* I am grateful to the anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and suggestions.

[1] The text given in the main body is based on that of Owen 1915; the apparatus is based on that of Hall 1995, 173, with some further readings culled from the *editio maior* of Owen 1889, 175.

atque utinam numero non nos essemus in isto!
ei mihi, cur umquam Musa iocata mea est? 20
sed dedimus poenas, Scythicique in finibus Histri
ille pharetrati lusor Amoris abest.
quod superest, animos ad publica carmina flexi,
et memores iussi nominis esse sui.
si tamen ex uobis aliquis tam multa requiret 25
unde dolenda canam: multa dolenda tuli.

23 animos AGH*sscr*L4 : animum V : socios G^{2}H*ul, cett.* || 24 nominis] carminis M | tui E mei G*ul, cett.* : sui AG+G^{2}L4V2 : tui E

"If anyone wants sprightly entertainment,
I warn him lines like this are not the place.
Fitter the friendly genius of Tibullus,
And fitter Gallus' and Propertius' grace.
And would that I were not among their number!
Alas, why were my Muse's games so gay?
But I have paid the price: beside the Danube
In Scythia Love's jester's far away.
Since then I've turned my couplets to decorum,
And bade them bear in mind their dignity.
But if you ask me why I harp so much on
My misery, I've borne much misery."[2]

In his otherwise very elegant setting of these lines into English metre, A. D. Melville takes some liberties with the Latin of vv. 23–4, which appear literally to mean: "For the time that remains, I have directed my faculties towards public poetry and bade them (sc. my faculties) not forget their name." The recension of this couplet, no less than its right understanding, is fraught with difficulties, as can be inferred from the numerous variant readings cited in the above-given apparatus. There are essentially three problems. Firstly, what are these "public poems" of which Ovid speaks? Secondly, which of *animos* or *socios* and *sui* or *mei* did he write in vv. 23 and 24? Thirdly, if Ovid indeed wrote *animos*, in what

[2] Melville 1992, 91.

sense are his "faculties" bidden not to forget their own or Ovid's name?[3] I shall take each of these questions in turn.

Guessing what Ovid intended to convey by the phrase *publica carmina* has been a game played by editors of the *Tristia* since its earliest impression. "Consideranda diligentius poemata quae ab eis [sc. sociis] publice eduntur, ne forte ea scribant quibus damnentur, ut mihi accidit; vel […] carmina quae edita a me omnibus patebant" Merula (1499, LIX); "carmina quae publicaui ad sodales direxi ad eos scribendo" Bersmanus (1582, 399); "[socios flexi] ut bella scriberent, vel de patria" Ciofanus (1583, 135); "versus meos de Tristibus, quos amicis legendos mitto" Micyllus (1549, 522), followed almost to the letter by Burman (1727, 657); "allgemeine Gedichte, carmina quae ab omnibus legi possent" Boysen (1829, 124); "*publica carmina*, quae ab omnibus sine noxa legi possint, quum lasciva non omnibus liceret legere, certe non omnibus scriptae essent" Loers (1839, 437); "carmina uolgaris atque communis notae, cuiusmodi re uera Tristia sunt, quae ut nihil grande uel excelsum complectuntur, ita in rebus communibus praecipue uersantur" Owen (1889, C); "des sujets destinés à tous" André (1968, 130); "*carmina mediocria*, so wie jeder sie schreiben kann" Luck (1977, 280); "poem epistles 'for general consumption'" Godman (1987, 11 and n. 58), giving E.J. Kenney's interpretation of the adjective; "Gedichte, die zu meiner Situation passen" Frings (2005, 214 n. 287). That nobody has any definite idea of what these words were intended to mean is a tempting conclusion to draw; but some have arrived at more precise definitions with fuller arguments, and these require refuting point by point.

If, as his MSS would have us believe, Ovid wrote *publica carmina*, these "public poems" must refer either to a specific work or to a generic kind of composition. Critics who embrace the former alternative have arrived at some very divergent conclusions respecting which work or set of works Ovid could

[3] The opinions of editors are widely divergent on these matters. *animos* and *sui* were first raised to the text over *socios* and *mei* by N. Heinsius (1661, 226), and have since been printed by Burman (1727, 656), Amar (1822, 40), Platz (1825, 203), Boysen (1829, 124), Loers (1839, 437), Güthling (1884, 199), and André (1968, 130). Previously *socios … mei* held the field, appearing in the Venice edition of Merula (1499, LIX), the editions of Micyllus (1549, 522), of Bersmanus (1582, 399), of D. Heinsius (1629, 244), of Merkel (1837, 273), of Riese (1874, 182), and of Walker (1828, 485). Those who read *animos* with *mei* include Owen (1889, 175; 1905, 556; 1915), Ehwald – Levy (1922, 114), Wheeler (1924, 210), and Bakker (1946, 15). For a full bibliography of editions, see Owen 1889, CVII–X and Hall 1995, XXIII–IV.

have meant. That he intended the *Tristia* themselves is scarcely credible. One can hardly describe as "public" a poetry-collection bidden to sneak into Rome under cover of night and advised to be spoken of quietly.[4] Cf. *trist.* 1,1,27–64:

> inuenies [sc. liber] aliquem, qui me suspiret ademptum,
> carmina nec siccis perlegat ista genis,
> et tacitus secum, ne quis malus audiat, optet,
> sit mea lenito Caesare poena leuis.
> …
> clam tamen intrato, ne te [sc. librum] mea carmina laedant;
> non sunt ut quondam plena fauoris erant.

> "You will find someone who sighs over my exile, reading through my poems with undried cheeks, and hoping to himself (quietly, lest any malefactor hear him) that Caesar's wrath will soften and my punishment be lightened. […] But enter secretly, that my verses not harm you; they are not now as favoured as they once were."

A work earlier characterized in terms of anxious stealth and secrecy is not aptly described as "public" in the sense "for public consumption"; and although it is true that *trist*. 2 is addressed directly to the "public" figure of Augustus, that is only one book of five, the rest being very cautiously inscribed to nameless individuals.[5]

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[4] Cf. Withof 1749, 143–4; Hall 1988, 137.

[5] Natoli (2017, 124) perceives a gradation of privacy/publicity between *trist.* 1–5 and *Pont*. 1–3: "the poems move from a collection of *privata carmina* for unspecified addressees in *Tr.* 1–4 to *publica carmina* (*Tr.* 5.1.23) for unspecified addressees to finally a collection of public letters for specific and named addressees […] in *Epistulae ex Ponto* 1–3." But it is difficult to see how this gradation is borne out by the actual content of *trist*. 1–5, given that all the addressees (save Augustus in *trist*. 2) are equally "unspecified". The *publica carmina* of *trist*. 5,1 might be prospective, meaning the projected *Epistulae ex Ponto*; but although these poems do "publicly" name their addressees, does it really follow that they are themselves works of an appreciably "public" character, any more than another published book of poetry?

Others have argued that by *publica carmina* Ovid means his earlier works, such as the *Metamorphoses* and/or the *Fasti*. "*Animos* et *sui* interpretabamur de Fastorum in exilio retractione," says Merkel; "he appears to allude to the *Fasti* in these lines" writes Hoffman; "'[f]or the rest (i.e. following my love-poetry), I turned my numbers to public songs', namely the *Fasti*," claims Shackleton Bailey, appearing not to mind that he is translating Ehwald's emendation of *animos*.[6] Quite apart from the issue of whether the *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* can adequately be described as peculiarly "public" compositions (as compared with Ovid's amatory and other works), these glosses fail to take account of the all-important *quod superest* which opens this couplet. For as Merkel justly remarks, this phrase, lit. "as regards what is to come", ought to limit the action of the main clause to a future time, and in connection with *flexi* (present perfect: "I have directed"), puts one in mind of works that have recently been started and are yet to be finished.[7] Since, however, we are told that the *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* have already been substantially written, to describe them in *trist.* 5 as poems to which Ovid had directed his attention "as regards what is to come hereafter", i.e. "henceforth", seems most implausible.[8] Nor is the quality of being "public" so salient a feature of these two works as to bring them instantly to the mind of a reader confronted with the words *publica carmina*.

The second alternative, that Ovid's *publica carmina* refer to a generic kind of work, such as, for instance, the entire corpus of his exile poetry (both written and projected), has been more widely embraced by scholars. H. Evans, who has named a monograph after this troubled expression ("*Publica Carmina:* Ovid's Books from Exile"), perceives in it "overtones of 'ordinary', 'commonplace' or 'not

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[6] Merkel 1837, 273; Hoffmann 1884, 54; Shackleton Bailey 1982, 395.

[7] Although the phrase *quod superest* seems not to be found elsewhere in company with a present perfect, the two are not incompatible. Ovid means that he turned his attention towards his new subject sometime in the past, and that his attention remains fixed upon it in the present. This is the proper function of the present perfect: to describe a past action with present consequences.

[8] In *trist*. 1.7.29–30 Ovid indeed claims not to have finished the *Metamorphoses*, but in terms which suggest that it was then out of his hands. The *Fasti*, as they have reached us, cover only half the Roman calendar, but at *trist*. 2.549–52 Ovid appears to say that he has finished the whole thing: *sex ego Fastorum scripsi totidemque libellos, | cumque suo finem mense uolumen habet, | idque tuo nuper scriptum sub nomine, Caesar, | et tibi sacratum sors mea rupit opus*. Trappes-Lomax (2006) would restore through elegant conjecture a reference to six books by writing *conscripsi menses* for the admittedly rather banal *Fastorum scripsi*.

refined'", and to establish this meaning in respect of Ovid's exile works compares a passage from the *Epistulae ex Ponto* (4,13,3–6) in which *non publica* is used to describe a poem's "structure":[9]

> *unde salutaris, color hic tibi protinus index*
> *et structura mei carminis esse potest.*
> *non quia mirifica est, sed quod non publica certe est:*
> *qualis enim cumque est, non latet esse meam.*

> "The source of this salutation, the tone of this letter and the structure of the verse can tell you, not that it is excellent, but 'tis at least not commonplace; for whatever be its merit, 'tis clear to see that it is mine."[10]

It is difficult to believe that *publica carmina* can refer to the kind of poetry that Ovid is now writing in exile. Indeed the use of *publica* in *Pont.* 4,13,5 seems rather to argue its impropriety in *trist.* 5,1,23. For why should Ovid describe all his compositions written from the time of the *Tristia* (23 *quod superest*) as "commonplace", only to describe *Pont.* 4,13 as a poem whose structure is "certainly not commonplace"? Perhaps *Pont*. 4,13 is an exception to the general rule propounded at *trist*. 5,1; but it remains difficult to see why the poet should characterise the rest as "commonplace" at all. For in what sense do the *Tristia* or the *Epistulae ex Ponto* actually live up to this description? What one critic regards as commonplace another finds to be matter of more than ordinary imagination; cf. E. J. Kenney: "it could be argued that his ingenuity and virtuosity are even more conspicuous than in (say) the *Ars*, since the monotony of his subject-matter – and in this respect at least there is some substance in his persistent self-disparagement – acted as a stimulus to variety of expression."[11] When in v. 69 Ovid concedes that his verses have become worse than they were ('*at mala sunt.' fateor*), he ascribes this not to the ordinariness of their subject matter, but to his relegation among a barbarously-tongued people, and to the fact of his never revising what he now writes (71–2).

[9] Evans 1983, 94–5; cf. Owen 1889, CI.

[10] I give the translation of Goold 1988, 475.

[11] Kenney in Melville 1992, XXI.

P. Green puts his finger on several somewhat confusing or dubiously relevant connotations of *publica*:

> "These 'more *public* poems' (*publica carmina*) carry various implications. They are both ordinary (i.e. anyone could write them) and non-private (i.e. anyone can read them); they are, further, to justify this latter category, harmless, as the erotic elegies were not, and thus not liable to imperial censorship. Finally, they challenge the Callimachean (and neo-teric) principle of rejecting 'all public things' (Callim. *Epigr.* 28,4), where *ta dēmosia* carries social as well as literary pejorative overtones."[12]

Whether these connotations are all to Ovid's purpose may be doubted. One must, first of all, acknowledge that *publica* is not equivalent in meaning to *magis publica*: flatly to call the exile poems "public" does not imply that they stand at the higher end of an imaginary scale of publicness, at the lower end of which lie his other, "less public" poems, viz. the *Amores* and *Ars Amatoria* (earlier disclaimed in vv. 15–18 as *delicias lasciuaque carmina*). The simple adjective *publica* contrasts not with a lower degree of itself, *minus publica*, but rather with its antonym, *priuata*. Accordingly the exile works are "public" in contradistinction to the "private" amatory works. Yet in what sense the *Amores* or *Ars Amatoria* live up to the implication of being "private poems", or even "less public poems" than the *Tristia*, is difficult to grasp. After all, the *Ars Amatoria* claims quite forthrightly to be a didactic poem intended for common instruction (1,1–2):

> *si quis in hoc artem populo non nouit amandi*
> *hoc legat et lecto carmine doctus amet.*

> "If anyone among this people does not know the art of love, let him read this poem, and having read it, let him love with skill."

The *Amores* were intended to ensure the long continuance of Ovid's fame (3,1,25–6):

[12] Green 2005, 274 n. 23.

nos quoque per totum pariter cantabimur orbem,
iunctaque semper erunt nomina nostra tuis.

"We too shall be sung of as equals throughout the world, and my name shall be ever joined with yours."

The *Metamorphoses* were envisaged to be "spoken upon the lips of people" wherever Rome's empire extended (cf. 15,877–8 *quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris* | *ore legar populi*); the *Fasti* were a set of calendrical poems written to teach the Romans their own mythology; and the *Medea* was a dramatic work perhaps exhibited before a live audience. Ovid's exile poetry seems no more "public" than any of these compositions, and how he could have maintained otherwise is very hard to see.

The second of Green's contentions is not more persuasive: *publica* does not necessarily, nor even suggestively, mean "harmless". At best it means "publicly authorized" (cf. *OLD* s.v. *publicus*[1] 2), or "sanctioned by the state", yet even in this sense is ordinarily applied to things which have their origin in the state itself, not in a private individual such as Ovid. Green's third suggestion, that the term *publica* is somehow intended to oppose Callimachus' distaste for πάντα τὰ δημόσια, does not seem very pertinent to the matter at hand. Ovid is here establishing a contrast between his present doleful writings and those of the amatory elegists; for grinding an axe against the neoteric school there is no warrant.

H.-P. Stahl offers somewhat of a more convincing gloss of *publica*:

"Defining the word's meaning from the context in which it occurs here where it is opposed to the "jesting Muse" (cf. *Musa iocata mea est*, 20) of the *pharetrati lusor Amoris* of 21f., I understand *publica carmina* to be compliant poems (such as Augustus "himself can approve", 45) which are affecting everyone in the state, "communal, public" (*OLD* s.v. 3a). As such, they would be in contrast with the private circulation (cf. *privato … delituisse loco*, 3,1,80) to which Ovid's oeuvre was confined following his exilation, taken up merely by *plebeiae manus* (3,1,82) and read by the *media plebs* (cf. 1,18)."[13]

[13] Stahl 2002, 266–7.

The idea that Ovid's *publica carmina* stand in contrast with those poems which after his exile were confined to "private circulation" perhaps is plausible; but if this was Ovid's meaning, it was very abstrusely conveyed: *publica* sounds rather as if it contrasts poems intended all along to be private. His drift is made particularly hard to catch by the fact that he does not explicitly contrast the "publicity" of his exilic poems with the "privacy" of his amatory ones (e.g. by actually using the word *priuatus*, *secretus*, vel sim. either of his love poems or of the poems of Gallus, Tibullus and Propertius in vv. 15–18). If Ovid had simply meant to say "acceptable" or "serious" poetry, viz. poetry whose morally untainted character contrasts the essential vice of love elegy, one wonders why he did not simply say so, instead of resorting to an epithet so vague, so ambiguous, and so capacious of misinterpretation as *publica* has proven to be.

When a couplet presents so many oddities of sense as this, being transmitted in various forms by various MSS, it is sometimes worth asking ourselves whether the problem is really due to the author's opacity of style, and not the result of one slight but entirely accidental mistake on the part of a scribe. Here, since Ovid is not generally considered to be an obscure poet, I feel we should incline to the latter conclusion, as in fact several editors have done before.

Before proceeding to discuss previous critics' conjectures as to the reading usurped by *publica carmina*, it will be necessary first to say a word on the choice between *socios* and *animos* in v. 23 and between *sui* and *mei* in v. 24. Since bending one's "companions" (*socios*) towards poetry is a statement to which no very definite meaning can be attached,[14] whereas bending one's "mind" (*animos*) toward poetry can be readily explained as a metaphor for writing verse, most editors with just feeling print *animos* instead of *socios*.[15] If, however, one accepts, what most editors do accept, that *animos* has the better claim to authenticity than *socios*, what exactly will it mean for Ovid to say in v. 24 "and I bid [my]

[14] It would seem to be a periphrasis for "encouraging one's companions to read/write poetry of a public character"; but it is hard to see how this statement fits into the thread of Ovid's argument.

[15] It is easier to explain *socios* as arising from a scribe's attempt to make sense of *nominis … sui/mei* in the following line (i.e. "and told them [sc. my friends] not to forget my name"), than to believe that *socios* was spontaneously emended to *animos*, for which no obvious motive presents itself. *Vtrum in alterum abiturum erat?*

mind not to forget *my/its own* name"?[16] Why should Ovid's *animi* be expected to remember their own name or his? Why should they be liable to forget it? The answer is to be found in such parallels as Cic. *Phil.* 3,8 *o ciuem natum rei publicae, memorem sui nominis imitatoremque maiorum*, and Curt. 8,11,15 *ergo Alexander, et nominis sui et promissi memor, dum acrius quam cautius dimicat, confossus undique obruitur.* To remember one's name is to be mindful of one's reputation, *nomen* being used in the pregnant sense of "good name" or "esteem" (*OLD* s.v. *nomen* 12).[17] These connotations are adequately conveyed by Melville in his version: "And bade them bear in mind their dignity" (though the referent of Melville's "them" appears to be Ovid's poems, not, as the Latin suggests, his mind). Supposing, then, for the sake of argument, that the rest of this couplet is correct, Ovid would appear to be bidding his soul not to further debase itself by writing poetry of a frivolous nature. The attachment of Ovid's "good name" to his "soul" may seem slightly odd,[18] but the idiom that allows for the ascription of one's thoughts and deeds to one's *animus* instead of oneself appears to be sufficiently common in Latin as to present no great obstacle to understanding nor cause for emendation.[19] For another passage in the *Tristia* where Ovid attributes his own actions to his *animus*, cf. 2,53–6 *iuro* | … | *hunc animum fauisse tibi, uir maxime, meque,* | *qua sola potui, mente fuisse tuum*, "I swear that my soul favoured you, greatest of men [sc. Caesar], and that, wherein only I could, in heart I have been yours". For the pairing of *animus* and *memor*, see the parallels collected by Klotz, *TLL* 2.95.20–56, and cf. e.g. Liv. 35.8 *animos armorum memores*, "minds that remember the use of arms". Ovid's use of plural *animos* where one might have expected singular *animum* is to be explained as owing to the initial vowel of *ad*, before which only a consonant could stand without elision or hiatus. Not quite convinced that *animos* can refer to the "mind" or "soul" of a single person, W. Stroh contends that the plural of *animus* must always signify a particular state of mind, such as "courage", "wantonness" or "anger", and for this reason prefers

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[16] The translation of Martelli (2013, 208 n. 35), "For the future, I have turned to 'public' poems, and bidden them to be mindful of my name", suggests that Ovid bid his *poems* to be mindful, not his *animi*.

[17] Thus Vogel (1891, 38), who yet advocates *mei*.

[18] So it seems to Owen 1889, C: "de animis nomen suum recordantibus nemo Latinorum, opinor, umquam locutus est."

[19] See the examples of *animus* "substituted for the person" in *OLD* s.v. 2a.

to take *animos* here as referring to a multiplicity of souls (i.e. the souls of other Romans), and thus to read *mei* for *sui*.[20] Yet this does not seem to be quite true: A. E. Housman, in his commentary upon Manil. 3.38, is able to furnish as parallels for the use of *animi* in the sense of "mind" or "attention" Lucil. 910–1 Warmington = 851–2 Marx *praeterea ut nostris animos adtendere dictis* | *atque adhibere uelis*, and Ov. *met*. 2.39 *hunc animis errorem detrahe nostris* "(id est *meis*)", in both of which, as in the *Tristia*, the plural is required by metre.[21] Having now buttressed the case for reading *animos* and *sui*, I turn back to the question of how to emend the words *publica carmina*.

Various conjectures as to what Ovid might have written in v. 23 have been made. Withof, one of the earliest emendators, proposed to rewrite the line as *elegos ad luctum a crimine flexi*, "I directed my elegies away from crime and towards lament".[22] By this interpretation *nominis esse sui* (24) would refer instead to the tralatitious derivation of ἔλεγος from εὖ λέγειν or ἒ ἒ λέγειν.[23] Stimulated by the same thought, Ehwald proposed the slightly less intrusive change of *numeros* for *animos*, the sense of the hexameter then being "I have bent my *numbers* toward public poetry".[24] Ehwald's conjecture has since procured for itself a very high reputation among critics: Némethy combined it with *ad nubila* for *ad publica*, Hall with *pudibunda ad*, Watt with *ad propria* (though the first syllable of this adjective is seldom heavy), and Delz with *ad pristina*.[25] However, the problem with Ehwald's notion that *numeros* … | … *memores iussi nominis esse sui* might refer to the plaintive origins of elegy, quite apart from the fact that *animos* … | … *memores iussi nominis esse sui* is not actually defective in sense (as shown above), is that it forestalls the point of the following couplet: *sit tamen ex uobis aliquis*

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[20] Stroh 1981, 2643–2644 n. 39.

[21] Housman 1937, 4; see further Conway, 1935, 45–6, *ad* Verg. *Aen*. 1.149.

[22] Withof 1749, 143–5.

[23] This notion has been embraced in recent scholarship, even if Withof's conjecture has not: cf. e.g. Ingleheart 2011, 122–3 and n. 15.

[24] Ehwald 1884, 81.

[25] Némethy 1913, 108–9; Hall 1988, 137–8; Delz *apud* Watt 1995, 107. Luck (1977, 180), Goold (1988, 211) and Baeza Angulo (2005, 148) all print Ehwald's conjecture. The first critic to suspect *publica* of corruption appears to have been Bentley, who according to Owen (1889, 175) in the margin of a copy of Burman's edition of 1727 wrote *tristia* beside v. 23, whether as a gloss (*publica carmina* = *Tristia*) or as an emendation (*ad tristia carmina*) I know not. At any rate *tristia* is lauded by Tank (1879, 45) and considered as a "suggestive conjecture" by Hall (1988, 137).

tam multa requiret | *unde dolenda canam: multa dolenda tuli* (25–6). Ovid's *tamen* in particular would lose all force if the topic of "sadness" were alluded to and etymologised in the couplet that precedes;[26] and although *animos* for *numeros* is an error in which I can perhaps believe, to suppose that *publica* came from any of *pudibunda*, *propria*, or *pristina* requires an act of faith which I find much harder to make. One is moreover loath to deprive *flexi* of an object so congenial to itself as *animos*: cf. Verg. *georg*. 4,516 *non ulli animum flexere hymenaei*; Ov. *epist*. 4,165 *flecte, ferox, animos*; Sen. *Herc. f.* 1065 *rectam in melius flectite mentem*.[27]

That *carmina* and *nominis … sui* allude to an ancient etymology of ἔλεγος is, I conceive, a conjectural red herring. Since *publica*, an odd word for a scribe to obtrude whether by accident or on purpose, has so far managed to defy emendation, critics may want to seek for the seat of corruption elsewhere. The possible places are few, and the possible emendations much fewer. This dearth emboldens me to suggest, with as much confidence as one can have in such matters, that what Ovid wrote is this:

> *quod superest, animos ad publica* commoda *flexi,*
> *et memores iussi nominis esse sui.*

> "For the time that remains, I have turned my mind toward the common *weal* and instructed it [sc. my mind] not to forget its good name."

When Ovid says that he has since "turned his mind toward the common weal", he means to suggest that by ceasing to corrupt the Roman social morality with such lascivious love poems as the *Ars Amatoria*, he is thereby doing a service to the people.[28] The "public interest" in this sense means compliance with the *lex Iulia de coercendis adulteriis* and the *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus*, viz. by not publishing the sort of poetry that might seem to encourage otherwise upstanding citizens to commit adultery.[29] Now one may be tempted to ask whether this sense of *publica commoda*, "the public benefit", could be assigned to the text as it is transmitted; for could not *publica carmina* itself mean "poems intended to serve

[26] The same point is urged by Hall (1988, 138) as an argument against reading *tristia* for *publica*.

[27] See also Liv. 2,23,15; Sall. *Iug.* 62,8; Cic. *orat*. 123; Sen. *Med*. 203.

[28] On Ovid's admission of guilty conduct in writing the *Ars*, see McGowan 2009, 55–61.

[29] On the connection between these laws and the *Tristia*, see Ingleheart 2010, 3–4.

the common good"? The reason why this cannot be so is that *publica* cannot by itself signify "publicly beneficial", at best only "of public relevance or interest" (cf. *OLD* s.v. *publicus*[1] 3). Any connotation of "benefit" or "advantage" must be derived from the noun to which *publicus* is attached, e.g. *bonum*, as in Liv. 28,41,2 *etsi id bono publico faceret*, or *commodum*, as in Liv. 3,68,10 *cuius mens nihil praeter publicum commodum uidet*.

The character of Ovid's poetry does not give him frequent cause to mention "the public good", but references to it do occasionally crop up elsewhere in connection with the Augustan regime. The *publica commoda* are just what Horace worries about disturbing when he addresses to Caesar a letter longer than most (*Epistulae* 2,1,1–4):

> *cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,*
> *res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,*
> *legibus emendes,* in publica commoda *peccem,*
> *si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar.*

> "Since you alone bear the weight of charges so many and so great, protecting the Italian realm with arms, gracing it with morals, and reforming it by laws, I should offend *the common weal* if by a long discourse I occupied too many of your hours, Caesar."

Both poets' appeal to the *publica commoda* may seem somewhat hyperbolical; for just as Horace's letter cannot seriously be held to impair the common good in any substantial sense merely by distracting the emperor's attention away from graver matters, so Ovid's promise to recant love elegy cannot seriously be held to improve it (so much as not to injure it further).

It should be remarked that Ovid himself employs the phrase *publica commoda* with a synonym for *flecti* and a synonym for *animos* in a passage of the *Metamorphoses* (13,186–8), in which Odysseus, appealing to the doctrine of maximized utility, tries to persuade Agamemnon to sacrifice Iphigenia:

> '*denegat hoc genitor diuisque irascitur ipsis*
> *atque in rege tamen pater est: ego mite parentis*
> ingenium *uerbis* ad publica commoda uerti.'

> 'This the father refused, growing angry with the gods; for though he was a king, he was still also a father. With words I *turned* his soft parental *heart* to consider the *common weal*.'

The context is rather different, but the expression is the same: just as Odysseus turned Agamemnon's heart to consider the "public interest" of the Greek army, so Ovid has turned his own heart to consider the "public interest" of Roman marital and sexual mores. The same phrase, *publica commoda*, is thrice employed by Claudian in unrelated contexts: 5,203–4 *hinc publica commoda suadent, | hinc metus inuidiae*; 18,264 *defecisse uagas ad publica commoda uires*; 21,298–9 *nec umquam | publica priuatae cesserunt commoda causae*.

That words of dactylic shape tend to corrupt themselves into other words of dactylic shape is a familiar fact of life.[30] The fact that *carmina* recurs eight lines above in v. 15 may well suggest that *carmina* for *commoda* in v. 23 is one of those transcriptional errors caused by the ill-timed reminiscence of a word already met with (what the experts term a *Perseverationsfehler*). The ease with which this sort of error occurs in the *Tristia* is illustrated in the very passage under consideration: in place of *nominis* in v. 24 the MS which Owen denominates 'λ' gives *carminis* because of *carmina* in v. 23.

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[30] The best exposition of this curious scribal habit, termed "dactylic substitution", remains Markland 1728, IX–XI. Some of the more egregious examples in the *Tristia* are collected by Diggle 1980, 404–5.

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Arctos 56 (2022) 27–31

AN 'ARS POETICA' ACROSTIC IN A POEM OF ALBERTINO MUSSATO

Paul K. Hosle*

The prehumanist Albertino Mussato's *Poem* 33 has been adduced as a fine example of his classicizing artistry.[1] The broader context of the poem is the eventful arrival of Henry VII, Holy Roman Emperor in Italy in 1310. According to Guido Billanovich, the poem is to be dated to probably the early part of 1311,[2] shortly after Henry VII was crowned King of Italy in Milan on January 6 of that year. As Mussato tells us, he composed this poem in hopes of winning the favor of the emperor, to whom he had been sent as an official ambassador on behalf of his native Padua. The poem precedes by two years the death of Henry VII in August 1313 and by four years Mussato's being crowned poet laureate in December 1315, an honor which he received for his play *Ecerinis*, depicting the tyrant Ezzelino III da Romano who had oppressed Padua for almost two decades in the thirteenth century, and his historical work *De gestis Henrici septimi Cesaris*, which detailed Henry VII's Italian expedition. Consisting of seven elegaic couplets, *Poem* 33 is replete with learned circumlocutions and borrowings from classical poets. The text as a whole laments the fate of poetry and poets, himself in particular, in the contemporary cultural climate which has largely lost its ability to appreciate and support them. The text may be cited in full.[3]

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[1] See Witt 2001, 121–122. For a recent biography of Mussato, see McCabe 2022. Much can be learned about his engagement with classical Latin literature from the commentaries on his metrical epistles in Lombardo 2020. As Lombardo (2020, 27–31) notes, the influence of Ovid is particularly pronounced, but also that of many others, including Vergil, Horace and Statius. Especially relevant is the following comment (pg. 28) "Ricorre con assiduità nei luoghi che argomentano la difesa della poesia l'Orazio dell'*Ars poetica* e delle altre *Epistulae*".

[2] Billanovich 1976, 54.

[3] See Padrin 1887, 26–27.

Anxia Cesareas sese convertit ad arces:
  Romulidum veteres occubuere patres.
Suspicis Adriacis dominantem fluctibus urbem?
  Praemia castalio sunt ibi nulla deo.
Occidit in terris, si quis fuit em[p]tor Agavae,
  Et Maecenatem non habet ulla domus.
Territus effugio pennati stagna caballi:
  Iudicat infirmas has Galienus aquas
Cumque vetet princeps immunes esse poetas,
  A Tritone rubri me trahit unda Tagi.
Frons, Henrice, mee satis est incomta Camene,
  Lecta tamen veri nuntia fida soni.
Et michi grata tamen; saltem quia reddet amicum
  Me tibi, sulcandum iam bene stravit iter.

"My anxious Muse turns herself toward the Caesarian citadels; the ancient fathers of Romulus' posterity have gone to their rest. Do you look up to the city dominating the waves of the Adriatic? There are no prizes there for the Castalian god. If someone has purchased Agave, he has perished on the lands, and no house has a Maecenas. Terrified, I flee the swamp of the winged horse. Galen considers these waters dangerous to the health. And since a prince refuses to give immunity to poets, the wave of the red Tagus draws me from Athens. The brow of my Muse, O Henry, is rather unadorned; yet after being read it is a faithful messenger of a true sound and is pleasing to me; at least, because it will give me as a friend to you, it has already well laid open a way to be plowed."[4]

Rome, Venice, Hippocrene and Athens, places that one might associate with patronage and poetic inspiration, no longer provide safe-haven and support for those who practice the poetic art. Billanovich, introducing his remarks on this poem, wrote in 1976: "Varrà la pena di indugiare su questo carme – finora male interpretato –, che sembrerebbe piuttosto un frammento, mutilo al principio".[5] The comment that the poem is mutilated at the beginning refers

[4] I have adapted at various points the translation of Witt 2001, 121–122.

[5] Billanovich 1976, 53.

to the fact that we must supply the noun *Musa* (vel sim.) to be modified by *anxia*. He proceeded to helpfully explicate the historical context as well as the literary sources of this poem.[6] And yet, almost half a century later, this poem would appear to have remained inadequately interpreted insofar as its single most important formal feature has – as far as I am able to tell – gone completely unnoticed. The initial letters of the first ten verse spell out a significant acrostic: *ars poetica*.[7] Acrostics are abundantly attested in Latin poetry from the ancient, late-antique, and medieval periods, and we can assume that some of them did not escape Mussato's notice. It is also interesting to observe that at roughly this time Dante was employing acrostics in his *Commedia*.[8] The intentionality of this present acrostic finds abundant confirmation within the text. Its broad relevance for the theme of the poem should require no explanation. Moreover, it is no accident that the three verses constituting the *ars* acrostic include four words which contain in sequence the letters *a*, *r*, and *s*: *Ces**ar**ea**s***, ***ar**ce**s***, *p**a**t**r**e**s***, ***A**d**r**iaci**s***. The penultimate verse of the *poetica* acrostic contains the word *poetas*.[9]

Although the acrostic does not span the entire poem, this potential inelegance is more than compensated by making the couplet immediately after the acrostic most directly allude to it. He claims that the brow of his Muse is rather unadorned, before qualifying this with the statement that upon being read she (Camena now bearing the sense of poem) is a faithful messenger of a true sound. Why Mussato speaks here of a 'true sound' (*veri … soni*) has not been fully explained.[10] The answer becomes clear in light of the acrostic. If one were

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[6] *Ibid*., 54 fn. 204. For example, the reference to *emptor Agavae* is to be explained with reference to Juvenal, *Sat.* 7.82–87, on Statius being forced to write pantomimes to survive financially. Nowadays – so Mussato complains – poets do not even find this opportunity.

[7] This is not perceived by Billanovich 1976, Witt 2001 or Modonutti 2022.

[8] The most widely accepted Dantean acrostic is *VOM* or *UOM*, 'man' in *Purgatorio* 12. *V(edea)* begins the four terzine from v. 25 to 36, *O* the four terzine spanning v. 37 to 48, and *M(ostrava)* the four terzine from v. 49 to 60. This is then recapitulated in v. 61–63, where the verses begin with *Vedea, O* and *mostrava*. The acrostic was first perceived by A. Medin in 1898, and for further discussion, see Barolini 1987.

[9] These means of confirming the acrostic conform to the techniques of the classical poets themselves. Cf. e.g. Hosle 2020, 1145–1146, including fn. 8, where Horatian and Ovidian examples are treated.

[10] Billanovich (1976, 54) closely paraphrases the couplet as follows: "Disadorna è la sua Musa, però, letta, si dimostra fedele annunciatrice del vero". But he does not attempt to represent the effect of adding *soni* in particular.

to listen to the poem recited, one would not hear the words *ars poetica*. Only by visually analyzing the poem does one have the chance to see these words and utter them forth. Just because they only appear vertically in the text, we should not doubt that they are a 'true sound', i.e. a real part of the poem that the poet wants us to pronounce out-loud upon discovery. Furthermore, the former verse (*Frons, Henrice, mee satis est incomta Camene*) may in its own way be a clever nod to the acrostic. After reading the poem, we realize that the *frons Camene*, understood metatextually to refer to the front, i.e., the initial letters of the poem, is in fact the most heavily stylized part of all.[11] We have here a case of wry understatement at its best.

In the final couplet of the poem, the poet expresses his satisfaction with his composition, a feeling whose justification is even more apparent now.[12] This short poem turns out, upon closer inspection, to be an exquisite, condensed embodiment of precisely the 'poetic art' that Mussato desired to receive more respect in his world. The poem is a complete organic unity[13] and has admirably synthesized content and form. In this regard, Mussato can also claim to have followed well the precepts of Horace's *Ars Poetica*. Mussato is not a first-tier poet, but this present note suggests that he was capable of a literary finesse that has not consistently received the appreciation that it deserves.

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[11] Parallels to this technique of referring to the acrostic can be found in Feeney and Nelis 2005, 644–646, where it is noted that, e.g., *prima movent … Martem* in Vergil, *Aen*. 7.603 signals the *Mars* acrostic (7.601–604).

[12] It seems also possible that the very ending of the poem, *sulcandum iam bene stravit iter*, has a double meaning, referring to the laying out of the acrostic in the text.

[13] Billanovich's (1976, 53) above-cited description of the poem as a fragment therefore misses the mark. For the same reason I cannot see any basis for the claim in Witt (2001, 121, fn. 11) that "[t]he poem may have originally been longer than fourteen lines", an idea reiterated in Modonutti 2022. Witt himself notes the poem's "sonnet-like form of fourteen lines, reflecting vernacular influence" (*ibid*., 121).

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The locations of sculptures in Pompeii (map by Maija Holappa). The Villa delle Colonne a Mosaico is located further west outside the Herculaneum gate.

Arctos 56 (2022) 33–56

FROM AFFECTION TO VIOLENCE: THE TREATMENT OF ANIMALS IN POMPEIAN SCULPTURE

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The relationship between beast and human can be multifaceted. From the point of view of the humans, it can be about emotional benefits, protection, or even education. Animals can help humans, and they can be respected, even admired, for their superhuman senses or faculties. There are both legendary stories and historically attested accounts of animals rescuing humans.[1] In contrast with this affection, there can also be violence, from both the animals and humans. This duality of interaction is visible in both ancient literature and art, and statues of animals have been a part of mankind's aesthetic life since its earliest times. Pompeian buildings and gardens are no exception to this propensity. Through extant statues and excavation reports recording otherwise missing items we know of a great variety of free-standing animal sculptures, whether alone, in groups, or as parts of fountain decorations. To date some 150 Pompeian animal sculptures are known,[2] one third of them depicting animals in the company of human figures.[3] In Pompeii, these latter types mainly depict children with animals, a topic that was copied in various ways throughout classical antiquity and used widely for fountain decorations. These include children seated by

* The photographs of the statues are published as a separate digital appendix on the Arctos website at journal.fi/arctos under the issue 56 (2022).

[1] Korhonen – Ruonakoski 2017, 51, 69, 89, 91.

[2] There are frogs and toads, reptiles, hares and rabbits, birds, felines, canines, equines, sheep and goats, cattle, boars and pigs, deer and antelopes, dolphins, fish and other sea animals, and hybrids.

[3] Several Pompeian houses with animal statuettes do not present any interaction with humans, e.g. Casa del Citarista (I 4, 5) or Casa degli Amorini Dorati (VI 16, 7).

an animal, riding on an animal, or carrying an animal, and even apparently strangling an animal.[4]

Animals have been treated in Pompeian research since the 1970s. The pioneering work *Animals in Roman Life and Art* by Jocelyn Toynbee was published in 1973, and most of the associated sculptures were briefly listed in Hartmut Döhl's *Plastik aus Pompeji* in 1976. The best source on Pompeian animal sculptures is Graham Appleton's *Animal Sculpture from Roman Gardens buried by Vesuvius*, published in 1987. Notwithstanding its title, it also covers sculpture from inside the houses and parallels from elsewhere in the Roman world. Pompeian animals in all their forms were analysed in *The Natural History of Pompeii*, a collection of articles edited by Wilhelmina F. Jashemski and Frederick G. Meyer in 2002. The marble animal statues that were removed to the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (MANN) are for the most part described in *Marmora Pompeiana nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli*: *Gli arredi scultorei delle case pompeiane* (2008).[5] The animals and their human companions did not always form integral statuary groups, but were sometimes presented together without any interaction or even in matching styles. Such artificial sets consequently revealed the owner's eclectic tastes through the choice of marble, workmanship, and size. A purchaser might well have ordered members of his sculpted group from a variety of models, or collected them from different workshops.[6]

The small size of garden statues in Pompeii seems to be a common feature. The animal statues are stylistically of varying quality, and the finishing touch is sometimes clearly missing. In some cases it is even difficult to identify the animal, e.g. differentiating a dog from a hare, or a monkey from a hare, especially when the ears are broken off. It seems that the examples displayed with human figures were mostly well made, but the quality also differs between bronze and marble sculptures.

[4] Rühfel 1984, 254–262; These humans can also carry several other things than animals, e.g., Wohlmayr 1989, 68, 70, 119–120. Now these statues may be seen as symbols of the intimacy between child and animal, but though in the Roman world people enjoyed their pets for their own sake these were not always protected from harm and abuse. Bradley 1998, 556–557.

[5] Studies of a more general nature on the interaction between men and animals include Perfahl 1982, Campbell 2014, Fögen – Thomas 2017, and Korhonen – Ruonakoski 2017. On pets e.g., Bradley, 1998, 523–557 and Bodson 2000, 27, 30–32.

[6] Dwyer 1982, 126–127.

The physical contact between humans - whether divine or mortal - and beasts in Pompeian or Campanian sculpture has not, however, been a direct subject of iconographic study. In this article I will explore this topic through a selection of the three most popular animal types – dolphins, hares/rabbits, and ducks/geese – with special attention to their dimensions and identification, the repetition of the subject, their topographical distribution in Pompeii, the types of activity represented and their respective roles, and finally the quality of workmanship. I shall concentrate on marble and bronze statues and exclude reliefs. Depictions of Roman gods with animals as their typical attributes are also excluded. However, non-mortal cupids and satyrs are included because in their cases the associated animals were not identifying attributes. Each statue is depicted either with a drawing or a photograph in cases where such exists. Each chapter also starts with a short note on the appearance of the respective beasts in classical literature.

Table 1. Pompeian statues/statuettes depicting dolphins or hares/rabbits or ducks/geese accompanied by human figures. (Inventory numbers: P = preserved in Pompeian storerooms, MANN = preserved in the Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Napoli).

Animal(s)	**Figure number**	**Material**	**Location in Pompeii**	**Location in the house**	**Inventory number**
Dolphin	Fig. 1	marble	VII 12, 3	peristyle	MANN 6112
Dolphin	Fig. 2	marble	IX, 12, 9	peristyle, northern side	P 41462
Dolphin	Fig. 3	marble	VII 12, 3		MANN s.n.
Dolphin	Fig. 4	bronze	IX 7,20	peristyle garden	MANN 111701
Dolphin (arm)		bronze	VI 15, 1	just north of the peristyle garden, above room q	
Dolphin	Fig. 6	marble	I 9, 13-14	garden	P 8127
Dolphin	Fig. 7	marble	I 9, 13-14	garden	P 8129
Dolphin	Fig. 8	marble	I 9, 13-14	garden	P 8128
Dolphin(s) (and a fish?)	Fig. 9	marble	I 9, 13-14	garden	P 8126
Dolphin	Fig. 10	marble	IX 3. 5, 24	garden	P 20373
Dolphin	Fig. 11	marble	IX 3. 5, 24	garden	P 20374
Dolphin	Fig. 12	bronze	VI 14, 43	tablinum	MANN 72291

Dolphin	Fig. 13	bronze	VII 16,22	apsidal room 62	P 13371
Rabbit	Fig. 14	marble	VII 12, 22.23	garden, northern side	MANN 6533
Hare	Fig. 15	marble	Villa delle Colonne a Mosaico	garden g	MANN 6501
Rabbit	Fig. 16	marble	VI 15,1	garden, southwest corner	P 20531
Rabbit	Fig. 17	marble	IX 2, 10	garden	MANN 120527
Rabbit	Fig. 18	marble	VIII 7, 10	garden	
Hare?	Fig. 19	marble	II 4, 2–12	garden	MANN 6108
Duck	Fig. 20	bronze	VI 8, 23	garden, fountain niche	MANN 5000
Duck	Fig. 21	bronze	VI 15, 1	garden, northern side	P 1157
Duck	Fig. 22	bronze	VI 15, 1	garden, northern side	P 1158
Goose or Duck	Fig. 24	bronze	Insula Occidentalis, exact place not known		P 13100
Duck	Fig. 25	marble			P20491
Duck	Fig. 26	marble	I 9, 3	peristyle garden	P 8737
Goose	Fig. 27	marble	II 4, 2–12	garden	MANN 6342
Goose	Fig. 28		Insula Occidentalis, VI.17, 25	second peristyle c (lowest level)	MANN 6111
Goose	Fig. 29		VIII 2, 21	lower level	MANN 120581
Total number 28			Locations known 27		

Dolphins

In Homeric hymns dolphins were associated with Apollo and Dionysus, the latter of whom, in a well-known black-figure vase painting by Eksekias, now in Munich, turned some pirates who had offended into dolphins.[7] According to Pliny the dolphins were the fastest of all animals. Considered wise and music loving, they were friendly towards men, helping them in need. There are stories

[7] *h. Ap.* 3,402–04 and *h. Bacch.* 7, 50–54. Black-figured cup by Eksekias, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung, inv. 8279 ca. 540–530 BC.

of children and adults alike being carried by dolphins, including a boy who went to school by riding a dolphin from Baiae to Puteoli in the times of Augustus. Much earlier, the poet Arion was said to have been saved from some threatening sailors by dolphins, and a bronze depicting him riding a dolphin was seen by Pausanias in Tainaron in the southernmost cape of Laconia. Dolphins even helped men to fish, at least in southern Gaul on Lake Latera near Nemausus.[8] Later, Oppian claimed that "dolphins were aforetime men…but by the devising of Dionysus they exchanged the land for the sea and put on the form of fishes; but even now the righteous spirit of men in them preserves human thought and human deeds."[9] These stories were widely depicted in Greek and Roman art, both in sculpture and mosaics.[10] The dolphin was also used as a symbol of victory in naval warfare. On Roman sarcophagi for children, depictions of youths riding on dolphins may have represented the soul's journey in Dionysiac religion.[11]

There are thirteen statues or statuettes depicting dolphins with human figures in Pompeii.[12] They portray three types of activities: tranquil co-existence, dramatic interaction, or a victorious scene. Considering this first type, dolphins sometimes appear with small children, who hold them affectionately or ride them for fun. There are two almost identical seated examples of this type of tranquil co-existence, made of marble with grey veins. The first comes from the garden of the Casa di Lucius Caecilius Capella (VII 12, 3),[13] where it was used

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[8] Hdt. 1,23,1, Plin, *nat*. 9,20–32, Plin. *epist*. 9,33, Paus. 3,25,7. Stevens 2009, 161, considers Pliny the Younger's letter to be prose "poetry". In the letter to the poet Caninius Rufus he does not mention that Pliny the Elder had already recorded the story.

[9] Opp. *H.* 1,646–653. English translation by A. W. Mair, (Loeb Classical Library 219), Cambridge MA, 1928.

[10] E.g. Ridgway 1970, 88, 90–95. It seems that in Hellenistic art the subject of dolphins and cupids was especially favoured in minor arts and mosaics, Hermary, Cassimatis & Vollkommer 1986 s.v. Eros, *LIMC* 3, 867–870; Blanc – Gury 1986 s.v. Eros/Amor, Cupido, *LIMC* 3, 1002–1006.

[11] Huskinson 1996, 36, 96–97, 116–117; Zanker 1987, 79, 131–132. Agrippa used dolphin as a decorative motif in his building projects after the battle of Naulochoi in 36 BC, Dio Cassius, *Hist. rom*. 49,43 and 53,27. Dolphins were even mentioned in funerary epitaphs. Bodson 2000, 30.

[12] Only one statue (MANN inv. 111701) from Pompeii is given as an example by Ridgway 1970, 94. One of these, a dolphin with a hand, is only a fragment.

[13] The statuette was discovered in 1863, most probably in June. Fiorelli 1873, 17 (*vasca marmorea di una fontana*), 165 (no. 159), but the information on its original location varies: according to Ward-Perkins – Claridge 1976, no. 85, Appleton 1987, 46, no. 51, and Varone 1991, 104, it comes from the

to decorate a fountain of the peristyle garden (Fig. 1, MANN 6112, H 0.40 m). It is a statuette of a naked, plump boy seated by a dolphin with his left leg flat on the ground and the right leg folded under him. He is grasping the head of the dolphin with his right hand and its tail with his left. His head is turned to the right, towards the animal's head, and his curly hair and eyebrows were painted red, with traces of black in the pupils.14 The other example of this type is a boy sitting in front of a prone dolphin and embracing its head. It was discovered in the garden of the Casa dei Pittori al lavoro (IX, 12, 9), and was used to decorate a fountain on the northern side of the peristyle (Fig. 2, P 41462, H 0.405 m). In this example, the curly hair is painted yellow and the remains of black colour is visible around the eyes.[15]

There are also depictions of children riding a dolphin in a benevolent atmosphere. A very small marble statuette, probably also discovered in the Casa di Lucius Caecilius Capella (VII 12, 3) depicts a naked boy, now headless, riding astride the beast, holding fast with his hands. According to Colomba Serpe, there are remains of a wing on his back, so the rider must have been a Cupid (Fig. 3, MANN s.n., H with a modern base is 0.12 m). The statuette is not very detailed, however.[16] In this case the dolphin is much larger than its rider.

In the three marbles above, the human figure, even if a small seated one, is the slightly more active partner, and the overall situation is very peaceful. The third example could refer to one of those stories where a boy and a dolphin swim and play together,[17] although the mythological aspect is also clear if the rider was intended to be a Cupid. The location of the two statuettes from the Casa di Lucius

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Casa del Granduca di Toscana/Casa delle Nozze di Nettuno e Anfitrite (IX 2, 27), while Döhl 1976, 40, 74, and Jashemski 1993, 193, and Serpe 2008, 133 in *Marmora Pompeiana* (C 22) gives the more traditional finding place in the House VII 12, 3 and the date of discovery as the first of April; Kapossy 1969, 43 only refers to the "*Vicolo di Augusto, prima casa a destra. Peristilio.*"; Wohlmayr 1989, 120 gives either IX 2, 1 or VII 12, 3.

[14] Appleton 1987, 46, no. 51; Serpe 2008, 133 in *Marmora Pompeiana* (C 22).

[15] The statuette was discovered in February 1990, by the low wall of the northern porticus of the peristyle garden, perhaps removed there due to construction work in the garden. Varone 1991, 102–104, pl. 3; Varone 2007, 140–141; Varone 2011, 194.

[16] Its exact location in the house is not known. Appleton 1987, 38–39, no. 42, describes the rider as a boy and does not give any location at all; Serpe 2008, 132–133 in *Marmora Pompeiana* (C 21) gives the date of discovery as June 12th in this house.

[17] E.g. Kapossy 1969, 38–39 gives a list of various sculptures depicting dolphin-riders.

Caecilius Capella is unclear, as the information identifying the riding figure as a Cupid is also vague in the registries of the Archaeological Museum of Naples.

The activity shared between humans and dolphins can also be more active. Their respective roles are somewhat muddled in a bronze statue that is part of a superbly decorative fountain from the Casa della Fortuna (IX 7,20), showing a standing, winged boy who balances a baby dolphin on his right shoulder (Fig. 4, MANN 111701, H 0.56 m, H with base 0.657 m). It differs from the sitting marble boys above in being thinner, and thus probably older, than the former three. All of his features are carefully rendered; the hair above the forehead is traditionally plaited in a "psyche-knot", and the feathers are detailed on both sides of the wings.[18] Bronzes of this type, with boys carrying dolphins, were not unknown beyond Pompeii, and two more examples come from Herculaneum. Among the famous bronze statues of the Villa dei Papiri there were altogether four such boys of lesser fame, who were intended to enliven a fountain but were stored in a room southwest of the large garden (Fig. 5); one pair was carrying amphoras on their shoulders, while the other pair held dolphins under their arms, with their beaks functioning as waterspouts. The pairs of boys are presented as mirror images and the objects carried by the boys alternate from shoulders to hips. Their respective free hands are raised, perhaps for balance, or in astonishment at seeing their images reflected in the water.[19] The quality of the workmanship is not as high as in the Pompeian bronze statuette,[20] but the intended composition is impressive (MANN 5021 and 5032, H 0.45–0.47 m).[21] Back in Pompeii, a dolphin balanced on a right arm was also found in the Casa dei Vettii (VI 15, 1), in an upper layer

[18] This statuette was discovered in November 1880. *NSA* 1880, 452, 488; Niccolini 3 (1890), "Casa nell'Isola VII della Regione I", 1; Döhl 1976, 57; Dwyer 1982, 76, no. 21; Appleton 1987, 35–37, no. 39; Wohlmayr 1989, 68, 115, no, 43; Jashemski 1993, 240–241. The copy of the statue is on display in the Casa della Fontana Grande (VI 8, 22) and some sources (e.g. Kapossy 1969, 39) place it originally there.

[19] The statuettes were discovered in January 1751 in a storeroom northwest of the grand rectangular peristyle with a long pool, and near a fountain with pyramidal marble steps. K. Weber's map, made between 1754 and 1758, identified them as representing Cupids with dolphins and amphorae. Finati 1824, in *MB* 1, pl. 45 tries to link them to springs, and even Neptune; Comparetti – De Petra 1883, 252, 271–272; Mau 1908, 552–553; Kapossy 1969, 43; Dwyer 1982, 76; Appleton 1987, 37–38, nos. 40–41.

[20] Appleton 1987, 38.

[21] *Le Collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* 1.2, 138–139.

of earth near the Room of the Cupids (q) north of the peristyle garden. It was made of bronze, but information is otherwise quite limited (H 0.094 m).[22]

In our second category of dramatic scenes, examples with playful interaction are represented by four Pompeian marble statuettes from the Casa di Cerere (I 9, 13–14). The dolphins again have a practical role, with their beaks functioning as waterspouts of a fountain, although here there was no fountain in the garden. These statues depict either a single winged boy or a pair of little boys enjoying themselves sliding down the backs of the dolphins, who are lowering themselves into the water.[23] In each of the four statues the dolphin is clearly the larger. The first boy is sitting on the head of a dolphin with both legs on the left side, holding a basket in his left arm (Fig. 6, P 8127, H with base 0.32 m). He enjoys a playful moment between more serious activity, perhaps transporting food.[24] The second boy lies over the back of his dolphin and tries to hold fast to the dorsal fin and the tail with his hands (Fig. 7, P 8129, H 0.345 m). In the third piece there are two boys; the upper one sits on the back of the dolphin and the lower one hangs by the beast's right side (Fig. 8, P 8128, H 0.33 m). The boys hold each other by the hands in the manner of trapeze artists. There is no doubt as to the joy that these apparently hazardous activities bring to both the beasts and the boys, whether alone or in pairs. In the last statuette, a boy is sitting side-saddle and touches a tentacle of an octopus with his right hand, perhaps for extra balance if the octopus is seen as not having any malicious intentions; it may also be trying to catch the boy before the large dolphin rescues him (Fig. 9, P 8126, H 0.415m). Among the waves there is a baby dolphin and possibly a small fish on the left side of the large dolphin, as a sketched eye and a mouth might indicate.

Even more dramatic scenes of interaction are shown in the representations of dolphins and their small riders being attacked by octopuses, which were

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[22] *NSA* 1895, 233; Döhl 1976, 25. It seems it may originally have been in an upper floor.

[23] The statuettes were discovered in the early 1950's but the exact location in the house was not documented. Kapossy 1969, 39; De Vos 1976, 38, (66 note 14), 210, pl. 36:3; Dwyer 1982, 43; Appleton 1987, 40–43, nos. 43–46; Wohlmayr 1989, 70, 115; Mastroroberto 1992, 266, 267, 269. Jashemski 1993, 45–46, writes that according to the workmen they were found in the garden. De Vos 1990, 173, 188–189, considers the statuettes were found in the atrium based on the drawing published in De Vos 1976; King 2002, 419.

[24] In Roman mosaics, young dolphin-riders can be portrayed carrying various objects. In a well-known painting in the Casa della Venere in Conchiglia (II 3,3) there is also cupid riding a dolphin, but he is carrying a pennon.

considered fearsome, voracious, and arrogant animals ready to attack men in the water.[25] A fine pair of small marble boys, nowadays in a very fragmentary state, come from the Casa di Marcus Lucretius (IX 3, 5.24), from opposite sides of the front of the garden. They show them and their respective dolphins in desperate straits. The first (Fig. 10, P 20373, H 0.259 m) boy is hanging onto the dolphin's fin and being rescued by from an octopus. The dolphin's head is turned downwards, and the now missing tail points upwards towards a rugged high stone. One of the octopus' tentacles has grabbed the dolphin's snout and another its forehead. In the struggle, one of the octopus's tentacles has also wrapped around the cupid's left calf. The other boy (Fig. 11, P 20374, H 0.295 m) is better preserved, and its face has a horrified look. Each boy is supporting his dolphin with one hand, while desperately trying to untangle a leg from a tentacle.[26]

The same subject was also known in minor arts. The dramatic outcome of a fight, with a dolphin pressing down on the remains of a slain octopus, decorates the foot of a hanging bronze candelabrum from the Casa degli Scienziati (VI 14, 43; Fig. 12, MANN 72291, H 0.225 m.). A boy riding this dolphin lifts his right hand in astonishment or horror, if not to keep himself balanced, while looking down at the slain opponent being bitten by the dolphin. The tentacles seem to imperceptibly merge into the chains of the candelabrum.[27]

The versatile use of this subject of a beaten opponent also appears as the decoration of a bronze single-footed table from the apsidal room 62 of the Casa di Fabius Rufus of the Insula Occidentalis (VII 16, 22).[28] Here the dolphin presses his beak into a small shell while a riding child lifts his victorious hand, holding a trident, perhaps delivering a coupe de grâce (Fig. 13, P 13371, H table-support 1.04 m, H dolphin 0.635 m). The winged boy is a little older than the previous examples, now perhaps seven years old, and consequently better capable of handling the weapon. Unlike the candelabrum above, no defeated octopus is

[25] Plin. *nat.* 9,91; Asplund Ingemark – Ingemark 2020, 220–226, 232–234.

[26] These statuettes were discovered in April–May 1847. *PAH* II, 463, 465; Dwyer 1982, 42; Appleton 1987, 43–44, nos. 47 and 48; Kuivalainen 2019, 92–94.

[27] This candelabrum was discovered in July 1841 in a corner of the tablinum. Finati 1857, in *MB* 16, pl. 6; Ruesch 1908, 369, no. 1628; *LIMC* 3, s.v. Eros/Amor, Cupido, 1003, below no. 407; Appleton 1987, 45–46.

[28] This table-support was discovered in October 1961, van Buren 1963, 402, pl. 95:6, "a marble tabletop supported by a bronze *trapezophoros* of a Cupid astride a dolphin"; *LIMC* 3, s.v. Eros/Amor, Cupido, 1003, no. 407; Appleton 1987, 44–45, no. 50; De Carolis 2011, 146.

visible. Perhaps it has already been eaten by the hungry dolphin, which were known to eat small octopuses.

In general, the dolphins seem to be interacting with small children in these works. The variation comes mainly from how the children are presented, either with wings or without. When considering the boys that are meant to be cupids, the setting is that of mythological scenes from the circle of Aphrodite, and the plump boys do not often seem to surpass the age of five, with mostly shortish legs and arms. These young companions of Aphrodite lived by the sea in Cyprus, where the goddess was born,[29] and the dolphins are understood here as an allusion to the sea. Most of our examples with known places of discovery do indeed have connections with water, as fountain decorations. In Pompeian art the repertoire of dolphins and cupids is much narrower than that recorded in ancient literature: three main subjects were favoured, from a quiet or amicable co-existence, to fighting an octopus, to portraying victory over the slain opponent.[30] Their relative scale and dimensions can vary with respect to the accompanying youngster. Biologists have not been able to identify their exact species – there were many – which is no wonder, as ancient artists could seldom observe them in detail with their own eyes, and dolphins were typically unavailable as models.[31]

The enclosed map (p. 32) shows the locations of thirteen dolphins with their human companions. There is no pattern to their distribution, as we can see that they were irregularly dispersed all over Pompei, in regions I, VI, VII, and IX. Many of them were in pairs or groups, and were adopted as a popular decorative element in a relatively restricted and wealthy neighbourhood. In fact, eight out of thirteen were concentrated in only three houses: four in the Casa

[29] Eros started to be portrayed as a putto already in early Hellenistic art, A. Hermary – H. Cassimatis – R. Vollkommer, s.v. Eros, especially IV.A. 'Eros et dauphin(s), and 'Eros hellénistique: la naissance de type du putto', *LIMC* 3, 867–870, 937–938. The cupids of the Roman age, N. Blanc – F. Gury, s.v. Eros/Amor/Cupido, *LIMC* 3, 952–1049, especially 'Amor monté ou navigant sur animaux marins', XIV.C.1. Dauphin, 1002–1004. Sculptured Cupids could also be depicted riding a dolphin in the company of Aphrodite; one statue of this type comes from Mérida (inv. 88), *LIMC* 2, s.v. Aphrodite, 84 nos. 749 and 757.

[30] Lone marble dolphins do appear in Pompeii e.g. in the Casa del Camillo (MANN 69785), Casa del Granduca (lost), Casa VIII 6,6 (MANN 120051) and possibly Casa IX 7, 12 (MANN 114596). Appleton 1987, 33–35, nos. 35–38. A riding cupid is presented also in an oscillum, MANN 6668, Dwyer 1981, 277, no. 76, pl. 114.; *LIMC* 3, 1003, s.v. Eros/Amor, Cupido, no. 401.

[31] King 2002, 420.

di Cerere, two in the Casa di Marcus Lucretius, and possibly two more in the Casa di Lucius Caecilius Capella. There are clear indications that the marble statues were originally painted, and the protagonists were smaller than life-size, but proportionally different from each other. All of the human figures can be considered to represent mythological figures, but in the eyes of the Pompeian viewer it hardly mattered in the end, as the statues and other elements contributed to the positive atmosphere of a specifically planned garden. Of the sculptures considered in this study, eight out of the thirteen statuettes depicting humans and dolphins were in the company of other animal sculptures also depicting interactions with nearby humans.

Rabbits or Hares

Rabbits and hares are good examples of animals that are difficult to tell apart in Pompeian sculpture. A hare, in Latin *lepus*, is larger and has longer ears than a rabbit, *cuniculus*, but sadly many Pompeian statues of hares have lost their ears and can sometimes even be confused with dogs, monkeys, and panthers.[32] To my mind, most of such lagomorphic animal sculptures probably depicted hares, as they were both hunted and domesticated, and thus appeared more frequently in domestic life. Both animals were kept in *leporaria,* not only for food and hunting purposes but also as pets.[33] They were well-known for their fecundity, and the hare was one of Aphrodite's sacred animals, as mentioned already by Herodotus.[34] Philostratus talked about hares as erotic symbols when discussing cupids, their customary playmates, and calls them "a pleasing offering to Aphrodite".[35] Pliny, for his part, compared rabbits' relationship with men to dolphins, being neither completely wild nor completely tame.[36] It seems

[32] Toynbee 1973, 202–203; King 2002, 431–432, 436–437. Another well-known example from the Casa di Marcus Lucretius has been called a hare, a rabbit, a dog, or even a panther. As it was stolen in the 1860s, the final verdict will likely remain unspoken, Breton 1870, 396 note 1. However, I consider it to be a hare.

[33] Toynbee 1973, 201–202.

[34] Hdt. 3,108,3.

[35] Philostr. *Im*. 1,6. Translation by Arthur Fairbanks.

[36] Plin. *nat*. 8,220.

likely that all types of lagomorphic animals were offered to Aphrodite without distinguishing between the exact species.[37]

Whatever their true identification, in art these hares and rabbits were most often depicted alone, and it has been claimed that in sculpture they were only rarely accompanied by human figures.[38] That is quite true when compared to dolphins, but we do have several examples of lagomorphs from Pompeii that were depicted together with human figures, i.e. small boys in various situations, being affectionate or violent. Here, five certain and one probable examples of this type of sculpture will be analysed.

The first is a fountain statue of marble from the garden of the Casa del Camillo (VII 12, 22.23; Fig. 14, MANN 6533, H 0.40 m with base). It shows a kneeling naked child holding fast an animal's hind legs with his raised left hand, while striking the poor animal with a plectrum in his right. The rabbit – definitely with short ears – looks horrified, his head down and mouth wide open from pain, but still usefully serving as a waterspout. Eugene Dwyer considered the scene realistic: "As in real life, the infant's playful tenderness sometimes transgresses into the realm of cruelty."[39]

If Dwyer considered the subject of the previous statuette to be cruel, the animal in the next example does not fare any better. It is a marble statue from the garden of the Villa delle Colonne a Mosaico, outside the Herculaneum Gate (Fig. 15, MANN 6501, H with base 0.26 m). A naked and plump boy sits embracing a hare and pulling its right ear, which is not very long, with his right hand, while clutching the animal's throat with his left.[40] A somewhat more relaxed scene comes from the southwest corner of the garden of the Casa dei Vettii (VI 15,1; Fig. 16, P 20531, H 0.23 m with base, and L 0.28 m). It depicts a seated, naked child touching a rabbit's short ears with his right hand, seemingly quite benignly.

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[37] Toynbee 1973, 201–202.

[38] Carrella 2008, 103 in *Marmora Pompeiana* (B 38) gives, for her part, only three examples.

[39] The statuette was discovered in April 1863. Brunn 1863, 93; Kapossy 1969, 44; Dwyer 1982, 62–63, no. 2; Appleton 1987, 88–89, no. 114; Wohlmayr 1989, 120; Serpe 2008, 135 in *Marmora Pompeiana* (C 24). In the same house there was also a statuette of a seated satyr-child frightened by a large frog at his feet, perhaps in the process of crushing it (MANN 6537), H 0.29 m. From Pompeii, albeit without provenance, comes a marble statuette where the animal is missing (MANN 6503), H 0.21 m, Serpe 2008, 215 in *Marmora Pompeiana* (E 08).

[40] Curtius 1879, 19, pl. 1, 2; Reinach 1897:2, 462 no. 5; Kapossy 1969, 44; Dwyer 1982, 63, pl. 48, no. 187; Appleton 1987, 89–90, no. 115; Carrella 2008, 102–103 in *Marmora Pompeiana* (B 38).

The peaceful atmosphere is perhaps due to the rabbit already lying on the ground and the boy having the upper hand. The boy wears a wreath of ivy, and his left arm rests on a box or a basket,[41] indicating the boy's participation in a cultic activity. Is the beast's destiny perhaps to be sacrificed? Be that as it may, these three statuettes are of simple workmanship; the general appearance and facial features of the boys are quite similar, a sign that they may come from the same workshop.

A more ambitious composition comes from the atrium of the Casa di Chlorus e Caprasia (IX 2, 10), where a decorative column or table support was shaped as a naked boy with his pets (Fig. 17, MANN 120527, H 0.595 m column with base, and boy with his personal base 0.467 m). The boy stands holding a lying rabbit with short ears laid back in both hands, pressing it to his chest. By his left foot a muddled head of a dog is visible as *pars pro toto*. The scene is completed behind the boy with a short tree stump covered by his cloak, and a trunk of palm tree with its fronds shaped into a support, most likely of a tabletop.[42] Both of the animals seem to be his pets, with a pastoral scene being depicted.

A very small marble statuette (Fig. 18, H 0.38 m, present location unknown) was discovered in a garden behind a shopkeeper's home in VIII 7, 10. The standing boy holds a rabbit with his right hand and in his left a bunch of grapes, which the rabbit is trying to seize.[43] A rabbit eating grapes was a popular motif both in sculpture and wall paintings.[44]

An animal of ambivalent identification was found in the garden of the Praedia di Iulia Felix (II 4, 2–12; Fig. 19, MANN 6108, H 0.45 m).[45] It is a marble statuette of average height depicting a standing semi-nude child, perhaps somewhat older than the previous examples, and easy to identify as a satyr because of the nebris and his facial features. The animal lying in the sleeve of the nebris

[41] Sogliano 1898, 287; Dwyer 1982, 63, pl. 48 fig. 188; Kapossy 1969, 36; Appleton 1987, 87–88; Jashemski 1993, 153; Paolucci 2007, 295.

[42] It was discovered in December 1869, *GdS* n.s. 1, 309, no. 14; Reinach 1897:1, 467 no. 1; Döhl 1976, 51; Appleton 1987, 90–91, no. 116; Moss 1988, 421–422, no. A38 suggests for its location VII 3 and the date March 1843 (?).

[43] G. Spano in *NSA* 1910, 265–266: *un coniglio* (?) ; Döhl 1976, 48; Jashemski 1979, 187; Appleton 1987, 91, no. 117.

[44] Kapossy 1969, 49; Toynbee 1973, 202–203; Jashemski 1979, 103.

[45] The statuette was discovered in 1755. Speculating on the animal's identification, it could also be a monkey. *PAH* 1,34; Reinach 1897:1, 534, pl. 874C; Dwyer 1982, 67, pl. 49, no. 197; Jashemski 1993, 87; Inserra 2008, 57–58 in *Marmora Pompeiana* (A 32).

and supported by the boy's hands regrettably has few identifying characteristics, if any. The ears are completely lost, but the animal has long prominent forelegs, a muscular chest, and a triangle-shaped face, which taken together certainly might indicate a lagomorph. On a general level, carrying an animal could signify an erotic gift, not an alien custom for older satyrs, and consequently a live hare would be a perfect choice.[46]

These six examples of lagomorphic animals portrayed with boys seem to belong to the genre of depictions of everyday life. Are the children ordinary mortals, or should they also be seen as belonging to the realm of myth? Erotes (Cupids) were already depicted in both ways in Hellenist art. Eros was a son of Aphrodite and either Ares or Hermes, and it is easy to link these wingless plump children from Pompeii with him.[47] If the animals were to be seen as erotic gifts, the link to Venus could be noteworthy in a provincial town dedicated to her worship. Three at least of the animals are identified here as rabbits, and I believe that both types could be a pleasing offerings to the goddess. These statues were most often found in gardens, and the table (Fig. 17) must have been quite noticeable in an atrium. The map on p. 32 shows the distribution of these rabbits/hares. The overall impression is that statues of hares were more widely distributed than those of dolphins, in regions II, VI, VII, VIII, IX, and one just outside the walls. They appeared together with various other statuettes, but there was only one hare in each example.

Ducks and Geese

The depictions of interactions between humans and beasts also included birds, mostly edible birds such as geese, ducks, pigeons, and doves. Ducks (*anas*) and geese (*anser*) are certainly two different birds, but telling them apart in statues is very difficult, as in their current state we have lost the useful criterion of colours. According to ancient authors, e.g. white geese (and doves) were sacred

[46] Plin. *nat.* 8,217 notes that the large amount of prolific hares or rabbits caused problems; Toynbee 1973, 200.

[47] "Childish mischief is a characteristic feature of the Hellenistic Erotes, who appear sometimes with wings and sometimes without them" (Rühfel 1984, 256, translated by the author). Eros was most often depicted as a winged child during the Hellenistic period, but wingless portrayals were also common.

to Aphrodite, although the connection is not very strong, and they were in fact associated with several deities, not only goddesses but even Priapus, son of Aphrodite and either Dionysus or Adonis.[48] The connection between Aphrodite and geese is perhaps strongest in art, as she is copiously portrayed with a goose in both Classical and Hellenistic sculpture, sometimes with the bird by her side but mostly riding it. Boethos of Calchedon was a famous sculptor of this type. Pausanias described "a nude gilded child seated before Aphrodite", fashioned by Boethos, in the temple of Hera in Olympia,[49] while Pliny further described the sculptor's other famous statue of a child strangling a goose.[50] This violent scene was copied in various ways throughout the Roman world, and it has been considered as a starting point of the Hellenistic rococo style; the earliest version may have been a votive statue in the temple of Asclepius at Cos from the third century BC.[51] The two main types are the seated and the standing boy, with the latter prevailing in Pompeii.[52] The repertoire with ducks/geese includes both bronze and marble sculptures, altogether eight nearly extant cases.[53]

From the peristyle garden of the Casa della Fontana Piccola (VI 8, 23) comes a bronze statuette depicting a naked boy with short curly hair bound with a fillet and a knot on top of the head (Fig. 20, MANN 5000, H 0.56 m). He holds in his left arm a duck with outstretched wings, trying to liberate itself and flee. The child seems rather astonished by this sudden movement, and an instantaneous moment is depicted. The statue was a central piece of a group of three statues in

[48] Toynbee 1973, 259, 261–264; A. Delivorrias, s.v. Aphrodite, *LIMC* 2, 2–151, especially 96–98. The goddesses with geese can be quite hard to identify, e.g. "A wild goose chase? Geese and goddesses in classical Greece" by A. Villing, who views the armed goddess as Athena instead of Aphrodite. In a temple near Lebadeia in Boeotia, a statue with a maiden carrying a goose is known to have depicted the nymph Hercyna (Paus. 9,39,3). In the city of Rome, there were the famous geese sacred to Juno on the Capitoline Hill (Liv. 5,47,3–4). About the portrayal of three sacred geese and Priapus, see Petr. 136.

[49] Paus. 5,17,4. Translation by W. H .S. Jones and H. A. Ormerod, Cambridge MA, 1918.

[50] Plin. *nat.* 34,84.

[51] Pollitt 1986, 128–130; Smith 1991, 136; Bradley 2000, 536, pl 18, fig. 12. There are many well-known copies, two in Rome (the Capitoline Museum, the Vatican), one is in Munich (Glyptotek), and one in Paris (Louvre), Reinach 1897:1, 148, pl. 293, 534, pl. 874C, 535, pl. 875.

[52] The other type is also known from an example from Oplontis (P 70056, 74987), with a height of 0.46 m, Fergola 2007, 262.

[53] I shall refer to two fragmentary ones as well, which makes ten altogether.

the fountain niche;[54] the other two were a bronze adult fisherman (MANN 4994) and a sleeping child of marble (MANN 6509)[55] – a pastoral scene at its best. This is also a good example of the proprietor's eclectic taste as to the material, styles, and different scales of his statues, as the seated fisherman is slightly smaller than the two children.

From the garden of the Casa dei Vettii (VI 15, 1) comes a pair of bronze statuettes of little boys, each with grapes and a duck (Figs. 21 and 22, P 1157 and 1158, H 0.59 m and 0.585 m with bases). The two statuettes, intact when discovered, were stolen in 1978 and later recovered but, alas, in several pieces.[56] They hold the birds alternatively in their left or right arm, while holding a bunch of grapes in the other hand, seemingly to interest their respective ducks. This is all in vain, as in this case the ducks are also struggling to escape, while being looked at rather severely by the boys. The boys stand opposite each other, for the sake of the symmetry of the decoration on the north side of the peristyle, as almost complete mirror images[57] (Fig. 23 garden photo). The original models for these standing boys were Greek votive statues, but here in Pompeii the birds were more likely children's pets. In the same house a fragmentary left hand holding a duck was also discovered, possibly in a room nearby, and reported controversially as being made of either marble or bronze.[58] Together, these three statuettes have been considered to be decorative elements of the fountain, thus offering another example of a patron's eclectic taste as to material, style, and sizes.

The next two cases are both headless statues of boys of ca. five years old. From the Insula Occidentalis comes a naked standing boy made of bronze. He leans slightly forward and holds a bird under his left arm (Fig. 24, P 13100,

[54] This statuette was discovered in May 1827. *PAH* 2, 191; Avellino 1827 in *MB* 4, pl. 55; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 549; Reinach 1897:1, 535, pl. 875; Dwyer 1982, 66–67 calls this type "a shocked putto"; Appleton 1987, 51–52, no. 59; Wohlmayr 1989, 119; Jashemski 1993, 136.

[55] The sleeping child is also thought to be a fisherman, H 0.14 m, L 0.28 m.

[56] These statuettes were discovered in January 1895. *NSA* 1895, 47: "*Un putto, ... il quale sorregge, con la dritta, un' oca e colla si- nistra im grappolo di uva... un altro putto, simile a quello ora descritto... Differisce dal primo per- chè regge l'oca colla sinistra ed il grappolo con la destra*."; Sogliano 1898, 281–284; Kapossy 1969, 43; Döhl 1976, Döhl – Zanker 1979, 203–204; Appleton 1987, 52–54, nos. 60–61; Jashemski 1993, 153–154; Watson 2002, 364–365; Paolucci 2007, 291.

[57] Each is standing with their weight on their right foot; otherwise the symmetry is complete.

[58] L 0.163 m, of bronze, in *NSA* 1895, 251. A little later A. Mau wrote that it could have been made of marble, *MDAI(R)* 1896, 39.

H 0.655 m with base). The large bird is either a goose or a duck.[59] The other headless statuette is made of marble (Fig. 25, P20491, H 0.57 m). The standing boy is depicted naked, leaning towards a tree trunk, and with a calm duck under his left arm, covered with a cloak. The weight of the boy is on his right leg, and his body forms a slight S-curve. The sculpture may have originally been attached to a fountain, as is suggested by a hole in his back and the lack of a base, as well as a hole near the beak under the boy's arm.[60] Whether he was otherwise active – e.g. holding a bunch of grapes – remains unclear, as he has lost his right arm.

Another marble, a pillar-support, was discovered in the peristyle of the garden of the Casa di Successus (I 9, 3; Fig. 26, P 8737, H 1.00 m). A plump boy, perhaps ca. eight years old, stands in front of a pillar wearing a cloak around his neck and back. At his left side he holds a bird that appears to be a duck, with his hand under its wing. With his right hand he offers the bird a treat,[61] probably a grape (although it is not visible), with the affectionate atmosphere likely depicting this bird as a cherished pet. In the same house there was also a painting of a boy with two pets, a pigeon and a domestic duck, along with a pomegranate, suggested as symbolising the death of the boy.[62]

A marble sculpture of a taller boy comes from the garden of the Praedia di Iulia Felix (II 4, 2–12; Fig. 27, MANN 6342, H 0.82 m). This naked figure is in his early teens, and he stands by a tree trunk, holding a goose under his left arm and a bunch of grapes in his right hand. He may have been a participant in a *thiasus* of Dionysus, as there were statues of satyrs in the same house.[63] His hair is plaited in front, and he wears a wreath/corona on his head, another sign of his participating in a festive occasion. The atmosphere of this little group is calm; the bird sees no need to flee, and is instead touching his young owner's chest, who has no eye contact with the bird, and instead looks away into the distance (or towards another sculpture), not offering grapes to the bird. There were originally

[59] It was discovered in November 1960. Appleton 1987, 54–55, no. 63. The exact original location is not known.

[60] Appleton 1987, 55–56, no. 64.

[61] It was discovered in April 1952. Appleton 1987, 56–57, no. 65; Jashemski 1993, 44.

[62] Jashemski 1979, 102.

[63] This statue was discovered in September 1755. *PAH* 1, 30–31, addendum 2, 98: *Marmo, un giovine nudo con papera e frutto, pal.3.*; Reinach 1897:1, 537, pl. 877B; Döhl 1976, Appleton 1987, 54, no. 62; Jashemski 1993, 87; Inserra 2008, 58 in *Marmora Pompeiana* (A 33).

more sculptures along the garden's water channel, but many of those found in the 18th century are now lost. The remaining examples are from the south side; the young satyr boy carrying a hare(?) (Fig. 19, MANN 6108), and the youth and the goose from the middle of the western side, opposite a youthful satyr playing a flute to the east (MANN 6343). Another marble statuette of a satyr was later discovered at the north end of the channel, as well as a terracotta statue of Pittacus of Mytilene (P 20595) and a small crab of marble. There was a sacrarium dedicated to Egyptian deities in the south wall of the garden.[64] The whole garden formed a scene of bucolic leisure.

The tallest of all these Pompeian sculptures depicting an animal and a human figure comes from the second peristyle of the Casa del Leone/Casa di Polybius (VI 17, 25; Fig. 28, MANN 6111, H 1.05 m.). Made of marble, the boy depicted is also the oldest of all our sculptures, almost an adolescent. He balances on his left foot and bends forward with both hands around the bird's neck, while also pressing his right knee against it.[65] This indicates a scene turning violent in a moment, with the goose still unaware of its imminent demise.

Another strangling scene is fragmentary, depicted in the headless and legless marble statue of a boy discovered in the house VIII 2, 21, later part of the Sarno baths (Fig. 29, MANN 120581, H 0.19 m.). He holds a large bird under his left arm and presses his right arm on the bird's neck.[66]

These statues of ducks and geese come from several regions in Pompeii, with a small concentration in Regio VI. In most cases the sculptures stand alone (not in pairs), the exception being the Casa dei Vettii with its overall elaborate garden decoration. As with the dolphins and rabbits/hares, the human companions of the birds seem to be male. As is natural to right-handed persons, the birds are held mostly in left arms and the actual actions are performed by the right hand. In this group the interaction changes along with the human figures' ages, from tranquil scenes with youths to the practical household activity of slaughtering the bird performed by teenaged boys.

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[64] *PAH* 1, 21.

[65] *PAH* 1, 301–302: *Il giovinetto sta in atto di premere col ginocchio destro il collo di...* refers to a partially fragmented statue discovered in November 1778; Reinach 1897:1, 536, pl. 876; Döhl 1976, 31; Jashemski 1993, 165; Carrella 2008, 102 in *Marmora Pompeiana* (B 37).

[66] The statuette was discovered in April 1889. There is no agreement on the bird's species, whether a swan or a goose. *NSA* 1889, 279; Döhl 1976, 42; Serpe 2008, 145–146 in *Marmora Pompeiana* (C 38).

As a result, all of the groups are most often associated with gardens. The grapes, in four or even five cases, could tie at least two of the animal groups to Dionysus, while the rabbits/hares and geese, for their part, could be connected to Aphrodite, in which case the children would be Cupids. A religious aspect is always difficult to verify,[67] but in the end it was likely not the only or even primary criterion when choosing decorative elements for one's garden. All of the 28 sculptures in these three groups depicting interaction between the human figure and animals are relatively small, their heights varying from 0.12 to 1.05 metres. Their locations on map on p. 32, not surprisingly, align with the excavated or unexcavated status of the respective regions, but regions III, IV, and even V do not have these kinds of sculptures.

Our selection of three interactive groups of human figures and animals, whether wild or domesticated, covers approximately one half of this type of sculptures in Pompeii. Young boys are the usual protagonists, and only a few older boys appear. The obvious lack of girls, though the Hellenistic child and animal genre also included girls, seems to refer to cupids, and consequently to the cult of Aphrodite, although sometimes also to Dionysus, even if in a more subtle way through minor details, such as a wreath or a bunch of grapes. The activities vary from positive to dramatic, from calm coexistence to play, from kindness to teasing, and finally to determined aggression. In some this seems to be playing, especially among the younger children, who characteristically underestimate their own strength. Grapes or other treats also indicate loving care, and the status of a pet for the hares/rabbits and ducks. Many show everyday activities of rural life, and some are more static, though set in a pastoral landscape. Small gestures are used to express great feelings. Unsurprisingly, these groups generally came from the more well-off houses in Pompeii, where sculptures were a typical part of household decorations. As to their contents and artistic quality, they can be considered as expressions of the child and animal genre, though not in all of its variations.

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[67] Kapossy 1969, 72; Appleton 1987, 213–216.

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Appendix

Table 2. Pompeian statues of animals accompanied by humans, according to their location. Depictions of gods and goddesses with their attributes, as well as equestrian statues, are omitted. Cattle, boars and pigs, as well as deer and antelopes, do not appear together with human figures.

Location	Animal(s)	Human(s)	Material	Inv.
I 9, 3	duck	boy	marble	P 8737
I 9, 13-14	dolphin 2 (fish?)	boy (cupid)	marble	P 8126
I 9, 13-14	dolphin	boy (cupid)	marble	P 8127
I 9, 13-14	dolphin	boy (cupid)	marble	P 8129
I 9, 13-14	dolphin	boy (cupid) 2	marble	P 8128
II 2, 2.5	serpent 2	boy (Hercules)	marble	P 2932
II 2, 4	serpent	arm	marble	
II 4, 2-12	goose	youth	marble	MANN 6342
II 4, 2-12	ps. hare?	boy (satyr)	marble	MANN 6108
II 4, 2-12	goat (kid)	bearded satyr	marble	P 8856
VI 8, 23.24	goose	boy (cupid)	bronze	MANN 5000
VI 9, 3-5	dog	Hercules	marble	
VI 14, 43	dolphin	boy	bronze	MANN 72291
VI 15,1	dolphin	arm	bronze	
VI 15,1	goose	boy	bronze	P 1157
VI 15,1	goose	boy	bronze	P 1158
VI 15,1	rabbit	boy	marble	P 20531
V15, 1	lamb/kid, pigeon	youth	marble	P 54512
VI 15, 1	duck	arm	bronze	
VI 16, 7	toad	foot	marble	
VI 17, 23-26	goose	boy	marble	MANN 6111
VI/VII Ins. Occ.	duck/goose	boy	bronze	P 13100
VII 2, 16	dog	satyr	marble	P 20383
VII 12, 3	dolphin	boy	marble	MANN 6112

VII 12, 3	dolphin	boy (cupid)	marble	MANN s.n.
VII 12, 22-23	rabbit	boy	marble	MANN 6533
VII 12,22-23	frog	boy	marble	MANN 6537
VII 16, 22	dolphin	boy (cupid)	bronze	P 13371
VIII 2, 21	goose/swan	boy	marble	MANN 120581
VIII 2,39	dog	boy (cupid)	marble	MANN 114535
VIII 4,4	dove	boy	marble	
VIII 7, 10	animal (ps. hare)	boy	marble	
VIII 7, 24 (?)	dove	boy (cupid)	marble	
IX 2, 10	dog, rabbit	boy	marble	MANN 120527
IX 3, 5	dolphin, octopus	boy (cupid)	marble	P 20373
IX 3, 5	dolphin, octopus	boy (cupid)	marble	P 20374
IX 3, 5	goat, kid	satyr	marble	P 20393
IX 7, 20	dolphin	boy (cupid)	bronze	MANN 111701
IX 12, 9	dolphin	boy	marble	P 41462
Villa d. colonne a mosaico	hare	boy	marble	MANN 6501
Via d. Fortuna	dove	boy (cupid)	marble	St. Petersburg
	duck	boy	marble	P 20491
	pantheress	boy (cupid)	marble	P 20384
	dog	boy	marble	P 20386

Arctos 56 (2022) 57–64

AN UNPUBLISHED LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CASTELNUOVO DI PORTO INCLUDING A NEW NOMEN WITH THE SUFFIX -*AIENUS*

Tuomo Nuorluoto*

The inscription of Castelnuovo di Porto: description and analysis

A previously unpublished Latin inscription, located in Castelnuovo di Porto (RM) in Southern Etruria, approximately 25 km north of Rome, was recently brought to my attention. The object is attached to the wall of a *loggia*, belonging to an old posting station (*antica posta,* now a private house) on the right side of the old Via Flaminia, after the church of Sant'Antonio and the local train station when arriving from the direction of Rome. How and when the inscription ended up in its current location is unknown, but it is remarkable that it has remained unnoticed, as it is almost in plain sight (even visible – though not legible – on Google Street View). In any case, the inscription must have come from the area, which will have belonged to the territory of Capena. Only nine other Roman inscriptions have been found in the area of Castelnuovo di Porto, and, to my knowledge, all but one are lost.[1]

* I would like to thank Gihls fond at Kungl. Vitterhetsakademien for financing my stay in Italy, Anna Blennow for bringing the inscription to my attention in the first place, Valeria Brunori for bringing me into contact with the people in Castelnuovo di Porto, and Marina Gallinelli for showing me the inscription in its location. Thanks are also due to Hampus Olsson who kindly offered to drive me to Castelnuovo di Porto, to Biancalisa Corradini from the Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio per la provincia di Viterbo e l'Etruria meridionale for her cooperation, to Olli Salomies and Urpo Kantola for their helpful comments and insights, and to Samuel Douglas for proofreading the text. I also thank the two anonymous reviewers for their comments.

[1] The surviving inscription – *Acte v. a. XIV* – which is datable to the early Augustan period is published in F. Bianchi – E. A. Stanco – P. Cugusi, "Necropoli capenati: materiali architettonici, epigrafici e di

The object itself is a marble slab (52 cm x 51 cm x 7.5 cm), which is partly fragmented, mostly on the lower left side but also slightly in the upper right corner (Fig. 1). The original size of the stone will not have extended much beyond the measurements given above. The letters (4.5–3.5 cm) are finely carved and clearly the product of a professional stone-cutter, although there are also signs of some miscalculations in the production of the inscription (see further below).

The text in its current form extends over nine lines, though there may have been a short tenth line as well, containing perhaps an abbreviated formula of some sort – but this is dubious, since the interpunctuation at the end of the last legible line does not have to mean that more text would follow and there are no clear traces of letters below. Most of the fragmented parts of the text can be restored, although some lacunae remain. Judging by the letter forms, onomastic features, the material of the object, and the lack of *D. M.,* I would be inclined to date the inscription to the Julio-Claudian period.

arredo di epoca romana", *BCAR* 106 (2005), 167–214, 201 no. 28 (= *AE* 2005, 510). It was found in a chamber tomb in "località Montefiore, probabilmente entro l'antico territorio coloniale di *Lucus Feroniae*" and is now preserved in the Museo di Lucus Feroniae in Capena. The other inscriptions, all of which now lost, are the following: *CIL* XI 3979 *D. M. / Iuliae Marcel/lae coniugi / karissimae / L. Verginius / Fortunatus ma/ritus b. m.* (found alongside the Via Flaminia), *CIL* XI 3999 *T. Publilio H[---] / Baebiae He[---] / Cn. Baebio H[---] / Baebiae Helpidi uxo[ri] / Cn. Baebius Hymetu[s] / se vivo eis fecit et [sibi] / posterisque [eor(um)]* (found in the floor of the cortile of the palazzo Colonna), *CIL* XI 3992 *Perelia M[---] / P. Scanti Fort[unati] / sibi et [suis] / posterisqu[e eorum]* (found at the gate of the *vigna* Menichelli), *CIL* XI 7778 *Q. Sicinio / Supero / amico / optimo / Maximus / et Pulchra L[---]* (findspot unknown), *CIL* XI 3978 *D. M. / Iuliae Esquilínae / vìx. an. XXVIII m. X[---] / Iulius Polemonínus / et Iulius / Sympheros / coniugi sanctissimae / fecerunt et Iuliae Clodianae / [sorori e]ìus v. a. X / [------]* (found outside the church of S. Giovanni), *CIL* XI 3974 *Dis Man. / Flaviae Charidis / sororis fil. / Cupitus Aug. lib.* (found alongside the Via Flaminia), *CIL* XI 3989 *D. [M.] / Ostori[ae ---] / Ostoria [---] / matri p(---) p[---] / et C. Os[torio ---] / Kapiton[i ---]* (findspot unknown), and *CIL* XI 4011 *Dís Manibus / ossuís Zmaragdi* (found by the Rocca of Castelnuovo).

Fig. 1: The inscription from Castelnuovo di Porto. © The Author. Published with permission from Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio per la provincia di Viterbo e l'Etruria meridionale (Ministero della cultura)

Transcription:
P(ublius) · Accaìenus · ((mulieris)) · [l(ibertus)]
Auctus · fecit · siḅ[i]
et · suis ·
[Acc]aienae · ((mulieris)) · l(ibertae)
[E]glogeni ·
[Acc]ạienae · ((mulieris)) · l(ibertae)
[Sec]undae (vel *[Iuc]undae*) · *et*
[- Tar]quitio
[--- F?]ụsco (vel [*Etr?]ụsco*) ·
[------?].

Translation:
Publius Accaienus Auctus, freedman of (Accaiena), made (this monument) to himself and his family, to Accaiena Egloge, freedwoman of (Accaiena), to Accaiena Secunda (*vel* Iucunda?), freedwoman of (Accaiena), and to [-] Tarquitius Fuscus (*vel* Etruscus?).

The inscription appears to be part of a funerary monument commissioned by P. Accaienus Auctus, freedman of an otherwise unknown Accaiena, who in turn was daughter of a Publius Accaienus. In addition to Auctus, the text mentions three other individuals, two females and one male. The two women were also former slaves and evidently had the same *patrona* as Auctus. The restoration of their gentilicium as *Accaiena* is clear. A more elaborate analysis of this gentilicium will be provided further below. The cognomina may also be restored with a certain level of confidence: *[Sec]unda* is the most probable candidate, given the popularity of *Secunda* in female nomenclature, especially among non-elite women, though *[Iuc]unda* remains a possibility as well.[2] *[E]glogeni,* dative form of *Egloge,* is practically the only possible restoration, since *Egloge* is the only known female cognomen that is suitable here.[3] Interestingly, it follows from this restoration that there must have been a small indentation on the left end of the line and the text did not, therefore, start where one would expect it to. In other words, the name cannot have been quite centrally placed in the textual field. Perhaps the stone-cutter had planned to carve the whole name in the centre of the line so that some space would have been left on both sides, but clearly there was a slight miscalculation, since the name is now aligned towards the right end of the line. Another small "mistake" seems to be on the first line, in the name *Accaienus,* which the stone-cutter seems to have first written

[2] Cf. T. Nuorluoto, *Roman Female Cognomina: Studies in the Nomenclature of Roman Women,* Diss. Uppsala 2021 (forthcoming in Com. Hum. Litt., Helsinki 2023), 37, 45–46; I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 36,2), Helsinki 1965, 292, 283.

[3] H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom: ein Namenbuch*, Berlin 2003[2], III 1291–1292. Note that the dative form of the name in most inscriptions is *Egloge* (at least 25 cases in the Clauss/Slaby database, e.g. *AE* 2013, 511 *Purpuriae T. l. Egloge*; *CIL* XI 3327 *Aeliae M. l. Egloge*; *CIL* X 1150 *Fabiae M. l. Egloge*). The form *Eglogeni* appears at least in the following cases: *CIL* VI 25772 *Sallu(v)iae Eglogeni libertae suae*; *AE* 1977, 262 *Iuniae Eglogen(i) col(l)ibertae suae* and *CIL* IX 3583 ... *Eclogeni* (sic) *Corneliae Sabinae servis*.

ACCIENVS but then, later, added in a small *a*.[4] Furthermore, one can even notice an unfinished *E* (which for some reason is taller than the rest of the letters) in the same place where the small *a* was added. It is possible that the stone-cutter first started to write *ACCENVS*, then corrected this to *ACCIENVS* before finishing the wrongly placed letter *E*, and then realized that the *A* was missing and added it in much smaller size before the *I*.

As for the fourth person mentioned in the inscription, there are only a few known nomina ending in *-quitius*. These are *Aquitius* (dubious), *Equitius, Arquitius,* and *Tarquitius.*[5] The restoration of the name as *[Tar]quitius* seems the most plausible solution, since the *gens Tarquitia* is well attested in Southern Etruria, including nearby Capena, and the lacuna on the left would certainly allow the addition of three letters.[6] Regarding the cognomen, there seems to be a small trace of a slightly inclined bar before the *S,* which would suggest the letter *V* (rather than e.g. *I,* as in *Priscus*). Thus, the names that come to mind are *Etruscus* and *Fuscus. [Etr]ụscus* is be a viable candidate, if we assume that the patronymic or indication of libertinity was for some reason omitted, in which case the restoration would place the name neatly in the middle of the line.[7] If we, however, expect consistency from the stone-cutter's part, it would be logical to assume that the nomenclature of Tarquitius, like those of the other persons, included a reference to his father or patron. Assuming so, the most plausible restoration is *[--- F]ụscus.* The praenomen of the man remains unknown, but probable candidates include *C(aius) L(ucius) M(arcus) T(itus),* which are the praenomina attested for Tarquitii in the region.[8]

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[4] *Accienus* is also attested as a nomen, cf. H. Solin – O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum,* Hildesheim 1994, 4; W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen,* Berlin 1966 [1904], 105.

[5] For references, see Solin – Salomies (above no. 4).

[6] At least the following cases of Tarquitii in *CIL* XI: 4004 (Capena, 1st c.); 3630 (Caere, 1st c. BCE); 3634 (Caere, 45–11 BCE); 2454 (Clusium, 2nd c.); 6700,657,1 (Clusium); 3801 (Veii, 3rd c.); 3802 (Veii); 3805 (Veii). For the prominent Tarquitii of Caere, cf. M. Torelli, "Ascesa al senato e rapporti con i territori d'origine. Italia: Regio VII (Etruria)", in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* (Tituli 5), Roma 1982, 275–299, esp. 296; also M. Torelli, "Senatori etruschi della tarda repubblica e dell'impero", *DArch* 3 (1969), 285–363, esp. 321–323.

[7] Also, one L. Tarquitius L. f. Pom. Etruscus Sulpicianus, *scriba quaestorius* is attested at Rome: *CIL* VI 1828 (late 1st/early 2nd c.)·

[8] Four sources, see no. 6 above.

Accaienus and nomina with the suffix *-aienus*

Now, let us return to *Accaienus.* Not only is this a previously unknown name, it belongs to a rare group of nomina coined with the suffix *-aienus* (sometimes reproduced as *-aienius,* as names in *-enus* could be replaced by more "genuinely" Latin forms in *-enius*).[9] Now that *Accaienus* may be added to the list, the names belonging to this group are the following: *Accaienus Aienus Annaienus Appaienus Baienus Caienus Graienus Poppaienus Pullaienus Raienus Saienus*(?) *Staienus Taienus*(?) *Tettaienus.*[10] These names, in turn, can be formally divided into two subgroups. The shorter names consist of the termination *-aienus,* preceded by one consonant (*Raienus*), a consonant cluster (*Staienus*), or no consonant at all (*Aienus*). In the longer names, the suffix is preceded by a complete syllable (*Acc-aienus Pull-aienus Tett-aienus* etc.), and from this syllable one can often isolate a root from which multiple different nomina could be formed. A quick look at Solin – Salomies (above no. 4) reveals that, for example, from **acc-* (as in *Acc-aienus*) we have nomina such as *Accius Accaeus Acceius Acceienus Accienus Accellius Acculeius *Acculenus (Aculenus),* from **ann-* (as in *Ann-aienus*) *Annius Annaeus Anneius Anniaeus Annienus Annicius Annidius Annuleius Annulenus* etc., from **app-* (*App-aienus*) *Appius Appaeus Appaenius Appalenus Appalenius Appeius Appeienus Appellasius,* etc.,

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[9] For an overview of nomina in *-aienus* (and in *-(i)enus* in general), see O. Salomies, "Prolegomena to a study of the nomina ending in *(i)enus*", in F. Mainardis (ed.), *Voce concordi: Scritti per Claudio Zaccaria* (Antichità Altoadriatiche 85), Trieste 2016, 615–632, esp. 624; cf. also M. J. Pena, "Aportación al estudio de los gentilicios en *-(i)enus* (nota sobre CIL VI 2940 = 32721)", in P. Bádenas de la Peña *et al.* (ed.), *Homenaje a Ricardo Olmos,* Madrid 2014, 203–208; B. Vine, "Latin Salvidenus, Salvidena (*CIL* I^2 1813): Morphology, Orthography, Culture", in I. Hajnal *et al.* (ed.), *Miscellanea Indogermanica: Festschrift für J. L. García Ramón* (2017) 857–867.

[10] For references, cf. Solin – Salomies (above no. 4). There are also two (uncertain) names not found in the Repertorium – *Saienus* and *Taienus* – which Olli Salomies has kindly brought to my attention. *Saienus*: J. Kaimio, *The Cippus Inscriptions of Museo Nazionale di Tarquinia,* Rome 2010, no. 36 = J. Kaimio, *The South Etruscan Cippus Inscriptions,* Rome 2017, no. 36 = *AE* 2010, 471: *[-] Saienus Sex. f. [v.] annos LXXIV* – but the text cannot be verified, since the cippus is lost. *Taienus*: S. Weiss-König, *Graffiti auf römischer Gefässkeramik aus dem Bereich der Colonia Ulpia Traiana / Xanten,* Mainz 2010 (Xantener Berichte 17), no. 26.1: *TIIR TAIIINI* (transcribed as *Ter(tii) Taieni*), cf. also *AE* 2010, 1026–1030. Weiss-König also refers to another case of *Taienus,* documented in G. Ulbert, *Die römische Keramik aus dem Legionslager Augsburg-Oberhausen,* Kallmünz 1960, 20f. as *[---]E Taieni Tatt(---),* but this case seems dubious and I have not been able to verify it.

and from **tett-* (*Tett-aienus*) *Tettius Tettaeus Tetteius Tettenius,* etc.[11] *Accaienus,* thus, fits well into this pattern.

Regarding the shorter names, one may furthermore observe that almost all of them have a corresponding shorter form in *-ius* (*Baienus ~Baius, Raienus ~Raius, Staienus ~Staius,* etc.). These shorter forms in *-ius* consist of three syllables (*Ra*-ĭ-*us*), which is evident from the fact that in some inscriptions, mostly from the late republican period, these names are occasionally spelled *Cahius Rahius Stahius*.[12] The question now arises, how to interpret the *-ai* in the names ending in *-aienus.* In this regard, it may not be inconsequential that in Latin inscriptions the longer forms of the type *Annaienus Appaienus Pullaienus* were sometimes replaced by forms in *-aeus,* such as *Annaenus Appaenus Pullaenus,* and that these forms, it seems, could be used without much distinction.[13] This is evident, for example, in the N. African epigraphy of the imperial period, in which we encounter *Pullaienus -aienius* and *Pullaenus -aenius* in the same areas.[14] This would suggest that even if the *ai* in *aienus* may have originally consisted of two syllables, it started at some, not a very late, point to be perceived as a diphthong.

More generally speaking, names coined with *-aienus* fall under the category of nomina with the termination *-(i)enus.* Names of this type have been discussed elsewhere, among others, by Olli Salomies (above no. 9), and I will not get into any details regarding their origin or other aspects. It may, however, be

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[11] For nomina with the roots **acc- *ann- *app- *tett-*, cf. Schulze (above no. 4) 343, 345–346, 373; also E. Middei, "Gli antroponimi sabellici in *-*ai̯os* e le basi onomastiche con morfo-struttura *acca-* (Sabellian personal names with *-*ai̯os* and the onomastic bases with the morpho-structural pattern *acca-*)", *Graecolatina Brunensia* 20 (2015), 105–121.

[12] At least the following cases: *CIL* I^2 2679; 2683; 2685; 2689; 2691; 2702; 2706; G. Camodeca – U. Soldovieri, "Le iscrizioni nell'area del teatro di Sessa Aurunca, parte prima", in H. Solin (ed.), *Studi storico-epigrafici sul Lazio antico II* (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 137), Helsinki 2019, 2–18, 16 no. 7; *CIL* X 5372; *CIL* I^2 363; *AE* 1999, 551; *CIL* IX 2667; 6816; *AE* 1997, 520a. For the intervocalic ĭ in Latin, see M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft II.2.1, Lateinische Grammatik /von Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr), München 1977 § 138.

[13] Salomies (above no. 9) 624; Schulze (above no. 4) 429. While a similar practice regarding the shorter names of the type *Baienus Raienus Staienus* cannot be verified, one should not, as Salomies (above no. 9) 624 observes, rule out the possibility that e.g. *Baienus* could be reproduced as **Baenus.*

[14] E.g. *Pullaienus* (*CIL* VIII 24522; 24616) ~ *Pullaenius* (*CIL* VIII 24594; *AE* 2011, 1684) in Carthage and *Pullaenia* (*CIL* VIII 11872) ~ *Pullaienus* (A. M'Charek, *Aspects de l'évolution démographiques et sociale à Mactaris aux IIe et IIIe siècles ap. J. C.,* Tunis 1982, no. 7) in Mactaris.

said that the main area of attestation for names in *(i)enus* consists of the Sabine country and Umbria.[15] With *Accaienus* we are, thus, close to the "core area" of names of this type.

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[15] Or as Salomies (above no. 9) 616 puts it, "to those with some familiarity with Italian epigraphy it has always been evident that names ending in *(i)enus* are characteristic of a region which is traditionally seen as consisting especially of Umbria, but which also included (...) the regions at least originally inhabited by the peoples of the Aequi, Vestini, Sabines, Umbrians and Picenes".

Arctos 56 (2022) 65–67

A CORRUPTION IN *CIRIS* 530?

Włodzimierz Olszaniec

After a description of Scylla's metamorphosis into a bird and her miserable fate (490–519), the poet recounts another misfortune that befell the girl: Jupiter brought back to life her father Nisus, turning him into a sea-eagle which would henceforth pursue her across the sky (527ff.). Jupiter added thus "the cruel hatred of a hostile parent" to the punishments that had previously been sent by the gods:

huic vero miserae, quoniam damnata deorum 530
iudicio natique et coniugis ante fuisset,
infesti apposuit odium crudele parentis.[1]

530 vero *B*ρ: ero *Z* damnata *B*: iam nata (i. nacta *AR*) Φ 531 natique et B^2 (namque et *B*) Φ pactique ea *Housman* (pactique *iam Ellis*) 532 apposuitque *B* Φ: -que *del. Scaliger*

In his recent edition of the *Ciris*, B. Kayachev considers the reading *quoniam* in line 530 corrupt and replaces it with *cum* (*quom*) *iam*, giving credit for this conjecture to M. Shumilin.[2] The reason for this correction is the following: *quoniam* is accompanied by the subjunctive, yet Kayachev sees "no justification for the subjunctive here", quoting Hofmann and Szantyr in support.[3] A closer look at other Latin grammars, however, may provide the missing justification. Indeed, as H. Pinkster observed, in *quoniam* clauses, "as in *quia* and *quod* clauses, the subjunctive is used when the speaker does not commit himself to the truth

[1] The text and the apparatus are quoted from Lyne 1978, 91.

[2] Kayachev 2020, 177.

[3] Hofmann – Szantyr 1965, 627.

of the content of the clause";[4] in other words, when the reason is viewed as that of someone else. Pinkster quotes two instances of such use: Caes. *Gall*. 5,3,5 and Nep. *Milt*. 7,5; to these we might add Nep. *Eum*. 9,6[5] and, in later Latin, Fronto 18,2 and 106,3.

If such use is attested, we should not suspect corruption in the line discussed above. The meaning of *quoniam damnata fuisset* seems clear and the subjunctive shows that it is Jupiter's thought. Since Scylla was burdened with so many crimes,[6] the god deemed it appropriate to send upon her yet another misfortune. That is why the reading *quoniam* has not raised doubts among most editors and commentators of the *Ciris*.[7]

There is one exception though – in his 1831 commentary on the poem, Karl Julius Sillig considered correcting *quoniam* to *cum iam*, thus foreshadowing the Shumilin – Kayachev emendation.[8] Since Sillig also considered *quamvis* as a possible solution, it is evident that he was looking for a concessive clause rather than a causal one. Finally, however, he left *quoniam* unaltered in the text of his edition. And rightly so – as there is no reason to emend something that is in accordance with the grammar and that provides reasonable sense.

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[4] Pinkster 2015, 650.

[5] On *quoniam* with subjunctive in Nepos, see Lupus 1876, 157.

[6] According to the transmitted text, Scylla was condemned *deorum iudicio / natique et coniugis* (i.e., by the judgement of the gods, of the son (=Amor) and of the spouse (=Iuno), as Lyne explains [above n. 1], 317); Ellis (1894, 492) conjectured *pactique* in place of *natique* (*pactique coniugis = Minois*) and Kayachev, accepting Ellis' idea, added the correction of *deorum* to *suorum*: *damnata suorum / iudicio, pacti quoque coniugis ante fuisset* ("by the judgement of her own people and even of her pledged husband", Kayachev 2020, 76).

[7] The reading *quoniam* is printed by Vollmer 1910, Haury 1957, Salvatore 1997, Knecht 1970, Lyne 1978, Iodice 2002 and Gärtner 2020 among others.

[8] Sillig 1831, 277.

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Arctos 56 (2022) 69–82

A NOTE ON A HELMETED MARBLE HEAD IN A FINNISH ART MUSEUM

Leena Pietilä-Castrén

In the late 1920s, Onni Okkonen (1886–1962), professor of art history at the University of Helsinki, purchased a helmeted marble head. This seems to have been the beginning of his dedicated collection, which in the end comprised not only Classical antiquities but also Finnish, Byzantine, Renaissance, and Oriental art – all of them harmoniously displayed in his spacious private residence. Okkonen himself never made notes about or catalogued his large collections, apparently being too busy, as besides his university duties with numerous cultural associations he also published books on art in Finnish, wrote art critiques in newspapers, and finally was a member of the Finnish Academy (Fig. 1). After his death the whole Okkonen Collection, along with his personal archives, was donated in two stages to his old school town Joensuu and its newly established Art Museum in Northern Karelia, and by 1972 the antiquities were accompanied by a list of the respective titles of the art works. Some further information on the places and dates of the

Fig. 1.

acquisitions was later added, allegedly based on the reminiscences of his widow. This is how the information on the acquisition place and date of the marble head in question was established: *i.e.* Helsinki in the late 1920s. Being one of the first objects in Okkonen's antiquities collection and therefore certainly memorable, this information seems plausible. It is my belief that the marble head was acquired to commemorate his attaining the chair of art history at the University of Helsinki in 1927, as well as the family's move to a new home in 1928.

Description

After Okkonen's death, his "home gallery", along with some of the antiquities and other works of art, were first published in the Finnish magazine *Taide* (Art) in 1963. The accompanying text was written by his close colleague and co-author Jaakko Puokka, who must have had many opportunities to discuss this particular sculpture, and who identified it as an archaistic Greek head. A photo of ancient objects on top of the fireplace in Okkonen's dining room shows the marble head centrally positioned (Fig. 2).[1] The head made its next appearance three years later in the posthumous exhibition of Okkonen's collections, organized by the association Finlandia-Italia in the Amos Anderson Art Museum in Helsinki in 1966. The attached information described the head as a Greek male head from the fourth century BC.[2] In the early inventory of the Joensuu Art Museum the helmeted head was described as a Greek head of stone, a copy of archaic Greek workmanship from around 400 BC,[3] and as a head of a youth from the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD in another undated museum file.[4] Consequently, we can see a consensus of opinion that the head depicted a male, when any such identification was given, and that it was a copy of an archaic Greek original, *i.e.* archaistic, with a date ranging from ca. 400 BC to the Early Imperial period. After the reorganization of the antiquities collection in 2022, the current museum tag provides the following information: "Head of a Youth, Roman copy, undated".

[1] Puokka 1963, 117–118.

[2] Amos Andersonin taidemuseo, sculpture no 1.

[3] JTM, Onni Okkonen Archives, Inventory list, Ancient art/ Sculpture no. 65

[4] Now with the inv. no. JTM-594.

Fig. 2.

The head is approximately two-thirds life-size, with a height of 28.9 cm (Fig. 3A–B). The neck is chipped in front and a piece is broken on the left; the face is a slightly elongated oval with an angular chin, and the fully modelled mouth with plumpish lower lip curves slightly upwards at the corners, giving the face a subtly diverted expression. The tip of the nose is broken, its outlines are sharp, and the arching eyebrows are clearly cut. The eyes are missing, and may have been inlaid with glass paste, as was the usual custom. The eyelids are clearly marked, with overlapping folds. The hair is schematically rendered on the forehead in a row of tight wavy curls without a partition, and with the loops of hair by the ears. The Attic type helmet is embellished with a diadem of two bands instead of a visor; the lower one consists of small scale-like elements bordering nine rosettes, and bunches of a few petals with pearls in between the rosettes, while the upper band is frill-like. The helmet is strengthened at the back with a neck guard, and a subtle ridge divides the helmet into two halves, suggesting an original model in bronze, and on top there is a quadrangular, shallow dowel hole (ca. 3 x 3 x 3 cm) for a crest.

Fig. 3A–B.

The white fine-grained marble is visible only in places, and overall the sculpture's surface is of yellowish-ochre tint with many darkish spots and sandy speckles of encrustation. The conspicuous color is the erstwhile outcome of a surface treatment. In ancient times a mixture of beeswax and linseed oil was often used; this gradually formed an oxalate skin on the marble, which is impossible to remove later.[5] During the analyses made on the marble head in the conservation laboratory of the Metropolia University of Applied Sciences in 2016,[6] no traces of lipids or wax were, however, discovered. In addition to ferrous pigments and

[5] Victoria and Albert Museum. Horie 2010, 260.

[6] X-ray fluorescence (XRF) and fourier transform infrared (FTIR) analyses were undertaken.

sand, traces of cellulose nitrate (CN) were found, instead.[7] This compound was commercially introduced in the 1870s and has been widely used, among other applications, as a surface coating and adhesive. It has, in a similar manner to the beeswax and linseed oil mixture, a tendency to eventually turn yellow.[8] Whether this treatment with cellulose nitrate was carried out before Okkonen acquired the piece, or as an act of maintenance when already in his ownership, is not known due to the lack of documentation. The marble head has thus to speak for itself, but by chance there are some similar pieces that can help in reconstructing its provenience.

The Iconographic Parallels

Some replicas similar to our piece made their appearance in museums and private collections in the early decades of the 20th century, with alleged connections to Rome,[9] the center of classical collecting and a thriving antiquarian trade. In the latter half of the 19th century extensive new residential quarters were built in Rome and large public works were undertaken, *e.g.* for the Tiber embankments, and consequently many ancient houses, villas, and gardens were discovered. Most of the recovered sculptures ended up in the State and municipal museums of Rome, but there were finds enough to feed private collections as well, despite the regulations and vigilance of the authorities.[10] Female heads were the most desired by collectors and sold without problems.[11]

[7] Lehtinen 2016, 4.

[8] Selwitz 1988, 11, 22, 55. Horie 2010, 8.

[9] The list by F. Canciani, *LIMC* 2, 1984, 1079, *s.v.* Minerva, provides some parallels, which are not considered in this connection. The marble head in the Museo Barracco in Rome has entirely lost its helmet and visor made of bronze; G. Barracco, *Catalogo del Museo di scultura antica*, 26–27, inv. 90. Roma 1910. The marble head from the necropolis of Isola Sacra, for its part, has kept the diadem-like visor, but due to the date of the excavations from the late 1920s and 1930s, this head does not coincide with the timeline of the Joensuu-head; G. Calza, *La necropoli del Porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra*, 241–242, no. 32, fig. 139. Roma 1940.

[10] Moatti 1993, 122–124. Pollak 1994, 196. Petruccioli 2022, 8, 13–15. – The ancient demand for sculptures to decorate both public and private places in the imperial city of Rome was immense; the number needed has been estimated in the hundreds of thousands, Pfanner 2015, 104.

[11] Jandolo 1938, 12.

In the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York there is a helmeted marble head (Acc. no. 12.157) of 23.8 cm height (Fig. 4A–B), acquired in 1912 in Rome from Ettore Jandolo, a member of a Roman family of well-known antiquarians active over three generations since the unification of Italy.[12] In 1913 it was published in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* and identified as an archaistic head of Athena from the first century AD, and praised as "a most attractive example of its class, wrought with great delicacy in the modeling of the face, and with the utmost elaboration in the treatment of the hair and the ornaments upon the front of the helmet. In the mouth, perhaps, the sculptor chiefly betrays his late origin, while he has given it the characteristic archaic smile, it is modeled with greater mobility than an early sculptor would have been able to give it".[13] Another feature, "the upper lid […] made to pass over the lower at the outer corner" was later pointed out by Gisela Richter as a deviation from Greek archaic practice and characteristic of Roman sculptures of archaic style. She also believed that as the head was acquired in Italy, it probably was also found there.[14] The antiquities sold by the Jandolo family allegedly came from Tarquinia, Viterbo, the River Tiber, auctions of private collections, or directly from landlords'

Fig. 4A–B.

[12] Iasiello 2017, 377–378; nine members of the family are shown in the photo p. 377. About the activities of the different family members, see Petruccioli 2022b, 171–176.

[13] Robinson 1913, 52.

[14] Richter 1954, 19, no. 23.

excavations in Campania,[15] when not from the excavations in Rome.[16] This archaistic head of Athena/Minerva is dated to ca. 50 AD.[17]

The New York head is generally considered as the model for the helmeted head in Barcelona in the Museo Marès (Fig. 5A–B), founded by sculptor Frederic Marès (1893–1991). He started collecting in 1911, initially in the auctions in Paris, and his namesake museum was officially inaugurated in 1948.[18] In the first catalogue published in 1958 the helmeted marble head, 23 cm in height, was identified as an archaic Greek head from the 6th or 5th century BC and originating in Ampurias;[19] the provenance, however, was disputed, as perhaps reflecting an antique dealer's arbitrary attribution.[20] The museum catalogue from 2010 follows the analyses published in the 1960s and presents the Marès-head as an archaistic head of Athena from the first century AD.[21] It has been considered of lesser quality and a locally made imitation of the Metropolitan-head, a type created in the city of

Fig. 5A–B.

[15] Iasiello 2017, 378, 381. Petruccioli 2022b, 166.

[16] Pollak 1994, 132, 138.

[17] Picón 2007, 354, 486, no. 408. Zanker 2020, 170, no. 65.

[18] Vélez 2010, 13. *MFM*.

[19] *Catálogo del Museo Marés* 34, no. 10.

[20] Balil 1961, 189, no. 2.

[21] Balil 1961, 189–190. Herdejürgen 1968, 214, 229, no. 80. Rodà 2010, 59, no. 1.

Rome.[22] The backs of both the heads (helmets) are slightly flattened, perhaps to give extra space for the original J-hooked crest.

How do these two heads relate to the one in Finland? All three have closely matching dimensions – the height of the Metropolitan-head is 23.8 cm,[23] the Marès-head is 23 x 16 x 18 cm with an almost non-existent neck, and the Joensuu-head 28.9 x 15.7 x 20.0 cm, with the longest neck. The Joensuu-head certainly parallels the two former heads in its basic likeness, even if the general impression is less delicate and the shape of the head is more oblong; not to omit the conspicuous color. The floral decoration of the diadem was executed with care, even though the decorative elements in between the rosettes were shaped differently into bunches of petals instead of scrolls. Further, the upper part of the diadem rather resembles a ruffle or ornamental frill, instead of the rising club-like elements of the Metropolitan and Barcelona heads, perhaps difficult to understand as holes and slits for lost metal ornaments for a sculptor less conversant with all the details of female decoration in the Archaic period.[24]

To establish the date of the Joensuu-head, one more replica is worth examining. It was part of the collection of Wladimir de Grüneisen (1868–after 1932), an art historian and collector of Baltic-German origin. He was educated in Saint Petersburg and lived in Rome from 1904, preparing his publication of the frescoes of the Santa Maria Antiqua (1911). From 1912 he promoted museum and academic activities in Russia, emigrating after 1917 to Italy, and finally in the mid-1920s to Paris.[25] His antique collection was allegedly acquired from antique dealers in Rome and Florence, and was published in 1923 and 1925,[26] but was considered for the most part as consisting of forgeries.[27] The Grüneisen-head

[22] Herdejürgen 1968, 214. Zanker 2020, 171. About the methods of copying with casts and measuring points, see Balil 1961, 190. Pfanner 2015, 102–104. – The terms 'serial production' and 'emulation' in connection with ancient sculpture is widely discussed in K. Gazda (ed.), *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity* (SupplMAAR 1), Ann Arbor MI 2002, and in S. Settis – A. Anguissola – D. Gasparotto (eds.), *Serial/Portable Classic: The Greek Canon and its Mutations*, Milan 2015.

[23] Other measurements were not given.

[24] For comparison, the diadem of the enthroned Berlin goddess from Taranto (Altes Museum, inv. Sk 1761, ca. 475–450 BC) has similar decoration.

[25] Dennert 2012, 618–620.

[26] de Grüneisen 1923, 210–203. de Grüneisen 1925, VII, 8–9, pls. V–VI.

[27] Türr 1983, 248.

(Fig. 6A–B), whose height is similar to the three other examples – from chin to the top 24.3, and 29 cm in all – is generally dismissed as a modern forgery of the head in New York, not least revealed by its short hair, having thus lost the idea of it representing the goddess Athena.[28] Our head in Joensuu does not display even a short hair under the neck guard, making the identification as a male in the earlier Finnish comments understandable. Another feature shared with the Grüneisen-head is the similar ornamental frill of the diadem.[29]

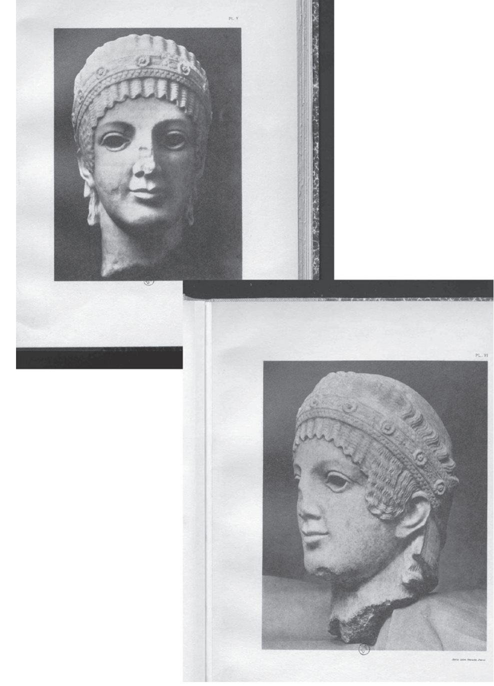

Fig. 6A–B.

The Journey to Finland

Where and when was the Joensuu-head sculpted, how did it find its way to Finland, and further, who was the dealer in Helsinki? It was most likely made in Rome, was perhaps modelled after the Metropolitan-head, and was furthermore possibly linked to Alceo Dossena (1878–1937), one of the most famous sculptor/restorer/forgers of the early twentieth century.[30] He was known to have worked for two antique dealers, Alfredo Fasoli and Alessandro Jandolo, a member of

[28] Richter 1950, 185, fig. 533: "A modern expression of alertness has crept into the latter which stamps it as false. Incidentally the hair has been cut short and does not continue to the break as it does in the New York original". Richter 1954, 19, no 23. Herdejürgen 1968, 215. About the Grüneisen collection, Türr 1984, 248.

[29] The photos at my disposal do not provide a profile view of the head (helmet); whether it was flattened or curving thus remains unknown.

[30] Arnau 1959, 242–243. About the life of Dossena, M. Horak, *Alceo Dossena fra mito e realtà: vita e opera di un genio*, Piacenza 2016.

the aforementioned prosperous family of antique dealers. Dossena's creations were not shown in Rome, but sent to Florence, Bologna, and Venice,[31] and then certainly spreading from those cities even further afield. He was known to have worked in marble in the archaic style, and to have developed a technique of aging by heating and immersing his products in chemical baths, the components of which are not known.[32] His secret aging method, however, could be an explanation for the yellowish-ochre color of our head, thus adding a third criterion pointing to its late origin.

When sketching the marble head's later journey to Helsinki, there are two alternatives – that it came directly from an auction or a dealer in Central Europe, or after an escapade via Russia. Whichever the case, Walter Sjöberg (1864–1937) is of interest. He was originally a gardener by profession, but became a successful antique dealer in the early 1900s through self-learning and visiting museums abroad, where he also made frequent trips to obtain stock.[33] Over time his merchandise came to derive directly from the Bolsheviks, as he personally knew V. I. Lenin,[34] if not from the European auctions put on by the Russian Antiquariat willing to remove duplicates and ingenuine pieces from confiscated collections.[35] The antiquities collections of the Russian aristocracy are known to have comprised both genuine and less genuine items, as the compatibility of the collected items sometimes overshadowed questions of their authenticity.[36] In this period of a Europe-wide flow of heterogeneous antiquities after the First World War, in a time when Rome was losing its status as the center of such trade, one marble head ended up in Helsinki. It is my belief that the memorable marble head was both sold and purchased in good faith as an authentic, archaistic piece

[31] Pollak 1994, 41. Sox 1987, 5.

[32] Arnau 1959, 246. Türr 1984, 220. Pollak 1994, 44. – Besides indicating aging, the yellow color may have been intended to give an impression of gilded marble, thus reflecting a bronze original, while the darkish spots and sandy speckles, for their part, might have mimicked a recent emergence from the soil.

[33] In the early years of his career, he purchased material in Germany and perhaps also in Italy, according to the provenances of the antiquarian collection of the regional Porvoo Museum.

[34] Gestrin-Hagren 2009. Pietilä-Castrén 2010, 151.

[35] *i.e.* the Central Office for State Trading of the USSR for the Purchase and Sale of Antique Objects, Norman 1997, 181–182, 185–186, 188–189. Pietilä-Castrén 2010, 153.

[36] Trofimova 2000, 88.

of ancient sculpture, something we can also deduce from the early Finnish comments. It is almost certainly a Roman product, as the current museum tag in Joensuu does suggest – albeit made in the early twentieth century. As a very late imitation of a helmeted head of Athena/Minerva, even without her characteristic long hair, it is now a piece of cultural history and a document of divergent attitudes to classical antiquities.

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Illustrations

Fig. 1: Finnish Heritage Agency, Historical Picture Collection.
Fig. 2: Joensuu Art Museum photo archive.
Fig. 3A–B: Joensuu Art Museum. Photo: Eino Nieminen.
Fig. 4A–B: The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Public Domain.
Fig. 5A–B: Museo Marès. Photo: Nuutti Leppänen.
Fig. 6A–B: de Grüneisen 1925, pls. V–VI.

Arctos 56 (2022) 83–99

LATIN COGNOMINA IN -*ILLIANUS* (ADDENDUM) AND NOMINA IN -*INUS*

Olli Salomies*

Building on an earlier study, I offer here are some further observations on Latin cognomina ending in -*illianus*. These cognomina should be understood as derived from female cognomina ending in -*illa*, rather than family names (nomina) in -*ilius*. The second section is devoted to analysing the small and poorly understood subgroup of Latin nomina ending in -*inus*, whose unfamiliarity regularly leads to instances being unrecognized and/or emended away by editors.

1. Cognomina in -*illianus*

In *Arctos* 53 (2019) 185–209, I discussed Latin cognomina ending in -*illianus*, observing that those cognomina that cannot be derived from nomina ending in -*illius* (e.g. *Popillianus* < *Popillius*) must in most cases have been derived from female cognomina ending in -*illa*. These endings were derived for their part either from nomina or from cognomina and in some cases also from praenomina, for instance *Drusilla* and *Priscilla* from the cognomina *Drusus* and *Priscus*, but *Cloatilla* and *Plotilla* from the nomina *Cloatius* and *Plotius*.[1]

* Thanks are due to the two anonymous referees for a number of very helpful observations and corrections.

[1] Cf. my observations in W. Eck – M. Heil (eds.), *Prosopographie des Römischen Kaiserreichs: Ertrag und Perspektiven* (2017) 127f. For cognomina in -*illa* derived from praenomina, see T. Nuorluoto, *Roman Female Cognomina: Studies in the Nomenclature of Roman Women* (2021) 71–78 (with instances on p. 77f. of Lucillae and Quintillae, who were daughters of men with the praenomina *Lucius* and *Quintus*; cf. **Titilla*, surely derived from *Titus*, a yet unattested cognomen that can be reconstructed on the basis of the cognomen *Titillianus*, *Arctos* 53 [2019] 203).

In the same article I also observed that names that because of their etymology should have the suffix *-illianus* have sometimes been written negligently with just one *l*.[2] In this note I add some cognomina attested only as ending in *-ilianus* but which must have been derived from female cognomina in *-illa* and which thus should have been rendered as ending in *-illianus*. After that, I use this occasion to point out in this context the interest of cognomina ending in *-ullianus*.

**Blaesillianus*. The correct form of the second cognomen of L. Silius Plautius Haterianus Blaesilianus of Lepcis Magna, attested in *IRT* 635 and probably identical with the senator L. Silius Plautius Haterianus (*PIR*[2] P 466, based on *SEG* 18, 740 cf. *AE* 1960, 200b from Cyrenae, AD 165/169; add *AE* 1997, 1586 from Lepcis), must surely have been **Blaesillianus*. This is the case on the one hand because the name cannot be derived from the nomen **Blaesilius*, not attested, and on the other because Aquilia Blaesilla, honoured in *IRT* 632 by her son Q. Plautius Haterianus (*PIR*[2] P 465), must have been this man's grandmother, as Blaesilla's son Haterianus is clearly Silius Plautius Haterianus' father.[3]

**Certillianus*. *Certilianus*, the cognomen of Deccius Certilianus, the son of Deccius Fruendus, decurion of Cologne, and the brother of Deccia Materna (*AE* 1935, 102 = *I.Köln*[2] 291, where it is dated to the third century) surely derives, as already suggested as a possibility by Kajanto,[4] from **Certilla* rather than from **Certilius*. Both names are unattested, but **Certilla*, derived from the common cognomen *Certus*, is a perfectly plausible formation of a type for which there are numerous parallels (cf. *Drusilla Priscilla* etc.); the correct orthography of the cognomen should thus no doubt be **Certillianus.*

**Martilliana*. This is probably the correct form of *Martiliana*, the name of a Christian *virgo* attested in an inscription from Theveste in Africa (*CIL* VIII 27915 = *ILAlg*. I 3430 = *ILCV* 1702). This name seems to have been derived from *Martilla*, itself derived from the nomen *Martius*, which is in fact attested exactly

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[2] Cf. e.g. p. 200 for *Quintillianus* (from *Quintilla*) sometimes written *Quintilianus* (as if from *Quintilius*). On p. 191, I should have mentioned *Flaccilianus* in *AE* 1985, 257 (*Ex offici(na) Iul(i) Flacciliani* on a lead *fistula* from the Civitas Aravorum in Lusitania), surely to be understood as *Flaccillianus.*

[3] Cf., in addition to the *PIR* articles, M. Torelli, *Rend. Linc.* 28 (1973) 385f. (with stemma); M. Corbier, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* (*Tituli* 5, 1982) 725.

[4] I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (1965) 254 (cited in the following as "Kajanto").

in Theveste for a certain Martia Cestia (*CIL* VIII 1960 = *ILAlg.* I 3318). There are several instances of the cognomen *Martilla* in African inscriptions.[5] It should be noted, however, that the nomen *Martilius*, previously not known, is now perhaps attested in a recently published late and vulgar inscription from Puteoli.[6]

**Naevillianus* (?). The cognomen Naevilianus (with one l) is attested only once, for a certain P. Craexius P. f. Fab. Naevilianus Senior from Brixia, an equestrian (CIL V 4417 and 4700 = Inscr. It. X 5, 210 and 511).[7] In the Repertorium I suggested that the cognomen could be a derivative of an otherwise unattested nomen *Naevilius.[8] However, I. Kajanto does not mention this cognomen in his list of cognomina derived with the suffix -ianus from nomina p. 139–160, but registers it on p. 169 as if derived from, or at least somehow in relation to, the cognomen Naevilla (itself derived with the diminutive suffix from the nomen Naevius).[9] Seeing that not a single instance of the putative nomen *Naevilius has ever turned up anywhere, he may well have been right. Should this be the case, the correct form of the name would obviously be Naevillianus.[10] Gregori (n. 7) p. 127f. lists six instances of the nomen Naevius in Brixia, and there is thus no problem in postulating the existence of the cognomen Naevilla in Brixia.

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[5] The index of cognomina in *CIL* VIII lists the inscriptions 3655 ("*Martilia*", surely to be understood as *Martilla*, as in EDCS-21600249), 7501 (*Martila*), 20126; add *ILAlg.* I 3689; II 1, 2004. 2912. 3902; EDCS-76000027 (Thamugadi). The index of nomina in *CIL* VIII registers (p. 47) five instances of the nomen *Martius*.

[6] See U. Soldovieri, *Puteoli Cumae Misenum: Rivista di Studi* 1 (2021) 171f. = G. Camodeca, EDR181423 (with the suggested date 251/320) = EDCS-81500041, Martilia Eusaevia (sic), the wife of a certain Larcius Gaenialis (sic). Soldovieri (followed by both EDR and EDCS) does not in fact read *Martiliae* but *Martillae*, and the photo attached to the publication does seem to indicate that the third letter from the end would be an *L* rather than an *I*. But in late inscriptions, the letters *I* and *L* are often quite similar, and the reading *Martiliae* thus does not seem impossible. Moreover, a combination of nomen and cognomen would in any case seem more natural than a combination of two cognomina.

[7] G. L. Gregori, *Brescia romana: Ricerche di prosopografia e storia sociale* I (1990) 85 no. A, 89, 001.

[8] H. Solin – O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum* (1988 and [2]1994) p. 124. In the following this book is cited as "*Repertorium*".

[9] Kajanto p. 169; note Naevia Naevilla, *PIR*[2] N 21.

[10] *Naevillianus* is in fact the form used by Gregori (n. 7) vol. II (2000) p. 84 in his list of cognomina derived from praenomina, nomina and other cognomina, but this is apparently an error, as the form used in the index p. 440 is *Naevilianus* with just one *l*.

**Probillianus*: this must be the correct form of the cognomen written as *Probilianus* in two late inscriptions, *ILCV* 2157 = *ICVR* IV 10953 and *CIL* IX 2584 from Bovianum Undecimanorum (cf. the addenda on p. 1039 with the observation that the letter forms indicate the 5th century AD).[11] The name cannot have been derived from a nomen **Probilius*, which is not attested, but must derive from the female cognomen *Probilla*.[12]

**Quietillianus*: in the list of the members of the *ordo corporatorum lenunculariorum* in Ostia from AD 192, *CIL* XIV 251, the second to last name is (in col. 8, line 36) that of a certain *C. Mezaeus Qu(i)etilianus*.[13] As a nomen **Quietilius* does not exist, the cognomen must have been derived from the female cognomen *Quietilla*[14] and the correct form should thus be *Quietillianus*.

I would like to conclude this section with an observation on female cognomina ending in *-ulla*, for which see Nuorluoto (n. 1) 88–92 (cf. on "irregular" forms in general p. 110–113). Like the cognomina ending in *-illa*, the names in *-ulla* are also derived from nomina, from other cognomina, and from praenomina. However, the derivation of the names in *-ulla* is sometimes unorthodox, for we find cognomina such as *Hispulla*, clearly derived from the cognomen *Hispo*, where the correct form would have been **Hisponulla*, and *Semprulla* which may have been derived from *Sempronius* (one would expect **Sempronulla*). But some of the names in *-ulla* have been derived in the same way as the names in *-illa*, and thus one finds both *Terentilla* and *Terentulla* (for this cognomen see Nuorluoto 90 n. 263 and below n. 16). On the other hand, only *Trebulla* is attested (*CIL* IX 6746, *Trebia N. f. Trebulla*; Nuorluoto p. 91), not also **Trebilla*, which as such would be perfectly plausible. In any case, if cognomina in *-ianus* could be derived from female cognomina in *-illa*, it seems clear that it would also have been possible to derive them from cognomina in *-ulla*. The best example of that is surely the cognomen *Terentullianus*, attested for Κλαύδιος Οὐαλεριανὸς Τερεντυλλιανός from Eumeneia in Asia (probably about Severan), known from *AE* 1978, 798 and 799 (in which inscriptions he calls himself υἱὸς

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11 Cf. the photo at EDR131511 (where the inscription is dated to "301/500") and EDCS-12700595.

12 Some instances of this cognomen are registered in Kajanto p. 253; add *CIL* V 3068; *CIL* II 400; *IMS* I 76.

13 For the orthography *Quet-* rather than *Quiet-* see e.g. M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (1977) 130.

14 Kajanto p. 262 (in *CIL* VI 2907 [*ILS* 2110] and III 2281 spelled *Quetilla*); add *AE* 2001, 562 (Rome).

Ἀσίας καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας)[15] and *MAMA* IV 336. The name is clearly derived from *Terentulla*, also attested in Asia,[16] where we also find many Terentii.

Further similar cases are not easy to come by; not to mention cognomina in *-ullianus* derived from nomina ending in *-ullius* (e.g. *Babullianus Cintullianus*), even in the case of cognomina derived from cognomina ending in *-ullus/-ulla* (e.g. *Antullianus*[17] *Catullianus Tertullianus Titullianus*) there is always the possibility that the cognomen in *-ullianus* derives from a male cognomen ending in *-ullus*[18] rather than from a female cognomen in *-ulla*. This is because there do not seem to be female cognomina in *-ulla* for which there would not be a corresponding masculine form ending in *-ullus*. In fact, unlike male cognomina in *-illus*, some of the male cognomina in *-ullus* are fairly common (e.g. *Catullus Fabullus Homullus Marullus Tertullus*, etc.).

2. Nomina ending in *-inus*

Among Latin or Roman names that can be identified as nomina, i.e. as family names (as contrasted with cognomina) there are some names ending in *-inus*. Most nomina of course end in *-ius*, and there are also other more or less common suffixes such as *-aeus* or *-(i)enus*, but the suffix *-inus* is typical of cognomina. Moreover, as the suffix *-inus* does not really correspond to what editors expect nomina to look like, the nomina in *-inus* are often "corrected".[19] I think, however,

[15] This person does not seem to appear in G. Frija, *Les prêtres des empereurs: Le culte impérial civique dans la province romaine d'Asie* (2012) or in the same scholar's online prosopography https://www.pretres-civiques.org/liste-des-pretres.

[16] *I.Ephesos* 788; also in *I. Byzantion* 171.

[17] There is, of course, the very rare nomen *Antullius* (e.g. *CIL* VI 1317, 6075) from which *Antullianus* could be derived. *Antullus/-lla*, however, is much more common, and the fact that this cognomen is now and again attested as the cognomen of persons with the nomen *Antonius* (Antulli: *AE* 1991, 125 from Rome; *CIL* II 1727. 1728. 6149; and cf. the Antonii Clementes Antulliani from Althiburos in Africa in *CIL* VIII 27768; Antullae: *CIL* XI 3930; XII 755; VIII 2808; cf. Nuorluoto 113) seems to point to the conclusion that the cognomen was at least in some cases somehow thought to correspond to *Antonius* (this is thus another 'irregular' derivation).

[18] Cf. e.g. the brothers Tertullianus and Tertullus, sons of a certain P. Olius Tertullianus, in *CIL* V 2381 = *AE* 1996, 709 from Ferrara.

[19] E.g. *Masotinus* is corrected to *Masotin(i)us* in the Clauss-Slaby database (EDCS-26600836);

that most of the nomina in *-inus* can be accepted as such, and my aim is to offer a few remarks on these names here. Those nomina which were known to me by 1994 can be found in the reverse index in the *Repertorium*[20] on p. 282f. and 495. However, the reading of some nomina registered there, *Audinus Camarinus Fuficolinus Mulinus Vettulinus*, has subsequently proved to be incorrect,[21] and these names, as well as some uncertain and/or not pertinent names recorded (in most cases equipped with a question mark) in the *Repertorium*,[22] will thus not be considered in the following. On the other hand, several 'new' nomina ending in *-inus* have been published since 1994, and some nomina published earlier have become known to me only after the publication of the *Repertorium*. The list of nomina in *-inus* must thus be supplemented with at least the following names:[23] *Alexandrinus* (*AE* 2017, 1074 from Germania Superior, a soldier); *Anulinus* (*CIL*

Considinus to *Considi(e)nus* in the same database (EDCS-01300565); and *Frontinus* to *Frontin(i)us* both there (EDCS-09000837) and in the Hispania Epigraphica database (HE-4389; note, however, that the inscription may in fact be a modern copy of a genuine one, and that the reading *Frontinus* could thus be an error. See F. Feraudi-Gruénais in the Heidelberg database, HD004097). Cf. below n. 65.

[20] See n. 8. W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (1904 and later reprints) will be cited as "Schulze".

[21] *Audinus*: to be corrected in *Caudinus* (see EDR107229); *Camarinus* (from Schulze 139 who cites *CIE* 4572): to be corrected in *Camurinus* (*CIL* XI 6722, 2); *Fuficolinus* is to be corrected in *Fuficulenus* (EDR075286), *Mulinus* in *Mulleius* (EDR125869) and *Vettulinus* in *Vettulenus* (EDCS-28801136).

[22] E.g. *Anuntinus* (the text is corrupt) *Boninus Dercinus Pirinus*.

[23] I have considered only those nomina which are certainly attested as ending in *-inus*; but it should be noted that there are several nomina, not taken into consideration here, which could belong to the same category but which are attested only in the genitive ending in *-i* which can represent both nomina ending in *-inus* and those ending in *-inius*. E.g. *Anitini* in *P. Anitini P. l. Alexandri* in J. P. Brun – P. Munzi, in C. Gasparri – G. Greco, *Cuma: Indagini archeologiche e nuove scoperte* (2009) 242 no. 8 (EDR115653) could be the genitive either of *Anitinus* or of *Anitinius*. A similar case is that of *Abisinus* or *Abisinius* (*AE* 2016, 325 from Ausculum). I have also omitted some uncertain or suspect names, e.g. *Alcinus* (*CIL* II 1568 = II^2 5, 392). Note, moreover, that the correct reading of the nomen "*Pontilinus*" (*Ποντιλῖνος*, D. Berges, *Rundaltäre aus Kos und Rhodos* [1996] 114 no. 18 with photo, cf. J. Nollé, ibid. p. 154 = *SEG* 46, 1097) is in fact *Pontidienus* (*IG* XII 4, 1347, Ποντιδιήνης Γαίου Οἰνώνης. In the commentary the nomen is by mistake transcribed as "Pontidiana"), and that *Censorina* (Κησωρῖνα), said by D. Bosnakis and K. Hallof, *ZPE* 224 (2022) 142 to be a nomen attested on Kos, is in fact the cognomen of the daughter of a certain Μᾶρ. Κοίλιος Εὔνους (ibid. p. 119 no. 213).

XIII 11311);[24] *Atelicinus* (*AE* 2019, 393 from Antium);[25] *Celerinus* (see n. 61); *Florentinus* (?) (*CIL* V 6549 cf. *Suppl. It.* 31 Novaria p. 126);[26] *Frontinus* (*CIL* II^2 7, 789; but see n. 19); *Pedisinus* (*Πεδισῖνος*, *IG*, X, 2, 1, 241 cf. *AE* 2011, 1204, A, col. II, l. 10 from Thessalonica); *Viselinus* (R. Cordella – N. Criniti, *Epigraphica* 83 [2021] 156–8 no. 3 from Nursia); *Volusinus* (*BACTH* 1911, 393 no. 20 = *ILAfr.* 78).

Even a quick look at the nomina attested as ending in -*inus*, of which there seem to be about 160-170 names, makes it obvious that we are dealing with a heterogenous group. My impression is that we could divide the names into the following groups:

1. nomina with a non-Latin or non-Roman background, 'barbarian' names, etc.;
2. cognomina used for one reason or another as nomina;
3. nomina formally identical with adjectives derived from toponyms;
4. nomina in which the suffix -*inus* represents a genuine suffix of family names. This is from my point of view by far the most interesting group, on which I shall accordingly concentrate. Before that, let us have a quick look at the other groups. The references to the attestations of the individual nomina can normally be found in the *Repertorium* or via the references there to Schulze's book (n. 20), but in the case of some names of more than average interest I shall quote the sources.

As for group 1, I would see as belonging to this group nomina attested in a less Romanized, provincial or 'barbarian' milieu. E.g. the following names could in my view qualify for this group: names with a N. Italian background: *Acisinus Capellinus* (?)[27] *Lancidinus Leucinus Lotticinus*[28] *Mag(a)plinus/Megaplinus*

[24] *Anulinus* is the proposed reading of the nomen in W. Binsfeld et al., *Katalog der römischen Steindenkmäler des rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier* (1988) p. 31 no. 48. The nomen was registered as *Anulin[iu]s* in the *Repertorium* p. 18, citing *CIL* XIII 11311.

[25] The inscription was published by H. Solin, in H. Solin (ed.), *Studi storico-epigrafici sul Lazio antico* II (Comm. Hum. Litt. 137, 2019) 151f. no. 115.

[26] Attested for a certain Florentina Herennia, the wife of M. Philoclus M. f. Cla. Marcellinus. We may, however, be dealing with the inversion of nomen and cognomen, the real name being Herennia Florentina.

[27] C. Capellinus Sora, *CIL* V 5442 = R. Dell'Era, *Le iscrizioni romane del Canton Ticino* (2022) no. 17. According to Dell'Era (p. 156), this is a nomen of the 'Transpadane' type; but Schulze p. 153 considers it Etruscan, and the cognomen *Sora* does have an Etruscan ring (cf. Schulze p. 371).

[28] Lotticina Marcellina, the wife of a certain C. Boicus Silvester, also with a N. Italian nomen (*CIL* V

Mamertinus (?)[29] *Maximinus*; nomina mainly because of the findspots of their attestations apparently with a Gallic-Germanic-Danubian background: *Anulinus* (n. 24) *Macrinus*[30] *Masculinus Ursulinus Valentinus*, possibly also *Masotinus* attested in Germisara in Dacia. Perhaps one could add *Haerisinus* (*Aerisinus Herisinus*) and *Halinus*, which seem to be names with an Etruscan background that have not undergone a 'modification' into nomina of the Italic (as contrasted with the Etruscan) type.

Most of the nomina whose background I attributed tentatively to the northern provinces could obviously also be classified simply as cognomina (or individual names) used as nomina, and this takes us to the second group of nomina. At least the following names known as cognomina, in most cases as fairly common cognomina, are also attested as nomina:[31] *Aquilinus* ?*Firminus Frontinus* (see n. 19) *Fuscinus Graecinus Longinus Mes(s)alinus Quintinus Saturninus Scaevinus Sextinus*. Taking into account both the fact that, as already observed by Schulze p. 60f., *Longinus* was from the Augustan period onwards a common nomen among soldiers stationed in Egypt, surely all of them former peregrines, and the fact that other cognomina are attested as the nomina both of early (e.g. *C. Niger C. f. Pol.*, *CIL* III 6607 = *ILS* 2247) and later soldiers (cf. Schulze p. 293f.), my guess is that many of these nomina were in origin adopted as their family names by peregrine men entering the Roman army as legionary or auxiliary soldiers. But surely some of the names could also belong to those above in group 1, and there must of course be other possible explanations. For instance in the case of *Sextinus*, attested in Gallia Lugdunensis and in Belgica,[32] one could perhaps also consider the possibility that the name is epichoric – if not derived from the name of the city of Aquae Sextiae (in which case it would

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433 = *Inscr. It.* X 3, 130). Cf. perhaps *Louticinius* (*Suppl. It.* 16 Forum Vibii 12 = *AE* 1998, 659). H. Solin (n. 25) derives *Lotticinus* from *Lottius*.

[29] M. Mamertinus Maternus *Aug(usta Praetoria*?*)*, *CIL* VI 32627 (mentioned by Schulze on p. 61 n. 7 and on p. 294). This name, however, can surely also have been derived from a toponym (cf. below at n. 43).

[30] This is apparently the only form attested for Macrinus Vindex, praetorian prefect under Marcus and Verus (*PIR*² M 25); but this man's son M. Macrinius Avitus Catonius Vindex, consul in *ca*. 175, is normally called *Macrinius* (*PIR*² M 22, cf. *AE* 2019, 137); perhaps this man wanted his nomen to look more 'Roman'. These two Macrini(i) may well have come from Cologne (see *PIR*² M 25).

[31] Cf. Schulze 61 n. 7. I omit *Geminus*, where *-inus* (*-ĭnus*) does not represent the suffix *-īnus*.

[32] *CIL* XIII 2492 = *ILTG* 307; *CIL* XIII 3993 = *ILB* 80.

belong to Group 3). In addition to the names mentioned above there are some nomina formally identical with cognomina which do not seem to fit the pattern of more or less common cognomina having been taken into use as nomina. I am thinking of the following nomina: *Laterinus Macedinus Matutinus Militarinus*[33] *?Placidinus*.[34] *Laterinus*, *Macedinus* and *Militarinus* are, unlike *Matutinus* and *Placidinus*, not attested as cognomina, and in the case of *Macedinus*, *Matutinus* and *Militarinus* there are no corresponding nomina in *-ius*, which there are in the case of *Laterinus* and *Placidinus*, i.e. *Laterius* and *Placidius* (which are both rare nomina). Although it seems a mystery how these names in *-inus* can have ended up as nomina, I would like point out that *Laterinus*, *Macedinus* and *Matutinus* are all nomina attested in Italian inscriptions surely not later than the first century AD; *Laterinus* is attested for a man without cognomen from Casinum (*CIL* X 5160a);[35] *Macedinus* for a man from Trebula Suffenas with filiation and tribe (*CIL* XIV 3508, now lost, but said to have been inscribed "in caratteri grandi e ben formati"); and *Matutinus* is attested in AD 60 for a man from Trebula Mutuesca (*AE* 2002, 397 = *CIL* IX 8877, b, col. I, 14).[36]

Group 3 consists of nomina formally identical with adjectives derived from toponyms, like e.g. *Aeserninus*, obviously derived from *Aesernia* (cf. *CIL* IX 2676). Names of this type – not necessarily ending in *-inus*, for one also finds e.g. *Aequiculus Amiternius Mevanas Saepinius Trebulanus* etc. (in general see Schulze 524-535) – are attested as nomina of freedmen owned and then manumitted by municipalities and their descendants. This is the case, for example, of the Aesernini mentioned above or in that of Q. Reatinus Sallustianus, *lib(ertus) r(ei)*

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[33] *CIL* VI 22493 (seen by Henzen and Mau), set up, clearly in about the Severan period or even later, *M. Militarino Victuri* (sic) by the man's wife. It should be noted that *Militarinus* is not actually attested as a cognomen; for *Militaris*: *Militarinus* cf. e.g. *Natalis*: *Natalinus*.

[34] The existence of this nomen, known from the third-century inscription *CIL* VI 3335 = EDR159894 with photo, is in fact questionable. The inscription runs as follows: *D. M. M. Gallienio* (thus, rather than *Call-*) *Placidinio benef(iciario) legat(i) leg(ionis) I Minervi(ae) … Placidinus Paternus frument(arius) leg(ionis) I Min(erviae)*, and we thus have an instance both of *Placidinius* and *Placidinus*. One wonders, then, if *Placidinus* should not be corrected to *Placidin<i>us*, which would in the case of third-century soldiers of a legion based in Bonn in Germania Inferior and thus surely themselves from the region be more plausible.

[35] Interestingly, the same nomen is also attested in a Greek inscription from Parium in Asia (*AE* 2009, 1377), where the man has the same praenomen Q. as the man attested in Casinum.

[36] The same nomen is attested much later in Puteoli (or Naples?), *CIL* X 2723 = EDR179466.

p(ublicae) R(eatinorum) (*CIL* IX 4699 a–e).[37] It thus seems probable that many holders of nomina of this type were former municipal slaves or their descendants. On the other hand, surely one can assume that some of these nomina simply denoted origin from, or some other relation to, a certain city or place, especially as many nomina of this type clearly do not refer to municipalities likely to own and manumit slaves but rather to smaller places, such as *vici* and *pagi* and the like. Be that as it may, I have been able to trace the following nomina referring to toponyms that can be identified and thus more or less certainly belong to this group: *Acerretinus*[38] *Aequitinus*[39] *Aeserninus Alexandrinus* (see above at n. 23) *Amerinus Aquinus*[40] *Aricinus Arrecinus*[41] *Caudinus Durrachinus/Dyrracinus Faventinus Florentinus* (see above n. 26) *Gabinus Iguinus* (i.e., *Igu(v)inus*) ?*Leucinus* (cf. Leuca in Calabria)[42] *Ligustinus* (attested in 171 BC for a soldier *Crustumina ex Sabinis*, Liv. 42.34.2ff.) *Lorinus* (cf. Lorium in S. Etruria)[43] *Lucerinus Mamertinus* (but see above n. 29) *Mandorinus* (cf. Manduria in

[37] For all questions regarding the nomenclature of former municipal slaves, see F. Luciani in S. Segenni – M. Bellomo (eds.), *Epigrafia e politica II: Documenti e iscrizioni per lo studio di Roma repubblicana* (2021) 171–216 (with a list of all former municipal slaves p. 196–216, including those with a nomen derived from the name of the municipality in Tabella 2 on p. 204–212; note also the other publications of Luciani cited in the bibliography).

[38] Cf. also *Acerrentinus*, attested as the cognomen of *M. Claud[i]us M. f. Acerrentinus*, a municipal notable in Parentium (*AE* 2016, 430), but perhaps in origin a nomen. But whereas *Acerretinus* may have been derived from the name of Acerrae in Campania, *Acerrentinus* makes one rather think of Acerentia in Lucania.

[39] Attested in Salonae in Dalmatia (*CIL* III 2021); cf. *Aequum* in Dalmatia? But Schulze p. 355 registers this nomen in the company of nomina of the type *(A)equasius Aequisius Equitius.*

[40] Kajanto p. 184 compares the name of the city of Aquinum; but the normal adjective derived from the name is of course *Aquinas*.

[41] Attested for the son of a slave of the *r(es) p(ublica) Aricinorum* (*CIL* XIV 2156 = *ILS* 3255; Luciani [n. 37] 204 no. 1), and in this particular case clearly derived from the toponym Aricia. But the distribution of the nomen *Arrecinus*, also attested for equestrians and senators active in the first century AD, including the Emperor Titus' first wife (see *PIR*² A 1072-4; *PME* A 160) makes one think that this nomen could in some cases have another background. Cf. Schulze 525 with n. 15.

[42] But it seems somewhat disturbing that this nomen is attested only in Parentium (*CIL* V 402 = *Inscr. It.* X 2. 247); it thus seems better to consider (cf. above at nn. 27–28) *Leucinus* as a nomen with a N. Italian background (cf. Schulze 45 n. 2).

[43] But there is also *Lorenus* and *Lorenius* and thus this nomen should perhaps rather be placed in the next group. Cf. Schulze p. 589 in the addenda to the names discussed on p. 182.

Calabria) *Marrucinus Medullinus Nortinus* (?)[44] *Palatinus Plestinus/Plaestinus Pomentinus* (*Pomitinus*) *Pomptinus Potentinus* (?)[45] *Reatinus Sabinus* (*Safinus*)[46] *Setinus Signinus/Segninus Urvinus* (*Urbinus*) *Vestinus*.[47]

But there are also a number nomina in *-inus* which for one reason or another leave the impression of having been derived from toponyms, but from toponyms which do not seem to be attested. That the nomina *Subocrinus* and *Summocrinus* have been derived from the placenames **Subocrium* ('below the hill/citadel') and **Summocrium* ('on the top of the hill') is obvious,[48] but a nomen like *Rupedinus*, attested in Nersae in the country of the Aequiculi (*CIL* IX 4127) could also be an instance. In this case one could think of postulating the existence of a locality called e.g. **Rupedium*. Note too that *Rupedinus* cannot have been derived from names such as **Rupedius* or **Rupedus*, as these names do not exist. And there are also other nomina in *-inus* which are in my view most conveniently explained by assuming that they are derived from toponyms. Note the following: *Agreninus*

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[44] Attested already in Umbrian as **nurtins** (H. Rix, *Sabellische Texte* [2002] p. 63 Um8 = M. H. Crawford *et al.*, *Imagines Italicae* [2011] I p. 122f. Mevania 2). For another attestation in Mevania, see *AE* 1991, 636. I wonder whether this nomen could refer to Volsinii, where the cult of the Etruscan goddess Nortia was based (*Nortinus* is attested as a cognomen in Volsinii in *CIL* XI 2690; but in this case the name has surely been derived from the name of the goddess, cf. Kajanto p. 113).

[45] *[. Potenti]nus dec(urionum) lib(ertus) Dignus* *CIL* X 141 (Potentia), as restored by Mommsen in the commentary, where he suggests the reading *[Potenti]nus*, and in the index p. 1149, where the abbreviation *dec.* is taken to refer to the *decuriones*. For scholars accepting Mommsen's interpretation see A. Sansone, *Lucania romana: Ricerche di prosopografia e storia sociale* (Vetera 23, 2021) 184 n. 395; Sansone himself quotes the text as "[---]nus Dec. lib. Dignus" (p. 184 no. 19), but mentions the inscription on p. 169 among those which mention decurions. In EDCS-11400227 the reading is *Dec(imi) lib(ertus)*. This inscription is not mentioned by Luciani (n. 37).

[46] For Oscan-Umbrian **Safinus*, the equivalent of Latin *Sabinus*, see J. Untermann, *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen* (2000) 642, cf. 641. The nomen is attested for a late Republican architect operating in Capua (*AE* 1982, 173a = 1988, 292 = EDR078488; from the photo one sees clearly that the reading is *Safino*, not *Safinio*). According to S. Bernard, in P. Lulof – I. Manzini – C. Rescigno (eds.), *Deliciae Fictiles V: Networks and Workshops. Architectural Terracottas and Decorative Roof Systems in Italy and Beyond* (2019) 503, the nomen "may indicate Samnite background".

[47] Note also *Quirinus*, attested in an earlyish inscription from Amiternum (*CIL* I^2 3290 = IX 8340; also in *CIL* VI 7002). One wonders whether this nomen could have something to do with the *Quirina* tribe of Amiternum.

[48] Cf. the Sabine *vicus* Interocrium (Schulze p. 531). For the meaning of *ocr-* see Untermann (n. 46) 791–793. In addition to *CIL* IX 4081 (from Alba Fucens), the nomen *Subocrinus* is now also attested in *AE* 1994, 372 a) from Ficulea.

Allecinus Arcusinus Ianterninus Iestinus Laterdinus Laterninus Netatinus (?)[49] *Onedinus Pallentinus Pandusinus Tasatinus Vebelinus*.[50] All these cases have in common the fact that the names do not exist as cognomina and that unlike in the cases in the next group a corresponding nomen in *-ius* is not known; nomina such as **Agrenius* or **Laterdius* are not attested (for the possibility of postulating the existence of **Allecius* cf. below at n. 70). In the case of *Allecinus* and *Iestinus* there are corresponding forms in *-inius*, *Allecinius* and *Iestinius* (*AE* 1997, 718 = *Suppl. It.* 28 no. 33 from Patavium). I would see these forms as attempts to 'Romanize' the names.

I now arrive at Group 4 which consists of nomina in *-inus* in which the suffix can in my view be taken as a genuine gentilicial suffix, possibly a variant of *-ienus*. I have touched upon this subject some years ago in a paper dedicated to nomina ending in *-(i)enus*,[51] but I find the subject is worth returning to briefly in this context. In the said paper, in which one of my main aims was to point out that the four suffixes *-enus/-ienus/-enius/-ienius* are merely variants of each other and practically interchangeable (cf. e.g. *Passenus Passienus Passenius Passienius*), I observed (p. 625) that there are a number of nomina in *-inus* for which a parallel form ending in *-(i)enus* exists; for instance, besides *Albinus* and *Alfinus* there are also *Albienus* and *Alfenus/Alfienus.* In addition to *Albinus* and *Alfinus*, the other nomina in *-inus* mentioned by me on p. 625 as having parallel forms ending in *-(i)enus* are as follows: *Atatinus Camurinus Considinus Ligustinus Lorinus Pasidinus Pedisinus Plotinus Pomptinus Pontilinus Rubellinus Rufinus Salinus Turpilinus Vedinus Vettinus Volusinus*. But there are in fact more nomina belonging to the said category. Note *Aberrinus*, surely related to *Aberenus*[52]; *Calvinus*[53]/*Calvenus*

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[49] The reading of this nomen remains uncertain as the inscription (*CIL* X 2772) is lost.

[50] This nomen can probably not be taken to have something to do with the nomen *Vibellius*, in which the *i* is no doubt long as in *Vībius* and as in all names derived from the root *Vīb-*.

[51] O. Salomies, in F. Mainardis (ed.), '*Voce concordi*': *Scritti per Claudio Zaccaria* (*Antichità Altoadriatiche* 85, 2016) 615–631, at 625f. I shall refer to this paper as Salomies 2016.

[52] *Aberrinus*: *CIL* VI 10450 and 39549; *ILAlg.* II 7335 (there is also *Aberrinius*, a form that has been furnished with a 'more Latin' suffix). *Aberenus*: *CIL* VI 14696.

[53] In *Repertorium* p. 43 I refer to the *Thesaurus* article on *Calvinus* and *Calvinius* as a nomen (as contrasted with the cognomen), but all instances cited there are of the nomen *Calvinius. I. Kyzikos* 254 thus remains the only instance of the nomen *Calvinus* (spelled *Καλβεῖνος*).

(*Calvenius*); *Flavinus/Flavenus*; *Marsinus* (?)[54]/*Marsenus* (*Marsenius*); *Munninus* (also *Moninus Monninus*)/*Munnienus* (*Munnenius Monnienius Monnenius*); *Muttinus/Muttienus* (*Muttenus*); *Oflinus* (surely a syncopated form of **Ofilinus*)/ *Ofil(l)enus Ofil(l)ienus*; *Pasinus*[55]/*Passienus* (*Passienius Passenus* etc.); *Poblinus/ Publienus* (*Publienius*); *Pontinus* (?)[56]/*Pontienus*; *Sepinus/Sepienus Seppienus*; *Tettinus*[57]/*Tettienus* (*Tettienius Tettenius*); *Titussinus/Titisienus* (*Titisienius Titisenus Titisenius*); *Varinus/Varienus*; *Velinus*[58]/*Velenus* (*Velenius*); *Vibbinus*[59]/ *Vibienus*.

I am not sure what to do about the nomina *Alleinus*, *Serveinus* and *Tulleinus* (nomina that have become known only after the publication of Schulze's book in 1904). In each case, forms ending in *-ienus -enus* (i.e., *Allienus Allenus*, *Servienus Servenus*, *Tullienus Tullenus*) are also attested, not to speak of other suffixes (e.g., *Allius Alleius*, *Servius Serveius*, *Tullius Tulleius*, etc.). I find it hard to believe that <ei> could have been inscribed for a long *i*, especially as *Alleinus* and *Tulleinus* are attested in inscriptions that are not very early, and I also find it hard to believe that the suffix *-einus* could in these cases be a mistake for *-ienus*. Instead, I wonder whether one could think of the possibility that *-einus* is a suffix of its own, perhaps concentrated in a restricted area (*Serveinus* is attested in an earlyish inscription from Trebula Suffenas while the two other names are attested in Rome).

In addition to the pairs of names in *-inus* and *-(i)enus* enumerated above there are some similar pairs of names in *-inus* and *–(i)enus* that seem to have their background in the Celtic regions of N. Italy and which thus need to be

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[54] *CIL* XI 4486 from Ameria, not seen by Bormann, who suggests the correction in *Marsidius* (there is a Marsidius in 4485).

[55] There is also *Passinus*, but this form is attested in an inscription mentioning, in addition to a certain L. Passinus Crispus (of course not identical with, but still taking one's thoughts to, C. Sallustius Crispus Passienus, consul in AD 27 and 44, *PIR*^{2} P 146 cf. *AE* 2013, 1497 a), two Passienae, and the form *Passinus* may thus be due to an error of the stonecutter.

[56] *AE* 1993, 919 = J. Esteban Ortega, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Cáceres* 2 (2012) no. 750.

[57] *Tettino Xenophonti* is the transmitted reading in *CIL* VI 14482 (where the nomen is 'corrected' to*Tetti[e]no*).

[58] *Velinus* is also attested in *AE* 1988, 887, probably from Rome (thus EDR081184, with the date "1 d.C./50 d.C.").

[59] *CIL* IX 966 (EDR017269) from Vibinum.

kept apart from the nomina that must have originated in central Italy.[60] Note the following: *Catullinus/Catullienus*; *Celerinus*[61]*/Celerienus*; *Gemellinus/Gemellienus*[62]; *Iustinus/Iustien(i)us*; *Lancidinus/Lancidenus*; *Secundinus/Secundienus*; *Severinus/Severienus*;[63] *Sextinus/Sextienus*.

But let us return to central Italy and have a look at the following group of nomina in *-inus*. This group consists of nomina in the case of which corresponding nomina in *-(i)enus* are not attested but which are clearly in some relation to nomina ending in *-ius*. I am thinking of the following nomina alongside each of which there is a corresponding nomen in *-ius* (e.g. *Apstidinus ~ Apstidius Abstidius*): *Agrestinus Anisinus Apstidinus*[64] *Arquinus*[65] *Asellinus Betuinus*[66] *Caesellinus Cautinus* (?) *Cornuinus*[67] *Crasicinus* (cf. below) *Crispinus Culcinus Matuinus Pomplinus Scaevinus Scaptinus Surdinus Vetrasinus* (?)[68] *Viselinus* (cf. above at n. 26); *[V]inulinus* (?).[69]

There are also some nomina in *-inus* alongside which there are no attested corresponding forms in *-ius* but which may possibly have been derived from nomina. In explaining the nomen *Atelicinus*, H. Solin (n. 25), who compares the nomina *Allecinus Ar(r)icinus Crasicinus Lotticinus*, assumes the name to have been derived from *Atel(l)ius* with the suffix *-cinus*. But the nomen *Cras(s)icius*, surely based on *Crassius*, is attested, and one wonders whether one could not tentatively postulate the existence of **Allecius*[70] and **Atellicius*, derived from *Allius* and *Atellius* in about the same way as (e.g.) *Titecius* derives from *Titius*

[60] For the nomina in *-ienus* in N. Italy, cf. Schulze p. 55f.

[61] *RIB* 659, cf. P. Kruschwitz, *ZPE* 204 (2017) 24 n. 4; a soldier, perhaps from N. Italy.

[62] *AE* 2003, 767 from Comum.

[63] *AE* 1996, 774 = *Suppl. It.* 31 Novaria 3.

[64] *AE* 1993, 573 (Gerano a little west of Sublaqueum/Subiaco).

[65] *CIL* VI 12350, an inscription not seen by the editors (and corrected by them to *Arquin[i]us*).

[66] Probably to be understood as *Betu(v)inus*, cf. *Betuvius*; but there is also the nomen *Betuus*, from which *Betuinus* could have been derived. Cf. *Cornuinus* and *Matuinus*.

[67] Cf. *Cornuius* (*CIL* XI 2669 from Saturnia, etc.); perhaps to be understood as *Cornu(v)ius* and *Cornu(v)inus*.

[68] A nomen (?) attested only in the *Historia Augusta* (*Marcus* 12.3), but plausible alongside *Vitrasius*.

[69] *CIL* VIII 21175a.

[70] *Allicia C. f. Paetina* in *EE* IX 328 (Castulo) seems to be an erroneous reading of the name *Valeria C. f. Paetina* (see EDCS-33000040). *Alicius*, however, is attested.

and *Crassicius* from *Crassius*. (As for the other two names, *Ar(r)icinus* is better taken to derive from *Aricia* rather than from *Arrius*, and *Lotticinus* belongs to the N. Italian group of nomina in *-inus*, see above n. 28). To continue, perhaps one could also think of reconstructing **Bambius* on the basis of *Bambinus*, **Caiecius* on the basis of *Caiecinus*,[71] and **Visu(v)ius*[72] on the basis of *Visuinus*. There is also *Crastinus*,[73] but it seems difficult to attach this nomen to any group of known nomina.[74]

It is obvious that much that has been said above must remain uncertain, and a number of suggestions will no doubt prove to be mistaken. Of course there also remain nomina (e.g. *Crastinus*, cf. above) that cannot in my view at least for the moment be fully explained. However, I believe that on the basis of the material presented above it may well be justified to identify *-inus* as another suffix of nomina, to be added to the well-known broad palette of suffixes attested for Latin and Italian family names, *-ius -eius -aeus -enius -edius -idius -ellius* etc.[75] If on the other hand one ignores the attestations of the nomina in *-inus* in N. Italy in the Transpadane regions and, on the other, those attested in Rome and in the provinces, due to immigration and emigration, it becomes evident that the attestations of these nomina concentrate in about the same regions that one can observe in the case of the nomina ending in *-(i)enus*. In Salomies 2016 p. 617 I observe that the "main area of attestation of the nomina in *-(i)enus* is in and around the Sabine country and Umbria. These names are found in particular in the area north of the line Trebula Mutuesca – Alba Fucens – Aufinum – Pinna, to the east of the line Cures – Ocriculum – Tuder – Tifernum Tiberinum – Sarsina, and to the south of the line Sarsina – Ariminum. Outside this area, there are (in addition to Rome) some places with a striking concentration of these names, especially the two neighbouring towns of Aemilia, Bononia and Mutina, and (in the south) Venusia". If we study the attestations of the nomina in *-inus*, the result is not at all dissimilar: the earliest attested nomen, *Ligustinus*, is attested in 171 BC for a soldier *ex Sabinis*, and in inscriptions from the Sabine towns

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[71] Cf. *Caiedius* and e.g. *Murrecius* : *Murredius*, *Titecius* : *Titedius*.

[72] Cf. perhaps *Vesuius Vesuvius*.

[73] In addition to *CIL* XI 4988 (I^2 2104), cited by Schulze, this nomen is also attested in Dyrrachium (*AE* 1978, 747 = *CIA* 81 = *LIA* 115).

[74] Schulze p. 173 n. 1 refers to this nomen in his discussion of *Grasinius Crasinius* etc.

[75] Cf. e.g. the tables of suffixes in Schulze p. 388–391, 403–405, 432–434.

names in *-inus* are attested in Cures (*Scaptinus*), Trebula Mutuesca (*Matutinus*, *Muttinus*, *Serveinus*), Reate (*Betuinus*, *Caesellinus*, *Munninus*,[76] *Varinus*) and Nursia (*Viselinus*). In the country of the Aequi(culi) we find *Betuinus* in Nersae and *Vedinus* in Alba Fucens, in that of the Vestini *Atatinus* in Aveia; in Picenum there are the nomina *Alfinus* and *Oflinus* in Firmum, *Vettinus* in Ricina and *Crasicinus* in Staffolo near S. Vittore di Cingoli.[77] In Umbria we find nomina in *-inus* only in the south, namely in Ameria (*Crispinus*, *Marsinus*). In addition to these attestations, there are also those of nomina in *-inus* in places close to the regions just mentioned: *Turpilinus* in Falerii a little to the west of Cures; *Macedinus* in Trebula Suffenas; *Apstidinus* close to Sublaqueum (Subiaco), both just south of the region of the Aequi; and *Rufinus* in Sulmo in the country of the Paeligni.

Elsewhere in Italy south of Cisalpine Gaul there are obviously several instances of nomina in *-inus* in Rome and its neighbourhood, but otherwise there are only solitary instances from places as far away as Vibinum and Brundisium in Apulia.[78] But in Aemilia there are two cities of especial interest, Bononia and Mutina, both cities singled out in Salomies 2016 as places of interest to the student of nomina ending in *-(i)enus* (see above). In both cities – but only in these two neighbouring cities in northern central Italy north of Perusia (cf. n. 78) and south of the river Padanus (Po) – we find not only nomina in *-(i)enus* but also those in *-inus*, for in Bononia we find *Plotinus* and *Poblinus* (*CIL* XI 775 and 776), and in Mutina two instances of *Munninus* (see EDR133964 and EDR135995). Perhaps we could conclude that these two cities may have been centres of immigration from those regions in central Italy where nomina in *–(i)enus* and *-inus* are concentrated.

As for nomina in *-inus* in general, I observed above that they do not seem to be attested in Umbria north of Ameria. In this respect, this category of nomina clearly differs from the nomina in *-(i)enus* which are very well attested

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[76] Note in addition to *CIL* IX 8661 the inscription from Rome, *CIL* VI 22708 mentioning a certain [T.] Munninus T. l. Philocles *Reatinus*.

[77] For this site cf. G. Paci in *Supplementa Italica* 8 (1991) 74f.

[78] I have observed instances in the following cities: *Plotinus* in Praeneste (*CIL* XIV 3369), *Albinus* in Tusculum (*CIL* XIV 2526), *Laterinus* in Casinum (n. 35), *Agrestinus* in Pompeii, *Asellinus* in Nuceria, *Vibbinus* in Vibinum (*CIL* IX 966), *Cautinus* (?) in Brundisium (*CIL* IX 93), *Rubellinus* in Beneventum (*CIL* IX 1738) and *Camurinus* in a *defixio* from Perusia (*CIL* XI 6722, 2 = A. Kropp, defixiones. *Ein aktuelles Corpus lateinischer Fluchtafeln* (2008) no. 1.1.4/1.

throughout Umbria. On the other hand, if one excludes Umbria, the area of the dissemination of the nomina in *-inus* resembles very much that of the names in *-(i)enus*. Thus I think that we can conclude that *-inus* is a variant, perhaps a local variant typical of certain areas such as the country of the Sabines, of the suffix *-(i)enus*. This does not necessarily mean that they would have been freely interchangeable according to one's wishes, for in the inscription *CIL* IX 4639 from Montereale north of Reate a certain Q. Caesellinus T. f. Qui. Colominaeus with a nomen in *-inus* is the husband of Metidiena L. f. Secunda, whose nomen has the suffix *-ienus*.

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Arctos 56 (2022) 101–109

ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

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341. IMMER NOCH NEUE UND SELTENE NAMEN

Aemulus: *Rep*. 289 aus *CIL* VI 23748. Dazu *CIL* XIII 1972 *C. Iulius Aemuli (f.) Larginus* (der Text scheint in Ordnung zu sein).

Amata: Kajanto 284 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu dreimal in Kleinasien (*LGPN* V B–C).

Δρουσᾶς: *ABSA* 18 (1911–1912) 74 (Antiocheia in Pisidien (circa 2./3. Jh.). Textform der Inschrift ist korrupt, doch ist die Lesung des Namens plausibel. Eine der zahlreichen im griechischen Osten belegten Bildungen mit dem griechischen Suffix -ᾶς, die im Rahmen dieser Analecta öfters begegnet sind.

Auctor: Kajanto 360 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 40 (2006) 133. Dazu *Cod. Iust*. 7, 8, 6 (Alexander Severus).

Auricinus: *AE* 2014, 1509 (Byzacena, 2.3. Jh.) *G. Sem(pronius) Auricinus*. Vielleicht zum Gentilnamen *Auricius* zu stellen, der freilich nur einmal aus Gallia Belgica (*CIL* XIII 4717) belegt ist (vgl. auch *fundus Auric[i]us* aus Volcei, *CIL* X 407). Kajanto 338 kennt *Auricius* aus *ICUR* 2169, das er mit dem Windnamen *Aura* verbindet, doch kaum mit Recht.

Aviana: Kajanto 141 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 43 (2009) 163 mit zwei Belegen aus Hispania citerior. Dazu *Cod. Iust*. 8, 27, 15 (294 n. Chr.).

Avidianus: Kajanto 141 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 192 aus Kleinasien. Dazu *Cod. Iust*. 9, 2, 6 pr.

Blaesianus: Kajanto 142 = 240 mit zwei Belegen. *Rep*.[2] 302. 497. Dazu *AE* 2019, 490 (Mutina) *L. Cloelius Blaesianus*.

Brittianus: Kajanto 142 = 193 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *Cod. Iust*. 6, 29, 1 (213 n. Chr.).

Bulla Männername: Kajanto 346 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 41 (2007) 92. Dazu *AE* 2014, 371 (Petelia, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Q. Babrius Bulla*.

Καισωρῖνος: *Gephyra* 23 (2022) 264 Nr. 47 (Bithynien) Μ. Πόντιος Καισωρεῖνος. Ableitung aus dem seltenen Gentilnamen *Caesorius* (*RIB* I 371).

**Capestrinus*: *Cod. Iust*. 11, 59, 1 (Constantinus der Große). Diese wäre eine unerklärbare Bildung. Vielleicht irrtümliche Überlieferung für *Campestrinus* (Kajanto 309 mit einem Beleg aus Noricum).

Cattianus: Kajanto 144 mit zwei Belegen. *Rep*.[2] 498. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 167. 48 (2014) 361. Dazu *Cod. Iust*. 4, 51, 1 (224 n. Chr.).

Celerius: Kajanto 248 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *Cod. Iust*. 2, 4, 1 (211 n. Chr.).

Condiana: *Cod. Iust*. 4, 29, 13 (290 n. Chr.). Ableitung aus dem in gallischen Provinzen belegten Gentilnamen *Condius* (*AE* 1978, 460; 1998, 867*b*; 2011, 719).

Condianus: *Sex. Quintilius Condianus*, Konsul 151 n. Chr.; sein gleichnamiger Sohn, Konsul 180 n. Chr. (*PIR*^{2} Q 21. 22), aus Alexandreia Troas (H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jh. n. Chr*. Göttingen 1979, 163, 193); *CIL* XII 2245 (Gratianopolis [Grenoble], 2. Jh.) *Sex. Iul(ius) Condianus* aus der munizipalen Oberschicht; *IG* II^2 2193 (201/2 n. Chr.) Κονδιανὸς Μενίππου. Zur Erklärung des Namens s. gleich oben *Condiana*. Es sei noch hinzugefügt, dass Κονδιανός mehrmals in Kleinasien belegt ist (in *LGPN* insgesamt sechsmal), weswegen man die Frage stellt, ob das Cognomen der zwei Senatoren möglicherweise kleinasiatischer Herkunft sein könnte (Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* 244 hat einige ähnliche Bildungen aufgenommen, aber Κονδιανός mit Κονδίων wird von ihm für griechisch gehalten; und in der Tat könnte Κονδίων als griechisch gedeutet werden [so Bechtel, *HPN* 611], Κονδιανός aber kaum).

Conserturinus: *Cod. Greg*. 2, 1, 1 (196 n. Chr.) *Iulius Conserturinus*. Der Name an sich ist nicht deutbar. Mit einer kleinen Änderung der überlieferten Form in *Consertorinus* erhielten wir einen erklärbaren Namen. Vorschweben könnte ein an sich unbekanntes Appellativ **consertor* (auch ein Cognomen *Consertor* ist nicht belegt), woraus *Consertorinus* mit einem üblichen onomastischen Suffix gebildet sein könnte.

Currens: *AE* 2019, 517 aus Feliciano, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* f. 58 (Verona) *memoriae Simpliciani Currentis*. Die Lesung im vatikanischen Codex ist sicher. Bisher war aus der Namensippe nur die späte Ableitung *Currentius* bekannt (Kajanto 357 mit zwei Belegen).

Decimilla: Kajanto 172 mit 14 Belegen. Genannt sei hier die synkopierte Form Δέκμιλλα in *SEG* LXII 1544 (Zeugma).

Dianensis Männername: Kajanto 208 = 211 mit fünf Belegen (die von Kajanto angeführten Namensträger in *CIL* IV 2993 und 7021 beziehen sich auf dieselbe Person, vgl. *CIL* IV S. 1908). Dazu *Epigraphica* 25 (1963) 88 Nr. 107 (Brundisium); *HEp* 2013, 146 (Gades); *Cod. Iust*. 4, 31, 1.

Falconilla: Kajanto 331 mit einem Beleg aus dem Senatorenstand. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 172 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *Cod. Iust*. 8, 53, 5 (284 n. Chr.).

Faustullus: Kajanto 272 mit einem Beleg aus Hispania. Dazu *SEG* LXVI 1544 (Neoclaudiopolis) Μαστας Φαυστύλλου.

Herculianus: Kajanto 215 mit sieben Belegen. *Arctos* 42 (2008) 221 mit einem Beleg aus Ägypten. Dazu *Cod. Iust*. 6, 13, 1 (239 n. Chr.); 11, 32, 1 (Severus).

Ἑτερηιανός: A. U. Kordas, *Études et Travaux* 35 (2022) 63 (Nea Paphos, 2. Jh.) Τι. Κλ(αύδιος) Κλαυδιανὸς Ἑτερηιανὸς ἱππικός. Die einzige bisher bekannte Suffixbildung aus dem Gentilnamen *Hetereius*, der im griechischen Osten gut belegt ist.

Illustris: Kajanto 279 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *CIL* IX 7507 (Aufinum, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *L. Lucceius L. et Ɔ. l. Inlustris*.

Ἰουλιδιανός: *SEG* LVII 1363 = *AE* 2009, 1435 (Hierapolis in Phrygien, 102–114 n. Chr.) Μ. Οὔλπιος Ἀσληπιάδου υἱὸς Κυρείνα Μένιππος Ἰουλιδιανός. Die Bildung ist nicht durchsichtig; ein Name *Iulidius* ist unbekannt, aber sonst gibt es eine Handvoll von Gentilnamen, die von bestehenden Gentilicia mit dem Suffix *-idius* gebildet sind, z. B. *Annidius* aus *Annius, Cassidius* aus *Cassius, Decidius* aus *Decius, Flavidius* aus *Flavius, Marcidius* aus *Marcius, Naevidius* aus *Naevius, Octavidius* aus *Octavius, Pontidius* aus *Pontius, Salvidius* aus *Salvius, Sestidius* aus *Sestius, Sextidius* aus *Sextius, Titidius* aus *Titius, Tullidius* aus *Tullius, Vibidius* aus *Vibius*; zu ihnen könnte sich *Iulidianus* gesellen. Der Name könnte auch griechisch sein, aus dem Namen der wichtigsten Stadt Iulis der Insel Keos abgeleitet; dagegen spricht aber, dass Iulis keine Rolle in der griechischen Anthroponymie spielt.

Iulittianus: Kajanto 171 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *SEG* XXXI 1255 (Antiocheia in Pisidien) Ἀπώνιος Ἰουλιττιανός.

Laurina: Kajanto 334 mit acht Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2009, 1096 (Iovia in Pannonia inferior); *Cod. Iust*. 7, 2, 11 (293 n. Chr.).

Laurinus: Kajanto 334 mit sechs Belegen. *Rep*.[2] 500. Dazu *AE* 2008, 373 (Puteoli, 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.) *P. Manlius Sp. f. Laurinus*; *BCTH* 1946–1949, 420 (Theveste, christlich).

Lautus: Kajanto 231 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu Pais 1077, 83 (Amphorenstempel) usw. *Sex. Iulii Aequani Lauti*; *I.Aquileia* 3371 (christl.) *Lautus lector*; E. Lafli – S. Magnani – M. Buora, in *Arkeolojí, Tarih ve epígrafí'nín Aeasinda*, Istanbul 2018, 591 (Cerasus in Pontus et Bithynia) *L. Vabeisio T. f. Pol. Lauto*.

!*Libertus*: Kajanto314 mit vier Belegen. *Rep*.[2] 500 mit drei sicheren Belegen aus Athen. Die meisten von Kajanto angeführten Belege sind suspekt (s. *Arctos* 25 [1991] 152. Suspekt bleibt auch *Cod. Iust*. 4, 55, 3 (223 n. Chr.).

Λονγιλλιανός: *Rep*. 35. Dazu *I. Central Pisidia* 39–41 (Kremna) Ῥοτειλιανὸς Λονγιλλιανὸς Κάλλιππος, Duovir der *colonia* von Kremna.

Luscis: *Cod. Iust*. 4, 21, 6 (286 n. Chr.) *Luscidi*. Kann zu *Luscus* gestellt werden. Das griechische Suffix *-is* war nicht selten in lateinischen Cognomina. So ist *Luscis* eine plausible Bildung neben *Luscinus, Lusculus* und *Luscellus*.

Maialicus: *AE* 2003, 1971 (prov. proc., erste Hälfte des 3. Jh.) *C. Allius Maialicus*. Ein solcher Name kann verteidigt werden. Mit dem Suffix *-icus -ica* wurden nicht selten Cognomina gebildet, freilich so gut wie immer aus bestehenden Cognomina (Kajanto 111f). Ein Cognomen *Maialis* war aber nicht in Gebrauch, doch wäre es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass *maialis*, das als Schimpfwort gebraucht werden konnte (Cic. *Pis*. 19), als Namenwort gelegentlich neue Cognomina erzeugte. Dem Inhalt nach pejorative Cognomina waren ja keine Seltenheit in der römischen Namengebung.

Marsillianus: *AE* 2016, 1853 (prov. proc., erste Hälfte des 3. Jh.) *Valerius Pudens Marsillianus c(larissimus) v(ir)*. Ableitung aus *Marsillus*. *Marsilianus* in *Arctos* 41 (2007) 97.

Mimus: *Rep*. 363 mit zwei Belegen aus Rom. Dazu *CIL* IV 4163 vgl. S. 1810 *Mimo s(alutem)* (scheint Cognomen zu sein); VIII 27525 *Iulius Mimus*; *Carte archéologique de la Gaule* 46 (2010) 133 (Divona in Aquitanien) *Mimus* (scheint Cognomen zu sein).

Minerva: *AE* 2019, 754 (Emerita, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Baebia L. l. Minerva*. Der Text scheint in Ordnung zu sein. Zum ersten Mal treffen wir den Namen dieser 'großen' Göttin als Cognomen einer sterblichen Frau.

Muscus: Kajanto 336 mit zwei Belegen, Dazu *Cod. Iust*. 4, 54, 7 (Diokletian) *Fabiano Musco*.

Mutilianus: *I. Albanie* 27 = *I. Albanien* 30 (Macedonia) *Ingenuus Mutiliani*. Ableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Mutilius*; kaum aus dem Cognomen *Mutilus*.

Natalianus: Kajanto 290 mit drei Belegen (darunter einem senatorischen). Dazu *Cod. Iust*. 7, 11, 2 (Alexander Severus).

Nobilianus: Kajanto 279 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 40 (2006) 13 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *EDCS* 01077 Clauss-Slaby (Sitifis in Mauretania Caesariensis) *P. Gargilius Nobilianus qui et Pelagius*.

Petro: Kajanto 310 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2019, 532 (Bergomum, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Secundus Calvi Petronis*.

Plarianus: Kajanto 153 mit acht Belegen, von denen fünf senatorisch). Dazu *Cod. Iust*. 7, 62, 2 (Alexander Severus).

Praesentinus: Kajanto 289 mit zwei Belegen. *Rep*.[2] 502 mit drei spätantiken Belegen. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 248; 47 (2013) 276. Dazu *Cod. Iust*. 5, 51, 2; 5, 56, 1 (213 n. Chr.).

Regius: *Rep*. 390 mit einem Beleg aus Raetia. Dazu *Cod. Iust*. 7, 16, 17 pr. (293 n. Chr.).

Repentillus: B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums* (2004) 49 (Septimius Severus) *Ti. Claudius Repentillus*.

Sabellus: Kajanto 187 mit neun (oder zehn) Belegen. Dazu *CIL* IX 6743 (Terventum); 7752 (Marsi Marruvium) *Sabellus Aquiaru[m]*; *AE* 2013, 1239 (Carnuntum) *M. Magius M. f. Sabellus Pub. Veron(a) veter(anus) leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris)*.

Sacculus: *Lazio e Sabina* 12 (2019) 288 (Rom, 1./2. Jh.) *[---bi]nius Sp. f. [Po]l(ia) Sacculus*. Neue Bildung aus dem auch nur selten belegten *Saccus* (Kajanto 344 kennt den Namen nur als Cognomen des Tribunus militum aus dem Jahre 400 v.Chr.).

Signina: *ICUR* 1208 *memor(iae?) Signines*.

Signinus: Kajanto 183 mit einem Beleg aus Rom. Dazu *ArchClass* 61 (2010) 577 (Signia, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *M. P(ublicius) Signinus*; *ILJug* 1916 (Bigeste in Dalmatien) *Q. Pius L. [f.] Signinus domo Con(s)tan(ti)a vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII.*

Silvianus: Kajanto 156 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *Carte archéologique de la Gaule* 70 (2002) 311 Luxovia in Germania superior *Silviani f(abrica)*; *RIB* I 306; *Cod. Iust*. 8, 27, 15 (294 n. Chr.) *Silviano*.

Similianus: *Arctos* 48 (2014) 379 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu J. Mareike Koch, *Die Grabdenkmäler aus Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonien*, Diss. München 2021, 280 (150–151 n.Chr.) Σιμιλιανός (in der Familie wurden sonst lateinische und einheimische Namen gebraucht).

Tempestivus: Kajanto 296 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *HispEpigr* 2008, 36 (Hispania citerior) *Octavia Cuntura Tempestivi f.*

Tutillus: *AE* 2004, 998 (Germania superior) *C. Iul(ius) Tutillus C. Iul(i) Tuti filius*.

Umbrianus: Kajanto 159 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 42 (200) 228 mit einem Beleg aus Theveste in Afrika. Dazu *AE* 2019, 1924 (Simitthus, prov. proc.) *C. Pontiu[s – f.] Umbria[nus] vet(eranus)*.

Ursiana: *Carte archéologique de la Gaule* 34, 3 (2003) 279 (Sextantio in der Narbonensis) *Ursianes*.

Ursianus: Kajanto 159 = 330 mit acht Belegen. *Arctos* 42 (200) 229 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1964, 121 (Rom) *Aur(elio) Ursiano mil(iti) coh(ortis) IIII praet(oriae)*; *Esplorazioni sotto la Confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano* (1951) 130 *Ursiane* (könnte auch Gen./ Dat. von *Ursiana* sein, doch halta ich den Vokativ von *Ursianus* für wahrscheinlicher; *Epigr. rom. Emerita* 225 *Antonius Ursianus*; *AE* 2012, 1149 (Carnuntum) *L. [Ul?]p(ius) U[r]sianus*; *Cod. Iust*. 9, 47, 13 (Diokletia

Utulianus: M. Christol, in H. Pomarèdes & al. (Hrsg.), *La ville de Saint-André-de-Codols du Ier au XIIe s.* (2012) 37f Nr. 1 = *CAG* 30, 1 (1996), 489 (Nemausus): *Lucius Iccius Utulianus*. Suffixbildung aus dem Gentilnamen *Utulius*, einigermaßen in Italien und in den Provinzen belegt (auch in Gallien: *CIL* XIII 4261).

Vagianus: *CIL* V 6594 vgl. *Suppl. It*. 31 Novaria S. 145 (1./2. Jh.) *L. Valerius Vagianus*. Undurchsichtige Bildung. Man könnte, wenn auch mit Vorbehalt, den Namen aus *vagus* ableiten (vgl. *Vagulus* Kajanto 271). Ein Gentilname *Vagius* ist nicht belegt, vgl. aber *Vagidius* und *Vagilius*, die möglicherweise *Vagius* voraussetzen könnten.

Οὐαλεντιλλιανός: *SEG* L 1194 = *AE* 2000, 1420 (Saittai, 3. Jh.) M. Αὐρ. Ἀττινᾶς Τατιανοῦ Οὐαλεντιλλιανός, lokaler Würdenträger.

Valerio: Kajanto 165 mit einem Beleg aus Lugudunum. Dazu *SB* 13199 = *AE* 2019, 1806 (Elephantine oder Syene, 120 n. Chr.) Οὐαλερίων.

Veientanus: Kajanto 189 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 29417 *C. Umbricius Veientanus*.

Verinianus: Kajanto 254 mit einem Beleg aus Puteoli. *Arctos* 46 (2012) 217 mit zwei spätantiken Belegen. Dazu *Cod. Iust*. 7, 16, 2 (214 n. Chr.).

Vespasianus: Kajanto 158 mit vier Belegen, von denen drei senatorisch. Dazu *ZPE* 140 (2002) 228 *C. Terentius Vespasianus* (43 n.Chr.; unbekannter Herkunft); *CIL* VIII 9956 (Pomaria in Mauret. Caes., 471 n. Chr.) *Vespasianus Certa* (Textform korrupt); V. Sauer – E. Olshausen, *Gephyra* 22 (2021) 145 Nr. 7 (Neoklaudiopolis in Paphlagonien) Ἰούστῳ Οὐεσπασιανῷ υἱῷ; auszuscheiden G. M. De Rossi, *Bovillae* (Forma Italiae I 15), aus einer alten Kopie von 1923 *T. Flavius Ves(pasianus) Phoebus Quirina* ergänzt hat (mit voller Berechtigung zweifelt schon De Rossi an der Ergänzung).

Victorius: Kajanto 278 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *Cod. Iust*. 10, 4, 1 pr (225 n. Chr.).

Vindicianus: Kajanto 158 = 363 mit fünf Belegen. *Rep*.[2] 505 mit vier spätantiken Beamten. *Arctos* 45 (2011) 161f mit weiteren Belegen. Dazu *PIR*[2] V 649 Senator, erste Hälfte des 3. Jh.; *Cod. Iust*. 6, 21, 3 pr. (213 n. Chr.).

Vitalius: Kajanto 274 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 19475; *AE* 1984, 184 (Suessa Aurunca) *[-] Popillius C. f. V[i]talius IIvir*; *Cod. Iust*. 5, 51, 3 (215 n. Chr.); 5, 56, 3 (228 n. Chr.); 7, 19, 1 (223 n. Chr.).

Viviana: Kajanto 159 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 19477*a*.

Vivianus: Kajanto 159 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 19559; A. Galieti, *Contributi alla storia della diocesi suburbicaria di Albano Laziale* (1948) 26 (Castrimoenium, christl.); *EE* VIII 698 (Thermae Himeraeae); *Tit. Aquincum* 1692; *ZPE* 61 (1965) 238 (Moesia inferior); *Cod. Iust*. 4, 29, 7 (238 n. Chr.).

342. FALSCHE NAMEN

Quintellus. Dieser Name, der in *CIL* V 2517 (Ateste) und Pais 803 (Comum) vorkommt, stellt keine selbständige Namenbildung dar, sondern vertritt nur

eine sekundäre Graphie von *Quintillus* (anders Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 174). – *Quintallus* in *CIL* V 5013 hat ein keltisches Suffix und ist somit als keltisch anzusehen.

Versor. In der von E. N. Akdoğu Arca, *Gephyra* 4 (2007) 147 Nr. 2 publizierten Inschrift aus Nikaia (2. Jh. Chr.) wird der mit Genetiv gegebene Name des Ehemannes der verstorbenen Frau vom Editor als Βερσωρ festgelegt: γυνὴ Βερσορος Μητροβίου; er lässt ihn unerklärt. In *AE* 2007, 1327 wird, wenn auch mit Vorbehalt, vermutet, da liege vielleicht lat. *Versor* vor. Das scheint ausgeschlossen. Weder ein Appellativ *versor* noch ein Name *Versor* sind bekannt. In dem Beleg aus Nikaia wird man eine einheimische Bildung sehen, wie auch der Editor princeps zu denken scheint (daraus zu schließen, dass er den Namen nicht akzentuiert). Einige Namen auf Βερ- sind bei Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* 122f verzeichnet. Die Autoren von *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* V.A, 101 registrieren nur den nicht belegten Nominativ des Namens und geben nicht einmal an, dass davon nur der Genetiv Βερσορος überliefert ist.

343. VERKANNTE NAMEN

Agre. G. Tozzi, *Le iscrizioni della collezione Obizzi,* Roma 2017 Nr. L 55 schlägt vor, in der paduanischen Inschrift *CIL* V 2968 den Namen einer Verstorbenen als *Culciae [±2 I]reni* zu lesen (so auch EDR170345). Aber die Ergänzung *[I-]reni* ist nicht nur ein bisschen zu kurz (in der Lücke ist Raum für etwa zwei Buchstaben); in einer sonst einwandfrei geschriebenen Inschrift wäre ein Dativ *Ireni* für *Irene* etwas hart. Ich lese *[Ag]reni*, ein Cognomen, das einigermaßen in Italien und auch in den Provinzen in Gebrauch war (fünf Belege aus Rom in meinem griechischen Namenbuch 1278). Ergänzungen von guten Namen wie *[Ephy]reni* oder *[Euag]reni* sind zu lang. Der erste erhaltene Buchstabe könnte statt R auch B sein, aber *Calybeni, Phoebeni, Stilbeni, Thisbe* scheinen zu lang zu sein.

Philetaerus. In *CIL* V 2577 (Ateste) endet die erste Zeile *Aurelius Phileta[---]*. Wenn diese Lesung stimmt (das in Tozzi [s. oben] L 47 beigegebene Foto lässt keine Nachprüfung zu), dann muss in *Phileta[---]* das Cognomen des Aurelius stecken. Nun gibt es keinen Männernamen *Phileta(s)* Φιλητᾶς. So bleibt

es nur übrig, das in der römischen Namengebung gut bekannte Cognomen *Phileta[erus]* zu ergänzen. – In EDR169748 wird unverständlicherweise *Aurelius Phileta[e]* ergänzt.

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BIBULUS AND THE *HIEROMENIA* (ἱερομηνία) OF 59 BC

Jyri Vaahtera

The use of Greek sources for characteristically Roman matters – such as religion and government – can sometimes be very challenging. Nor is it always simply a question of language and translating culture-specific terminology. An excellent demonstration of this can be found in the intriguing episode from Cassius Dio's account of the events of 59 BC – events that are highly interesting both from the politico-historical and constitutional points of view. I have dealt with the episode already some twenty years ago,[1] but at that time I did not have the opportunity to give it a more thorough treatment. However, since the studies dealing with the events of 59 BC keep rehearsing the same, and to my mind, erroneous views, I decided to take up Dio's account for a more detailed analysis.

Notoriously, we are dealing with the year of Caesar's first consulship, with Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus as his colleague. Our main Greek – and also our fullest – source for its events is Cassius Dio.[2] We learn that the year kicked off with a heated political struggle concerning an agrarian law proposed by Caesar with the support of Pompey and Crassus,[3] and adamantly opposed by Cato, supported by the *optimates* including his son-in-law Bibulus. The treatment of the bill in the Senate was obstructed by Catonian filibuster with the consequence that Caesar ended up taking it directly to the people. According to Cassius Dio, Bibulus now tried to hinder the enactment of the law with the support of three tribunes of the plebs; but finally, having run out of other means of delay, he

[1] See Vaahtera 2001, 157–160.

[2] The text dealt with here is Cass. Dio 38,6,1–5. The most important other sources for this episode are Plut. *Caes*. 14,9; Plut. *Pomp*. 48,1 ff.; App. *BCiv*. 2,11; Vell. 2,44,4–5; Suet. *Iul*. 20,1. Dio's importance as a source for this year is most recently pointed out by Morstein-Marx 2021, 124 n. 25.

[3] The coalition between Caesar, Pompey and Crassus known as the First Triumvirate had been made in secrecy at some time in 60 BC, and we first hear of it in December of that year from Cic. *Att*. 2,3,3.

"declared a sacred period (*hieromenia*) for all the remaining days of the year during which the people could not legally meet".

Caesar, undaunted by the opposition, fixed a day for the passage of his law. On the day of the assembly, Bibulus with his escort forced his way to the platform through the crowded Forum in order to speak against the bill.[4] He failed miserably, and both he and his escort were thrust down the platform and assailed. The next day, Bibulus made an attempt to have the law annulled by the Senate, with no success.[5] After this Bibulus thought it best to retire to his home and not to appear in public for the rest of the year. But "whenever Caesar proposed any innovation", Dio writes, "Bibulus sent formal notice to him through his attendants that it was a *hieromenia* and that by the laws he could rightfully take no action during it".

In this account we meet the word ἱερομηνία twice, and it is by no means certain what Dio in this case meant by it. In the Greek world, the word normally refered to the 'sacred month' which was declared for great panhellenic festivals such as the Olympic games during which hostilities were suspended. As for Dio's wording, it has been variously interpreted to mean that Bibulus sent edicts declaring a thanksgiving (*supplicatio*), a public holiday (*feriae*), adverse omens (i.e. making an *obnuntiatio*), or his mere intention to *servare de caelo*. Through a detailed analysis of Dio's use of *hieromenia*, his propensities, our other sources, and the Roman religion and constitution I shall show that none of these interpretations can be correct.

Obnuntiatio / de caelo servare

While there is no doubt that Bibulus' attempts to obstruct Caesarian legislation included *obnuntiatio*,[6] I find this common explanation for Dio's *hieromenia* the

[4] It should be noted that the surviving references to this episode (see above n. 2) vary in their details. According to Suetonius' much shorter version, Caesar *obnuntiantem collegam armis foro expulit,* while in Dio's version Bibulus' purpose was to speak against Caesar's bill (ἀντιλέγειν ἐπειρᾶτο), not to announce adverse omens. According to de Libero (1992, 40) Bibulus tried a collegial veto against the reading out of the *rogatio*.

[5] On this attempt to annul the law, see Heikkilä 1993, 139–141.

[6] See esp. Cic. *har. resp.* 48: *producebat* (Clodius) *fortissimum virum M. Bibulum, quaerebat ex eo C. Caesare leges ferente de caelo semperne servasset. semper se ille servasse dicebat.* For the augural theory

least plausible for a number of reasons.[7] To begin with, it seems inconsistent with Dio's own narrative according to which Bibulus had recourse to declaring 'a sacred period' only after he had run out of any other 'excuse for adjournment' (σκῆψις ἀναβολῆς) which would most naturally refer to Bibulus' *obnuntiationes* and tribunician veto. Moreover, *obnuntiatio* affected only the day of the assembly,[8] but Dio's wording (ἱερομηνίαν ... προηγόρευσε and ἐνετέλλετο ... ὅτι ἱερομηνία εἴη) seems to suggest that he was referring to a longer period of time: first Bibulus declared the 'sacred period', and afterwards sent reminders to Caesar that he could lawfully take no action 'because it was a sacred period'.

Second, the alleged connection of *hieromenia* with *obnuntiatio* – or, as others think, the mere announcement by an edict that Bibulus would *servare de caelo* – is based on Suetonius who writes that Bibulus *domo abditus nihil aliud quam per edicta obnuntiaret.*[9] As far as I know the reliability of Suetonius' statement has never been challenged.[10] It is, however, difficult to see him use

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of *obnuntiatio* and *de caelo servare* see Linderski 1965, 425–428, and also Vaahtera 2001, 144–145 and 151–154.

[7] This is, however, perhaps the most common explanation and the list of these studies is too long to be given here; see e.g. Lintott, 1968, 144–145 and 1997, 2522; Bleicken 1975, 455–456; de Libero 1992, 62–63; Wiseman 1992, 369–371; Richardson 1998, 310; Tatum 1999, 129–130 and 2008, 72–73; Pina Polo 2011, 276; Morrell 2018, 195; Driediger-Murphy 2019, 144. According to Morstein-Marx 2021, 136 n. 75 "by ἱερομηνία he [Dio] means *servatio* = "watching the skies". In this context, it should be mentioned that Driediger-Murphy (2019, 132) presents the idea "that holding an assembly whilst a magistrate was still in the process of watching the skies about it counted as another way of acting *inauspicato*, and thus was thought to cause *vitium*." This is a strange idea; since the presiding magistrate took the auspices before holding the assembly, he acted *auspicato*. As for magistrate's announcement *servasse de caelo* (note the tense), it does not simply mean that he "has watched the sky", but that he has "received the sign from the sky". Since these *signa de caelo* were bad signs for an assembly, their official announcement was an *obnuntiatio* which had to be made before the assembly began.

[8] This of course is due to the fact that the announced adverse omens (*auspicia*) concerned only the day on which they were observed; for this well-known augural principle, see esp. Linderski 1986, 2205.

[9] Suet. *Iul*. 20,1. Taylor (1968, 177 n. 11) correctly thought that "the watching for signs and the ἱερομηνίαι were two different measures tried by Bibulus".

[10] Unfortunately, this passage is the only place where Suetonius employs the word *obnuntiare*. Closest to being critical are Jerzy Linderski (1965, 425) and Loretana de Libero (1992, 63 n. 51) who consider Suetonius' use of *obnuntiatio* as "incorrect" or "ungenau". However, they do not question the connection between Bibulus' edicts and the watching of heavens.

the word *obnuntiatio* in its proper augural sense, since Bibulus could not have correctly "watched the heavens" without leaving his house: *obnuntiatio* was based on the appearance of a sign *de caelo* during the ritual consultation of impetrative auspices[11] which took place *in templo*[12] – that is a permanent *locus inauguratus* by an augur – which certainly could not be in anyone's private house. This obvious fact would have frustrated any threat of skywatching and pending *obnuntiatio* by Bibulus – not to mention that his failure to serve the notice in person would have made such "*obnuntiationes*" invalid from the standpoint of augural law.[13] Consequently, it is hard to see how anyone let alone a Roman consul would have resorted to such patently ineffective means of obstruction.[14]

[11] The *auspicia oblativa* and *auspicia impetrativa* are often mixed up in the case of *obnuntiatio*; most recently e.g. Görne 2020, 12, 50 n. 58 and 226. The idea that *de caelo servare* refers to the observation of oblative signs is patently mistaken; see esp. Linderski 1971, 453: "Und schon mit Rücksicht auf das von den Konsuln erlassene Verbot des "de caelo servare" wäre die zuletzt von BLEICKEN verfochtene These von der Verbindlichkeit jeder magistratischen Obnuntiation auf Grund der oblativen Blitzzeichen unannehmbar: denn hatte jeder magistratus minor durch Wahrnehmung oder Erfindung des Blitzes die Komitien in jedem Moment verhindern können, wäre das Verbot, die auspicia impetrativa einzuholen, ganz sinnlos gewesen". Also Linderski 1986, 2198: "the magisterial *nuntiatio* was exclusively based on impetrative auspices... "; recently also Driediger-Murphy 2019, 134–136.

[12] Pace the explicit statements of e.g. Lintott 1968, 144 and n. 2 (Bibulus' basic form of obstruction after the agrarian law was continuous *servatio* from his house), de Libero 1992, 79–80; Rasmussen 2003, 165–166 and Grillo 2015, 287. See in particular the *Commentariolum vetus anquisitionis* cited by Varro *ling.* 6,91 *auspicio operam des et in templo auspices*; also 6,86 *ubi noctu in templo censor auspicaverit atque de caelo nuntium erit.* A consul could in his edict prohibit minor magistrates (but clearly not his colleague) from watching the skies on the day he was about to hold an assembly (Gell. 13,15,1 *in edicto consulum, quo edicunt quis dies comitiis centuriatis futurus sit, scribitur ex vetere forma perpetua:* "*ne quis magistratus minor de caelo servasse velit.*"). Also, Linderski 1986, 2278: "the magistrates used permanent *templa* for their observation"; it goes without saying that a *templum* could not be at someone's private home. One fragment from Cato the Elder's speech *De sacrificio commisso* (Fest. p. 268L; *ORF* 73) talks about *domi cum auspicamus*, but this deals with private auspication (see e.g. Catalano 1960, 431 n. 147; Astin 1978, 82; Scheid 1981,125–126).

[13] See Valeton 1891, 101; Linderski 1965, 73–74.

[14] This is of course not a very strong argument as such, and my anonymous referee comments that "it is quite possible that this is Bibulus' innovation – that he is trying to extend consular action normally conducted in person". However, in view of what I have stated above, and what I shall say later of Cicero's total silence, this does not seem probable.

Moreover, I must point out that Dio was clearly well-informed about how the religious obstruction worked in Rome, and he was usually also very careful in his use of terminology.[15] In a similar context, when dealing with the *lex Clodia* of 58 BC, he used two most revealing and appropriate turns of phrase προεπήγγελλον ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην μαντευσόμενοι ('announced beforehand that they would look for omens from the sky that day') and ἐσήνεγκε μηδένα τῶν ἀρχόντων ... τὰ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γιγνόμενα παρατηρεῖν ('he introduced a measure that none of the magistrates should observe the signs from heaven').[16] No mention of any *hieromenia*.

Bibulus' retirement

The chronology of the events of 59 BC, and especially the dates of the enactment of Caesar's land laws are in dispute. Since this question has bearing on the subject at hand we need first to establish some essential chronological points, above all: when did Bibulus shut himself in his house? The surviving ancient (and consequently also the modern) accounts on Caesar's agrarian legislation all carry evidence that the reports of the events in connection with the two laws (i.e. the first *lex Iulia agraria* and the later *lex Iulia agraria Campana*) are somehow confused, and many sources know of only one law.[17] Also Dio merges the two laws as he finishes his account of the first agrarian law with the remark "so the law was passed, and in addition the land of Campania was given to those having three or more children" (ὅ τε οὖν νόμος οὕτως ἐκυρώθη, καὶ προσέτι καὶ

[15] As observed already by Vrind 1923, 17. Cf. also Bellemore 2005, 249 n. 55 who notes that Dio understood the process of *obnuntiatio*; however, according to her Dio intended Bibulus to have proclaimed a *iustitium* for the rest of 59 which is quite unlikely.

[16] Cass. Dio 38,13,5 and 38,13,6.

[17] Velleius (2,44,4–5) mentions only the *lex Campana*, Plutarch in his *Life of Cato the Younger* mentions both land laws (32,1–33,2), while in his *Life of Pompey* (48,2) and *Life of Caesar* (14,1–6) he mentions only one (cf. also his brief mention in *Luc.* 42); Appian (*BCiv.* 2,10–11) seems to know only the *lex Campana*, gives a very confused report of the events and ends it speaking of the laws vaguely in the plural (τοὺς νόμους ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκύρωσε). In Livy *perioch.* 103 we find the plural form *leges agrariae*. Suetonius mentions explicitly only the first law but refers also to the dividing of the Campanian territory (*Iul.* 20,3). For these, see Taylor 1968.

ἡ τῶν Καμπανῶν γῆ τοῖς τρία τε πλείω τε τέκνα ἔχουσιν ἐδόθη).[18] According to the *communis opinio* Bibulus' self-incarceration occurred after Caesar's first land law,[19] but there are forceful arguments to support the view that it took place later, most likely in connection with the second agrarian law:[20] Velleius Paterculus (2,44,4) states explicitly that Bibulus *maiore parte anni domi se tenuit* after Caesar had passed his *lex Campana*, and according to Plutarch (*Pomp.* 48), Bibulus stayed in his house for eight months.[21] This squares with the fact that the *lex Campana* was promulgated in the last days of April, and passed probably in late May.[22]

Accepting this view makes us see the information that Bibulus had been watching the heavens when Caesar passed his laws in a new light: we have no reason to doubt these reports. They mention nothing out of the ordinary about Bibulus' activity.[23] A letter from Cicero to Atticus (2,16,2) written in the end of April suggests that Bibulus was still very active in March when Caesar passed his laws *de rege Alexandrino* and *de publicanis Asiae*:[24] in connection with the first law, Bibulus is mentioned to have been watching the heavens (*Bibulus de caelo tum servasset*), and with the latter, he is said to have gone down to the Forum

[18] For Dio's tendency to base his composition on theme rather than chronology, see esp. Lintott 1997, 2503–2508; cf. Taylor 1968, 175.

[19] See e.g. Taylor 1951, 257 and 1968, 174; Meier 1961, 73 n. 19; Heikkilä 1993, 140; Wiseman 1994, 371; Lintott 1968, 144 and 2008, 167.

[20] As far as I know, this was first brought forward by Shackleton Bailey 1965, 406–408 (Appendix: Points concerning Caesar's Legislation in 59 B.C.). For a later date, see also Richardson 1998, 308–310 and Morstein-Marx 2021, 143.

[21] If the retirement had taken place already in connection with the first land law, the period would have been longer – how much, depends on when the first law was passed: Taylor 1968 (and many following her) believed that the first *lex agraria* was passed on the 29th of January, according to Meier 1961, 69 n. 2 not before 18 February, and Chrissanthos 2019, 130–133 argues for 4 April.

[22] See Cic. *Att.* 2,16,1 *Cenato mihi et iam dormitanti pridie K. Maias epistula est illa reddita, in qua de agro Campano scribis.*

[23] See especially the two *contiones* (in 58 and 57 BC) mentioned by Cicero in his speech *De domo* 40: *tu* [*Clodius*] *M. Bibulum in contionem, tu augures produxisti; tibi interroganti augures responderunt, cum de caelo servatum sit, cum populo agi non posse; tibi M. Bibulus quaerenti se de caelo servasse respondit, idemque in contione dixit, ab Appio tuo fratre productus, te omnino, quod contra auspicia adoptatus esses, tribunum non fuisse.* Also *har. resp.* 48 cited above in n. 6.

[24] These two laws were enacted between the first and second land laws; for the chronology, see Taylor 1951 and Rowland 1966, 218–219.

(*si Bibulus tum in forum descendisset*) – no doubt in order to obstruct Caesar's legislation – apparently with some unpleasant consequences.[25] Thus the violence was not restricted to the passing of the first agrarian law, which finds support in Plutarch's mention that Bibulus and Cato were *often* (πολλάκις) in danger of being killed in the Forum.[26] By and large it is certainly more reasonable to think that Bibulus did not withdraw to his house after his failure with Caesar's first law, but only when the attempts to obstruct Caesar's legislation by reports of adverse omens and tribunician vetoes were constantly met with violence. All this makes one doubt the reliability of Suetonius' mention of Bibulus issuing edicts announcing adverse omens. Lastly, and importantly, Cicero's complete silence is telling: although he mentions Bibulus' edicts in his letters, he does not connect these with obnuntiationes.[27]

Supplicatio / feriae

There is a long scholarly tradition according to which Suetonius was right and Dio was mistaken, and confused the *obnuntiatio* with *indictio feriarum*.[28] In this view *hieromenia* stands for Latin *feriae*. To use moveable public holidays to obstruct legislation would not have been a novelty, since apparently the consuls of 88 BC Sulla and Pompeius had declared *feriae Latinae* in order to prevent the tribune of the plebs Sulpicius carry his laws.[29] And also later we read how in 56

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[25] Although this interpretation is grammatically somewhat problematic (see Lintott 2008, 170 n. 19), I must agree with Shackleton Bailey (1965, 407) that this remark does not make sense unless Bibulus really did go down to the forum. Besides, the remark would be odd, if Bibulus had already withdrawn from public. See also Driediger-Murphy 2019, 146 n. 67.

[26] Plut. *Caes.* 14,9 πολλάκις ἐκινδύνευε μετὰ Κάτωνος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀποθανεῖν.

[27] On Cicero's correspondence and the events of the year 59 BC, see Pina Polo 2017 and Lintott 2008, 167–175.

[28] See e.g. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* 3, 1888, 1058 n. 2; Valeton 1891, 106 n. 1; Linderski 1965, 425 n. 15; and the comment *ad loc.* (p. 53 n. 21) by Lachenaud and Coudry: "ἱερομηνία ne désigne pas l'observation des signes célestes (*de caelo servare*), procédure que Dion décrit plus loin à propos des lois de Clodius (13,3–5), mais des jours de fêtes (*feriae*), que les consules peuvent fixer, ce qui modifie le caractère des jours, et empêche la tenue des comices… Dion est le seul auteur à mentionner cette forme d'obstruction qui consiste à manipuler le calendrier."

[29] Our sources for this are Greek and also in this case the language causes problems: Appian (*BCiv.*

BC the consul Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus *dies comitiales eximit omnis; nam etiam Latinae instaurantur, nec tamen deerant supplicationes. sic legibus perniciosissimis obsistitur*.[30] In both of these cases, however, the consuls acted in agreement, which makes the situation quite different.[31]

It is a fact that in the Roman context ἱερομηνία usually stands for *supplicationes* in which case it normally appears in the plural; this is the common interpretation found in dictionaries and various studies.[32] In the surviving text of Dio, word ἱερομηνία appears no less than 21 times,[33] and in most cases it appears in the plural unmistakably refering to *supplicationes*. Besides the word *hieromenia*, Dio also occasionally employs a sacrificial word (θύω, θυσία, βουθυτέω) in reference to the ceremony of *supplicatio*.[34] This of course may be explained by the fact that sacrifices were an essential part of the ceremony.[35] In two cases Dio's *hieromenia* in the plural seems to refer to *feriae*. This is most explicit in the case where he mentions that the *hieromenia* in question is called *Augustalia*, which was a public festival added to the official religious calendar.[36] The other exception is found in Dio's mention of emperor Claudius' attempts to reduce the number of *feriae* in ad 43.[37]

1,55) uses the word ἀργία, Plutarch (*Sull.* 8,6) ἀπραξία, and these have often been interpreted to refer to Latin *iustitium*, but *feriae* is more likely; see Heikkilä 1993, 138.

[30] Cic. *ad Q.fr.* 2,4,4.

[31] See Taylor 1968, 177–178; also Weinrib 1970, 400.

[32] See e.g. *LSJ s.v.* ἱερομηνία; Wannowski 1846, 251; Freyburger 1977, 288–289.

[33] These are 37,36,3; 38,6,1–2; 38,6,5; 39,53,2; 43,42,2; 43,44,6; 45,7,2; 46,39,3; 47,18,4; 48,3,2; 48,33,3; 48,41,5; 49,15,1; 49,21,1; 51,19,2; 51,19,5; 54,10,3–4; 54,34,7; 59,20,1; 60,17,1; 63,18,3.

[34] Cass. Dio 39,5,1 (ἐψηφίσαντο πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας θῦσαι), 40,50,4 (ἐξήκονθ᾽ ἡμέρας θῦσαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ψηφίσασθαι), 43,44,6 (ἱερομηνίαν τε ἐξαίρετον ὁσάκις ἂν νίκη τέ τις συμβῇ καὶ θυσίαι), 45,7,2 (καὶ ἱερομηνίαις τισὶν ἐπινικίοις ἰδίαν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἐβουθύτησαν), 47,2,2 (θυσίαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐπ' εὐτυχήμασί τισιν ἐψηφίσθησαν).

[35] See e.g. Liv. 37,47,5 *vicenis maioribus hostis in singulas supplicationes sacrificare consul est iussus*; also Liv. 37,52,2; 40,53,3; 41,9,7; 41,17,4; 41,19,2; 42,20,6; 43,13,7 and 45,2,8. Twice, too, Dio mentions both θυσία and ἱερομηνία: 37,36,3 and 43,44,6.

[36] 54,10,3–4 καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἣν ἀφίξοιτο ἔν τε ταῖς ἱερομηνίαις ἀριθμεῖσθαι καὶ Αὐγουστάλια ὀνομάζεσθαι. For the *Augustalia*, see e.g. *R. Gest. div. Aug.* 11.

[37] 60,17,1 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Κλαύδιος ὑπατεύσας αὖθις τὸ τρίτον πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἔπαυσε· τό τε γὰρ πλεῖστον τοῦ ἔτους ἐς αὐτὰς ἀνηλίσκετο, καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ ζημία οὐκ ἐλαχίστη ἐγίγνετο.

In the remaning (8) cases Dio uses the word in the singular. Five of these appear in the list of honours voted to Caesar or Augustus by the Senate, and they are linked to some particular day, i.e. celebrations of birthdays and military victories, which probably explains the use of the singular.[38] Also in these cases the ἱερομηνία could be interpreted either as a *feriae* or as a *supplicatio*. Since the celebration of *feriae* 'holidays' often included a ceremony of *supplicatio*, it is quite impossible to decide by the evidence we have which one is meant by Dio. For instance in the case of Augustus' birthday on 23th September we have plenty of epigraphic evidence that it was classified as *feriae*, see e.g. *F(eriae) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) q(uod) e(o) d(ie) Imp(erator) Caesar Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) / ma[x(imus)] natus est. Marti Neptuno in campo / Apo[l]lini ad theatrum Marcelli*.[39] On the other hand the text of the *Feriale Cumanum* shows that the annual birthday celebrations of the members of the imperial family included a *supplicatio*; see e.g. *[VIIII K(alendas) Octobr(es) n]atalis Caesaris immolatio Caesari hostia supp(l)icatio [Vestae]*.[40] As regards Dio 43,44,6 and 47,18,4 we are on a more secure ground: the passages deal with the peculiar situation where Caesar was honoured with a ἱερομηνία – in this case clearly a *supplicatio* – even for victories with which he had nothing to do; and in the latter case, even when he was already dead! Cicero in his *Philippicae* also makes mention of Antonius' proposal in the Senate according to which an extra day (*addendo diem*) in honour of a dead man (i.e. Caesar) was to be added to all future *supplicationes*.[41]

The last mention of ἱερομηνία (apart from the two cases of Bibulus) we meet is in connection of the Catilinarian conspiracy of 63 BC. Dio writes that the conspirators were punished by the decision of the majority of the Senate, and that a sacrifice and a *hieromenia* on their account was decreed, which had never before happened from any such cause, i.e. for the suppression of a conspiracy and not for a victory over an enemy. This incident is unsurprisingly referred to

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[38] These are 43,44,6; 47,18,4; 49,15,1; 51,19,2 and 59,20,1.

[39] Degrassi 1963, 512.

[40] *CIL* 10,8375; *ILS* 108; for this document see Beard – North – Price 1998, 70–71.

[41] Cic. *Phil.* 1,13 *an me censetis, patres conscripti, quod vos inviti secuti estis, decreturum fuisse, ut Parentalia cum supplicationibus miscerentur, ut inexpiabiles religiones in rem publicam inducerentur, ut decernerentur supplicationes mortuo?* See Ramsey 2003,110 who also notes on Cicero's use of the pl. here to be due to reference to all future thanksgivings.

several times by Cicero, since this unprecedented *supplicatio* was in his honour – a fact that Dio fails to mention.[42]

On the basis of the majority of occurrences it would indeed seem likely that Bibulus declared a *supplicatio* or a *feriae*. The problem is, however, that Bibulus had declared this *hieromenia* for all the remaining days of the year. This would mean most of the year, since as we saw above, the *lex agraria Campana* was passed in May. This makes it impossible that Dio would have meant *supplicationes / feriae*, since there simply were not enough moveable festivals to remove all the remaining approximately 130 *dies comitiales* of that year. The one and only *supplicatio* we know of from this year was voted by the Senate to Pomptinus for his victory over the Allobroges – and even this is considered to have taken place before early April, which, if I am correct, was before Bibulus' declaration of *hieromenia*.[43] Besides, a normal thanksgiving could not have lasted many days: even though the number of days of this ceremony started rapidly to increase from 63 BC on when a ten day thanksgiving was decreed for Pompey, this was at the time exceptional.[44] And again, Cicero does not mention any unusual thanksgivings or festivals, which he would certainly have done as he did in the above mentioned case of the consul Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus in 56 BC.

In fact, I strongly believe that the key to solving our problem should be found in Cicero's letters. When the validity of Caesar's laws were later discussed, they were said to be enacted *adversus auspicia legesque et intercessiones*.[45] So far we have discussed the matters that have to do with the *auspices* and the *intercessiones*, but what were the laws against which Caesar is said to have offended?

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[42] Cass. Dio 37,36,3; Cic. *Cat.* 3,15 *supplicatio dis immortalibus pro singulari eorum merito meo nomine decreta est, quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam togato contigit. quae supplicatio si cum ceteris supplicationibus conferatur, hoc interest, quod ceterae bene gesta, haec una conservata re publica constituta est.* Cic. *Phil.* 14,24 *Nam mihi consuli supplicatio nullis armis sumptis non ob caedem hostium, sed ob conservationem civium novo et inaudito genere decreta est.* See also Cic. *Cat.* 4,5; 4,20; *Phil.* 2,13; 14,24; *Pis.*6.

[43] On the date of Pomptinus' *supplicatio* see Taylor 1968, 186–187.

[44] A good summarizing account on the development of *supplicatio* is Weinstock 1971, 62–64; see also Freyburger 1978, 1422 and Van Haeperen 2021.

[45] Suet. *Iul.* 30,3. For the later attacks on Caesar's legislation, see Taylor 1968, 183–185.

The solution

There is one detail that makes these Dio's two mentions of *hieromenia* declared by Bibulus stand out from all the others: in both cases Dio has attached a paraphrase explaining what he meant by his 'sacred period'. This seems to indicate that he did not use the word in its normal meaning.

> (1) ἱερομηνίαν ἐς πάσας ὁμοίως τὰς λοιπὰς τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς οὐδ᾽ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν νόμων συνελθεῖν ἐδύνατο.
> …sacred period for all the remaining days of the year during which the people could not legally meet.
>
> (2) ὅτι ἱερομηνία τε εἴη καὶ οὐδὲν ὁσίως ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐν αὐτῇ δύναιτο δρᾶσθαι.
> …that it was a sacred period and that by the laws he could rightfully take no action during it.

In both cases Dio explicitly states that the interdiction was based on laws (ἐκ τῶν νόμων) that contained provisions concerning the time when the magistrate could lawfully call the people into an assembly (i.e. *agere cum populo*). This points to the two laws from the middle of the second century BC which were *de iure et de tempore legum rogandarum*, namely the *leges Aelia et Fufia*.[46] We know very few facts about these two laws that are normally mentioned together, but we happen to know that they (the *lex Fufia* to be more exact) forbade to submit any bills to the people in the election period, i.e. between the announcement and the holding of the elections.[47]

If we combine this information with what we learn about Bibulus' edicts from Cicero's letters, the pieces of information start falling into place. In a letter to Atticus, dated between April 24 and 29, we read that Bibulus had postponed

[46] The phrase is from Cic. *Sest*. 56.

[47] Schol. Bob. 148 St. *non sinebant prius aliqua de re ad populum ferri quam comitia haberentur ad designandos magistratus.* Of the several attempts to make sense of the Aelian Fufian laws perhaps the most successful is Sumner 1963.

the elections.[48] Now, he could not have postponed the elections before he had first set the time for them;[49] and it was much too early to announce, not to mention postpone, the elections in April since in the post-Sullan period the elections were normally held in July.[50] But this makes perfect sense in Bibulus' situation: since his *obnuntiationes* and the *intercessiones* of the tribunes were prevented by violence, what Bibulus could do is to remove the *dies comitiales* (i.e. the days when the *comitia* might lawfully meet) from the calendar by a simple edict in which he set the date for the elections. As a result, from that time on, Caesar could not legally propose his laws for the popular assembly to vote upon until the elections were held. At the end of April Bibulus postponed the elections (probably to July), and then repeated this in mid-July postponing the elections to the 18 October.[51]

Cicero's letters show how Bibulus is growing in popularity and is even praised as if he were "the man who single-handed saved the state by delaying" – Cicero is citing the famous line from Ennius' *Annales* referring to the dictator Fabius Cunctator.[52] Caesar seems to be at loss because of Bibulus manoeuvre.[53] We do not know when Bibulus made his original announcement of the elections, but I would guess this was at the beginning of April. The *lex Caecilia Didia* of 98 BC had prescribed that there had to be at least a period of *trinum nundinum* between the announcement and the holding of the elective and legislative *comitia*.[54] But when Bibulus postponed the elections for nearly three months, and then repeated this, this must have raised the question of whether the clause

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[48] Cic. Att. 2,15,2 *Bibuli autem ista magnitudo animi in comitiorum dilatione quid habet nisi ipsius iudicium sine ulla correctione rei publicae?*

[49] The expression *comitia differre*, and the fact that it was Bibulus' prerogative to preside at the elections have been established beyond any doubt by Linderski 1965; see also Taylor 1968, 188.

[50] Since we have no evidence of any election for a vacant magistracy in this year, it is reasonable to think that Cicero is talking about the ordinary elections for the year 58 BC.

[51] Cic. *Att.* 2,20,6 *comitia Bibulus cum Archilochio edicto in a.d. XV Kal. Nov. distulit.*

[52] Cic. *Att.* 2,19,2 *Bibulus in caelo est, nec, quare, scio, sed ita laudatur, quasi "unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem"* (Enn. *ann.* 363 Skutsch); and *Att.* 2,20,3 *Bibulus hominum admiration et benevolentia in caelo est.*

[53] As indicated by Cic. *Att.* 2,21,5 where Cicero tells how Caesar tries to induce the crowds to attack Bibulus but fails miserably.

[54] Schol. Cic. Bob. p. 140 St. *Caecilia est autem et Didia quae iubebant in promulgandis legibus trinundinum tempus observari.*

prohibiting legislation was still in force throughout these months. I would answer in the affirmative mainly for three considerations. Firstly, Bibulus would hardly have continued his postponement, if this had been considered ineffective.[55] Secondly, the purpose of the prohibition was to remove *celeritas* from legislation. Besides, normally the period between the announcement and the holding of the *comitia* must perforce have been more than the *trinundinum*, since the actual length of the period depended on how the *dies comitiales* happened to fall in the calendar.

My third consideration has also to do with the calendar. Setting the date for the elections meant that all the *dies comitiales* (C) between the announcement and the elections were turned into *dies fasti* (F) on which it was not permitted to hold *comitia*[56]. The following year the tribune of the plebs Clodius enacted a law (*lex Clodia*) allowing legislation on all *dies fasti*: *ut omnibus fastis diebus legem ferri liceret*. This was clearly a reaction to Bibulus' dilatory tactics and designed to prevent the same to happen again in the future.[57]

As for Dio's *hieromenia* i.e. "a sacred month during which the people were not allowed to meet in an assembly", it starts to sound like a fitting Greek expression for the period between the announcement and the elections, which in normal circumstances would refer to the *trinundinum*. Bibulus' *obnuntiationes per edicta* on the other hand is a myth.

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[55] Pace Linderski (1965, 440) who assumed that the Fufian law forbade proposing and voting on laws only in the period of 24 consecutive days immediately preceding the election day.

[56] See Michels 1967, 52.

[57] See Cic. *Sest.* 33. This does not exclude the possibility that Clodius' law could have also applied to *obnuntiatio*; see e.g. Baldson 1957 and Mitchell 1986.

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GENERALS' DREAMS BEFORE BATTLE: AN OVERVIEW OF A RECURRING MOTIF IN ANCIENT HISTORIOGRAPHY (4th C. BC – 3rd C. AD)

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There are dozens of references in the ancient historiographers and biographers to dreams experienced and/or reported, during military operations. The references include brief mentions as well as descriptions of various lengths of these dreams and their consequences. Many of the recorded dreams are said to have occurred during preparations for expeditions,[1] during sieges,[2] or shortly before battle. In this paper, I will limit the overview to a specific type of situation that recurs in the accounts of ancient historians and biographers: dreams of generals that occurred very shortly before battles. I will look at twenty such occasions, from the earliest examples set in Greco-Roman contexts in the fifth century BC to the first century AD, and argue that there is a fairly formalized narrative structure that the historians of the Classical, Hellenistic, and early Imperial eras employed to describe this type of dreaming and dream-sharing event. I will also argue that while the motif was probably based on an actual practice of interpreting dreams during times of war, it could also be used for various literary purposes, and that one of its most important functions was to demonstrate the working of divine intervention in military conflicts.

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[1] E.g. Hdt. 7,12–18; 47; 7,19 (Xerxes I's invasion of Greece in 480–479 BC); Plut. *Ages.* 6; *Pel.* 21 (Agesilaus II's expedition against Persia in 396–394 BC); Diod. Sic. 16,66; Plut. *Tim.* 8 (Timoleon's voyage to Sicily in 345 BC).

[2] E.g. Plut. *Lys.* 20 (siege of Aphytis, ca. 404 BC); Arr. *Anab.* 2,18; Diod. Sic. 17,41; Plut. *Alex.* 24; Curt. 4,2–3 (siege of Tyre in 332 BC); App. *Mith.* 106–107 (siege of Patara in 88/87 BC); Plut. *Luc.* 10 (siege of Cyzicus in 73 BC).

Introduction

In the ancient world, the gods were routinely consulted on political and military matters.[3] Apart from the consultation of oracles before campaigns, dreams and omens were also interpreted while on campaign, for which purpose professional seers accompanied the armies and were consulted by the commanders.[4] Although much research has been done on dreams, epiphanies, and oracles in the ancient world, to my knowledge there is no comprehensive, systematic study on the role of dream interpretation and dream-sharing in ancient military contexts, despite the fact that this phenomenon is attested in multiple historical sources. I propose to augment our understanding of only a small portion of this material, by focusing on a specific type of typical situation or dream report that recurs in the ancient Greek and Roman historiographers: the general's dream shortly before battle.[5]

The earliest historian to employ this motif in the Greco-Roman context is Xenophon, who records his own dreams during the expedition of Cyrus, although Herodotus already recorded two pre-battle dreams set in Egyptian and Persian contexts.[6] Since a sufficient discussion on the Herodotean passages and

[3] McCallum 2017, 36; Anderson 2022.

[4] McCallum 2017, 342–343; see esp. n. 74 for further bibliography on the *manteis* and *chresmologoi*, to which may be added Renberg 2015. For military *mantike*, see Pritchett 1979, 47–90; Flower 2008, 153–187.

[5] For dreams in the context of ancient warfare, see Loretto 1957, 143–169; Pritchett 1979; for epiphanies during battles and sieges, Petridou 2015, 107–141. On the dreams of military men in Hellenistic times, see Weber 1999; for the Imperial era, *id.* 2000, 245–311. Various articles discuss specific dreams in military contexts, e.g., Pelling 1997; Kragelund 2001; Harris 2005; Fenechiu 2011, to mention only a few. Not only generals had important dreams: see e.g. Hdt. 6,107 (Hippias' dream before the Battle of Marathon); Plut. *Ant.* 22; *Brut.* 41; Suet. *Aug.* 91; Val. Max. 1,7,1–2; App. *B Civ.* 4,14,110; Cass. Dio 47,41; 47,46 (Augustus barely escaping his tent during the Battle of Philippi thanks to a dream of his physician).

[6] The dream of the Egyptian priest and ruler Sethos during Sennacherib's invasion predicted his victory at Pelusium (ca. 700 BC) (Hdt. 2,141). Although Cyrus the Great's dream during his war with the Massagetae (1,209–210) occurred shortly before a battle, Herodotus associates it with his death (ca. 530 BC) in a subsequent battle (1,214) and Darius' ascension to the throne, which occurred much later (Xen. *Cyr.* 8,7,1–5 gives a different account of Cyrus' death). In mythology, dreams forbade Latinus and Aeneas to engage in battle with each other (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1,57,2–4; Cass. Dio 1, fr. Zonar. 7,1). It is unclear whether Marius' dream ([Plut.] *Par. min.* 310 D; cf n. 50) preceded a battle.

their sources would distract too much from the focus on Greco-Roman military culture, I will omit them. While the earliest instances set in the Greco-Roman context are dated to the fifth century BC, due to limited space the last historian discussed here is Cassius Dio. This is a convenient end point, as the last recorded pre-battle dreams of generals are set in the beginning of the first century AD, after which there is a long interval until the motif resurfaces.[7]

The nights immediately before battle would undoubtedly tend to be stressful, and getting enough sleep in such times might be not only difficult due to the excitement but also dangerous, in case the enemy decided to attempt a surprise attack or an ambush by night.[8] On the other hand, as we shall see, sleep was a favourable state for receiving divine last-minute instructions that might decide the course of the upcoming battle. As motivation was key to success, it would have been of primary importance to keep the army motivated during stressful times, and favourable dreams would have been welcomed; on the other hand, dreams that invoked uncertainty would have been a great annoyance, and potentially corruptive of battle morale.[9]

There can be little doubt that the importance of dream-interpretation in accounts of military campaigns is based on historical reality.[10] The conventional structure of the dream reports, nevertheless, raises the question of to what extent they have been influenced by earlier literary descriptions of similar dreaming and dream-sharing events in the historiography of warfare, and to what extent they reflect an actual practice of sharing and interpreting dreams in ancient military culture. After an overview of the evidence, I shall briefly try to address this question. Finally, I will discuss divine intervention as a theme to which the battle-dream motif seems to be essentially linked.

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[7] Perhaps not until Constantine's dream before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in AD 312 (Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 44; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 1,29–30).

[8] For night time assaults and νυκτομαχίαι, see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 10,469–514; [Eur.] *Rhes.* 595–803; Hdt. 1,74; Thuc. 7,44; Paus. 4,19,2; Plut. *Nic.* 21; Polyb. 5,52; Paus. 10,18,4; Paus. 10,23,7–9; nos. 10 and 17 below; and Sheldon 2012.

[9] On the importance of motivation and morale for military success, see, e.g., McCallum 2017, 31–34.

[10] See Pritchett 1979, 3; McCallum 2017, 3.

An overview of the evidence

The dream reports discussed in this paper are listed below in chronological order (for the excerpts, see the Appendix).

1. While the Greeks were preparing for the Battle of Plataea (479 BC), the Athenian general Aristides was advised by the Delphic oracle to confront the Persian army on the Athenians' own soil, in the plain of Eleusinian Demeter and Kore. Believing that the oracle referred to Eleusis, the generals intended to lead their troops back to Attica; before they moved, Zeus Soter instructed the Plataean general Arimnestus in a dream to search for the plain near Plataea. Arimnestus referred the dream to the most experienced citizens, and when they discovered a plain that was a suitable battleground and in accordance with the prophecy, they chose to remain in Plataea. As a precaution, they gifted the region to Athens (Plut. *Arist.* 11).

2. Shortly before the Battle of Arginusae (406 BC), omens and a dream of the Athenian general Thrasyllus[11] were interpreted by the seers who accompanied the army to indicate that, although Athens would be victorious, it would lose seven generals (as in the legendary battle of the Seven against Thebes). The generals ordered the news of the prophesied victory to be shared with the troops, but forbade reporting the expected losses (Diod. Sic. 13,97).

3. When Xenophon was leading the Greek mercenaries hired by Cyrus the Younger back to Greece (401–400/399 BC), they were prevented from crossing the Centrites river by an army guarding the opposite shore. While they were greatly perplexed, Xenophon had a dream that he and his colleague considered encouraging. Not long afterwards, a shallow crossing was discovered, which allowed the Greeks to pass safely to the other side and engage in battle (Xen. *An.* 4,3).

4. Shortly before the Battle of Leuctra (371 BC), when the Thebans were encamped at Leuctra, their commander Pelopidas dreamed that he was bidden to sacrifice a girl to the local heroines Leuctrides to guarantee victory. When he told the dream to the generals and seers, they could not come to an agreement

[11] Called Thrasybulus, but apparently Thrasyllus (Kagan 1987, 342).

on what should be done, until a horse that appeared to suit the prophecy was noticed and sacrificed instead of a human victim (Plut. *Pel.* 20–22).[12]

5. Before the Battle of Vesuvius (340 BC) during the Latin Wars, the consuls P. Decius Mus and T. Manlius Torquatus both dreamed of being told that the side whose general would devote himself and the enemy army to the gods (*devotio*) would gain victory. In the morning, they discussed the dream with each other and (according to Livy and Dio) in front of a council and decided that one of them would devote himself during the battle, which Mus eventually did (Livy 8,6; Val. Max. 1,7,3; Cass. Dio 7, fr. Zonar. 7,26). The author of the Pseudo-Plutarchean *Parallela minora* only records Mus' dream ([Plut.] *Par. min.* 310 A–B).[13]

6. After Eumenes of Cardia had been made satrap of Cappadocia, Asia was invaded by competing Diadochi. While the armies were preparing to confront each other in the Battle of Hellespont (321/320 BC), he had a dream that predicted his military success (Plut. *Eum.* 6).

7. When Antigonus I Monophthalmus and his son Demetrius I Poliorcetes were preparing for the Battle of Ipsus (301 BC), their defeat was anticipated by unfavourable omens, including a dream of Demetrius (Plut. *Demetr.* 29).

8. After Demetrius had been proclaimed king of Macedonia and was pressed by his enemies, Pyrrhus of Epirus saw a favourable occasion to invade lower Macedonia. At this time, he had an assuring dream. Encouraged by it, he marched against Beroea and captured it (288 BC) (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 11).

9. During the Pyrrhic War (280–275 BC), one Valerius Conatus,[14] a priest experienced in divination (μαντικῆς ἔμπειρος), had a dream that inspired him

[12] The story is also told in Plut. *Am. narr.* 774 C–D; cf. Paus. 9,13,5–6. Prior to the battle, the Thebans had consulted several oracles (Paus. 4,32,5). For the oracular tradition concerning the battle, see McCallum 2017, 181–183; 268–269.

[13] The dream is also referred to in Cass. Dio 8, fr. Zonar. 8,1. For the *devotio*, see Livy 8,9. Cicero reports a different version, or perhaps a different dream that Mus supposedly dreamt years before the battle (*Div.* 1,51).

[14] In Nachstädt *et al.* 1971, Οὐαλέριος <Τορ>κουᾶτος.

to dress in his priestly attire. That done, he led his soldiers to battle, killed many, and was swallowed by the earth ([Plut.] *Par. min.* 307 B).

10. On the night of the Battle of Beneventum (275 BC) at the end of the Pyrrhic War, Pyrrhus had a dream that made him wish to delay the assault; his friends would not allow that, and so they advanced and were defeated (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20,12).

11. During his assault on Sparta in 272 BC, Pyrrhus had a dream that he considered favourable. When he reported it to his colleagues, only Lysimachus disagreed on the interpretation, correctly suspecting that Pyrrhus would fail to conquer the city (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 29).[15]

12. A day before his attack on Carthago Nova (209 BC), Scipio Africanus called a meeting in order to encourage his troops. In the end of his speech, he asserted that their strategy had been suggested to him in a dream by none other than Neptune, who would make his support manifest at a critical moment. During the battle, an ebb occurred that allowed the soldiers to storm the city walls from the lagoon facing it; believing this to be the promised miracle, they were greatly encouraged, oblivious that the ebb was a regular phenomenon about which Scipio had learned from local fishers (Polyb. 10,8; 10,11; 10,14).[16]

13. In the aftermath of the Social War, when Rome had fallen into Marius' hands and Sulla was considering marching on the city in 88 BC, he was encouraged to carry out the plan by a dream that he shared with his colleague. Next morning, he set out for Rome (Plut. *Sull.* 9).

14. On the eve of the Battle of Sacriportus (82 BC), during their Second Civil War, Sulla had a dream that made him eager to confront Marius the following day; it proved victorious (Plut. *Sull.* 28).

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[15] This could be considered a "dream during siege" rather than a "dream shortly before battle", but since it occurred on the eve of the decisive battle of the assault, I have decided to include it in the discussion.

[16] For another account of the events, see Livy 26,42–47. Livy mentions the ebb and provides an elaborate version of Scipio's speech; he may have mentioned the dream in the lacuna at its end (26,43,8), but the passage is too fragmentary to be sure (cf. Livy 26,41,18; 26,45,9). For an analysis of discrepancies in the two versions, see Richardson 2018.

15. On the night before the Battle of Lemnos (73/72 BC) during the Third Mithridatic War, Lucullus dreamed that Aphrodite addressed him as a lion and urged him to wake up, because "the fawns were near"; he woke up and reported the dream to his friends. Soon after, they received word of the approach of Mithridates VI Eupator's fleet, which they attacked and defeated (Plut. *Luc.* 12).

16. The night before capturing Sinope (70 BC) during the same war, Lucullus, according to Plutarch, dreamed of a figure who told him that Autolycus was waiting to meet him. He could not interpret the dream, but after the conquest he saw a statue lying on the beach and was told that it represented the local *heros oikistes* Autolycus. According to Appian, he was called by a figure in his sleep, and after taking the city he saw the statue being carried and recognized its appearance from his dream. Because of the dream, he restored to the Sinopeans their city, which had been occupied by Mithridates' supporters (Plut. *Luc.* 23; App. *Mith.* 370–373).[17]

17. In 66 BC, while fleeing from Pompey during the same war, Mithridates had a distressing dream that was interrupted when he was woken up in the middle of the night by his friends, who informed him that Pompey was about to attack his camp (Plut. *Pomp.* 32).

18. In the early hours of the day of the Battle of Pharsalus (48 BC), Pompey had a dream that he shared with his companions; they were certain that it predicted victory and began preparations for celebration before the battle was even fought. Pompey himself was worried by the dream and suspected an unfavourable outcome (Plut. *Caes.* 42; *Pomp.* 68; App. *B Civ.* 2,10,68–69).[18]

19. On the night before a battle at the Pontes Longi in northern Germania (AD 15), the Roman *legatus* Aulus Caecina Severus dreamed a terrible dream; the following day, his army sustained major losses at the hands of the Germanic tribes led by Arminius (Tac. *Ann.* 1,65).

[17] The conquest, like Pyrrhus' assault on Sparta (11), occurred at the end of a siege.

[18] The dream is also reported in Lucan (7,7–44). For an analysis, see Pelling 1997, 204–205, 207.

20. Next year, shortly before gaining a victory over Arminius in the Battle of Idistaviso (AD 16), Germanicus experienced an encouraging dream (Tac. *Ann.* 2,14).

Settings and descriptions of the dreams

The dreams are said to have occurred, or can be presumed to have done so, very shortly before a major battle took place. The dreamers were preparing for a confrontation with their enemies and, in most cases, it had already been established that the battle would be fought on the next day. The time of dreaming, when it is mentioned or can be deduced, was generally during the night (2, 3, 5abd, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16b, 18b, 19, 20), midnight (ἐκ μέσων νυκτῶν, 17), or sometime around the early morning (18c).

The obvious or likeliest location of this dreaming in the accounts is the army camp (στρατόπεδον, 4, 18b; *castra*, 5ab; χάραξ, 17).[19] Sometimes this was situated in or near the location of the battle: Pelopidas' camp was located on or in the vicinity of the plain of Leuctra; Pompey's troops had encamped on the plain of Pharsalus; and Mithridates' army was attacked while encamped. Occasionally, the location had cultic significance: the Thebans had encamped near the tombs of local minor deities, and Lucullus in a sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Troad (15). Some camps were positioned near rivers: Xenophon's near the boundary river Centrites; Mithridates' in the vicinity of the Euphrates (17); and Germanicus' near the Visurgis (modern Weser) (Tac. *Ann.* 2,12; 2,16). Mus and Torquatus' camp, according to one source, was located close to the foot of Mount Vesuvius (5b).[20] Caecina had encamped in a vale near the swampy, forested wilderness of northern Germania (Tac. *Ann.* 1,63–64), where his predecessor Quinctilius Varus had taken his own life after a catastrophic defeat in AD 9, a landscape that infiltrated his dream.[21] Tombs and sanctuaries – probably also rivers and mountains – were perceived by the ancients as liminal locations, where the

[19] Except for no. 9, in which we do not know whether the priest had participated in the warfare before his dream.

[20] Lake Avernus and its legendary entrance to the underworld was also nearby the mountain (Strab. 5,4,5; Verg. *Aen.* 5,731–737).

[21] In the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest; the fallen had been left unburied in the forest and their remains were only recently interred by the Romans (Tac. *Ann.* 1,60–62).

worlds of the living and the dead, of gods and humans, might intersect; such places may have felt particularly apt for oracular dreams.[22]

The descriptions of the dreams are short, comprising one or two sentences,[23] and are introduced by standard opening phrases, usually with the verbs δοκέω / ὁράω / *video*, and/or φαίνομαι or παρίστημι used of the dream figure, and a participial form of (κατα)κοιμάω / καταδαρθάνω[24] or an adverbial phrase meaning "in a dream", "in sleep", or "at night".[25] In most cases, the dream is introduced as a factual occurrence, in direct third-person narrative voice;[26] thrice, the introduction is conditioned by *dicitur* / λέγεται;[27] and twice the dream report is embedded in a citation of the dreamer's speech.[28]

William Harris has proposed a useful classification of ancient dreams into two major types according to their content: epiphanies and episode dreams. An epiphany dream features a character, or a dream figure, approaching and addressing the dreamer, whereas an episode dream includes a more complex set of events that the dreamer may either passively observe or actively participate in. Harris further distinguishes symbolic episode dreams, which contain symbolic

[22] Since death is a presence never far in warfare, battlefields can be considered liminal places whence mortals pass on to the world of the dead; we may recall the story of the twins Hypnos and Thanatos carrying away Sarpedon's body after his death in the Trojan War (Hom. *Il.* 16,659–683), which became a topic in Athenian funeral art.

[23] Note, though, the *lacuna* in 18a, which interrupts the description of the dream.

[24] κατακοιμηθεὶς (4, 15); καταδαρθὼν (6); κοιμώμενος (11).

[25] κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους (1, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14, 16a, 18b); κατὰ τὴν νύκτα (2); ὄναρ (3, 5c, 18c); *in quiete* (5a); *nocte* (5b); ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ (5d, 10); τῆς νυκτὸς (8, 18b); κατ᾽ ὄναρ (9); κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον (12); νύκτωρ (15); ἐν ὕπνοις (17).

[26] Direct narration: ἔδοξε (1, 4, 7, 8, 10, 18b); εἶδε (2, 11); εἶδεν (3, 5c, 6); *uiderunt* (5b); ἰδὼν (…) κατεπόθη (9); ἐτύγχανε (…) ἑωρακὼς (14); ἐδόκει (15, 16a). (Note that Xenophon is reporting his own dream.) Once the dream is the subject of δοκέω: ὄναρ ἀμφοῖν (…) ὁμοίως φανὲν ἔδοξε λέγειν (5d). The following introductions are different: τὴν πόλιν (…) ἠφίει δι᾽ ἐνύπνιον (16b); ἀνεκρούετο (…) τὴν γνώμην, ἔτι καὶ φασμάτων (…) προσγενομένων καὶ καθ᾽ ὕπνον ὄψεως (18a); *ducemque terruit dira quies* (19); *nox eadem laetam Germanico quietem tulit* (20).

[27] "It is said": *dicitur visa* (5a); λέγεται (…) φανῆναι (13); λέγεται (…) ἰδεῖν (17).

[28] Reported speech of the dreamer: ἔφη τὴν ἐπιβολὴν (…) ὑποδεδειχέναι τὸν Ποσειδῶνα παραστάντα (12); ἔφασκεν (…) καθιεροῦν (18c). According to Lipka (2022, 151; 156), the Greek historians generally use the direct third person narrative voice (the 'critical mode') when reporting dreams and reported speech (the 'anecdotal mode') when reporting epiphanies experienced while awake, making dream reports seem more "objective" and "real" than reports of waking-life epiphanies.

(or allegorical) elements that need to be interpreted in order to extract the dream's "message", from non-symbolic ones, which include no such elements. As he points out, the distinction between epiphanies and episode dreams is not always clearcut, and a dream may contain elements of both types.[29]

If we apply Harris' classification to the passages discussed here, we can distinguish six dreams (or seven, if the consuls' dreams are counted separately) that probably qualify primarily as epiphanies (1, 5, 7, 12, 15, 16), seven symbolic episode dreams (2, 3, 6, 10, 11, 17, 18), and five dreams that seem to combine elements of both types (4, 8, 13, 19, 20). One dream is probably best categorized as a non-symbolic episode dream (14), and the content of another is not described (9). In the epiphanies, a god or minor deity, a deceased person, or an unidentified figure (*species*, 5ab) approaches the sleeper and either commands or instructs him. The apparitions may demand sacrifice, suggest tactics or a choice of battleground, or exhort the dreamer to battle. Aphrodite expresses herself in a riddling hexameter verse,[30] and the Cappadocian goddess seen by Sulla by placing a thunderbolt in his hand and naming his enemies. Deceased persons encountered in dreams may promise assistance to the dreamer or his enemy; sometimes they appear wailing (4), sick (8), or frightening and covered in blood (19).

The appearance of local divinities is quite "natural" and unsurprising.[31] According to a myth, the Leuctrides had been violated and killed by Spartan men, as a result of which their father Scedasus had cast a curse on Sparta; this

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[29] Harris 2009, 23–49; esp. 41; 46–49. He defines the epiphany dream as "the sleeper's experience of a visitation by an individual, often a divine being or a divine messenger but sometimes simply an authoritative person or a ghost, who brings instructions or important information" (p. 24). Cf. Artemidorus' ὄνειροι ἀλληγορικοί ("allegorical dreams") and ὄνειροι θεωρηματικοί ("dreams meant to be interpreted as seen") (1,2). Artemidorus only extends this classification to ὄνειροι, or prophetic dreams, and not to ἐνύπνια, or dreams that originate solely in the dreamer's own psyche or bodily functions.

[30] The hexameter verse oracle given in a dream has parallels in other dream reports: Hdt. 5,55–56; 62 (Hipparchus' dream before his death in 514/513 BC); Plut. *Cim.* 18 (Cimon's dream before his death in 449 BC); Plut. *Alex.* 26 (Alexander's dream associated with the foundation of Alexandria in Egypt in 331 BC); Plut. *Mar.* 45 (Marius' dreams near the end of his life in 86 BC); cf. also Cass. Dio 80,5 (Dio's dream, in which he was ordered to conclude his work with the verses).

[31] Cf. Plut. *Ages.* 6; and see n. 2 in this paper for sources on dreams relating to the siege of Tyre.

story explained their willingness to assist the Thebans.[32] Lucullus received help from Aphrodite while sleeping in her sanctuary, and his decision to liberate Sinope after taking it from the Cilician occupiers was motivated by a dream of Autolycus (as we are told), who had an oracular shrine (μαντεῖον, Strab. 12,3,11) in the city. Sometimes a deity's appearance in a dream was not associated with a particular cult but more loosely with the local topography. Neptune's (alleged) involvement relates to the fact that the attack on Carthago Nova was conducted partly from the sea and to the "miracle" of the ebb, whereas Demeter who appeared to Eumenes recalled to his mind the abundance of grain that was a feature of the landscape of Cappadocia at the time.

The rest of the deities do not appear to have a close association with the locations where the dreaming occurred, but they are associated with warfare. Zeus Soter was invoked in times of danger, and his manifestations sometimes occurred during military conflicts.[33] In the Persian Wars, he seems to have been credited with helping the Greeks.[34] The Cappadocian goddess has been identified as Ma-Bellona,[35] a syncretic aspect of the indigenous Roman goddess of war Bellona and the Cappadocian goddess Ma, whose cult may have been adopted by Roman soldiers during Sulla and Pompey's campaigns in Asia Minor in the early first century BC.[36] Finally, the goddess of love possessed warlike aspects in both Greece and Rome, where she was worshipped as Venus Victrix.[37] Furthermore, she had a special significance for some of the Roman generals,

[32] For a detailed version of the story, see Plut. *Am. narr.* 774 C–D. According to Pausanias, who also reports the sacrifice but not the dream, the sisters hanged themselves after the violation; he lets us understand that Epaminondas (rather than Pelopidas) was aware of the mythical feud and took advantage of it (9,13,5–6).

[33] Boulay 2009, esp. 118–119. Some tetradrachms of Clazomenae from the 2nd c. BC depicting Zeus Soter Epiphanes apparently celebrate a victorious battle in which the god had a crucial role (*op cit.*, *pass.*). On manifestations of Zeus in military conflicts, see also Petridou 2015, 138–141.

[34] Herodotus (if the passage is authentic) quotes an oracle that promised that Zeus and Nike would bring victory to the Greeks (8,77). Cf. Hdt. 9,7A; Plut. *Arist.* 19,6–7; 20,4; 21,1; Aesch. *Pers.* 823–831. For the establishment of the cult of Zeus Soterius following the Battle of Plataea, see Petridou 2015, 121–122.

[35] Kragelund 2001, 92; Harris 2009, 179. The goddess seems to have helped Sulla on a later occasion as well (Plut. *Sull.* 27,6). Cf. also the senate's meeting in Bellona's (Ἐνυώ) temple at Plut. *Sull.* 7,6.

[36] James 1966, 274–275.

[37] For the armed Aphrodite in Greece, see Budin 2010.

and Pompey's episode dream ought to be read against this background; Pompey himself had commissioned the building of a temple-theatre complex dedicated to Venus Victrix, completed just a few years before the Battle of Pharsalus, which was the scene of his dream in Plutarch's account (and, incidentally, of Julius Caesar's assassination in 44 BC). However, in Appian's version, the temple of the dream is juxtaposed with a preceeding mention of a temple that Julius Caesar had promised to Venus earlier during the night (*B Civ.* 2,10,68). As noted by Appian and Plutarch (18b), the *gens Iulia* traced their ancestry to her (cf. Suet. *Iul.* 6); to emphasize this connection, following his victory at Pharsalus, Caesar fulfilled his votum by dedicating a temple not to Venus Victrix but to Venus Genetrix (App. *B Civ.* 2,15,102).[38]

The deceased persons who appear in the dreams are either political predecessors or relatives of the dreamer or his opponent. The three dreams featuring Alexander the Great (6–8) are set in the context of the Diadochi's struggle for power in a series of wars following the division of his empire, and they reflect the importance of (the deified) Alexander's person for the Hellenistic rulers in establishing legitimacy.[39] Caecina's close call in the battle is suggested by the appearance of Varus, who reaches for him from the swamp but whom he pushes back. This may have been a wise choice, since following dead people in dreams could be a bad sign.[40] Germanicus' dream of his late grandmother

[38] She had a special importance to Sulla as well. At some point of his career, he adopted the epithet Epaphroditus ("favourite of Venus") (Plut. *Sull.* 34; App. *B Civ.* 1,11,97), and he once made a dedication to Aphrodite in Aphrodisias, as the goddess had appeared to him in a dream and helped him win a battle (App. *B Civ.* 1,11,97) (Brody 2001, 106: in 89/88 BC). Note that although Plutarch seems to suggest an allegorical, prophetic reading of Pompey's dream (18ab), Lucan, whose version is closer to his than Appian's account, also offers an alternative option and leaves the matter undecided (7,7–44).

[39] For dreams of the Diadochi that feature Alexander in Plutarch, see Romero-González 2019. Lucian records a dream in which Alexander instructed Antiochus I Soter about a watchword before a battle with the Galatians (*Laps.* 9).

[40] Cf. the dream that presaged the death of the poet Cinna, in which the recently deceased Julius Caesar invited him for supper and led him by the hand to a dark place (Plut. *Brut.* 20; *Caes.* 68). Sulla dreamed, a little before his death, that his son asked him to join him and his mother (Plut. *Sull.* 37). Cicero's dream of the late C. Marius leading him by the right hand out from a strange place presaged his return from exile, not his death (Cic. *Div.* 1,59; Val. Max. 1,7,5). (Cf. also Suet. *Ner.* 46.) Joining right hands (*dexiosis*) with the gods or being led by them by the hand could be a sign of approaching death (Suet. *Iul.* 81,3; Cass. Dio 44,17) or the god's benevolence (Plut. *Mor.* 83 C–D; Arr. *Anab.* 2,18).

giving him a toga predicted his success, however,[41] and Sulla's peculiar dream (14), in which he overhears the elder Marius warning his son (as if peeking into the latter's dream), is favourable to him but not to Marius.

The enigmatic unnamed, usually male, dream figure of the consuls' dream(s), taller and better-looking than humans, appears throughout ancient historiography, starting with Herodotus; its nature and origin are often not explained in prose, though dreams featuring it are sometimes considered divine. Whereas Homeric dream figures, including both gods and phantoms fashioned by them, tend to adopt the appearance of a person familiar to the sleeper to deliver messages from the gods, in historiography since the Classical period the anonymous dream figure is a stock character of epiphany dreams.[42]

The episode dreams, except for Sulla's non-symbolic dream (14), feature the dreamer engaging or involved in the action of the dream rather than passively observing it. The activities (in addition to those already mentioned) include acting or receiving applause in a theatre; being released from fetters and walking; one's teeth falling out; bleeding and being spattered with blood; smiting a city (if we interpret ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ as a passive agent in 11) or one's enemies with thunderbolts; sailing and being shipwrecked; dedicating or decorating a temple; and performing a sacrifice.[43]

Since the task of identifying and deciphering symbolic elements in the dream reports is usually left to the reader, labelling an item as symbolic and

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These examples may suggest the importance of touching in dreams. In waking life, contact with corpses could lead to ritual pollution; could this belief have sometimes extended to the dream-world (even if the deceased seemed to be alive in the dream)?

[41] Artemidorus claims that receiving clothes from a deceased person was, in fact, favourable (2,57).

[42] E.g. Hdt. 2,139; 152; 5,55–56; 62; Livy 21,22; Val. Max. 1,7,1 *ext*. On occasion, the anonymous figure is female, as in the dream that informs Socrates of his approaching death (Plat. *Crit.* 44a–b). The description of the figure's unusual beauty and size evokes accounts of gods appearing to mortals, e.g., in the *Homeric Hymns* (2,188–191; 3,448–466; 5,81–106; 7,1–24); cf. also the description of Odysseus after Athena increases his stature and youth (Hom. *Od.* 16,172–185).

[43] Brownson (2001, 315) notes the use of the verb διαβαίνω in the dream report, and in another sense when the young soldiers report their finding (3). Cf. the seers' "etymological" interpretation of Alexander's dream (Plut. *Alex.* 24,4–5). According to Artemidorus, fetters mean delay and hindrance (among other things) as they are used to restrain (2,47). Thunderbolt dreams: cf. Xen. *An.* 3,1,11–15; Plut. *Alex.* 2; Plut. *Ant.* 16; Ael. *VH* 1,13; *NA* 6,62; cf. Artem. 2,8–9. Sailing in a storm predicts danger (Artem. 2,23), whereas sacrificing in a customary way is a good omen (2,33).

attributing a meaning to it is inevitably somewhat a matter of subjective reading. Yet, some of the dream reports yield to fruitful speculation on the (primary) referents of dream symbols within the narrative contexts: the Nisaean horse – an esteemed breed and an emblem of imperial power in Persia – undoubtedly represents Alexander's majesty and prowess; the teeth Pyrrhus lost in his dream (10) might correspond to the elephants he lost in waking life; and applause in a theatre must signify the end in Pompey's dream.[44] Such context-related but straightforward correspondences based on metaphorical or metonymical representation resemble Artermidorean *oneirokrisia*, which largely relies on situational exegesis of dream symbols κατὰ ἀναλογίαν (Artem. 2,57; 3,47; 4,28).[45] In addition, a few of the dream reports seem to represent, in allegorical form, entire sequences of events – a calm sea followed by a storm predicted the change in Mithridates' fate when his escape was interrupted by an ambush, and the Athenian generals' victory in a drama contest followed by their death corresponded with their victory in the battle and their subsequent fate, as most of them were executed for having failed to collect the bodies of the fallen due to a storm (Diod. Sic. 13,101–102).[46]

As in the case with the Athenian generals' deaths, some correspondences between the dreams and real-life events that followed can be considered more than symbolic. The battle and the grain in Eumenes' dream, and the mire mixed with blood in Caecina's dream, are materialized and acted out when the prophecy of the dream becomes fulfilled (cf. pp. 151–153). In these dream reports, symbolic elements mingle with and blend into "real" elements of the dreamer's waking-life experience.

[44] For the Nisaean horse, see Hdt. 7,40,2–3; 9,20; Strab. 11,13,7; 11,14,9; Arr. *Anab.* 7,3,4; 7,13,1. They were known as exceptionally brave warhorses: Amm. Marc. 23,6,30. In the dream, Alexander lies in his sickbed before mounting the horse; is it a coincidence that Demetrius had fallen ill (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 10,1)? Dreams associated with losing teeth: Hdt. 6,107; Cass. Dio 66,1; cf. Artem. 1,31. Oddly, Plutarch claims that Pyrrhus had few teeth left (*Pyrrh.* 3,4). Another theatre dream that anticipated the dreamer's death: Plut. *Dem.* 29.

[45] An illustrative example of the importance of context is blood: contrast the blood that covers Varus in Caecina's dream, and the sacrificial blood spattered on Germanicus, with the blood-smeared snake in Clytemnestra's dream in a fragment of Stesichorus and the blood Aphrodite spattered on Hipparchus (Plut. *De sera* 555 A–B).

[46] Cf. p. 153. Acting in a dream means that waking-life will resemble the plot of the play if one remembers it (Artem. 4,37).

Reporting and interpreting the dreams

Most of the passages continue with descriptions of the events that took place immediately after the dream, or on the following morning before the expected battle: waking up and reflecting on the dream and/or discussing it with a select person or group of people and, sometimes, reporting it to the troops.

Sometimes the dreamer attempted to interpret the dream by himself upon waking: Eumenes, for example, concluded that his dream was in his favour (τὴν ὄψιν εἴκαζεν εἶναι πρὸς αὑτοῦ, 6), and Pyrrhus, basing his interpretation on an earlier experience, predicted the coming of a great misfortune (μεγάλην ἔσεσθαι συμφορὰν μαντευόμενος, 10) in the Battle of Beneventum. Lucullus, on the other hand, was unable to understand what his dream prophecied (τὴν μὲν ὄψιν οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλεῖν εἰς ὅ τι φέροι, 16a) before capturing Sinope and finding the statue of Autolycus.

In about half of the accounts, the dreamer discussed his dream with others. Occasionally, he hurried to share it or summoned a council meeting to discuss it upon waking up (ἐξεγρόμενος, 1), sometimes while it was still night (ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης, 15) or very early in the morning: at daybreak (ἐπεὶ ὄρθρος ἦν, 3; *luce proxima*, 5b; μεθ' ἡμέραν, 5d), or before leading his army into battle at daybreak (ἅμ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ, 11; μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν, 13).[47] Obviously, they did so because they believed that the dreams might be relevant to the upcoming confrontation.[48]

Usually, the dream was initially shared with a small circle of intimates: the most experienced and eldest citizens (οἱ ἐμπειρότατοι καὶ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν πολιτῶν, 1); a seer (ὁ μάντις) and the generals (οἱ στρατηγοί) (2); the seers and the commanders (οἱ μάντεις καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες, 4); the leaders (οἱ ἡγεμόνες) and friends/companions (οἱ φίλοι) (11); co-commander (ὁ συνάρχων, 13);[49] or friends (οἱ φίλοι, 15, 18c). The consuls, apparently, discussed the dream first with each other (*inter se*, 5a; *inter eos*, 5b; ἀλλήλοις … πρὸς ἀλλήλους, 5d), and subsequently in front of a council of legates and tribunes (*legati tribunique*, 5a)

[47] We do not know at what time of day Scipio gave his exhortative speech, but Polybius asserts that the attack began the following day (τῇ ἐπαύριον) (10,12,1).

[48] Pompey, according to Appian, told his dream to his friends who woke him up, perhaps without prior deliberation (18c).

[49] Apparently, Q. Pompeius Rufus, who was Sulla's co-consul in 88 BC (Plut. *Sull.* 6,10). He had recently been stripped of his office by Marius' friends (Plut. *Sull.* 8,3–4).

or the leaders of the army (οἱ πρῶτοι τοῦ στρατοπέδου, 5d). Livy also mentions a consultation of haruspices (5a) before the council meeting, so presumably they might have heard about the dreams before the army leaders. On these occasions, the dreamer relied not only on his own judgement as to the significance of his dream, but made himself dependant on those to whom he reported it, whether friends or professional interpreters.

Some dreams were occasioned by a puzzling situation. Before Arimnestus' dream the Greeks had been perplexed by the Delphic prophecy, thinking that the god wanted them to change the battle site from Plataea to Attica. Before they proceeded to do so, the dream provided a solution that seemed strategically preferable and was, in fact, found to suit the prophecy, which had been misunderstood. Before the Battle of Arginusae, the Athenians had suffered continuous reverses and were running out of military personnel (Diod. Sic. 13,97); the dream of their commander seemed to prophecy victory at last, even if at a high cost. Xenophon's dream occurred when the Greek force was stuck in hostile lands and there seemed to be no way out of the peril. Pyrrhus' third dream (11) came at the end of the first day of a siege, which had been marked by his unsuccessful attempt to storm Sparta (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 28). And Sulla was unable to determine whether it was a lesser evil to advance against Rome or let Marius and his supporters continue terrorizing the city, until the dream pushed him towards a decision. In these cases, the dream seemed to present a solution to a problematic situation, or at least an indication that things would work out for the better.

At other times, rather than offering a solution to a problem, the dream presented a problem that had to be solved before the expected battle. The Thebans were bidden to sacrifice a girl before the Battle of Leuctra, and the Romans learned that one of their consuls would have to give up his own life if they hoped to defeat the Latins.[50] In both types of situation, the dream's message might need to be deciphered so that appropriate measures could be taken, and the interpretation could be negotiated with military leaders and/or the religious experts who accompanied armies. Careless interpretation could be dangerous,

[50] Dreams demanding human sacrifice to ensure victory are reported occasionally; see p. 149 for Agesilaus' dream. According to a doubtful source, during the Cimbrian War (late 2nd c. BC), Marius the Elder learned from a dream that he would win if he sacrificed his daughter, which he purportedly did ([Plut.] *Par. min.* 310 D).

and sometimes disagreement arose: Pelopidas' dream sparked opinions for and against human sacrifice, and, in the case of Pyrrhus' dream (11), Lysimachus disagreed about the others' favourable interpretation. In a like manner, although Pompey's friends and army immediately drew the conclusion (be it noted, without the consultation of experts) that his dream signified victory, Pompey himself had a premonition that the opposite might be true.

Often, the dream did not solve or present a specific problem, but seemed to encourage or exhort the dreamer. Eumenes' "strange vision" (ὄψις ἀλλόκοτος) (6) and Pyrrhus' first (8) dream resulted in them becoming emboldened (ἐπερρώσθη), and Eumenes based his choice of watchword (σύνθημα) on his dream, clearly convinced that this – along with the cultic action of decorating his army – would help secure Demeter's aid. Sulla's first dream endowed him with confidence (θαρσήσας τῇ ὄψει, 13) and helped him to make up his mind to attack Rome; on a later occasion, he was eager (πρόθυμος, 14) to fight Marius due to a dream. Germanicus, we are told, was encouraged by the omen (*auctus omine*) of his joyful dream (*laeta quies*) (20). After such an experience, the dreamer might tell the dream to a colleague or friends, perhaps not so much to consult as to share information of divine intervention. Xenophon, for example, feeling hopeful due to his dream that things would work out (ἐλπίδας ἔχει καλῶς ἔσεσθαι), told it to his friend and colleague Cheirisophus, who likewise rejoiced (ἥδετο) (3). On the other hand, dreams might offer aid in addition to hope: Lucullus was informed by Aphrodite of a favourable opportunity to overtake his enemies in a surprise attack, and, in Arimnestus' and Scipio's dreams, strategic advice was provided by the gods who appeared to them.

These accounts demonstrate that a dream considered favourable might incite a feeling of joy and confidence that all would go well. Pyrrhus was undoubtedly encouraged when he not only dreamed of being happy (αὐτὸν χαίρειν), but the feeling was so strong that he was woken up by it (ὑπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς ἐξεγρόμενος) (11). Joy might also follow a successful response to a dream; so the Thebans' seers and commanders, despite initial concern,[51] rejoiced (χαίροντες, 4) once they had found a suitable victim and sacrificed it. But dreams could also have the opposite effect: the unlucky signs (σημεῖα μοχθηρά) that Demetrius

[51] Note the use of the verb διαπορέω ("to be at a loss") (4) and cf. the ἀπορία ("perplexity, distress") that, according to Xenophon, had been the prevailing sentiment among the Greeks prior to his dream and the discovery of the ford (3).

and Antigonus experienced, including the dream, dampened their resolve (κατεδουλοῦτο τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν) (7), Pyrrhus was upset (ταραχθείς, 10) by his second dream, and Caecina's dreadful dream (*dira quies*) terrified (*terruit*) him (19). According to Appian, Pompey, after his dream, felt hesitation (ὄκνος) and alarm (δέος) (18c), while, according to Plutarch, he found the dream both encouraging and troubling (τὰ μὲν ἐθάρρει, τὰ δὲ ὑπέθραττεν αὐτὸν ἡ ὄψις, 18b).

In addition to consultation with a select few, a dream might also be shared with the entire army (τὸ στρατόπεδον, 4; τὰ πλήθη, 12; ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας, 18c), either after discussing it with a more intimate circle or (as far as we are told) even without such a consultation. The ancient sources testify that many soldiers sought prophecies during campaigns from all kinds of seers and soothsayers travelling with armies.[52] It seems that the generals were well aware of the motivational potential of dreams, and sometimes used it to encourage and embolden soldiers right before battles. Polybius mentions that Scipio's skilful speech, with its reference to divine providence (θεοῦ πρόνοια), was able to create a great enthusiasm (μεγάλη ὁρμή) and zeal (προθυμία) in the young servicemen (νεανίσκοι) (12). Elsewhere he notes that Scipio was accustomed to employing invented dream reports to boost his political career (Polyb. 10,2; 10,4–5).[53] In a more contentious manner, Pyrrhus accused Lysimachus of resorting to "silly rabble-rousing" (πυλαϊκῇ ὀχλαγωγία) and stupidity (ἀσοφία), when he did not agree with the others' favourable reading of the dream (11): it seems that, like Polybius, Pyrrhus was aware of the usefulness of dream reports for propagandistic pursuits. His criticism of his colleague may also have resulted partly from his awareness of the detrimental effects that an unfavourable prophecy might have on the soldiers' morale; this must have been what motivated the Athenian generals to allow reporting to the troops only the auspicious part of the seers' interpretation (2).[54] It might also partly explain why Pompey kept quiet about his evil premonition as word of his dream spread throughout the army, with the

[52] McCallum 2017, 133–136. These were probably different people than the *manteis* consulted by the generals.

[53] Cf. Livy (26,19) on Scipio's use of divine propaganda. Cf. also Eunus' use of invented dreams and omens (Diod. Sic. 34/35,2,4–9) and Q. Sertorius' use of the barbarians' superstition (δεισιδαιμονία) to manipulate them by claiming that he would discuss important decisions in his dreams with a doe gifted to him by Diana (Plut. *Sert.* 11; 20; cf. Gell. *NA* 15,22.)

[54] The whole army (ὅλη ἡ δύναμις, 2) was perhaps only informed of the favourable sacrificial omens, but not of the dream.

result that his friends and soldiers, in their ignorance (ἄγνοια) of Caesar's *votum*, rejoiced (ἥδοντο) and prepared to celebrate the expected victory with enthusiasm (ὁρμή) and disdain or neglect (καταφρόνησις) (18c). A more important reason, though, was probably his apprehension over the unavoidability of divinely-ordained fate, a subject to which we shall shortly return.[55]

Literary convention or a feature of ancient warfare?

As we have observed, allowing for variations, the dream reports share a similar setting as well as similarities of structure and content. Each of them is set in a context in which a battle is likely or inevitable in the near future (typically the following day) and, sometimes, an urgent problem relating to it has occurred. The story progresses along the following lines: at night, a general sleeping in the camp has a dream that feels important; his reflections on and/or emotional response to the dream are described; alternatively, or in addition, he reports it before or early in the morning to a select few, who discuss it and agree upon appropriate measures, and/or to the whole army; shortly afterwards, the battle follows and confirms the dream's prophecy (even if it was contrary to the general's beliefs or what was reported to the troops). I suggest that the passages can and should be viewed as instances of a literary motif: more specifically, a typical situation that recurs in the ancient historiography of warfare. However, if we are willing to accept the existence of the "general's dream before battle" motif, the question arises of what are the implications for the historical plausibility of the passages; i.e., were these typical situations only in literature, or also in real life?[56]

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[55] For the motivating effect on larger audiences of dreams believed to indicate victory or a successful expedition, see e.g. Hdt. 7,19; Diod. Sic. 16,66; Plut. *Luc.* 10 (cf. also Diod. Sic. 19,90); and, for the demoralizing effect of ominous dreams on crowds, see e.g. Diod. Sic. 17,41; Curt. 4,3.

[56] As dream reports are inherently unreliable (see, e.g. Harris 2009, 97–100), it makes little sense to ask if any individual dream "really" happened, or how accurately a given literary description captures the original dream experience. There are basically three possible origins for a dream report: a dream was actually seen; invention by the "dreamer"; and invention by someone else. Although we can speculate on the origin of ancient dream reports, certainty is unattainable, but this does not prevent us from asking whether reporting and interpreting dreams was actually practiced on military missions.

The origin of the literary motif is perhaps easier to trace than that of individual dream reports. An epic antecedent to the reports discussed in this paper is found in the famous description of Agamemnon's baneful dream (οὖλος ὄνειρος, *Il.* 2,6) in the beginning of the second book of the *Iliad*. The setting and basic structure are similar as in the later historiographical accounts: a problematic situation has occurred (Achilles' refusal to fight, in the previous book); the general's dream (an epiphany) seems to offer a solution (a quick victory without Achilles' help) (16–40); the dreamer wakes up and summons a council meeting at daybreak to discuss the dream and decide on a course of action (41–86); and, at once, they begin to gather the troops and prepare for battle (87 ff.).

In addition to Agamemnon's dream, the motif also occasionally features in poetry of the Hellenistic and Imperial eras. In Posidippus' Epigram 33, a certain Aristoxeinus is encouraged by a misleading (or misinterpreted) dream to engage in battle, in which he is killed.[57] Vergil provides an elaborate description of a dream that Aeneas experienced on the night Troy fell, in which the ghost of Hector warned him of the imminent danger and exhorted him to escape the burning city (*Aen.* 2,268–297).[58] Lucan's account of Pompey's false dream (*vana imago*, 7,8) might be an instance of a historical dream report adapted to verse, although we should note that it predates Plutarch and Appian's descriptions. Much later, Quintus Smyrnaeus describes a deceitful dream (δολόεις ὄνειρος, 1,125) sent by Athena that Penthesileia dreamt the night before she was killed in battle by Achilles (1,118–137); and, in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, the Indian king Deriades is roused to battle by a disguised Athena who appears to him in a treacherous dream (δόλιος ὄνειρος, 26,7) (26,1–37). In prose, the motif rarely occurs outside of historiography, except for Agamemnon's dream, which is cited by several authors.[59]

While it would be too bold to claim that the later descriptions in historians and biographers were modelled on Agamemnon's dream or other poetic examples, we can assume quite confidently that the *Iliad*'s account of his

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[57] It is unclear whether he is a general or an ordinary soldier. For an analysis, see Bilbija – Flinterman 2015, 170–171.

[58] Cf. the dreams that warned Mithridates (17) and Augustus' physician (see n. 5) when an attack was already underway.

[59] E.g. Plat. *Rep.* 2,383a; Arist. *Soph. el.* 166b; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 56,9–10; Artem. 1,2; Lucian, *Iupp. trag.* 40. See also n. 39 for Antiochus' dream.

dream was known to all of them and may have influenced the formation of the literary motif. At the same time, several arguments can be adduced in favour of the conclusion that the practice of scrutinizing generals' dreams before battles, and at other important moments during warfare, was an actual part of ancient military culture that, in Greece, may have been a continuous tradition since Homeric times.

Firstly, as noted above, it has been argued convincingly that interpretating omens was important during warfare, and there is no reason to assume that dreams were any different from other types of omens.[60] Secondly, the motif is attested frequently in historiography and biography but only occasionally in other genres, even though there is an abundance of other types of dream reports in most genres of ancient literature. In poetry, the motif is associated mainly with misleading dreams that gave false hope of a quickly-attainable victory, probably in an echo of the *Iliad*, whereas most of the dreams discussed in this paper were favourable, and only two of them were falsely presumed to predict victory (11, 18).[61] This suggests that the influence of poetry on the formation of the historiographical motif was limited at best, which makes it likelier that the motif was influenced by the real-life practice of dream interpretation instead. Thirdly, the authors sometimes provide an earlier source for a dream report (5c, 9), or evidence that there were more than one version in circulation of a dream report or the events surrounding it (14, 16, 18). This suggests that these dream reports, at least, were not invented by the authors in question, although it does not rule out the chance that they were invented by their predecessors.[62]

Accepting that dream-sharing and interpretation was an actual feature of ancient warfare, of course, does not mean that we should consider the dream

[60] There is, besides, inscriptional evidence for the observance of prophetic dreams during one military campaign, at least. According to a trilingual decree issued after Ptolemy IV's victory in the Battle of Raphia (217 BC), the gods had appeared to him in a dream before the battle and promised him assistance. However, the dream report contained in the Raphia Decree may owe more to the Egyptian tradition of recording pharaohs' dreams rather than Greek customs (Renberg 2016, 88–92 and n. 141; cf. Weber 1999, 8–9). Evidently, Ptolemy had still to learn of local customs, since a recurring dream haunted him after the battle because he had sacrificed four elephants to celebrate the victory (Plut. *De soll. an.* 972 B–C; Ael. *NA* 7.40).

[61] Aeneas' dream must have been inspired by Achilles' dream of Patroclus' ghost at *Iliad* 23,57–110.

[62] Lucan could certainly have influenced Plutarch and Appian, but we cannot conclude that he invented Pompey's dream. On Plutarch's sources for the *Life of Pompey*, see De Wet 1981.

reports to be accurate representations of historical events. The fact that the evidence under discussion is of a literary nature means that we must reflect our reading against the question of how much it represents a reliable documentation of past events, and how much is fiction. When dealing with ancient historiography and biography, we can expect the specific literary goals to occasionally override the more general goal of faithful reproduction of the past. In addition to passing on knowledge about the past, historiography and biography would have (and would have been expected to fulfil) educational, philosophical, and aesthetic goals. This does not necessarily entail that the ancient historians are unreliable – in all likelihood, they are much more often reliable than unreliable, provided that one is able to recognize the conventions of the genre, such as the practice of attributing speeches composed by the author to their historical characters and the use of moral anecdotes (*exempla*).[63] It does mean, however, that they often selected and presented their material with other aspirations than simply informing the reader about past events.

As with their treatment of speeches, it seems that, when balancing between the various goals of their work, the ancient historians sometimes embraced the inclusion of invented elements as far as they were sufficiently plausible and served a purpose, such as illustrating the moral character of a protagonist, arguing a point, or educating the reader. The employment of established literary models to describe the past could have provided a productive way of representing novel elements, including dream reports. Such models could even have been used to construct narratives, in a sense, by fitting genuine events into stereotypical storylines that may have preconditioned the historians' own sense of history and felt quite "real" to them. If so, it might have seemed appropriate to preface a historical battle with a conventional prelude that included a dream report.

Furthermore, as we have seen, Plutarch and Appian report different versions of Lucullus' and Pompey's dreams, and the differences may as well derive from their use of different sources as that each author interpreted, adapted, and elaborated their source material in a different way. The existence of divergent narratives may indicate that dream reports were modified, from time

[63] On the historical authenticity of battle exhortations in ancient historiography, see Hansen 1993, esp. the conclusion on p. 179: "(…) history has been distorted by rhetoric, but it is not always the authors who have misled their readers, but rather the readers who have misread the historians by assuming that such speeches were actually delivered." The work of Valerius Maximus and the *Parallela minora* are collections of *exempla* rather than histories.

to time, when the historical tradition was passed down, which could relate to their use for various literary purposes, although influence from oral tradition in the emergence of variant versions is also possible.

Moreover, there was probably an ongoing interplay between the historical tradition (oral and written) and current religious practice, and so the echo of a literary motif could have been transmitted from historical (and poetical) descriptions to the experiencing and acting out of current situations and thence back to literature. Awareness of historical precedents and models might precondition one to recognize similar events occurring to oneself and thus influence the lived experience. This process is seen at work in some of the passages; the Thebans, when weighing the importance of Pelopidas' dream, recalled a dream that Agesilaus had experienced a few decades earlier while preparing to set out from Aulis for his Persian expedition of 396–394 BC, and referred to his refusal to comply with the dream's demand as the cause for his failure (4).[64] Much later, Lucullus was motivated to take his dream seriously when he remembered the advice that Sulla had given to him in his Memoirs (16a).

From the literary point of view, dream reports could provide a useful tool for the ancient authors to employ for various ends, such as depicting the divine forces intervening in human life and history, creating dramatic tension and poetic analogies, as well as illustrating the mental states and moral disposition of their characters as construed by them.[65] Dreams could also be used to excuse

[64] Cf. Plut. *Ages.* 6. Agesilaus' dream, in turn, was influenced by the local myth about the sacrifice of Iphigenia, by which Agamemnon had secured Artemis' favour before the Trojan expedition. The incident had happened during Pelopidas' youth, and there must have been people around who remembered it. The use of precedents in interpreting dreams – which may have predisposed the ancients to contemplate their dream-lives by seeking parallel incidents in literature and mythical precursors – is a feature of Artemidorus' empirical approach to his craft (Artem. 1, *prol.*).

[65] Pelling (1997, 209–210) argues that the psychological aspects of dreams become progressively more pronounced in both Greek and Latin historiography. From this point of view, the haunting dreams and visions of people who had committed violent acts or seem to have suffered from some kind of war trauma are particularly fascinating: e.g. Plut. *Mar.* 45,2–3 (Marius' nightmares and run-down condition near the end of his life); Plut. *De sera* 555 A–D (dreams of several moral transgressors); Suet. *Ner.* 34,4; 46,1 (the dreams and, perhaps, waking-visions that Nero suffered after having had his mother murdered); Plut. *Brut.* 48; 36–37; 69 (the φάσμα that visited Brutus before the Battle of Philippi, apparently while he was awake; cf. the rather similar story about Cassius Parmensis in Val. Max. 1,7,7).

choices that might otherwise seem unsatisfactorily explained, as in the case of Lucullus' decision to liberate Sinope, rather than subduing it (16).[66] In other words, dream reports could help prepare or explain the behaviour and decisions of historical characters and, ultimately, historical outcomes.

To briefly illustrate the multifaceted potential of dream reports and their consequent ambiguity in the context of historiography, let us look at the description of Sulla's invasion of Rome after his dream to see how divine and psychological considerations may come together within a dramatically structured sequence. In the dream, Sulla was handed a thunderbolt by a goddess so that he might wield it against his enemies. A few sentences later, a graphic description follows of his entrance into the city holding a torch and ordering his troops to set on fire the buildings that chanced on his way:

> τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Βάσιλλον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐμπεσόντων καὶ κρατούντων, ὁ πολὺς καὶ ἄνοπλος δῆμος ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν κεράμῳ καὶ λίθῳ βάλλοντες ἐπέσχον αὐτοὺς τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν καὶ συνέστειλαν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Σύλλας παρῆν ἤδη, καὶ συνιδὼν τὸ γινόμενον ἐβόα τὰς οἰκίας ὑφάπτειν, καὶ λαβὼν δᾷδα καιομένην ἐχώρει πρῶτος αὐτός, καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐκέλευε χρῆσθαι τοῖς πυροβόλοις ἄνω τῶν στεγασμάτων ἐφιεμένους, κατ᾽ οὐδένα λογισμόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμπαθὴς ὢν καὶ τῷ θυμῷ παραδεδωκὼς τὴν τῶν πρασσομένων ἡγεμονίον, ὅς γε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μόνον ἑώρα, φίλους δὲ καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ οἰκείους εἰς οὐδένα λόγον θέμενος οὐδ᾽ οἶκτον κατῄει διὰ πυρός, ᾧ τῶν αἰτίων καὶ μὴ διάγνωσις οὐκ ἦν. (Plut. *Sull.* 9,6–7)

> "Basillus and his men burst into the city and were forcing their way along, when the unarmed multitude pelted them with stones and tiles from the roofs of the houses, stopped their further progress, and crowded them back to the wall. But by this time Sulla was at hand, and seeing what was going on, shouted orders to set fire to the houses, and seizing a blazing torch, led the way himself, and ordered his archers to use their fire-bolts

[66] Cf. Otanes' sudden decision to resettle Samos in the late 6th c. BC (Hdt. 3.149); and Lysander's choice of ending the siege of Aphytis (ca. 404 BC) (Plut. *Lys.* 20; Paus. 3,18,3); both decisions were inspired by dreams. We naturally cannot know if the stories originated at the time of the events described or later, in response to a need for explanation.

> and shoot them up at the roofs. This he did not from any calm calculation, but in a passion, and having surrendered to his anger the command over his actions, since he thought only of his enemies, and without any regard or even pity for friends and kindred and relations, made his entry by the aid of fire, which made no distinction between the guilty and the innocent." (Trans. Perrin 1916, 355)

The description of Sulla leading the assault with a torch in his hand and his archers directing blazing arrows at the citizens calls to mind the thunderbolt of the dream, and raises the inevitable question: Was Sulla inspired by the dream to make his entrance into the city in such a way, or is the juxtaposition of the dream with the execution of the invasion rather a literary means deliberately employed by Plutarch for dramatic effect?[67] While the latter might seem likelier, we read elsewhere that Sulla's faith in dreams was attested in his Memoirs (Plut. *Luc.* 23; *Sull.* 37) and an inscription on a dedication to Aphrodite (App. *B Civ.* 1,11,97; see n. 38). It is possible that the whole narrative, including the analysis of Sulla's mental state during the attack and the poetic similitude of the brutal invasion to his dream, actually originates in his own account of the events.[68]

Another dramatic juxtaposition between descriptions of a dream and the subsequent battle is found in Tacitus' account of Caecina's dream and the battle at the Pontes Longi. The swampy landscape and the blood-covered appearance of the ghost in the dream are materialized in the horrid scene of battle and its aftermath on the following day:

> *Coepta luce missae in latera legiones, metu an contumacia, locum deseruere, capto propere campo umentia ultra. Neque tamen Arminius,*

[67] Note also the enemies falling (πίπτειν) due to the lightning strikes in the dream (13), as one might fall from a roof upon being hit by a blazing arrow.

[68] Harris believes that the story is probably authentic and might derive from the Memoirs (2009, 179–180); Kragelund is more reserved, and his point that Plutarch introduces the dream report by "it is said" rather than citing the Memoirs as the source is valid (2001, 92–93). One could argue, in addition, that the depiction of Sulla in this passage is not favourable to him, since he ends up smiting not only his enemies, as the dream instructed, but his friends and relatives as well. There is a denarius dated to 44 BC that is supposed to depict Sulla's dream, but the interpretation is highly dubious: Carotta 2016, 153–159. Needless to say, such a representation at such an early date would lend credibility to the story regarding the dream.

quamquam libero incursu, statim prorupit; sed ut haesere caeno fossisque impedimenta, turbati circum milites, incertus signorum ordo, utque tali in tempore sibi quisque properus et lentae adversum imperia aures, inrumpere Germanos iubet, clamitans: "En Varus eodemque iterum fato vinctae legiones!" Simul haec et cum delectis scindit agmen equisque maxime vulnera ingerit. Illi, sanguine suo et lubrico paludum lapsantes, excussis rectoribus, disicere obvios, proterere iacentis. Plurimus circa aquilas labor, quae neque ferri adversum ingruentia tela neque figi limosa humo poterant. Caecina, dum sustentat aciem, suffosso equo delapsus, circumveniebatur, ni prima legio sese opposuisset. (...) Struendum vallum, petendus agger; amissa magna ex parte per quae egeritur humus aut exciditur caespes; non tentoria manipulis, non fomenta sauciis; infectos caeno aut cruore cibos dividentes, funestas tenebras et tot hominum milibus unum iam reliquum diem lamentabantur. (Tac. *Ann.* 1,65)

"Day broke, and the legions sent to the wings, either through fear or wilfulness, abandoned their post, hurriedly occupying a level piece of ground beyond the morass. Arminius, however, though the way was clear for the attack, did not immediately deliver his onslaught. But when he saw the baggage-train caught in the mire and trenches; the troops around it in confusion; the order of the standards broken, and (as may be expected in a crisis) every man quick to obey his impulse and slow to hear the word of command, he ordered the Germans to break in. 'Varus and the legions,' he cried, 'enchained once more in the old doom!' And, with the word, he cut through the column at the head of a picked band, their blows being directed primarily at the horses. Slipping in their own blood and the marsh-slime, the beasts threw their riders, scattered all they met, and trampled the fallen underfoot. The eagles caused the greatest difficulty of all, as it was impossible either to advance them against the storm of spears or to plant them in the water-logged soil. Caecina, while attempting to keep the front intact, fell with his horse stabbed under him, and was being rapidly surrounded when the first legion interposed. (…) A rampart had to be raised and material sought for the earthwork; and most of the tools for excavating soil or cutting turf had been lost. There were no tents for the companies, no dressings for the wounded, and as they divided

> their rations, foul with dirt or blood, they bewailed the deathlike gloom and that for so many thousands of men but a single day now remained." (Trans. Jackson 1931, 355–357)

The frightening appearance of Varus' ghost dramatically forecasts the appearance of Caecina's army following the disastrous battle. The association is strengthened by Arminius' ominous exclamation. As in Plutarch's account of Sulla's dream (13), the description of the dream is aligned with the rest of the narrative so conveniently that one must ask whether we are dealing with literary elaboration, or even the innovation of a dream report by Tacitus.

The same applies to the Euripidean plays in Thrasyllus' dream (2). The *Phoenician Women*, performed a few years before the Battle of Arginusae amid turbulent times, concerns the war of the Seven against Thebes, whose fate foreshadows the death of the Athenian generals. The fate of the unburied fallen is also hinted at in the dream, since the *Suppliants*, played by the generals' competitors in the dream, centres on the effort of the Argive women to achieve a decent burial for their dead who have fallen in the assault on Thebes. It is likely that the dream, with its sophisticated references to contemporary literature, was invented after the battle, perhaps by Plutarch himself.[69]

In the remainder of the article, I shall discuss religious aspects of the literary motif, which brings us back to its probable origin in the lived experience.

Religious aspects of the dream reports

In addition to similarities related to structure and content, a further unifying factor of most of the dream reports is that they seem to be illustrative of a common theme: the relationship between humans and gods. The divine aetiology of the general's dream is made more explicit in the *Iliad* than in the history books, as one would expect. Even so, the mythical prelude to the dream report that sets out the intervening gods' point of view in the epic (*Il.* 2,1–15) should perhaps be seen more as a feature of the genre than as an indication that the historians' dream reports represent a belief system that differed significantly from that of the epic. Let us turn to the evidence.

[69] It happens that Euripides also died in the same year as the Battle of Arginusae was fought.

Several of the dream reports involve mentions of sacrifices and, in Mus' case, *devotio*. Dreaming and dream-sharing could be followed by sacrifice (ἐθύοντο, 3; θυσία 4; *victimae*, 5a; *sacrificium*, *hostiae*, 5b), and once by libations (σπονδαί, 3). The purpose of these rituals seems to have been either to confirm the dream's prophecy by reading sacrificial victims (ἱερά, 2, 3, 5ab); thank the gods (3); fulfil demands received in the dream (4); and/or to avert divine wrath (5ab).[70] Eumenes' decision to deck his army with corn is also a cultic action, probably a symbolic dedication of the army to Demeter, and is related to his attempt to secure the goddess' favour in the battle (6). Pompey's dream, on the other hand, was preceded by sacrifices performed earlier during the night, which had failed, and the dream itself was a reflection of Caesar's *votum* of dedicating a temple to Venus, of which Pompey and his men were unaware (App. *B Civ.* 2,10,68–69).[71] The failed sacrifice would have added to the premonition that he felt after waking up.[72] Dreams could also lead to the establishment of a new cult; we are told that Aemilius Paulus, in accordance with oracles, set up on the spot of Valerius Conatus' disappearance an altar that afterward delivered oracles (9),[73] and Lucullus, it appears, took with him the statue of Autolycus (Strab. 12,3,11), perhaps intending to establish his cult in Italy.

The fact that several of the dreams occasioned cultic activities seems to indicate a belief that the gods might interest themselves in the wars of humans and either lend or withhold their assistance. The sacrificial act can be viewed as an attempt to establish reciprocal communication with the gods after a general

[70] Note also the mention of favourable omens following Germanicus' dream (*addicentibus auspiciis*, 20). Although his dream did not occasion sacrifice, the theme was present in the dream.

[71] Cf. Onomarchus' misinterpretation of his dream regarding a dedication to Apollo, in Diod. Sic. 16,33.

[72] Cf. Agesilaus' certainty that his expedition would be a failure after his sacrifice had failed (Plut. *Ages.* 6,6). On the functions of sacrifice before battle, see Jameson 1991; see esp. pp. 198–199; 206; 223, n. 19 on the importance of obtaining (sometimes after multiple attempts) favourable omens from sacrificial victims before proceeding with military actions. Jameson notes that propitiation of the gods as well as seeking omens is implicit in all rituals (199; 209), so the goals of a sacrifice occasioned by a dream may have been manifold, even if the authors focus on the most obvious reasons.

[73] The story is very doubtful, though; no Aemilius Paulus is known from the period (Smith – Smith 2005, 121).

had received a message from them, as it were, during sleep.[74] The divine origin of the dreams is clearest in the epiphanies of gods, but can be argued for the episode dreams as well: Xenophon ascertains that his dream is of divine origin; Lysimachus suspects that "the deity" might be pre-signifying (προσημαίνῃ τὸ θεῖον, 11) that Pyrrhus was not meant to conquer Sparta; and the words (spoken by Marius) that Sulla had heard in his dream, we are told, were fulfilled by a divinity (τὴν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους φωνὴν ὁ δαίμων συνετέλει, 14). This also applies to the apparition in the two consuls' dream: although it was not recognized as a god, they nevertheless concluded that the dream was divinely inspired (συνέθεντο θεῖον εἶναι, 5d). Some of the episode dreams also involve elements that can (though need not always) be read as references to specific gods: thunderbolt strikes mark blessed locations and are most often associated with Zeus;[75] the theatre in Athens (in Thrasyllus' dream) was sacred to Dionysus, and Pompey's theatre to Venus; and the grain woven by Demeter into a wreath of victory in Eumenes' dream is symbolic of a victory granted by the goddess of agriculture.

The prevalence of the thematics of divine intervention in the "general's dream before battle" motif is noteworthy. Given that the sacrificial act recurs in the dream reports, and that most of them associate the dreams with gods, whether identified by name or not, it seems that an important – perhaps the primary – function of this motif is the introduction of a divine, prophetic agent into the historical narrative at a critical historical moment. This is, of course, probably a consequence of the belief that the gods might intervene, which was the primary reason why dreams were interpreted on military missions.

While there is no reason to doubt that the belief in the gods' ability and willingness to become involved in wars was ingrained in many Greeks' and Romans' worldviews, the historians' attitudes towards dreams exhibit some variation, and they might have handled the phenomenon of divine involvement in ways that reflected their own ideas and differed from other authors' conceptions. Xenophon (*An.* 3,1,12; 4,3,13) and Cassius Dio (72,23;

[74] For an overview of the interpretative model that sees sacrifice as part of a reciprocal system of communication between the gods and humans, see Graf 2002.

[75] While this might apply to Pyrrhus' dream, the lightning in Sulla's dream presages his assault on his enemies in Rome, and so the interpretation is quite the opposite. Besides, the deity in Sulla's dream is not Zeus but Ma-Bellona.

80,5), for example, report their own dreams, which they held to be divinely inspired, and they clearly believed that this kind of involvement could occur. On the other hand, although Plutarch reports several dozens of dreams, he is critical of superstition (δεισιδαιμονία) that might take the form of excessive faith in dreams (*Cor.* 24,1; *Eum.* 13,3; *Sert.* 11,3; *De Superst.* 168 F; *De Sera* 555 A). Of the historians who report dreams, only Polybius is clearly sceptical; apart from Scipio's dreams (10,2; 10,4–5; 10,11; 10,14), which he regards with suspicion, the only references to dream reports in his work seem to be an isolated mention of a (clearly non-prophetic) dream of Philip V (5,108) and his criticism of the earlier historian Timaeus of Tauromenium's habit of including too many dreams and portents in his work (12,24).[76]

Regardless of their own beliefs, the authors recognized the faith in dreams shared by many Greeks and Romans and used it in their character portrayal, sometimes quite effectively, as in Plutarch's portrayal of Sulla's state of mind during his attack on Rome (see pp. 150–151). Plutarch's description can be compared with Appian's account of Pompey's mood on the morning of the battle of Pharsalus:

> ἅπερ ὁ Πομπήιος οἷα πολέμων ἔμπειρος ἀπεστρέφετο καὶ νεμεσῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐνεκαλύπτετο, κατεσιώπα δ᾽ ὅμως ὑπὸ ὄκνου καὶ δέους, ὥσπερ οὐ στρατηγῶν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ στρατηγούμενος καὶ πάντα πράσσων ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης παρὰ γνώμην. (App. *B Civ.* 2,10,69)

> "Given his military experience, Pompey rejected all this, and although justly angry at such conduct, kept his anger hidden, and in spite of his feelings said nothing out of hesitation and fear, as if he were no longer in command but under someone else's command, and forced to do everything against his will." (Trans. McGing 2020, 373)

[76] Polybius claims that Timaeus' work was "full of dreams, portents, incredible myths, and, in sum, of vulgar superstition and womanish talk about miracles" (ἐνυπνίων καὶ τεράτων καὶ μύθων ἀπιθάνων καὶ συλλήβδην δεισιδαιμονίας ἀγεννοῦς καὶ τερατείας γυναικώδους ἐστὶ πλήρης, 12,24). For differences in the Greek historians and biographers' attitudes towards epiphanies and dreams, see Lipka 2022, 137–164. For an analysis of the differences between Herodotus and Plutarch's approach to the divine factor in the Persian Wars, see Marincola 2015; esp. pp. 72–76 on Arimnestus' dream, of which Herodotus says nothing.

Both accounts give the impression that the general was overcome by a sentiment of inevitability, of not being in control of his own actions. Sulla, who had "surrendered to his anger the command over his actions" (τῷ θυμῷ παραδεδωκὼς τὴν τῶν πρασσομένων ἡγεμονίον), stormed the city and became unable to discriminate between friends and enemies, whereas Pompey remained silent (κατεσιώπα), "as if he were no longer in command but under someone else's command, and forced to do everything against his will" (ὥσπερ οὐ στρατηγῶν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ στρατηγούμενος καὶ πάντα πράσσων ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης παρὰ γνώμην). In Sulla's case, we are not sure if the loss of control was a result of his emotional state, or if we are meant to understand that he was in some kind of divinely inspired frenzy, such as the worshippers of Bellona might be during her ecstatic celebrations. Pompey's state of mind, on the contrary, is clearly symptomatic of his sense of fate – or divine direction – working through him despite his better understanding (γνώμη).[77] The consuls' unspoken reverence (*tacita religio*, 5a) following their dream is another example of such premonition.[78]

These instances seem to relate to the generals' faith in the function of the divine agent. Consequently, they are suggestive of not only their mental states but also their moral characters. The connection of morality and the moral character of dreamers to their dreams has only been explored in fairly limited fashion in the context of ancient dream reports, but it might be worth investigation in the future. It is perhaps most evident in descriptions of the haunted dreams of wrong-doers (cf. n. 65). Regarding the dreams of Alexander's successors recorded by Plutarch, Dámaris Romero-González (2019) has suggested that they are related to his description of their moral characters. For example, Alexander's unwillingness to assist Demetrius, revealed in the latter's dream, is "justified" by Demetrius' arrogance and claim of superiority compared to him.[79] While unfavourable dreams might, consequently, be symptomatic of faults in the dreamer's behaviour or moral disposition, favourable dreams could indicate that the dreamer was virtuous enough that the gods deigned to approach them directly. Auspicious dreams of generals, therefore, would have indicated to their

[77] The effect of a dream on the *gnome* is also mentioned in nro. 7 (cf. p. 144).

[78] We are also told that Pyrrhus "was not strong enough to defeat Fate" (οὐκ ἴσχυσε δὲ νικῆσαι τὴν πεπρωμένην) despite his evil premonition; though, in this case, due to pressure from his friends rather than a sense of inevitability.

[79] Romero-González 2019, 157–158.

armies not only that they had divine support on their side but also that they were commanded by an excellent leader.

In addition, the ways in which the generals handled divinely inspired dreams could reveal aspects of their character in the sphere of military leadership. A competent and successful leader hearkened to divine instruction, performed the necessary sacrifices to ensure victory, and was even prepared to sacrifice himself, should the gods demand. This too may be tied to the authors' attitudes; so while Appian suggests that being experienced in military matters (πολέμων ἔμπειρος, *B Civ.* 2,10,69) entailed being able to recognize favourable dreams and omens from unfavourable ones, for Polybius, Scipio's expertise in military leadership lay in his ability to take advantage of his soldiers' belief in that such miracles did happen.[80] Yet even though their attitudes towards divine interventions were thus markedly different, both sources can be read as evidence for the importance of interpreting dreams shortly before battles not only in ancient literature, but in the ancient culture of warfare.

Conclusion

To sum up, the "general's dream shortly before battle" motif recurs in the historiographical literature, starting with Xenophon and extending through the early Imperial era. Despite its use for various literary functions, the motif was likely based on a historical practice of scrutinizing generals' dreams before battles, which influenced and was in turn influenced by the historiographical tradition. Although the historians may have invented some dream reports and elaborated or exaggerated the historical importance of others for various ends, there is no reason to assume that generals' dreams were not closely observed before battles in real life. Further, in light of what is known about the religious aspects of ancient warfare, it is reasonable to conclude that the primary reason for this was the hope and fear that a god might actually pick a side.

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[80] Cf. Lipka's evaluation of Polybius' attitude towards Scipio's use of dream reports (2022, 155–156).

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Appendix: the dream reports

1. Plut. *Arist.* 11,5–8:

> Ἔνθα τῶν Πλαταιέων ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρίμνηστος ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπερωτώμενον αὐτόν, ὅ τι δὴ πράττειν δέδοκται τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἰπεῖν, "Αὔριον εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάξομεν, ὦ δέσποτα, καὶ διαμαχούμεθα τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐκεῖ κατὰ τὸ πυθόχρηστον." τὸν οὖν θεὸν φάναι διαμαρτάνειν αὐτοὺς τοῦ παντός· αὐτόθι γὰρ εἶναι περὶ τὴν Πλαταϊκὴν τὰ πυθόχρηστα καὶ ζητοῦντας ἀνευρήσειν. τούτων ἐναργῶς τῷ Ἀριμνήστῳ φανέντων ἐξεγρόμενος τάχιστα μετεπέμψατο τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους καὶ πρεσβυτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν, μεθ᾽ ὧν διαλεγόμενος καὶ συνδιαπορῶν εὗρεν, ὅτι τῶν Ὑσιῶν πλησίον ὑπὸ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ναός ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος πάνυ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίας καὶ Κόρης προσαγορευόμενος. εὐθὺς οὖν παραλαβὼν τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, εὐφυέστατον ὄντα παρατάξαι φάλαγγα πεζικὴν ἱπποκρατουμένοις, (…). ὅπως δὲ μηδὲν ἐλλιπὲς ἔχῃ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ὁ χρησμός, ἔδοξε τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσιν, Ἀριμνήστου γνώμην εἰπόντος, ἀνελεῖν τὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὅρια τῆς Πλαταιΐδος καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιδοῦναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν οἰκείᾳ κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν ἐναγωνίσασθαι.
>
> "At this time the general of the Plataeans, Arimnestus, had a dream in which he thought he was accosted by Zeus the Saviour and asked what the Hellenes had decided to do, and replied: 'On the morrow, my Lord, we are going to lead our army back to Eleusis, and fight out our issue with the Barbarians there, in accordance with the Pythian oracle.' Then the god said they were entirely in error, for the Pythian oracle's places were there in the neighbourhood of Plataea, and if they sought them they would surely find them. All this was made so vivid to Arimnestus that as soon as he awoke he summoned the oldest and most experienced of his fellow-citizens. By conference and investigation with these he discoverd that near Hysiae, at the foot of mount Cithaeron, there was a very ancient temple bearing the names of Eleusinian Demeter and Cora. Straightway then he took Aristides and led him to the spot. They found that it was

naturally very well suited to the array of infantry against a force that was superior in cavalry, (…). And besides, that the oracle might leave no rift in the hope of victory, the Plataeans voted, on motion of Arimnestus, to remove the boundaries of Plataea on the side toward Attica, and to give this territory to the Athenians, that so they might contend in defence of Hellas on their own soil, in accordance with the oracle." (Trans. Perrin 1914, 247–249)

2. Diod. 13,97,6–7:

τῶν δ᾽ Ἀθηναίων ὁ στρατηγὸς Θρασύβουλος, ὅς ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, εἶδε κατὰ τὴν νύκτα τοιαύτην ὄψιν· ἔδοξεν Ἀθήνησι τοῦ θεάτρου πλήθοντος αὐτός τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν ἓξ ὑποκρίνεσθαι τραγῳδίαν Εὐριπίδου Φοινίσσας· τῶν δ᾽ ἀντιπάλων ὑποκρινομένων τὰς Ἱκέτιδας δόξαι τὴν Καδμείαν νίκην αὐτοῖς περιγενέσθαι, καὶ πάντας ἀποθανεῖν μιμουμένους τὰ πράγματα τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας στρατευσάντων. ἀκούσας δ᾽ ὁ μάντις ταῦτα διεσάφει τοὺς ἑπτὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀναιρεθήσεσθαι. τῶν δ᾽ ἱερῶν φερόντων νίκην, οἱ στρατηγοὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀπωλείας ἐκώλυον ἑτέροις ἀπαγγέλλειν, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς νίκης ἀνήγγειλαν καθ᾽ ὅλην τὴν δύναμιν.

"And in the case of the Athenians Thrasybulus81 their general, who held the supreme command on that day, saw in the night the following vision. He dreamed that he was in Athens and the theatre was crowded, and that he and six of the other generals were playing the *Phoenician Women* of Euripides, while their competitors were performing the *Suppliants*; and that it resulted in a 'Cadmean victory' for them and they all died, just as did those who waged the campaign against Thebes. When the seer heard this, he disclosed that seven of the generals would be slain. Since the omens revealed victory, the generals forbade any word going out to the others about their own death but they passed the news of the victory disclosed by the omens throughout the whole army." (Trans. Oldfather 1950, 399)

[81] I.e., Thrasyllus (Kagan 1987, 342).

3. Xen. *An.* 4,3,8–14:

Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ἔμειναν ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὄντες. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὄναρ εἶδεν· ἔδοξεν ἐν πέδαις δεδέσθαι, αὗται δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτόμαται περιρρυῆναι, ὥστε λυθῆναι καὶ διαβαίνειν ὁπόσον ἐβούλετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄρθρος ἦν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον καὶ λέγει ὅτι ἐλπίδας ἔχει καλῶς ἔσεσθαι, καὶ διηγεῖται αὐτῷ τὸ ὄναρ. ὁ δὲ ἥδετό τε καὶ ὡς τάχιστα ἕως ὑπέφαινεν ἐθύοντο πάντες παρόντες οἱ στρατηγοί. καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἦν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου, (…). Ἀριστῶντι δὲ τῷ Ξενοφῶντι προστρέχετον δύο νεανίσκω· (…) ἔλεγον ὅτι τυγχάνοιεν φρύγανα συλλέγοντες (…), κἄπειτα κατίδοιεν ἐν τῷ πέραν ἐν πέτραις καθηκούσαις ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν γέροντά τε καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παιδίσκας (…). ἰδοῦσι δὲ σφίσι δόξαι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διαβῆναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἱππεῦσι προσβατὸν εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτο. (…) Εὐθὺς οὖν Ξενοφῶν αὐτός τε ἔσπενδε καὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἐγχεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ εὔχεσθαι τοῖς φήνασι θεοῖς τά τε ὀνείρατα καὶ τὸν πόρον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπιτελέσαι. σπείσας δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἦγε τοὺς νεανίσκους παρὰ τὸν Χειρίσοφον, καὶ διηγοῦνται ταὐτά. ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος σπονδὰς ἐποίει.

"That day and night, accordingly, they remained there, in great perplexity. But Xenophon had a dream; he thought that he was bound in fetters, but that the fetters fell off from him of their own accord, so that he was released and could take as long steps as he pleased. When dawn came, he went to Cheirisophus, told him he had hopes that all would be well, and related to him his dream. Cheirisophus was pleased, and as soon as day began to break, all the generals were at hand and proceeded to offer sacrifices. And with the very first victim the omens were favourable. (…) While Xenophon was breakfasting, two young men came running up to him; (…) the young men reported that they had happened to be gathering dry sticks (…), and that while so occupied they had descried across the river, among some rocks that reached down to the very edge of the river, an old man and a woman and some little girls (…). When they saw this proceeding, they said, they made up their minds that it was safe for them to cross, for this was a place that was not accessible to the enemy's cavalry. (…) Upon hearing this report Xenophon immediately proceeded to pour

a libation himself, and directed his attendants to fill a cup for the young men and to pray to the gods who had revealed the dream and the ford, to bring to fulfilment the other blessings also. The libation accomplished, he at once led the young men to Cheirisophus, and they repeated their story to him. And upon hearing it Cheirisophus also made libation." (Trans. Brownson 2001, 315–317)

4. Plut. *Pel.* 21,1–22,2:

Ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδας ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατακοιμηθεὶς ἔδοξε τάς τε παῖδας ὁρᾶν περὶ τὰ μνήματα θρηνούσας καὶ καταρωμένας τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις, τόν τε Σκέδασον κελεύοντα ταῖς κόραις σφαγιάσαι παρθένον ξανθήν, εἰ βούλοιτο τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικρατῆσαι. δεινοῦ δὲ καὶ παρανόμου τοῦ προστάγματος αὐτῷ φανέντος ἐξαναστὰς ἐκοινοῦτο τοῖς τε μάντεσι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. ὧν οἱ μὲν οὐκ εἴων παραμελεῖν οὐδ᾽ ἀπειθεῖν, τῶν μὲν παλαιῶν προφέροντες Μενοικέα τὸν Κρέοντος καὶ Μακαρίαν τὴν Ἡρακλέους, τῶν δ᾽ ὕστερον Φερεκύδην τε τὸν σοφὸν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναιρεθέντα καὶ τὴν δορὰν αὐτοῦ κατά τι λόγιον ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων φρουρουμένην, Λεωνίδαν τε τῷ χρησμῷ τρόπον τινὰ προθυσάμενον ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους σφαγιασθέντας ὠμηστῇ Διονύσῳ πρὸ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας· ἐκείνοις γὰρ ἐπιμαρτυρῆσαι τὰ κατορθώματα· τοῦτο δέ, ὡς Ἀγησίλαον ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Ἀγαμέμνονι τόπων ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς στρατευόμενον πολεμίους ᾔτησε μὲν ἡ θεὸς τὴν θυγατέρα σφάγιον καὶ ταύτην εἶδε τὴν ὄψιν ἐν Αὐλίδι κοιμώμενος, ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπομαλθακωθεὶς κατέλυσε τὴν στρατείαν ἄδοξον καὶ ἀτελῆ γενομένην. οἱ δὲ τοὐναντίον ἀπηγόρευον, ὡς οὐδενὶ τῶν κρειττόνων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἀρεστὴν οὖσαν οὕτω βάρβαρον καὶ παράνομον θυσίαν· οὐ γὰρ τοὺς Τυφῶνας ἐκείνους οὐδὲ τοὺς Γίγαντας ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν πάντων πατέρα θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων· (…). Ἐν τοιούτοις οὖν διαλόγοις τῶν πρώτων ὄντων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Πελοπίδου διαποροῦντος, ἵππων ἐξ ἀγέλης πῶλος ἀποφυγοῦσα καὶ φερομένη διὰ τῶν ὅπλων, ὡς ἦν θέουσα κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους, ἐπέστη· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις θέαν παρεῖχεν ἥ τε χρόα στίλβουσα τῆς χαίτης πυρσότατον (…), Θεόκριτος δὲ ὁ μάντις συμφρονήσας ἀνεβόησε πρὸς τὸν Πελοπίδαν· "Ἥκει σοι τὸ ἱερεῖον, ὦ δαιμόνιε, καὶ παρθένον ἄλλην μὴ περιμένωμεν,

ἀλλὰ χρῶ δεξάμενος ἣν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσιν." ἐκ τούτου λαβόντες τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς τάφους ἦγον τῶν παρθένων, καὶ κατευξάμενοι καὶ καταστέψαντες ἐνέτεμον αὐτοί τε χαίροντες καὶ λόγον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον περὶ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ Πελοπίδου καὶ τῆς θυσίας διδόντες.

"After Pelopidas had lain down to sleep in the camp, he thought he saw these maidens weeping at their tombs, as they invoked curses upon the Spartans, and Scedasus bidding him sacrifice to his daughters a virgin with auburn hair, if he wished to win the victory over his enemies. The injunction seemed a lawless and dreadful one to him, but he rose up and made it known to the seers and the commanders. Some of these would not hear of the injunction being neglected or disobeyed, adducing as examples of such sacrifice among the ancients, Menoeceus, son of Creon, Macaria, daughter of Heracles; and, in later times, Pherecydes the wise man, who was put to death by the Lacedaemonians, and whose skin was preserved by their kings, in accordance with some oracle; and Leonidas, who, in obedience to the oracle, sacrificed himself, as it were, to save Greece; and, still further, the youths who were sacrificed by Themistocles to Dionysus Carnivorous before the sea fight at Salamis; for the successes which followed these sacrifices proved them acceptable to the gods. Moreover, when Agesilaüs, who was setting out on an expedition from the same place as Agamemnon did, and against the same enemies, was asked by the goddess for his daughter in sacrifice, and had this vision as he lay asleep at Aulis, he was too tender-hearted to give her, and thereby brought his expedition to an unsuccessful and inglorious ending. Others, on the contrary, argued against it, declaring that such a lawless and barbarous sacrifice was not acceptable to any one of the superior beings above us, for it was not the fabled typhons and giants who governed the world, but the father of all gods and men; (…). While, then, the chief men were thus disputing, and while Pelopidas in particular was in perplexity, a filly broke away from the herd of horses and sped through the camp, and when she came to the very place of their conference, stood still. The rest only admired the colour of her glossy mane, which was fiery red, (…); but Theocritus the seer, after taking thought, cried out to Pelopidas: 'Thy sacrificial victim is come, good man; so let us not wait for any other virgin, but do thou accept and use the one which Heaven offers thee.' So

they took the mare and led her to the tombs of the maidens, upon which, after decking her with garlands and consecrating her with prayers, they sacrificed her, rejoicing themselves, and publishing through the camp an account of the vision of Pelopidas and of the sacrifice." (Trans. Perrin 1917, 391–395)

5a. Livy 8,6,8–13:

Consensit et senatus bellum; consulesque duobus scriptis exercitibus per Marsos Paelignosque profecti adiuncto Samnitium exercitu ad Capuam, quo iam Latini sociique convenerant, castra locant. Ibi in quiete utrique consuli eadem dicitur visa species viri maioris quam pro humano habitu augustiorisque, dicentis ex una acie imperatorem, ex altera exercitum Deis Manibus Matrique Terrae deberi; utrius exercitus imperator legiones hostium superque eas se devovisset, eius populi partisque victoriam fore. Hos ubi nocturnos visus inter se consules contulerunt, placuit averruncandae deum irae victimas caedi; simul ut, si extis eadem quae in somnio visa fuerant portenderentur, alter uter consulum fata impleret. Ubi responsa haruspicum insidenti iam animo tacitae religioni congruerunt, tum adhibitis legatis tribunisque et imperiis deum propalam expositis, ne mors voluntaria consulis exercitum in acie terreret, comparant inter se ut ab utra parte cedere Romanus exercitus coepisset, inde se consul devoveret pro populo Romano Quiritibusque.

"The senate also agreed on war; and the consuls, enrolling two armies, marched out through the country of the Marsi and Paeligni, and having added to their forces the army of the Samnites, went into camp near Capua, where the Latins and their allies had already assembled. There in the stillness of the night both consuls are said to have been visited by the same apparition, a man of greater than human stature and more majestic, who declared that the commander of one side, and the army of the other, must be offered up to the Manes and to Mother Earth; and that in whichever host the general should devote to death the enemy's legions, and himself with them, that nation and that side would have the victory. When the consuls had compared these visions of the night, they resolved

that victims should be slain to turn away the wrath of Heaven; and, at the same time, that if the warning of the entrails should coincide with what they had seen in their dream, one or other of the consuls should fulfil the decrees of fate. The report of the soothsayers agreed with the secret conviction which had already found lodgment in their breasts; whereupon they sent for their lieutenants and the tribunes, and having openly declared the pleasure of the gods, that so the consul's voluntary death might not terrify the soldiers in the fray, they agreed with one another that on whichever flank the Roman army should begin to yield, there the consul should devote himself in behalf of the Roman People and Quirites." (Trans. Foster 1926, 21–23)

5b. Val. Max. 1,7,3:

Illud etiam somnium et magnae admirationis et clari exitus, quod eadem nocte duo consules P. Decius Mus et T. Manlius Torquatus Latino bello gravi ac periculoso non procul a Vesuvii montis radicibus positis castris viderunt: utrique enim quaedam per quietem species praedixit ex altera acie imperatorem, ex altera exercitum dis Manibus Matrique Terrae deberi: utrius autem dux copias hostium superque eas sese ipsum devovisset, victricem abituram. id luce proxima consulibus sacrificio vel expiaturis, si posset averti, vel, si certum deorum etiam monitu visum foret, exsecuturis hostiarum exta somnio congruerunt, convenitque inter eos cuius cornu prius laborare coepisset, ut is capite suo fata patriae lueret. quae neutro reformidante Decium depoposcerunt.

"Another dream also of great marvel and clear outcome: two Consuls, P. Decius Mus and T. Manlius Torquatus, had it on the same night in the grave and dangerous Latin War at their camp pitched not far from the roots of Mount Vesuvius. For to both an apparition in sleep predicted that a general on one side and an army on the other were due to the Manes and Mother Earth; and the side whose commander devoted the enemy forces and over and above them himself would come off victorious. Next morning the Consuls made sacrifice, intending either to expiate the prophecy if it were possible to avoid it, or to carry it out, if a warning from

the gods too confirmed the vision. The victims' entrails agreeing with the dream, they settled between them that whosever wing came into trouble first, he should discharge the country's fates with his own life. Neither flinched, but the fates demanded Decius." (Trans. Shackleton Bailey 2000, 85)

5c. [Plut.] *Par. min.* 310 A–B (= [Aristides], *FHG* IV, fr. 18):

Πόπλιος Δέκιος Ῥωμαῖος πρὸς Ἀλβανοὺς πολεμῶν ὄναρ εἶδεν, ἐὰν ἀποθάνῃ, ῥώμην προσποιήσειν Ῥωμαίοις. ἐλθὼν εἰς μέσους καὶ πολλοὺς φονεύσας ἀνῃρέθη. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Δέκιος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Γάλλους πολέμῳ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διέσωσεν· ὡς Ἀριστείδης Μιλήσιος.

"When Publius Decius, a Roman, was warring against the Albans, he saw in a dream that, if he should die, his death would bring strength to the Romans. He went into the thick of the battle, slew many, and was himself slain. In like manner did his son Decius also save the Romans in the war against the Gauls. So Aristeides the Milesian." (Trans. Babbitt 1936, 285)

5d. Cass. Dio 7, fr. Zonar. 7,26:

Εἶτα ὄναρ ἀμφοῖν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ ὁμοίως φανὲν ἔδοξε λέγειν τῶν ἐναντίων κρατήσειν, ἂν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδῷ. μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν οὖν ἀλλήλοις τὸ ὄναρ διηγησάμενοι συνέθεντο θεῖον εἶναι, καὶ πεισθῆναι δεῖν αὐτῷ ὡμολόγησαν. ἠμφισβήτησαν δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐχ ὅς ἂν σωθείη, ἀλλ᾽ ὅς ἂν μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδῷ· καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πρώτοις τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐδικαιολογήσαντο. καὶ τέλος ἤρεσε σφίσι τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ παρατάξασθαι, καὶ ὁπότερον ἂν ἐκείνων ἐλαττωθῇ, τὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ τεταγμένον ἀποθανεῖν.

"Soon after, a dream that appeared similarly to both consuls the same night seemed to tell them that they should overcome the enemy, if one of the consuls would devote himself. Discussing the dream together in the daytime, they decided that it was of divine origin, and agreed that it must be obeyed. And they disputed with each other, not as to which should be

saved, but as to which of them preferably should devote himself; and they even presented their arguments before the foremost men in the camp. Finally they settled it that one should station himself on the right wing and the other on the left, and that whichever of these two divisions should be defeated, the consul stationed there should give up his life." (Trans. Cary 1914, 243)

6. Plut. *Eum.* 6,4–7:

νυκτὸς δὲ ἀναζεῦξαι βουλόμενος, εἶτα καταδαρθὼν ὄψιν εἶδεν ἀλλόκοτον. ἐδόκει γὰρ ὁρᾶν Ἀλεξάνδρους δύο παρασκευαζομένους ἀλλήλοις μάχεσθαι, μιᾶς ἑκάτερον ἡγούμενον φάλαγγος· εἶτα τῷ μὲν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, τῷ δὲ τὴν Δήμητραν βοηθοῦσαν ἐλθεῖν, γενομένου δὲ ἀγῶνος ἰσχυροῦ κρατηθῆναι τὸν μετὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, τῷ δὲ νικῶντι σταχύων δρεπομένην τὴν Δήμητραν συμπλέκειν στέφανον. Αὐτόθεν μὲν οὖν τὴν ὄψιν εἴκαζεν εἶναι πρὸς αὑτοῦ, μαχομένου περὶ γῆς ἀρίστης καὶ τότε πολὺν καὶ καλὸν ἐχούσης ἐν κάλυκι στάχυν· ἅπασα γὰρ κατέσπαρτο καὶ παρεῖχεν εἰρήνῃ πρέπουσαν ὄψιν, ἀμφιλαφῶς τῶν πεδίων κομώντων· μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπερρώσθη πυθόμενος σύνθημα τοῖς πολεμίοις Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον εἶναι. Δήμητραν δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδίδου σύνθημα καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀναδεῖσθαί τε πάντας ἐκέλευε καὶ καταστέφειν τὰ ὅπλα τῶν σταχύων λαμβάνοντας. ὁρμήσας δὲ πολλάκις ἐξαγορεῦσαι καὶ φράσαι τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσι καὶ στρατηγοῖς πρὸς ὃν ἔμελλεν ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μὴ μόνος ἐν αὑτῷ θέμενος ἀποκρύψαι καὶ κατασχεῖν ἀπόρρητον οὕτως ἀναγκαῖον, ὅμως ἐνέμεινε τοῖς λογισμοῖς καὶ διεπίστευσε τῇ γνώμῃ τὸν κίνδυνον.

"One night he was planning to decamp and then fell asleep and had a strange vision. He dreamed, namely, that he saw two Alexanders ready to give each other battle, each at the head of a phalanx; then Athena came to help the one, and Demeter the other, and after a fierce struggle the one who had Athena for a helper was beaten, and Demeter, culling ears of grain, wove them into a wreath for the victor. At once, then, he conjectured that the vision was in his favour, since he was fighting for a country that was most fertile and had at that time an abundance of fine young grain in the ear; for the land had everywhere been sown and bespoke a time

of peace, now that its plains were covered with a luxuriant growth; and he was all the more strengthened in his belief when he learned that the enemy's watchword was 'Athena and Alexander.' Accordingly, he too gave out a watchword, namely, 'Demeter and Alexander,' and ordered all his men to crown themselves and wreathe their arms with ears of grain. But though he often felt an impulse to speak out and tell his principal officers who it was against whom their struggle was to be, and not to keep hidden away in his own breast alone a secret so important, nevertheless he abode by his first resolution and made his judgment surety for the peril." (Trans. Perrin 1919b, 95–97)

7. Plut. *Demetr.* 29,1–2:

Τότε μέντοι καὶ σημεῖα μοχθηρὰ κατεδουλοῦτο τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν. Δημήτριος μὲν γὰρ ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους Ἀλέξανδρον ὡπλισμένον λαμποῶς ἐρωτᾶν ὁποῖόν τι σύνθημα διδόναι πρὸς τὴν μάχην μέλλουσιν· αὐτοῦ δὲ φήσαντος, "Δία καὶ Νίκην" "Ἄπειμι τοίνυν," φάναι, "πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους· ἐκεῖνοι γάρ με παραλαμβάνουσιν." Ἀντίγονος δὲ παραταττομένης ἤδη τῆς φάλαγγος ἐξιὼν προσέπταισεν, ὥστε πεσεῖν ὅλως ἐπὶ στόμα καὶ διατεθῆναι χαλεπῶς· ἀναστὰς δὲ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ᾐτήσατο νίκην παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἢ θάνατον ἀναίσθητον πρὸ τῆς ἥττης.

"At this time, moreover, bad omens also subdued their spirits. For Demetrius dreamed that Alexander, in brilliant array of armour, asked him what watchword they were going to give for the battle; and when he replied, "Zeus and Victory," Alexander said: "Then I will go away and join your adversaries; they surely will receive me." Moreover, Antigonus, when his phalanx was already forming and he was leaving his tent, stumbled and fell prone upon his face, injuring himself severely; but he rose to his feet, and stretching out his hands towards heaven prayed that the gods would grant him victory, or a painless death before his defeat." (Trans. Perrin 1920, 69–71)

8. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 11,1–3:

> Ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον οἱ βασιλεῖς γράφοντες ἅμα καὶ δι᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἔτι μέλλοντα καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκίνουν. Πτολεμαῖος μὲν γὰρ ἐπιπλεύσας μεγάλῳ στόλῳ τὰς Ἑλληνίδας ἀφίστη πόλεις, Λυσίμαχος δὲ τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίαν ἐκ Θρᾴκης ἐμβαλὼν ἐπόρθει. Πύρρος δὲ τούτοις ἅμα συνεξαναστὰς ἐπὶ Βέροιαν ἤλαυνε, προσδοκῶν, ὅπερ συνέβη, Δημήτριον ὑπαντιάζοντα Λυσιμάχῳ τὴν κάτω χώραν ἀπολείψειν ἔρημον. ἐκείνης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καλεῖσθαι τοῦ μεγάλου, καὶ παραγενόμενος κλινήρη μὲν αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν, λόγων δὲ χρηστῶν τυχεῖν καὶ φιλοφροσύνης ἐπαγγελλομένου προθύμως βοηθήσειν. αὐτοῦ δὲ τολμήσαντος εἰπεῖν, "Καὶ πῶς ἄν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, νοσῶν δυνατὸς εἴης ἐμοὶ βοηθεῖν;" αὐτῷ φάναι τῷ ὀνόματι, καὶ περιβάντα Νισαῖον ἵππον ἡγεῖσθαι. Ταύτην ἰδὼν τὴν ὄψιν ἐπερρώσθη· τάχει δὲ χρησάμενος καὶ διαδραμὼν τὰ μεταξὺ καταλαμβάνει τὴν Βέροιαν· καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτόθι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἱδρύσας τὰ λοιπὰ προσήγετο διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν.
>
> "Such letters the kings kept sending to Pyrrhus, and at the same time on their own part they assailed Demetrius while he was still waiting to complete his preparations. Ptolemy sailed up with a great fleet and tried to bring the Greek cities to revolt, while Lysimachus invaded upper Macedonia from Thrace and ravaged the country. So Pyrrhus, taking the field at the same time with these, marched against Beroea, expecting, as proved to be the case, that Demetrius would go to confront Lysimachus, and thus leave the lower country unprotected. That night Pyrrhus dreamed that he was called by Alexander the Great, and that when he answered the call he found the king lying on a couch, but met with kindly speech and friendly treatment from him, and received a promise of his ready aid and help. 'And how, O King,' Pyrrhus ventured to ask, 'when thou art sick, canst thou give me aid and help?' 'My name itself will give it,' said the king, and mounting a Nisaean horse he led the way. This vision gave Pyrrhus great assurance, and leading his army with all speed through the intervening districts he took possession of Beroea; then, stationing the greater part of his forces there, he proceeded to subdue the rest of the country through his generals." (Trans. Perrin 1920, 375)

9. [Plut.] *Par. min.* 307 B (= Critolaus, *FHG* IV, fr. 1):

Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Πύρρον Ἠπειρώτην πολεμούντων Αἰμίλιος Παῦλος χρησμὸν ἔλαβε νικῆσαι, βωμὸν ἐὰν ποιήσῃ, ἔνθα ἂν ἴδῃ χάσματι κρυπτόμενον ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπισήμων μετὰ ἅρματος. μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας Οὐαλέριος Κονᾶτος κατ᾽ ὄναρ ἰδὼν ἀναλαβεῖν ἱερέως κόσμον (καὶ γὰρ ἦν μαντικῆς ἔμπειρος), στρατηγήσας καὶ πολλοὺς φονεύσας ὑπὸ γῆς κατεπόθη. ὁ Αἰμίλιος δὲ βωμὸν ἱδρύσας ἐνίκησε καὶ ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα πυργοφόρους ἐλέφαντας εἰς Ῥώμην κατέπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ βωμὸς μαντεύεται κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν, καθ᾽ ὃν ἐνικήθη Πύρρος· ὡς ἱστορεῖ Κριτόλαος ἐν τρίτῃ Ἠπειρωτικῶν.

"When the Romans were fighting against Pyrrhus of Epeirus, Aemilius Paulus received an oracle that he should be victorious if he would build an altar where he should see a man of the nobles with his chariot swallowed up in an abyss. Three days later Valerius Conatus in a dream saw a vision which commanded him to don his priestly raiment (he was, in fact, an expert augur). When he had led forth his men and slain many of the enemy, he was swallowed up by the earth. Aemilius built an altar, gained a victory, and sent back an hundred and sixty turreted elephants to Rome. The altar delivers oracles at that time of year when Pyrrhus was vanquished. This Critolaüs relates in the third book of his *Epeirote History*." (Trans. Babbitt 1936, 267–269)

10. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20,12:

Ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐν ᾗ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάξειν ὁ Πύρρος ἔμελλεν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιθησόμενος χάρακι λάθρα ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πλείους ὀδόντας καὶ πλῆθος αἵματος ἐκ τοῦ στόματος φέρεσθαι. ταραχθεὶς δὲ διὰ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ μεγάλην ἔσεσθαι συμφορὰν μαντευόμενος (ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ πρότερον τοιαύτην ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου θεασαμένῳ δεινή τις συνέβη δυσποτμία) ἐβούλετο μὲν ἐπισχεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, οὐκ ἴσχυσε δὲ νικῆσαι τὴν πεπρωμένην, ἐναντιουμένων τῶν φίλων πρὸς τὴν ἀναβολὴν καὶ μὴ μεθεῖναι τὸν καιρὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀξιούντων. Ἀναβάντων δὲ τῶν σὺν τῷ Πύρρῳ μετὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων

αἴσθησιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι λαβόντες σκυμνίον ἐλέφαντος τιτρώσκουσιν, ὃ πολλὴν ἀκοσμίαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐνεποίησε καὶ φυγήν· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι δύο μὲν ἐλέφαντας ἀποκτείνουσιν, ὀκτὼ δὲ κατακλείσαντες εἰς χωρίον ἀνέξοδον παραδόντων τῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς Ἰνδῶν ζῶντας παραλαμβάνουσι, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν πολὺν φόνον ἐργάζονται.

"During the night in which Pyrrhus was intending to lead his army against the hill to attack the Roman camp secretly it seemed to him in his dreams that most of his teeth fell out and a quantity of blood poured from his mouth. Disturbed by this vision and divining that some great misfortune would ensue, since he had already on an earlier occasion beheld a similar vision in a dream and some dire disaster had followed, he wished to hold back that day, but was not strong enough to defeat Fate; for his friends opposed the delay and demanded that he should not let the favourable opportunity slip from his grasp. When Pyrrhus and those with him had ascended along with the elephants, and the Romans became aware of it, they wounded an elephant cub, which caused great confusion and flight among the Greeks. The Romans killed two elephants, and hemming eight others in a place that had no outlet, took them alive when the Indian mahouts surrendered them; and they wrought great slaughter among the soldiers." (Trans. Cary 1950, 421–423)

11. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 29,1–2:

Νυκτὸς δὲ ἡ μάχη διεκρίθη· καὶ κοιμώμενος ὁ Πύρρος ὄψιν εἶδε τοιαύτην. ἐδόκει βάλλεσθαι κεραυνοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ φλέγεσθαι πᾶσαν, αὐτὸν δὲ χαίρειν. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς χαρᾶς ἐξεγρόμενος τούς τε ἡγεμόνας ἐκέλευεν ἐν παρασκευῇ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις διηγεῖτο τὸν ὄνειρον ὡς ληψόμενος κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι θαυμασίως ἐπείθοντο, Λυσιμάχῳ δὲ οὐκ ἤρεσκεν ἡ ὄψις, ἀλλ᾽ ἔφη δεδιέναι μή, καθάπερ τὰ βαλλόμενα τοῖς κεραυνοῖς ἀνέμβατα μένει χωρία, καὶ τῷ Πύρρῳ προσημαίνῃ τὸ θεῖον ἀνείσοδον ἔσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος εἰπὼν ὅτι ταῦτα μέν ἐστι πυλαϊκῆς ὀχλαγωγίας καὶ ἀσοφίαν ἔχοντα πολλήν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ δεῖ τὰ ὅπλα διὰ χειρῶν ἔχοντας ὑποβάλλειν ἑαυτοῖς,

Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ Πύρρου,
ἐξανέστη καὶ προσῆγεν ἅμ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν στρατόν.

"Night put an end to the battle; and Pyrrhus, as he slept, had the following vision. He dreamed that Sparta was smitten with thunderbolts from his hand and was all ablaze, and that he was filled with joy. His joy waked him from sleep, and he commanded his officers to get the army ready for action, and narrated his dream to his friends, convinced that he was going to take the city by storm. Most of them, then, were fully persuaded that he was right, but Lysimachus was not pleased with the vision; he said he was afraid lest, as places smitten by thunderbolts are kept free from the tread of men, the Deity might be indicating in advance to Pyrrhus also that the city was not to be entered by him. But Pyrrhus declared that this was nonsense intended for the crowd, and great folly, and calling upon his hearers to take their arms in their hands and act upon the belief that 'One is the best of all omens, to fight in defence of Pyrrhus,' rose up, and at day-break led forth his army." (Trans. Perrin 1920, 443)

12. Polyb. 10,11,5–8:

Πλὴν ὅ γε Πόπλιος, συνάψαντος καὶ τοῦ στόλου πρὸς τὸν δέοντα καιρόν, ἐπεβάλετο συναθροίσας τὰ πλήθη παρακαλεῖν, οὐχ ἑτέροις τισὶ χρώμενος ἀπολογισμοῖς, ἀλλ᾽ οἷς ἐτύγχανε πεπεικὼς αὑτόν, (…). ἀποδείξας δὲ δυνατὴν οὖσαν τὴν ἐπιβολήν, καὶ συγκεφαλαιωσάμενος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κατορθώματος ἐλάττωσιν <τῶν ὑπεναντίων, αὔξησιν> δὲ τῶν σφετέρων πραγμάτων, λοιπὸν χρυσοῦς στεφάνους ἐπηγγείλατο τοῖς πρώτοις ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβᾶσι καὶ τὰς εἰθισμένας δωρεὰς τοῖς ἐπιφανῶς ἀνδραγαθήσασι· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔφη τὴν ἐπιβολὴν αὐτῷ ταύτην ὑποδεδειχέναι τὸν Ποσειδῶνα παραστάντα κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον, καὶ φάναι συνεργήσειν ἐπιφανῶς κατ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς πράξεως καιρὸν οὕτως ὥστε παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρείαν ἐναργῆ γενέσθαι. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν παράκλησιν λόγων ἅμα μὲν ἀπολογισμοῖς ἀκριβέσι μεμιγμένων, ἅμα δ᾽ ἐπαγγελίαις χρυσῶν στεφάνων, ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις θεοῦ προνοίᾳ, τελέως μεγάλην ὁρμὴν καὶ προθυμίαν παρίστασθαι συνέβαινε τοῖς νεανίσκοις.

"Scipio, then, when the fleet arrived in due time, decided to call a meeting of his troops and address them, using no other arguments than those which had carried conviction to himself (…). After proving to them that the project was feasible, and pointing out briefly what loss its success would entail on the enemy and what an advantage it would be to themselves, he went on to promise gold crowns to those who should be the first to mount the wall and the usual rewards to such as displayed conspicuous courage. Finally he told them that it was Neptune who had first suggested this plan to him, appearing to him in his sleep, and promising that when the time for the action came he would render such conspicuous aid that his intervention would be manifest to the whole army. The combination in this speech of accurate calculation, of the promise of gold crowns, and therewithal of confidence in the help of Providence created great enthusiasm and ardor among the soldiers." (Trans. Paton 2011 (1925), 143)

13. Plut. *Sull.* 9,4:

λέγεται δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῷ Σύλλᾳ φανῆναι θεὸν ἣν τιμῶσι Ῥωμαῖοι παρὰ Καππαδοκῶν μαθόντες, εἴτε δὴ Σελήνην οὖσαν εἴτε Ἀθηνᾶν εἴτε Ἐνυώ. ταύτην ὁ Σύλλας ἔδοξεν ἐπιστᾶσαν ἐγχειρίσαι κεραυνὸν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἕκαστον ὀνομάζουσαν τῶν ἐκείνου βάλλειν κελεῦσαι, τοὺς δὲ πίπτειν βαλλομένους καὶ ἀφανίζεσθαι. θαρσήσας δὲ τῇ ὄψει καὶ φράσας τῷ συνάρχοντι μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἡγεῖτο.

"It is said, also, that to Sulla himself there appeared in his dreams a goddess whom the Romans learned to worship from the Cappadocians, whether she is Luna, or Minerva, or Bellona. This goddess, as Sulla fancied, stood by his side and put into his hand a thunder-bolt, and naming his enemies one by one, bade him smite them with it; and they were all smitten, and fell, and vanished away. Encouraged by the vision, he told it to his colleague, and at break of day led on towards Rome." (Trans. Perrin 1916, 353)

14. Plut. *Sull.* 28,4–8:

> Ἐκ τούτου περὶ Σίγνιον Μάριος ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε σπείρας ἔχων προὐκαλεῖτο Σύλλαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ πάνυ πρόθυμος ἦν διαγωνίσασθαι κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ὄψιν ἑωρακὼς τοιάνδε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους. ἐδόκει τὸν γέροντα Μάριον τεθνηκότα πάλαι τῷ παιδὶ Μαρίῳ παραινεῖν φυλάξασθαι τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ὡς μεγάλην αὐτῷ δυστυχίαν φέρουσαν. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρόθυμος ὁ Σύλλας ἦν μάχεσθαι, καὶ μετεπέμπετο τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἄπωθεν στρατοπεδεύοντα. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐφισταμένων ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ἀποφραττόντων οἱ τοῦ Σύλλα προσμαχόμενοι καὶ ὁδοποιοῦντες ἔκαμνον· καὶ πολὺς ὄμβρος ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιγενόμενος μᾶλλον ἐκάκωσεν αὐτούς. ὅθεν οἱ ταξίαρχοι προσιόντες τῷ Σύλλᾳ ἐδέοντο τὴν μάχην ἀναβαλέσθαι, δεικνύντες ἅμα τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐρριμμένους ὑπὸ κόπου καὶ προσαναπαυομένους χαμᾶζε τοῖς θυρεοῖς κεκλιμένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεχώρησεν ἄκων καὶ πρόσταγμα καταζεύξεως ἔδωκεν, ἀρχομένων αὐτῶν τὸν χάρακα βάλλειν καὶ τάφρον ὀρύσσειν πρὸ τῆς στρατοπεδείας, ἐπήλαυνε σοβαρῶς ὁ Μάριος προϊππεύων ὡς ἀτάκτους καὶ τεθορυβημένους διασκεδάσων. ἐνταῦθα τῷ Σύλλᾳ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους φωνὴν ὁ δαίμων συνετέλει. ὀργὴ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρέστη, καὶ παυσάμενοι τῶν ἔργων τοὺς μὲν ὑσσοὺς κατέπηξαν ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ, σπασάμενοι δὲ τὰ ξίφη καὶ συναλαλάξαντες ἐν χερσὶν ἦσαν τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ οὐ πολὺν ὑπέστησαν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ γίνεται πολὺς φόνος αὐτῶν τραπέντων. (…) ἔνιοι δέ φασιν, ὧν καὶ Φαινεστέλλας ἐστίν, οὐδὲ αἰσθέσθαι τῆς μάχης τὸν Μάριον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἀγρυπνιῶν καὶ κόπων ὑπὸ σκιᾷ τινι χαμαὶ κατακλινέντα τοῦ συνθήματος δοθέντος ἐνδοῦναι πρὸς ὕπνον, εἶτα μόλις ἐξεγείρεσθαι τῆς φυγῆς γενομένης.
>
> "After this, at Signia, Marius, with eighty-five cohorts, challenged Sulla to battle. Now Sulla was very eager to have the issue settled on that day; for he had seen a vision in his dreams, as follows. He thought he saw the elder Marius, who was long since dead, advising his son Marius to beware of the ensuing day, since it would bring him a great calamity. For this reason, then, Sulla was eager to fight a battle, and was trying to get Dolabella, who was encamped at some distance, to join him. But the enemy beset the

roads and hemmed Sulla in, and his soldiers were worn out with fighting to open a passage. Much rain also came upon them while they were at work and added to their distress. The tribunes therefore came to Sulla and begged him to defer the battle, showing him the soldiers prostrated with weariness and resting on their shields, which they had laid upon the ground. Sulla yielded reluctantly, and gave orders to pitch a camp, but just as his men were beginning to dig a trench and throw up the rampart before it, Marius attacked them confidently, riding ahead of his lines, and hoping to scatter his enemies while they were in disorder and confusion. There the Deity fulfilled the words which Sulla had heard in his dreams. For Sulla's rage imparted itself to his soldiers, and leaving off their work, they planted their javelins in the trench, drew their swords, and with a general shout came to close quarters with their enemies. These did not hold their ground long, but took to flight, and were slain in great numbers. (…) But there are some who say, and Fenestella is one of these, that Marius knew nothing of the battle, but was forced by loss of sleep and weariness to cast himself upon the ground in a shady place when the signal for battle was given, and there gave way to sleep, and was then roused with difficulty when the rout took place." (Trans. Perrin 1916, 415–417)

15. Plut. *Luc.* 12,1–2:

Λούκουλλος δὲ πρῶτον εἰς Κύζικον παρελθὼν ἀπέλαυσεν ἡδονῆς καὶ φιλοφροσύνης πρεπούσης· ἔπειτα ναυτικὸν ἐξηρτύετο τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπιπορευόμενος. εἰς δὲ Τρῳάδα καταχθεὶς ἐσκήνωσε μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, κατακοιμηθεὶς δὲ νύκτωρ ἐδόκει τὴν θεὰν ὁρᾶν ἐφεστῶσαν αὐτῷ καὶ λέγουσαν·
Τί κνώσσεις, μεγάθυμε λέον; νεβροὶ δε τοι ἐγγύς.
ἐξαναστὰς δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους καλέσας διηγεῖτο τὴν ὄψιν ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης. καὶ παρῆσαν ἐξ Ἰλίου τινὲς ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὦφθαι περὶ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα τρισκαίδεκα πεντήρεις τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπὶ Λῆμνον πλεούσας. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀναχθεὶς τούτους μὲν εἷλε καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἰσίδωρον ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔπλει πρῳρέας.

"Lucullus, in the first place, entered Cyzicus in triumph, and enjoyed the pleasant welcome which was his due; then he proceeded to the Hellespont, and began to equip a fleet. On visiting the Troad, he pitched his tent in the sacred precinct of Aphrodite, and in the night, after he had fallen asleep, he thought he saw the goddess standing over him and saying: 'Why dost thou sleep, great lion? the fawns are near for thy taking.' Rising up from sleep and calling his friends, he narrated to them his vision, while it was yet night. And lo, there came certain men from Ilium, with tidings that thirteen of the king's galleys had been seen off the harbour of the Achaeans, making for Lemnos Accordingly, Lucullus put to sea at once, captured these, slew their commander, Isodorus, and then sailed in pursuit of the other captains, whom these were seeking to join." (Trans. Perrin 1914, 505–507)

16a. Plut. *Luc.* 23,2–6:

ἐπεὶ δ᾽ Ἄππιός τε ἧκε καὶ πολεμητέον πρὸς Τιγράνην ἐφαίνετο, παρῆλθεν αὖθις εἰς Πόντον, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβὼν ἐπολιόρκει Σινώπην, μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτὴν βασιλικοὺς Κίλικας, οἳ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνελόντες τῶν Σινωπέων, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐμπρήσαντες διὰ νυκτὸς ἔφυγον. αἰσθόμενος δ᾽ ὁ Λούκουλλος καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὀκτακισχιλίους αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἀπέκτεινε, τοῖς δ᾽ ἄλλοις ἀπέδωκε τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεμελήθη μάλιστα διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ὄψιν. ἐδόκει τινὰ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους εἰπεῖν παραστάντα· "Πρόελθε, Λούκουλλε, μικρόν· ἥκει γὰρ Αὐτόλυκος ἐντυχεῖν σοι βουλόμενος." ἐξαναστὰς δὲ τὴν μὲν ὄψιν οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλεῖν εἰς ὅ τι φέροι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν εἷλε κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλέοντας τῶν Κιλίκων διώκων ὁρᾷ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἀνδριάντα κείμενον, ὃν ἐκκομίζοντες οἱ Κίλικες οὐκ ἔφθησαν ἐμβαλέσθαι· τὸ δ᾽ ἔργον ἦν Σθένιδος τῶν καλῶν. φράζει οὖν τις, ὡς Αὐτολύκου τοῦ κτίσαντος τὴν Σινώπην ὁ ἀνδριὰς εἴη. (…) Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούων ὁ Λούκουλλος ἀνεμιμνήσκετο τῆς Σύλλα παραινέσεως· παρῄνει δὲ διὰ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐκεῖνος μηδὲν οὕτως ἀξιόπιστον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ βέβαιον, ὡς ὅ τι ἂν ἀποσημανθῇ διὰ τῶν ἐνυπνίων.

"But when Appius came, and it was plain that war must be waged against Tigranes, he went back into Pontus, put himself at the head of his soldiers, and laid siege to Sinopé, or rather, to the Cilicians who were occupying that city for the king. These slew many of the Sinopians, fired the city, and set out to fly by night. But Lucullus saw what was going on, made his way into the city, and slew eight thousand of the Cilicians who were still there. Then he restored to the citizens their private property, and ministered to the needs of the city, more especially on account of the following vision. He thought in his sleep that a form stood by his side and said: ' Go forward a little, Lucullus; for Autolycus is come, and wishes to meet you.' On rising from sleep, he was unable to conjecture what the vision meant; but he took the city on that day, and as he pursued the Cilicians who were sailing away, he saw a statue lying on the beach, which the Cilicians had not succeeded in getting on board with them. It was the work of Sthenis, and one of his masterpieces. Well then, some one told Lucullus that it was the statue of Autolycus, the founder of Sinopé. (…) On hearing this, Lucullus called to mind the advice of Sulla, in his Memoirs, which was to think nothing so trustworthy and sure as that which is signified by dreams." (Trans. Perrin 1914, 543–545)

16b. App. *Mith.* 370–373:

Σινώπη δ᾽ ἀντεῖχεν ἔτι καρτερῶς, καὶ διεναυμάχησεν οὐ κακῶς. πολιορκούμενοι δὲ τὰς ναῦς τὰς βαρυτέρας σφῶν διέπρησαν, καὶ ἐς τὰς κουφοτέρας ἐμβάντες ἀπέδρασαν. Λούκουλλος δὲ τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐλευθέραν ἠφίει δι᾽ ἐνύπνιον, ὅ τοιόνδε ἦν. Αὐτόλυκόν φασιν, ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατεύοντα, ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐς Σινώπην καταχθῆναι καὶ τῆς πόλεως κρατῆσαι· ἀνδριάς τε σεβάσμιος τοῖς Σινωπεῦσιν ἔχρα, ὃν οἱ μὲν Σινωπεῖς οὐ φθάσαντες ἐς φυγὴν ἐπαγαγέσθαι, ὀθόναις καὶ καλῳδίοις περιέδησαν· οὐδὲν δ᾽ ὁ Λούκουλλος εἰδὼς οὐδὲ προμαθὼν ἔδοξεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κληθεὶς ὁρᾶν αὐτόν, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης τὸν ἀνδριάντα τινῶν περιβεβλημένον παραφερόντων ἐκλῦσαι κελεύσας, εἶδεν οἷον ἔδοξε νυκτὸς ἑωρακέναι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐνύπνιον τοιόνδε ἦν, (…)

"Sinope, however, held out against him stubbornly, their fleet fighting with some success. But when he laid siege to them, they burned their heavier ships, embarked on the lighter ones, and slipped away. Lucullus immediately declared the city free. He did this because of a dream he had, which was as follows. There is a story that Autolycus, who accompanied Heracles on his expedition against the Amazons, was driven by a storm to Sinope and took control of it, and that a sacred statue of Autolycus used to give oracular responses to the citizens of Sinope. When they were fleeing, the Sinopeans did not have time to take the statue with them, and so they wrapped it up with linen cloths tied down with ropes. Lucullus did not know this story and was told nothing about it before he saw Autolycus calling to him in a dream. The next day, when some men went past carrying the wrapped statue and he ordered them to unwrap it, he saw the vision he thought he had seen in the night. Such was the dream he had. (…)" (Trans. McGing 2019, 311)

17. Plut. *Pomp.* 32,3–5:

εἶτα μέντοι περὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήϊος παρεστρατοπέδευσε· καὶ δεδιὼς μὴ φθάσῃ περάσας τὸν Εὐφράτην, ἐκ μέσων νυκτῶν ἐπῆγεν ὡπλισμένην τὴν στρατιάν· καθ᾽ ὃν χρόνον λέγεται τὸν Μιθριδάτην ὄψιν ἐν ὕπνοις ἰδεῖν τὰ μέλλοντα προδηλοῦσαν. ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐρίῳ πνεύματι πλέων τὸ Ποντικὸν πέλαγος ἤδη Βόσπορον καθορᾶν καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τοὺς συμπλέοντας, ὡς ἄν τις ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ σαφεῖ καὶ βεβαίῳ χαίρων· ἄφνω δὲ ἀναφανῆναι πάντων ἔρημος ἐπὶ λεπτοῦ ναυαγίου διαφερόμενος. ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ αὐτὸν ὄντα πάθεσι καὶ φάσμασιν ἐπιστάντες ἀνέστησαν οἱ φίλοι, φράζοντες ἐπιέναι Πομπήϊον. ἦν οὖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης μαχητέον ὑπὲρ τοῦ χάρακος, καὶ προαγαγόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἔταξαν.

"Then, however, Pompey overtook him near the Euphrates river, and encamped close by; and fearing lest the king should get the advantage of him by crossing the Euphrates, he put his army in battle array and led it against him at midnight. At this time Mithridates is said to have seen a vision in his sleep, revealing what should come to pass. He dreamed that

he was sailing the Pontic Sea with a fair wind, and was already in sight of the Bosporus, and was greeting pleasantly his fellow-voyagers, as a man would do in his joy over a manifest and sure deliverance; but suddenly he saw himself bereft of all his companions and tossed about on a small piece of wreckage. As he dreamed of such distress, his friends came to his couch and roused him with the news that Pompey was advancing to the attack. He was therefore compelled to give battle in defence of his camp, and his generals led out their troops and put them in array." (Trans. Perrin 1917, 199)

18a. Plut. *Caes.* 42,1–2:

Ὡς δὲ εἰς τὴν Φαρσαλίαν ἐμβαλόντες ἀμφότεροι κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ὁ μὲν Πομπήϊος αὖθις εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀνεκρούετο λογισμὸν τὴν γνώμην, ἔτι καὶ φασμάτων οὐκ αἰσίων προσγενομένων καὶ καθ᾽ ὕπνον ὄψεως. ἐδόκει γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ὁρᾶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κροτούμενον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, […] οἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν οὕτω θρασεῖς ἦσαν καὶ τὸ νίκημα ταῖς ἐλπίσι προειληφότες ὥστε φιλονεικεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχιερωσύνης Δομίτιον καὶ Σπινθῆρα καὶ Σκηπίωνα διαμιλλωμένους ἀλλήλοις, πέμπειν δὲ πολλοὺς εἰς Ῥώμην μισθουμένους καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντας οἰκίας ὑπατεύουσι καὶ στρατηγοῦσιν ἐπιτηδείους, ὡς εὐθὺς ἄρξοντες μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον. μάλιστα δὲ ἐσφάδαζον οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἠσκημένοι περιττῶς ὅπλων λαμπρότησι καὶ τροφαῖς ἵππων καὶ κάλλει σωμάτων, μέγα φρονοῦντες καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, ἑπτακισχίλιοι πρὸς χιλίους τοὺς Καίσαρος ὄντες. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν πεζῶν πλῆθος οὐκ ἀγχώμαλον, ἀλλὰ τετρακισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι παρετάττοντο δισμυρίοις καὶ δισχιλίοις.

"But when both armies entered the plain of Pharsalus and encamped there, Pompey's mind reverted again to its former reasoning, and besides, there befell him unlucky appearances and a vision in his sleep. He dreamed, namely, that he saw himself in his theatre applauded by the Romans, […] Those about him, however, were so confident, and so hopefully anticipated the victory, that Domitius and Spinther and Scipio disputed earnestly with one another over Caesar's office of Pontifex Maximus, and many sent agents to Rome to hire and take possession of houses suitable

for praetors and consuls, assuming that they would immediately hold these offices after the war. And most of all were his cavalry impatient for the battle, since they had a splendid array of shining armour, well-fed horses, and handsome persons, and were in high spirits too on account of their numbers, which were seven thousand to Caesar's one thousand. The numbers of the infantry also were unequal, since forty-five thousand were arrayed against twenty-two thousand." (Trans. Perrin 1919a, 543–545)

18b. Plut. *Pomp.* 68,1–3:

Ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ἐγκείμενοι καὶ θορυβοῦντες, ἐπεὶ κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ Φαρσάλιον πεδίον, ἠνάγκασαν βουλὴν προθεῖναι τὸν Πομπήϊον, ἐν ᾗ Λαβιηνὸς ὁ τῶν ἱππέων ἄρχων πρῶτος ἀναστὰς ὤμοσε μὴ ἀναχωρήσειν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, εἰ μὴ τρέψαιτο τοὺς πολεμίους· τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ πάντες ὤμνυσαν. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους Πομπήϊος εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσιόντος αὐτοῦ κροτεῖν τὸν δῆμον, αὐτὸς δὲ κοσμεῖν ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης νικηφόρου πολλοῖς λαφύροις. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐθάρρει, τὰ δὲ ὑπέθραττεν αὐτὸν ἡ ὄψις, δεδοικότα μὴ τῷ γένει τῷ Καίσαρος εἰς Ἀφροδίτην ἀνήκοντι δόξα καὶ λαμπρότης ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γένηται· καὶ πανικοί τινες θόρυβοι διᾴττοντες ἐξανέστησαν αὐτόν. ἑωθινῆς δὲ φυλακῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοπέδου πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντος ἐξέλαμψε μέγα φῶς, ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαμπὰς ἀρθεῖσα φλογοειδὴς ἐπὶ τὸ Πομπηΐου κατέσκηψε· καὶ τοῦτο ἰδεῖν φησι Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἐπιὼν τὰς φυλακάς.

"But notwithstanding, by their importunities and agitations, after they had gone down into the plain of Pharsalia, they forced Pompey to hold a council of war, where Labienus, the commander of the cavalry, rose first and took an oath that he would not come back from the battle unless he routed the enemy; then all likewise swore the same oath. That night Pompey dreamed that as he entered his theatre the people clapped their hands, and that he decorated a temple of Venus Victrix with many spoils. On some accounts he was encouraged, but on others depressed, by the dream; he feared lest the race of Caesar, which went back to Venus, was to receive glory and splendour through him; and certain panic tumults which went rushing through the camp roused him from sleep.

Furthermore, during the morning watch a great light shone out above the camp of Caesar, which was perfectly quiet, and a flaming torch rose from it and darted down upon the camp of Pompey; Caesar himself says he saw this as he was visiting the watches." (Trans. Perrin 1917, 293)

18c. App. *B Civ.* 2,10,68–69:

μικρόν τε πρὸ ἕω πανικὸν ἐνέπεσεν αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ· καὶ τόδε περιδραμὼν αὐτὸς καὶ καταστήσας ἀνεπαύετο σὺν ὕπνῳ βαθεῖ· περιεγειράντων δ᾿ αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων, ὄναρ ἔφασκεν ἄρτι νεὼν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθιεροῦν Ἀφροδίτῃ νικηφόρῳ. Καὶ τόδε μὲν ἀγνοίᾳ τῆς Καίσαρος εὐχῆς οἵ τε φίλοι καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας πυθόμενοι ἥδοντο, καὶ τἆλλα ἀλόγως σὺν ὁρμῇ καὶ καταφρονήσει χωροῦντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ὡς ἐπὶ ἕτοιμον. ὧν γε πολλοὶ καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς δάφναις ἀνέστεφον ἤδη, συμβόλῳ νίκης· καὶ οἱ θεράποντες αὐτοῖς δαῖτα λαμπροτάτην ἐπόρσυνον· εἰσὶ δ᾿ οἳ καὶ περὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐς ἀλλήλους ἤδη διήριζον. ἅπερ ὁ Πομπήιος οἷα πολέμων ἔμπειρος ἀπεστρέφετο καὶ νεμεσῶν ἐπ᾿ αὐτοῖς ἐνεκαλύπτετο, κατεσιώπα δ᾿ ὅμως ὑπὸ ὄκνου καὶ δέους, ὥσπερ οὐ στρατηγῶν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ στρατηγούμενος καὶ πάντα πράσσων ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης παρὰ γνώμην. τοσοῦτον ἀνδρὶ μεγαλουργῷ καὶ παρὰ πᾶν ἔργον ἐς ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εὐτυχεστάτῳ γενομένῳ τὸ δύσθυμον ἐνεπεπτώκει, εἴτε ὅτι τὰ συμφέροντα κρίνων οὐκ ἔπειθεν, (…)· εἴτε τι καὶ μαντικώτερον αὐτὸν πλησιάζοντος ἤδη τοῦ κακοῦ συνετάρασσε, μέλλοντα τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐκ δυναστείας τοσῆσδε ἀθρόως ἐκπεσεῖσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ᾿ οὖν εἰπὼν τοῖς φίλοις, ὅτι ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα, ὁπότερος ἂν ἐπικρατήσῃ, μεγάλων ἐς αἰεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἄρξει κακῶν, παρέτασσεν ἐς τὴν μάχην· (…).

"Shortly before daylight panic seized his army. He himself rushed around and calmed the men and then fell into a deep sleep. When his staff woke him, he kept telling them that he had just dreamed he was in the process of dedicating a temple in Rome to Venus the Bringer of Victory. In their ignorance of Caesar's vow, Pompey's staff and the whole army were delighted at hearing of his dream, and in other respects too were going into battle with an unreasonable degree of enthusiasm and contempt, as if it were already won. Many of them were already decorating their tents with laurel branches, the symbol of victory, and their servants were preparing

a splendid banquet for them. There were even some who began to compete with each other for Caesar's High Priesthood. Given his military experience, Pompey rejected all this, and although justly angry at such conduct, kept his anger hidden, and in spite of his feelings said nothing out of hesitation and fear, as if he were no longer in command but under someone else's command, and forced to do everything against his will. Such was the gloom that affected this high-achieving man who up to that day had enjoyed extreme good fortune in everything he had done. This may have been because, having decided on the expedient course to follow, he failed to make it convincing, (…). Or, it could be that some premonition of the already approaching disaster disturbed him as he was on the point of totally losing such extensive dominion that day. At any rate, after making only this remark to his staff, that no matter which side was victorious, that day would be the beginning of great and permanent troubles for Rome, he drew up his forces for battle." (Trans. McGing 2020, 373–375)

19. Tac. *Ann.* 1,65:

Nox per diversa inquies, cum barbari festis epulis, laeto cantu aut truci sonore subiecta vallium ac resultantis saltus complerent, apud Romanos invalidi ignes, interruptae voces atque ipsi passim adiacerent vallo, oberrarent tentoriis, insomnes magis quam pervigiles. Ducemque terruit dira quies: nam Quintilium Varum sanguine oblitum et paludibus emersum cernere et audire visus est velut vocantem, non tamen obsecutus et manum intendentis reppulisse. Coepta luce missae in latera legiones, metu an contumacia, locum deseruere, capto propere campo umentia ultra.

"It was a night of unrest, though in contrasted fashions. The barbarians, in high carousal, filled the low-lying valleys and echoing woods with chants of triumph or fierce vociferations: among the Romans were languid fires, broken challenges, and groups of men stretched beside the parapet or straying amid the tents, unasleep but something less than awake. The general's night was disturbed by a sinister and alarming dream: for he imagined that he saw Quintilius Varus risen, blood-bedraggled, from the marsh, and heard him calling, though he refused to obey and pushed him

back when he extended his hand. Day broke, and the legions sent to the wings, either through fear or wilfulness, abandoned their post, hurriedly occupying a level piece of ground beyond the morass." (Trans. Jackson 1931, 355)

20. Tac. *Ann.* 2,14:

Nox eadem laetam Germanico quietem tulit, viditque se operatum et sanguine sacro respersa praetexta pulchriorem aliam manibus aviae Augustae accepisse. Auctus omine, addicentibus auspiciis, vocat contionem et quae sapientia provisa aptaque inminenti pugnae disserit.

"The same night brought Germanicus a reassuring vision: for he dreamed that he was offering sacrifice, and that—as his vestment was bespattered with the blood of the victim—he had received another, more beautiful, from the hand of his grandmother, Augusta. Elated by the omen, and finding the auspices favourable, he summoned a meeting of the troops and laid before them the measures his knowledge had suggested and the points likely to be of service in the coming struggle: (…)" (Trans. Jackson 1931, 403)

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JOCHEN ALTHOFF (ed.): *Aristoteles:* Parva naturalia. *Akten der 18. Tagung der Karl und Gertrud Abel-Stiftung vom 30. September bis 2. October 2015 in Mainz*. Philosophie der Antike 39. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2021. ISBN 978-3-11-070086-2; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-11-070163-0. VII, 295 pp. EUR 119.95.

Aristotle's natural philosophy has increasingly attracted scholarly attention in recent years. This also holds true of the collection of studies known as the *Parva naturalia*. It comprises nine treatises: *De sensu*, *De memoria*, *De somno*, *De insomniis*, *De divinatione*, *De longitudine vitae*, *De iuventute*, *De vita et morte* as well as *De respiratione*. As the titles suggest, these studies cover a broad range of topics. Some of them relate to the activities of what Aristotle understands as the perceptive part of the soul, while others concern the states of a living animal more generally. Since none of these studies centres on plants, and only one treatise, the *De memoria*, deals with one intellectual activity, namely recollecting understood as a kind of reasoning, it can be reasonably judged that the main focus is on what is distinctive of animals as perceiving living beings. However, the diversity of the *Parva naturalia*, both on its own terms and in relation to Aristotle's other treatises, raises several questions that require further consideration. The collection *Aristoteles*, Parva naturalia, edited by Jochen Althoff (Mainz), addresses some of these questions.

The collection consists of eight chapters, which the editor has divided into three main parts: the first comprises two chapters on the place of the *Parva naturalia* in Aristotle's philosophy, the second includes five chapters on special topics, and the third, consisting of only one chapter, explores the reception of the *Parva naturalia*. The division is reasonable and fits the content of the chapters. Even if the collection does not cover all major topics in the *Parva naturalia*, it offers carefully considered analyses of the topics under study.

In the chapter "Zur Einheit der *Parva naturalia* des Aristoteles", Wolfram Brinker (Mainz) discusses the question of what makes the *Parva naturalia* a unity. This question is highly relevant because the collection of treatises that we know under this name does not originate from Aristotle, but from later editors – the name itself dates back to the 13th century. Brinker addresses the question from various perspectives: literary genre, Aristotle's scientific approach, the subject matter of the *Parva naturalia* and some single arguments such as the claim that the *Parva naturalia* is centred

around those activities of the soul that can be explained by reference to the capacity for perceiving. Brinker notes that nutrition also requires other capacities, but even in this case, insofar as animals are concerned, the capacity for tasting and touching are crucial, and so is the heart which is the origin of all animal activities, including sense perception. I found this argument very plausible, but considering the major significance that Brinker gives to it in his interpretation, I would have expected him to build the entire chapter on it. One salient feature of the chapter are long citations from Aristotle's and his commentators' texts. Most of them support Brinker's considerations, but the way in which he uses his last citation from Alexander of Aphrodisias' analysis of the unity of the perceptual capacity as a "hermeneutisches Kriterium" (p. 61) remains suggestive at best. In its entirety, however, the chapter gives a rich overview of the *Parva naturalia*.

In the chapter "Die *Parva naturalia* im Kontext der aristotelischen Biologie", Martin F. Meyer (Koblenz/Münster) sets the *Parva naturalia* in the context of Aristotle's biological treatises. He divides the *Parva naturalia* into two groups: the first consists of *De sensu*, *De memoria*, *De somno*, *De insomniis* and *De divinatione*, the second of *De longitudine vitae*, *De iuventute*, *De vita et morte*, and *De respiratione*. Meyer convincingly argues that the first group advances research into the activities of the soul that Aristotle launched in *De anima* Books 2 and 3, whereas the second group does not do so; rather, it explores the conditions for living, such as breathing. However, in both cases, according to Meyer (p. 81), Aristotle attempts to give scientific explanations of the phenomena under study (*to dioti*), and not just accounts of facts (*to hoti*). What I found most interesting in this chapter were Meyer's considerations (with complete tables) about the cross-references to Aristotle's other treatises. The references suggest that both *Parva naturalia* I and II (according to Meyer's division) are composed after *Physics* Book 7, *De generatione et corruptione*, *Meteorologica*, *Historia animalium*, the lost *Anatomischer Atlas*, *De partibus animalium* and *De anima* Books 2 and 3, and they are composed before *De motu animalium*, *De generatione animalium* and the planned but not completed *De plantis*. Even if there are no references to Aristotle's logical treatises, the *Metaphysics*, or ethics and politics (as Meyer and Brinker observe), it does not follow that Aristotle would not make use of the scientific approach (e.g., the distinction between research into the facts and research into the causes) that he develops in the *Posterior Analytics* and the *Metaphysics*. Finally, it is worth noting that Meyer's understanding of Aristotle's biology is somewhat more extensive than that of most other scholars because he takes Aristotle's psychological works, including *De anima* and *Parva naturalia*, to be part of biology, in particular, part of physiology, the other parts of biology being comparative anatomy, genetics and ethology.

In the chapter "Aristoteles über die Natur des Lichts", Stephan Herzberg (Frankfurt) gives a very detailed account of Aristotle's considerations on light in *De anima* and *De sensu*. He sets out various interpretative options, including the one that Julian Ziaja proposed in the late 19th century: the suggestion that light, according to Aristotle, is a certain state of a light-emitting body in which the

movement of ether takes place. Herzberg rightly rejects this suggestion and his own interpretation is much closer to the text. One of his major claims is that even if Aristotle says that light is the activity (*energeia*) and actuality (*entelekheia*) of the transparent medium insofar as it is transparent (*De an*. 2.7, 418b9–11 and 419a11), he does not mean that light is a full-blown or complete (*vollkommen*) activity (*energeia*). Herzberg supports this claim by reference to the fact that Aristotle also characterizes light as a state (*heksis*) (*De an*. 2.7, 418b19; 3.5, 430a15). However, Herzberg does not give good reasons why this qualification would prevent light from being a complete activity. It is clear that light, understood as the activity of the transparent, is a passive activity because it requires an external activator, a source of light such as a fiery body. But that does not make it less of an activity. Recall that, according to Aristotle, there are other passive activities that are complete, such as seeing. My worry is that Herzberg does not adduce sufficient reasons to believe that light is less than a complete activity. In other respects, however, his discussion is very helpful and plausible.

In the chapter "Alexander's *De Sensu* – and Aristotle's", R. A. H. King (Bern, Switzerland) suggests that the most important contribution that Alexander of Aphrodisias makes to the understanding of the *Parva naturalia* is his discussion of *anathymiasis*, i.e., vapour or steam. This is truly an interesting claim, but I do not think that King succeeds in persuading his reader that it is. The first three sections of his contribution broach more general issues, and it is only in the final section that the author devotes his full attention to the matter. Even if King's considerations remain somewhat scattered, he makes perceptive textual observations that merit further study. For example, King notes that Alexander relates Aristotle's claims about *anathymiasis* in the *Parva naturalia* to the *Meteorologica*. According to King, Alexander's point (at *De sens*. 79.23–80.11) is that non-living natures, hot and cold, are at work, as such, in living beings.

In the chapter "Menschliche und tierische Erinnerung bei Aristoteles", Dae-Ho Cho (Seoul, South Korea) focuses on Aristotle's account of recollection in the *De memoria* 2. He resists the interpretation that Aristotle's characterization of recollection (*anamnesis*) as *sullogismos tis* should be understood narrowly as an *Analytics* style of inference with premises and a conclusion. Instead, he argues that recollection is to be understood in a looser sense that comprises Aristotle's idea of associative transitions from one thing to another. In support of this interpretation of *sullogismos*, Cho refers to *Rhetoric* 1.11, 1371b9 in which a spectator is said to draw inferences based on imitations. I found this argument reasonable. Cho also argues that we should not follow Richard Sorabji's interpretation according to which recollection, according to Aristotle, is confined to rational human beings. Cho points out that recollection that is based on natural and habitual associations between things does not require the capacity for deliberation and reasoning. Therefore, he suggests, Aristotle has no principal reason to deny recollection to non-rational animals. This argument is also reasonable, but not particularly compelling because Cho makes no attempt to undermine the

alternative line of interpretation that Aristotle could possibly explain animal behaviour by reference to sense perception, memory, pleasure and desire.

In the chapter "Elemente der aristotelischen Physiologie des Alters und des Todes (*De long. vit.*, *De juv.*, *De vit. et mort.*, *De resp.*)", Maria Liatsi (Ioannina/Thessaloniki) researches Aristotle's conception of old age and death. She points out that the preservation of natural heat, according to Aristotle, is vital to the basic functions of a living body. When the body grows old, it gradually loses heat, which weakens its functions. When the heat disappears altogether, the animal dies. The account that Liatsi gives is clear and accurate for the most part. She points out that, according to Aristotle, the highest part or kind of the soul, the *nous*, is not dependent upon the body and may survive death. At the end of the chapter, however, she does not present good reasons for leaving it open whether the other parts of the soul, call it the animal soul, survive death. Based on Aristotle's definition of the soul as the form (*eidos*) and completion (*entelekheia*) of the body (*De an*. 2.1, 412a19–22 and a27–28), it should be clear that, according to Aristotle, the animal soul cannot survive death. When the body disintegrates at death, there is nothing of which the soul could be a form or completion.

In the chapter "Sache und Grund: Zur Atmung bei Aristoteles im Ausgang von *De respiratione*", Sergiusz Kazmierski (Regensburg) explores breathing in the *De respiratione* and other zoological treatises. The chapter, totalling no less than 56 pages with extensive footnotes, is the longest in this collection. Kazmierski gives a very thorough account of all the main issues that Aristotle raises about breathing. As an overarching theme, he discusses three final causes that Aristotle identifies for breathing: cooling as the principal aim, and two subsidiary functions (*parerga*), one concerning the sense of smell, the other concerning the production of sounds. In addition to this main theme, the author makes several helpful observations along the way. He notes (p. 215, fn. 58), for example, that we should neither identify nor differentiate natural heat and the *sumphuton pneuma*. Rather, he suggests, we should posit that natural heat occurs in the *sumphuton pneuma*, because in this way Aristotle can keep the two apart just as he keeps the capacities for nutrition and movement apart.

In the chapter "'Der Seele und dem Körper gemeinsam': Das Forschungsprogramm der *Parva naturalia* und die Begründung der *scientia de animalibus* in den *praefationes* zu den italienischen Kommentaren des 16. Jahrhunderts", Roberto Lo Presti (Berlin) addresses the question of how the research project of the *Parva naturalia* and the grounds of the study of animals are conceived in the introductions of the 16th century Italian commentaries. Lo Presti argues that in those commentaries, Aristotelian *philosophia naturalis* constitutes a unified research project. In other words, it does not fall into two different projects: one that is manifested in the zoological treatises, and the other that is carried out in the *De anima* and the *Parva naturalia*. This is important for the later development of natural philosophy, including medicine. Lo Presti demonstrates that the Italian commentaries provide the methodological framework in which the most influential medical writers

of the time, such as Hieronymus Fabricius d'Aquapendente (1537–1619) and his pupil William Harvey (1578–1657), conducted their studies on anatomy and physiology. A key distinction is drawn between an account of facts (*secundum quid*) and an account of causes (*secundum quia*). In the course of his discussion, Lo Presti makes several perceptive observations. He points out, for example, that in the commentaries by Ludovico Boccadiferro (1482–1545), Bernardino Crippa (fl. in mid 16th century) and Simone Simoni (1532–1602), the soul is no longer studied from both divine and natural points of view: it is considered only part of the study of animals. Furthermore, Lo Presti shows that Fabricius, in a genuine Aristotelian spirit, does not contrast natural philosophy with medicine, but rather considers the latter as being part of the former.

To conclude, the collection as a whole is a fine addition to literature on Aristotle's *Parva naturalia* and its reception. Since the collection is based on presentations at the 18th meeting of the Karl und Gertrud Abel-Stiftung in Mainz in 2015, the reader should not expect a more systematic and extensive coverage of the subject matter. The editorial quality of the collection is impeccable, and the collection contains useful indices.

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Silvia Balatti – Hilmar Klinkott – Josef Wiesehöfer (eds.): *Paleopersepolis: Environment, Landscape and Society in Ancient Fars.* Orient et Occidens – Studien zu antiken Kulturkontakten und ihren Nachleben 33. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2021. ISBN 978-3-515-12622-9; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-515-12629-8. 313 pp. EUR 62.

Environmental questions and landscape studies have been in focus during the last decades in archaeological research and study of history. Our intention to understand human interaction with the environment and modification of natural landscapes have provided the means to review present situations from a long-term perspective in a world that is undergoing a significant climate change.

An international colloquium on Paleopersepolis was organised in July 2018 at Kiel University in Germany, for which the volume under review is the published proceedings. The colloquium was part of the Paleopersepolis project that consisted of researchers from the European countries of France and Germany, namely the universities of Aix-Marseille, Regensburg and Kiel. The project was funded in the years 2014–2020. The multidisciplinary project aimed to study the ancient human-climate-ecosystem and socio-environment in Fars in the Persepolis basin and the neighbouring areas in southwestern Iran. The idea of the project was to reconstruct the ancient

situations in the studied region. The pioneering work of Wolfgang Fauth (1979) and Pierre Briant (1982) in the field of Achaemenid kings as gardeners and their estates seems to have inspired this German-French collaboration. The general interest in the past environment of the region evolved in the 1970s, during the time of the Shah and before the Islamic revolution, exemplified by Gerhard Kortum's studies on water management. Such hydraulic studies are important fields of inquiry in the region, which since the 1960s Robert McCormick Adams pioneered in Iraq in the Diyala region in his studies on Ancient Mesopotamia.

The Paleopersepolis project concentrated on a time frame of over 1,000 years of imperial reign from the Neo-Elamite (c. 1000–640 BCE) to the Early Islamic periods, with a special focus on the Achaemenid and Sasanid rulers (550–330 BCE and 224–651 CE). However, the project acknowledged that the study of the environmental interaction is sometimes hard to pinpoint chronologically starting, for example, from the development of domestication for which there is regional early Epipalaeolithic and Neolithic evidence from the mountainous region of Zagros. The time scale of the project comprises, *inter alia,* the world when the Persians ruled the Near East and Aramean was *lingua franca*. The periods of Persian and Parthian rule have received somewhat minor attention in Western studies on the Ancient Near East written in English, and research interest often falls into the hegemony of the Assyrian, Babylonian, Hittite and Egyptian empires, not to mention the Greek and Roman rule in the East, which are constant goals of research. Hence, the studies and results of the European project on Paleopersepolis are more than welcome, especially when attention is paid to the regional development of the environment.

The book consists of twelve chapters from various viewpoints of the study area. All the articles form well-researched and expert-based chapters that provide approaches both on the macro- and microscale, from the environment and landscape to specific geologies of minerals in colours and plant species as well as linguistics and historical sources. There is an appendix of illustrations and a handy index. It would, however, have been helpful for a reader to have the map of Iran and the region of the project marked in it in the introduction of the book. The map belonging to the first articles on Pl. 1 of Parsa/Persepolis is unclear and lacks the scale as the numbers of coordinates are so small they are not visible. The grid, however, apparently provides directions as there is no north arrow.

The first chapter in the book after Silvia Balatti's introduction is Jan Tavernier's article "The Linguistic Landscape in South-western Iran from the Neo-Elamite to the (Early) Islamic Period". This is a good study and provides a useful background to understand the human ethno/linguistic tapestry in the Fars region in historical times. Its time scale starts from the Mesopotamian texts and the Sumerian Ur III period of the 3rd millennium BCE, providing a historical chronology of the study area. From an overall view and approach of the book derived from its title environment, landscape and society, the prehistoric, geological and palynological

studies presented could have served more the book's aims from the outset in order to reach the perspective of the *longue durée*.

The three main chapters that deal with the area of Fars from the perspective of the title in macroscale are the second, the fifth and the seventh chapter, and their arrangement could have been rethought. The seventh chapter "An Update on the History of Arboriculture in Ancient Iran" by Morteza Djamali, Sara Saedi Ghavi Andam and Peter Poschold, which deals with geology, prehistory and palynology of the region, could well have served as the opening chapter of the book in its scale of approach and its chronological overview that stretches back to geological and prehistorical periods. For Pl. 11 the authors provide pollen curves of dominant cultivated trees from Iran, giving clear calibrated radiocarbon datings covering a period of approximately 4,000 years.

The second chapter, "New Data for an Updated Archaeological Sequence of Pārsa/ Persepolis" by Alireza Askari Chaverdi, provides a macroscale view, focusing on the region of Persepolis, and especially Persepolis West. The chapter concentrates on the settlement history of the region, briefly dealing with the Persepolis Terrace and its use for gardens and other areas of cultivation. The past survey by W.M. Sumner in the Persepolis plain, including its mounds and the identification of Achaemenid settlements, serves as a basis. The updated study of the settlement history seems to concentrate on an area from Firuzi to Takht-e Gohar along the eastern bank of the River Sivand. More detailed analyses of the environmental and landscape context of the settlements and monuments in the Persepolis plain are hopefully forthcoming in other publications.

In the fifth chapter, "Approaching Past Landscape Management in the Field: Pluridisciplinary and Multiscalar Studies in the Pasargadae Region (Fars Province, Iran)" by Sébastien Gondet, Khourosh Mohammadkhani, Marie-Laure Chambrade, Morteza Djamali, Mahdokht Farjamirad, Nabil Ibnoerrida and Jean-Baptiste Rigot, the landscape aspect is taken up in the archaeological study of field management. Water, represented by rivers and irrigation canals, are vital fields of research (p. 103) that create environmental possibilities for gardens and parks. Water as an essential element of life in the Near East is central to studying its environment. This study has been commanded for using both remote sensing with satellite imagery (CORONA, SPOT, Pléiades) and aerial photographs as well as an empirical pedestrian survey on the ground. The CORONA declassified satellite photographs that were used date from the 1960s and are originally films that have been digitized and can thus be called images. However, calling them pictures (p. 109) is inaccurate and possibly the result of a mistranslation. The radiocarbon datings should be officially marked as Carbon-14, C-14 or ^{14}C but are incorrectly presented as C14 (p. 112, 114), again possibly an error caused by the editorial process. It is also unclear whether the radiocarbon datings of the Shahidabad dam that provided the dates 4000 BP and 2500 BP are calibrated, as no cal BP is given. It is good to know, however, that the optical datings of the sediments were also applied. Ultimately, the analyses of the settlement development and studies

of canals, channels and dams are vital for the research targets and make an important contribution to the study of the project. There are good maps of satellite image data, such as ASTER-DEM and Bing/DigitalGlobe, but on Pl. 9, an explanation is not given to the black lines that appear in Fig. 5, which seem to be structures. The pie charts on main pollen types on Pl. 10 are elucidating, but for a non-expert the translation of the list of the Latin names of plants would have been helpful.

Jan Tavernier's article on the linguistic landscape could have been placed after the archaeological surveys followed by the minerals presented by Alexander Nagel. Nagel concentrates on materials and colours in Persian courts and the surrounding mineral world of nature in the palaces. *Lapis lazuli* was a highly sought material, often being combined with gold both in Fars and in the other royal courts of the Near East. It was usually attained from the area of modern Afghanistan. Archaeometric analyses of paints and other decorative surfaces in stone monuments can bring to light to the substances and layers used. Nagel provides an overview of earlier studies and their results. Josef Wisenhöfer's chapter on the definition of Paradise, Persian *paradeisoi*, fenced areas full of trees and wild animals, is enchanting. Wisenhöfer's article focuses well on the subject of the project and also pays significant attention to the role of water. As an overall view of gardens it could well have been followed by Wouter F.M. Henkelman's study on fruit species and by Silvia Balatti's on wine consumption. They are all fine studies.

In Henkelman's article the Persepolis Fortification archives serve as an important source for studying the fruit species grown in the kings' gardens, and pollen analyses provide additional information. Arboriculture reached a high level in Achaemenid times. Nuts, peaches and grapes were commonly grown. In the archival information quince, mulberry, apple, pear, probably fig, pomegranates and olive also occur. The cultivation of vines and wine production appears to have been a long undertaking, starting already in the neighbouring Caucasus areas in the Neolithic period. When reading about *rhyta* drinking vessels and the storing of wine I expected to have some information about *amphorae*, which are major vessels for wine storage and transport. The order of geology and then plants would have been hierarchically suitable in scale and chronology.

The Greek conquest by Alexander the Great and the studies on the Sasanian period are well placed at the end of the book. Hilmar Klinkott pays attention to Alexander's campaign and the topography of Persis in the classical sources, such as Diodorus, Pompeius Trogus, Strabo, Arrian, Plutarch and especially Curtius Rufus. There seems to be historical evidence to reconstruct the landscape of the region, although in some cases uncertainty about the Middle Persian information, the sporadic nature of the descriptions and the artificial literary constructions cause problems. Pierfrancesco Callieri takes a useful approach to study the connectivity of the region to the coastal areas (the Persian Gulf) in the Sasanian period. The archaeological evidence supports the expansion of settlements to the coastal region through water management during the Sasanian period.

Khodadad Rezakhani's chapter on the nobility and the land is a fine study of the urban planning and construction tied to the elite and their power in the Sasanian Empire. The question of imposing the material features of power on the environment is very well presented and introduces a societal aspect to land use. The final chapter by Georg Leube is intellectually stimulating, being devoted to an Islamic palimpsest, the application of the process of Islamization on the artefacts and ruins of Tachara and the Palace of Dareios the Great at Persepolis by reusing them and responding to their inscriptions. The practice started early on and continued through several rulers up until the Islamic Age. This can be seen as a societal development that included polemics that appeared in the inscriptions of the target area in its architectural space.

Although some maps, chronological tables and a reorganization of subjects from the environmental macroscale to small-scale subjects, and chronologically from prehistory to history, might have provided a better flow, overall this is an interesting publication that serves the need for a better understanding of the environment of ancient Fars.

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Giulia Baratta – Alfredo Buonopane – Javier Velaza (a cura di): *Cultura epigráfica y cultura literaria: Estudios en homenaje a Marc Mayer i Olivé*. Epigrafia e antichità 44. ISBN 978-88-7594-143-7. Fratelli Lega Editori, Faenza 2019. 444 pp. EUR 80.

This collection of studies in honour of the prominent scholar Marc Mayer contains, in addition to an introduction by the editors appropriately titled "Totus in litteris" (surely reflecting *sum quidem prope totus in praediis* in Pliny the Younger, *epist.* 3.19.8), 26 papers, fifteen in Italian, six in Spanish, two both in French and in Portuguese and one in English. A bibliography of Mayer would also have been welcome, as the author is known for his wide interests within classical studies. From the introduction one learns (p. 7) that the papers originate from a colloquium held in Barcelona in 2017 in order to celebrate Mayer's seventieth birthday. In this assessment, I shall concentrate on those contributions which I find to be of more general interest; although I must of course admit that even papers that deal with very specialised and (perhaps from the point of view of some scholars) marginal subjects (e.g. that of Juan Manuel Abascal Palazón on the "epigraphical habit" in a remote region south of Toledo in Spain, p. 13ff.) are sure to be of interest to some epigraphists.

Giulia Baratta presents a number of inscriptions, mainly but not exclusively from Spain, that have "singolari interpunzioni epigrafiche" (p. 29ff.). Special attention is accorded to the inscription

from Italica *CILA* II 2, 382 in which the variation in the use of interpunction is truly amazing – and undescribable. Francisco Bertrán Lloris (p. 47ff.) offers some thoughts on the familiar subject of the "over-representation" of freedmen (as contrasted with freeborn persons) in the funerary epigraphy of Rome. Citing as a point of reference the epigraphy of Saguntum in Spain, where freedmen are much less numerous in inscriptions from the larger territory than in the city itself, the author suggests that even in the case of the capital it could useful to consider not only the inscriptions from the urban necropoleis but also the epitaphs from the wider territory. Marco Buonocore (p. 61ff.) publishes an interesting inscription from near Reate, where the term *mil[iar(ium)]* (with *i longa*) seems to be used in the rare sense of "vessel for heating water" (*OLD* 2b).

In a contribution dealing with the history of epigraphy, Alfredo Buonopane (p. 69ff.) discusses Scipione Maffei's observations and corrections to his copy of L. Muratori's four-volume collection of Latin inscriptions, known for its inaccuracy and errors (note e.g. the observation "ridicula" attached to the grotesque reading *potestas* in *CIL* V 5027, p. 78); in a similar paper, Joan Carbonell Manils studies (p. 103ff.) an annotated copy of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* of 1521 held by the university library in Barcelona. Many of the annotations concern consular dates which not only in the case of dates by suffect consuls (e.g. "non inveni" on the suffect consuls in *CIL* VI 328, p. 107), but interestingly also at least in the case of the ordinary consuls of AD 130 in *CIL* VI 208 ("non inveni", p. 107) caused problems to the person who wrote the comments (perhaps a certain Ll. Pons d'Icard of Tarragona). Other papers of this type are that by José D'Encarnação (p. 187ff.) on the *Sylloge* of inscriptions from Catalonia by the 18th-century scholar J. Finestres y Monsalvo and that of Helena Gimeno Pascual (p. 223ff.) on the 16th-century scholar Alfonso Chacón. Maria Letizia Caldelli's subject is the epigraphical forgeries present in the collections of Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill House in Twickenham (p. 87ff.). José Cardim Ribeiro publishes (p. 117ff.) a fragmentary dactylic poem from a place called *Promunturium Magnum* in Portugal, with expressions such as *luce corusca* (there are parallels in Silius and elsewhere). In an interesting paper, very different from the others in this volume, Mireille Corbier discusses the concept of 'documentality' introduced by the Italian scholar Maurizio Ferraris. Felice Costabile's contribution also differs from the rest, discussing as it does not inscriptions but two mid second-century AD documentary papyri, *P. Mich.* VII 438 and *P. Fouad* I 45. Returning to epigraphy, Giovannella Cresci Marrone (p. 165ff.) discusses three inscriptions whose text may not reflect the real state of affairs they are expected to describe. The first and perhaps most interesting text is that of *CIL* V 3590 from Verona. In appearance, this is the inscription of the tomb, set up by a freedwoman, not only of a local noblewoman and her young son, of senatorial status, but also of the freedwoman herself and her own freedmen. The author wonders, justifiably, whether this can really have been the case, and concludes that the text "non dice la verità in senso stretto". The other inscriptions are *AE* 1987, 443

and *AE* 1981, 441 (in quoting the text, the author writes "*M(a)n(i) f(ilius)*, but I think that most scholars agree that the abbreviation of *Manius*, in print normally reproduced as *M'*., is the archaic five-stroke *M* rather than a ligature of *M* and *N*. This is because, for one thing, the abbreviations of the Roman praenomina do not include "contractions": cf. *Sex(tus)* rather than *S(e)x(tus)*, *Tib(erius)* rather than *T(i)b(erius)*.

Ivan Di Stefano Manzella (p. 177ff.) discusses a number of bricks inscribed with various thoughts and maxims, usually in the form of poems (e.g., *CLE* 34 and 922) or as citations from poets. According to the title of Mounir Fantar and Raimondo Zucca's contribution (p. 203ff.), the subject of the authors would be the publication of an inscription with *litterae caelatae* found in the forum of Neapolis in Africa and thus part of the paving. In fact, the article offers more, namely an overview of the city and of its history, illustrated by the quotation of several inscriptions, one of them unpublished. This is presented with some awkwardly placed commas on p. 209. As this interesting inscription does not appear in the *Année épigraphique* of 2019, let me quote in full: *M. Coelio Pudenti Veientano; cui cum ordo statuam posuisset, titulo contentus sua pecunia fecit, itemque ob dedicationem eius epulum biduo et gymnasium dedit. D(ecurionum) d(ecreto)*. The verb *posuisset* must be an abbreviation of sorts of *ponendam (esse) censuisset*, as the honorand Veientanus (the presence of this cognomen in a small African city comes as a surprise) says he "made" the statue himself. As for the inscription of the forum itself, it consists of the letters *ERN*, which the authors plausibly see as part of the verb *sternere*. A list of cities in which fora with inscribed paving stones are attested (altogether 24) follows, itself followed by a list of those stones that use a form of the verb *sternere*.

Yann Le Bohec (p. 247ff.) discusses the instances of the expression *civis* used of women, with a list of occurrences starting with Plautus. From the list of inscriptions (p. 266–273) it seems to emerge that the term was applied to females mainly in inscriptions from outside Italy or pertaining to provincials (e.g., *CIL* XIII 1904, *Victoriae Ursulae … civi Agrippinens(i)*). In the short conclusion (p. 260), the author observes that the term *civis* used of women indicates free persons belonging to a certain community. In the contribution that follows (p. 275ff.), Attilio Mastino discusses the metrical inscriptions *AE* 1998, 1577–8 from a place south of Simitthus in Africa, considered Saturnians by P. Cugusi and M. T. Sblendorio Cugusi, a view not approved of by the author. Giovanni Mennella (p. 311ff.) adds another fragment to the inscription from Albenga, *Suppl. It.* 4 Albingaunum 13, the result being a reference to an *aqua nova*, brought to the people of Albingaunum *[e]x flum[ine]*.

In the only contribution in English, György Németh studies "figural representations in ancient curse tablets" (p. 323ff.). It appears that more than half of the altogether 98 known tablets with figures refer to chariot races; they were apparently "produced by professional magicians who wished to influence the results of chariot races according to the desires of their customers" (p. 329). Gianfranco Paci's subject (p. 335ff.) is the cult of the Dioscuri at Narona. To the relevant documents

from this Dalmatian city the author convincingly adds a relief that has ended up in the Musée Calvet in Avignon. José Remesal Rodriguez discusses (p. 351ff.) the possible role of senators in the Baetican olive oil trade. Names on amphora stamps are usually more or less abbreviated, and scholars have interpreted some abbreviated names as representing those of senators, e.g. *PAH* as *P. Aelius Hadrianus*, i.e. the future emperor; the author, however, shows himself sceptical about these suggestions. Cecilia Ricci studies (p. 373ff.) the career of C. Scribonius Curio, tribune of the plebs in 50 BC. She notes that nothing is known of the senatorial Scribonii Curiones after the death of Caesar, and observes that epigraphical traces of freedmen of the family can be found in inscriptions mentioning C. Scribonii (some instances are cited on p. 383ff.), who can be connected with the Curiones because of their praenomen, as the senatorial Scribonii Libones tend to have the praenomen *L(ucius)*. Antonio Sartori has interesting things to say (p. 387ff.) on those inscriptions from Milan and surroundings that are briefly described (e.g., "litteris bonis") by Mommsen in his edition in *CIL* V, but the focus of the article is on *CIL* V 5532 (photos), an elegant early imperial funerary inscription inscribed on a *tabula*, but mysteriously described as a "basis magna male scripta" by Mommsen. Javier Velaza discusses (p. 397ff.) some instances, also epigraphical, of the use of the so-called *sortes Vergilianae.* Ekkehard Weber's subject (p. 411ff.) is "Augusto e la cultura epigrafica", a subject that takes the thoughts of the average epigraphist to several publications of G. Alföldy. Weber's article is interesting and illustrated by photos, but I am not sure whether he adds that much to what can already be found in Alföldy. Finally, there is Claudio Zaccaria's article (p. 423ff.) on graffiti inscribed on bricks and roof tiles, especially those inscribed *ante cocturam*. This is a category of inscribed texts that defies adequate description in just a few words, as the contents of these texts are so varied – from short notices by workers in brickyards to quotations from Ovid (p. 434). The texts are often hard to interpret; note on p. 431 the reference to *ILS* 8674, *cave malum, si non raseris lateres DC; si raseris, minus malum formidabis* – or is it *si raseris minus, malum formidabis*? This impressive article is so rich in bibliographical references that I am sure it will be used as the foundation for all future work on the subject.

The problem with *Festschriften* is that they normally consist of articles by authors asked by the editors to contribute just *something*, the result often being that useful articles are interspersed with less impressive contributions that their authors seem to have written in a hurry. In this book, the editors appear to have been able to avoid this problem, and my impression was that all the papers in this collection are worth reading. Another problem with *Festschriften* is of course that they can as a category be seen in a negative light both by scholars in general and sometimes by the honorands themselves, who are suddenly faced with yet another publication containing dozens of contributions that one has to deal with somehow. This can be annoying in the case of *Festschriften* that contain articles representing a wide palette of topics. In this particular *Festschrift*, things are somewhat

different, as the majority of the papers concentrate on the *cultura epigráfica* rather than on the *cultura literaria*. An index would, however, have been useful.

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Claudia Beltrão da Rosa – Federico Santangelo (eds.): *Cicero and the Roman Religion: Eight Studies*. Potsdamer altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 72. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2020. ISBN 978-3-515-12643-4; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-515-12644-1. 154 pp. EUR 39.

La riflessione di Cicerone sulle più spinose questioni teologiche, sulle tradizioni e sui rituali religiosi, non si limita alla trilogia del *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione* e *De Fato*. Il presente volume, edito da Claudia Beltrão da Rosa e Federico Santangelo, riconosce che l'intera opera ciceroniana offre spunti di riflessione per nuovi studi e approfondimenti sulla religione romana nella tarda Repubblica. Cicerone rappresenta una figura centrale del I secolo a.C., per la maggior parte di ciò che si sa sugli sviluppi politici, sociali e intellettuali della sua epoca.

Il volume raccoglie otto studi sui momenti in cui l'Arpinate affronta tematiche riguardanti i riti, le tradizioni religiose, le rappresentazioni degli dèi. La silloge trae le sue origini dal congresso tenutosi nel 2017 a Rio de Janeiro, finanziato dalla Newton Advanced Fellowship, che ha visto partecipare e affidare i loro contributi diversi studiosi di provenienza accademica anglosassone e brasiliana. La varietà di approcci e metodologie adottate si coniuga con la molteplicità dei temi affrontati, arricchendo i punti di vista e diversificando le accezioni interpretative.

L'introduzione si apre con due parole chiave del lessico religioso latino, *religio* e *superstitio*, – la rilevanza e la frequenza di questi due termini in Cicerone offrono, a mio avviso, un terreno per ulteriori ricerche di carattere lessicografico e storico-antropologico sul loro uso – e delinea un'utile e accurata rassegna ragionata degli studi su Cicerone e la religione romana più influenti degli ultimi quarant'anni, tra cui R. J. Goar, *Cicero and the State Religion*, Amsterdam 1972, F. Guillaumont, *Philosophe et augure: recherches sur la théorie cicéronienne de la divination*, Brussels 1984, su Cicerone filosofo e augure, gli studi sul *De Divinatione* di M. Schofield e M. Beard, datati 1986, entrambi comparsi sul numero 76 di *The Journal of Roman Studies*.

Il primo degli otto studi è quello di Valentina Arena, "Cicero, the *Augures*, and the Commonwealth in *De Legibus*", che si prefigge di gettar luce sui motivi per cui Cicerone abbia dedicato una sezione così ampia della sua opera (in particolare nel secondo libro e in parte del terzo) al sacerdozio e per chiarire la funzione che gli *augures* svolgono nella politica e nel progetto filosofico

del *De Legibus*. Certamente l'orgoglio di aver fatto parte del collegio degli auguri è solo una delle motivazioni che può aver spinto Cicerone a dedicare all'argomento uno spazio così ampio. Arena, pur non sottovalutando l'elemento biografico che poteva aver indotto Cicerone a tenere a cuore l'argomento, sposta l'attenzione sul fatto che egli abbia voluto rispondere, in realtà, ad un dibattito politico pregresso, in particolare alla discussione sulla *lex Clodia de obnuntiatione*, che faceva parte del programma religioso proposto da Publio Clodio. La *obnuntiatio* è il diritto dei magistrati e degli auguri di ostacolare i lavori delle assemblee popolari con l'annuncio di presagi sfavorevoli. Le due visioni, quella di Cicerone e quella di Clodio, sono agli antipodi: al contrario di quest'ultimo, propenso a depotenziare autorità e prestigio degli auguri, Cicerone proponeva di consolidare e di dare nuova linfa al loro ruolo religioso nella *res publica*. La studiosa, inoltre, mostra come Cicerone nel *De Legibus* sviluppa ulteriormente il suo concetto di *res publica*, in modo completamente diverso dal *De Re Publica*. Nel *De Legibus*, Cicerone afferma che la politica dovrebbe essere racchiusa nella *potestas* e *imperium* dei magistrati e nella *libertas* delle leggi comiziali e dovrebbe sottostare all'*auctoritas* divina conferita da Giove agli auguri.

I due contributi successivi si occupano delle immagini degli dèi, raffigurati nelle statue, del loro ruolo rituale e degli aspetti teologici legati ad essi. Claudia Beltrão da Rosa in "The God and the Consul in Cicero's Third Catilinarian" si concentra sui modi in cui Cicerone mette in scena una statua divina, quella di Giove Ottimo Massimo, dinanzi al popolo romano nella terza Catilinaria (a partire da 3.18). La statua non solo è l'immagine dell'offerta degli uomini al dio, ma rappresenta la presenza del dio stesso e gli garantisce identità e azione: si tratta del vero e proprio Giove, che assume un ruolo attivo in un cruciale momento della vita politica romana e diviene *praesens deus* attraverso la materialità della statua e le parole dell'oratore. Il pubblico di Cicerone finisce per vedere e percepire Giove attraverso la figura autorevole del console. Beltrão riconosce che il ruolo delle statue è tutt'altro che insignificante in termini religiosi e la sua indagine si distingue per originalità, in quanto evita di focalizzarsi solo sui riferimenti alle immagini divine da parte di Cicerone, intesi solo come espedienti retorici, come se il pubblico della *contio* non stesse guardando Giove come divinità, ma semplicemente come statua.

L'analisi dello stile retorico e persuasivo di Cicerone, che Patricia Horvat e Alexandre Carneiro C. Lima propongono nel capitolo "The Ontophanies of Diana in Segesta (Cicero, *Verrines* 2.4.72–82)", permette di leggere in chiave psicanalitica l'episodio riportato nel secondo libro delle *Verrine*, che rappresenta anche la sola fonte attestante la presenza di una statua di Artemide nella città di Segesta. Cicerone persuade i lettori a identificarsi con gli abitanti di Segesta, afflitti dalla rimozione della statua di Artemide a opera di Verre e indignati dalle sue azioni sconsiderate ed empie. L'indagine dei due autori aiuta a comprendere i meccanismi psicologici che supportano l'identificazione degli individui con le divinità: gli abitanti di Segesta si identificano proprio con la statua di Artemide e

temono che il suo fato sarà il loro. Gli autori discutono sull'utilità e sull'applicabilità della nozione di ontofania nella comprensione della monumentalizzazione religiosa, che si verifica nel discorso di Cicerone attraverso il contrasto tra la posizione della statua e quella dello spettatore, tanto da cancellare la nozione di statua come oggetto costruito. Inoltre, i due autori si concentrano anche su una sezione della quarta parte del secondo discorso delle *Verrine*, il *De Signis*, in cui Cicerone integra la sua invettiva contro i furti di opere d'arte da parte di Verre in altre città siciliane.

Il contributo successivo ha per oggetto di ricerca il discorso *De Haruspicum Responso*, in cui Cicerone presenta una lettura della risposta degli indovini etruschi in seguito a una serie di prodigi avvenuti vicino Roma nel 56 a.C. Gli aruspici indicavano che il comportamento umano aveva causato la rabbia divina e anche quattro avvenimenti che sarebbero accaduti in un prossimo futuro. Dal punto di vista di Cicerone, Clodio è il principale responsabile dell'ira degli dèi ed è il promotore della discordia tra gli ottimati e gli aruspici. In "A Reading of Cicero's *De Haruspicum Responso*: Some Reflections on Roman Identity", María Emilia Cairo analizza il *responsum* dato dagli aruspici e le differenti interpretazioni proposte da Cicerone e da Clodio. Lo scopo di questo contributo è quello di descrivere in dettaglio come Cicerone, mentre attacca il suo avversario, incoraggi il suo pubblico a considerarsi una comunità e a mantenere salda la propria forte identità, rispettosa delle tradizioni e delle norme religiose delle generazioni precedenti. Cicerone considera Clodio al pari di un estraneo, marginalmente romano e, in una divisione tra *boni cives* e *deteriores cives*, tra questi ultimi inserisce Clodio.

La riflessione di Cicerone sulla religione è strettamente legata a quella filosofica e alla natura della legge, in particolar modo, al concetto di 'legge naturale' e allo *ius civile* e *ius sacrum*, presenti anche nel *De Rerum Natura* di Lucrezio. Il saggio di Maria Eichler, "Epicurean *Pietas* and Political Action in Lucretius and Cicero", analizza da un punto di vista prettamente lessicale la retorica e gli approcci adottati sia da Cicerone nel *De Legibus* sia da Lucrezio nella promozione di modelli di azione politica e di *pietas* tra i sacerdoti e i magistrati romani. La Eichler dimostra come sia per Cicerone sia per Lucrezio l'azione politica e la *pietas* siano strettamente intrecciate tra di loro a partire dalla storia più antica di Roma e contesta l'idea che ci sia stato un punto di rottura tra legge e religione nella tarda Repubblica. Il paragone tra i due autori, pur molto diversi nell'approccio e nelle tesi, aiuta a inquadrare il dibattito nel contesto culturale della fine del I secolo a.C. Se per Cicerone è nel legame tra uomini e dèi il fondamento della legge scritta, per Lucrezio, al contrario, la legge scritta nasce da un patto tra gli uomini, e gli dèi non possono che rappresentare un pericoloso motivo di discordia per la società.

La preveggenza e la previsione umana e divina sono al centro dell'indagine dello studio "Cicero on Divine and Human Foresight" di uno dei due curatori del volume, Federico Santangelo. L'articolo prende spunto dal lavoro di Spencer Cole, *Cicero and the Rise of Deification at Rome*,

Cambridge 2013, e procede con un'utile e dettagliata disamina sui termini *providentia* e *prudentia* e sul loro molteplice uso e significato nell'opera ciceroniana. La preveggenza e la previsione mostrano tutta la loro differenza a seconda che siano associate alle azioni umane o a quelle divine.

Nel settimo saggio, "Foreign Gods in the Age of Cicero", Greg Woolf si occupa di una questione di più ampio respiro, che non riguarda solo Cicerone, ma una discussione all'interno delle dinamiche politiche e religiose della tarda Repubblica. Woolf parte dal presupposto che maggiori informazioni si hanno su coloro che partecipavano alla vita religiosa, tanto più profondo è il senso di essa e tanto più ampia la sua complessità. Questo dimostra come Cicerone rappresenti il più influente punto di vista sulla religione romana della tarda Repubblica. La crescente espansione e la conquista di nuove province portò Roma a entrare in contatto con culti religiosi stranieri. Dopo una rigida politica di chiusura, fu solo nel II secolo d.C. che Roma conobbe una rinnovata apertura ai culti e all'inclusione delle divinità straniere nella pratica religiosa romana, data dal consolidamento dei confini imperiali. Cicerone attraversa una fase di graduale transizione da un atteggiamento di chiusura e sospetto a una maggiore tolleranza e apertura nei confronti dell'inclusione delle divinità straniere nel Pantheon romano e dei rispettivi culti.

L'ultimo saggio si occupa della storia della tradizione e, più in generale, della ricezione del *De Natura Deorum* e del *De Divinatione* nell'Illuminismo inglese. L'articolo di Katherine East, "Editing Ciceronian Religion in the Enlightenment", prende in esame la fortuna dei due dialoghi ciceroniani più famosi sul tema della religione e su questioni di carattere filosofico-teologico. Il dibattito nell'Inghilterra del XVIII secolo tra scrittori eterodossi e ortodossi, che cercavano di appropriarsi della teologia ciceroniana per giustificare le loro argomentazioni relative alla religione naturale e rivelata, che comportava questioni accese su provvidenza, cosmologia, dell'appropriata applicazione della ragione alle questioni di religione, il ruolo dei sacerdoti e il rapporto tra Chiesa e Stato. La East si concentra soprattutto sull'ultimo paragrafo del terzo libro del *De Natura Deorum* (3.95) nei dibattiti teologici della fine del XVII e XVIII secolo, in particolare tra Anthony Collins e Richard Bentley, e tra le varie edizioni, commenti e traduzioni pubblicati in quel periodo. In *De Natura Deorum* 3.95, Cicerone sembra schierarsi con lo stoico Balbo: con una puntuale analisi la East discute come per i lettori ortodossi questo punto rappresenta la conferma che Cicerone non solo era un teista ma sosteneva un Dio provvidenziale e, al contrario, per i lettori eterodossi il suo punto di vista doveva essere identificato con quello dell'accademico scettico Cotta.

L'opera di Cicerone si presta a una molteplicità di interpretazioni e approcci metodologici (storico, filosofico e letterario), in un dialogo con i principali eventi e con i protagonisti della scena letteraria della Roma tardorepubblicana e con la ricezione, in età moderna, della sua riflessione sulla religione. Le sue idee hanno svolto un ruolo cruciale nel modellare l'opinione moderna sul pensiero religioso dei Romani e sul loro rapporto con le divinità. Gli otto studi raccolti nel volume di Claudia

Beltrão da Rosa e Federico Santangelo rappresentano un valido punto di partenza per ulteriori approfondimenti sui molteplici temi affrontati, utili per gli studiosi di storia e letteratura romana, di religione e filosofia antica.

Nicoletta Bruno
Alfried Krupp Wissenschaftskolleg Greifswald

Maria Letizia Caldelli: *I prefetti dell'annona da Augusto a Costantino.* Collection de l'École française de Rome 577. École française de Rome, Rome 2020. ISBN 978-2-7283-1458-4; ISBN (e-book) 978-2-7283-1459-19. 155 pp. EUR 25.

This useful book starts with a rapid assessment of the well-known book by H. Pavis d'Escurac, *La préfecture de l'annone: Service administratif impérial d'Auguste à Constantin* (1976), of which the author says that the critical remarks of H.-G. Pflaum in *RD* 56 (1978) 49–77 are not all "condivisibili" (p. 2; cf. M. Christol, *REA* 123 [2021] p. 327). However, the problem with the book, or at least with parts of it, is its age, and having listed a number of more important modern studies relevant for the subject, Caldelli goes on to state that she has not planned to "redo" (*rifare*) the whole of Pavis d'Escurac's book, as that would not be "nelle mie forze" (surely she is being too modest here), but only the prosopography of the prefects of the *annona*, occupying pp. 317–379 in Pavis D'Escurac's book. This part of the 1976 book was certainly most in need of updating, as quite a lot of source material relevant to the prefects has been published since then, and Caldelli's decision to concentrate on the prefects is obviously justified. Note, for example, how finding the inscription *AE* 1977, 171 that mentions Messius Extricatus as prefect (here no. 32) has affected Pavis D'Escurac's entry regarding the prefect "….. ATUS" on p. 360.

Moreover, being an authority on the epigraphy of the port of Ostia, where prefects of the corn supply play a prominent role, Caldelli is eminently qualified for this task. An earlier publication on the epigraphy of the prefects in *CCG* 29 (2018) 187–206 shows that she has been busy with this particular subject for some years. In any case, the result is a handy book of 155 pages, which is also available online at https://books.openedition.org/efr/7922?lang=fr. Caldelli's book is useful not only because it collects and digests all the information available for a selected group of high officials, but also because prefects and the like are often known to have held other high offices, and because establishing the list of a certain category of officials may also throw light on lists of other officials. For instance, the date of the prefecture Tettius Africanus (no. 8) can be fixed to AD 76–79 because we know the dates of Africanus' prefecture of the *vigiles* before the prefecture of the *annona* and of that of Egypt after that (p. 13).

The core of the book consists of a series of 48 entries dedicated to individual prefects. Each entry is divided into sections T(estimonia) (with sources being quoted *verbatim*), Fonti (with only sources being referred to), Bibliografia, Origo and Carriera. As for the evidence itself, the sources obviously consist of mentions of a certain person as a prefect of the corn supply, but also of indirect mentions of prefects, for example in inscriptions of subordinates (e.g. no. 4). In some cases, however, someone's prefecture is only based on an assumption itself based on other offices of the person in question, which seems to indicate that the man must have held the prefecture of the *annona* at some point. This is the case in nos. 16 and 24; in no. 39, where the assumption that the honorand of the inscription, *CIL* XIV 185, is based on the identity of the dedicators, a group of *codicari(i) nav[icularii]*). An entry is preceded by an asterisk (*) if the prefect does not figure in Pavis D'Escurac. Two asterisks mean that the date of the prefect has been modified, which is the case with prefects 4, 7, 9, 18, 23, 31, 38, 40 and 42. But we are not necessarily dealing with major changes in dates; in the case of L. Laberius Maximus (no. 9), for example, we now have the date "79/80–82/83" rather than simply "80". Four persons registered by Pavis D'Escurac have for various reasons been stripped of their status as prefects of the corn supply and relegated to the chapter dedicated to the "esclusioni" as E1, E3, E4 and E5. "Ant(onius) Acutus" (Pavis p. 366) has become Pr(--) Ant(--) (no. 31), as the reading of the inscription mentioning this prefect has been completely revised. The chapter on "exclusions" also contains several persons who do not appear in Pavis D'Escurac's book (E2, E6–15). That these men could have been prefects of the corn supply was in most cases on various grounds suggested by A. Magioncalda in 2003 (see Magioncalda 2003b in the bibliography p. 135).

As for the seven "new" prefects (nos. 6, 10, 17, 24, 29, 34, 39), most of them have become known from inscriptions published after 1976. In no. 10, I am glad to find out that Caldelli considers plausible my suggestion that Poppaeus Sabinianus may have been mentioned not in the dative but in the ablative (p. 15 with n. 17); in no. 34, she denies that the prefect could be identified with L. Baebius Aurelius Iuncinus (p. 52 and p.79, E12). In two cases (nos. 16 and 39), however, the inclusion of the men in the list of prefects is based on plausible restorations of fragmentary texts already known in 1976. In the case of Tigidius Perennis (no. 24), his inclusion is based on the fact that he is mentioned in the hierarchical list of equestrian witnesses of the *tabula Banasitana* of AD 177 in a place that should belong to the prefect of the *annona*.

The prosopographical entries on the accepted and (in the section on "exclusions") rejected prefects are followed by a table listing once again all the known prefects (p. 82–94; for another table listing known *adiutores praefecti annonae*, see p. 10). This is followed by a summary ("Sintesi", p. 95–120), with some interesting observations e.g. on the designation and the duration of the office and on the geographical origins, the careers and the competences of the prefects. From the section "Titoli ufficiali" (p. 98f.) we learn that the earliest prefect known to have been addressed by the

title *vir perfectissimus* is Claudius Iulianus, prefect in AD 201 (no. 28). The summary is followed by another table containing a comparison between the "fasti" of the prefects of Pavis D'Escurac and the author (p. 121–124), a bibliography and copious indexes.

If I may mention some details that struck me as dubious or incorrect, I would like to observe that I find it hard to believe that L. Iulius Vehilius Gr[atus] Iulianus (no. 26) could or should be identified with persons called simply "Iulius Iulianus". On p. 1, Caldelli seems to misunderstand K. Wachtel in *PIR*² T 410, for Wachtel, unlike D. Faoro, very clearly advocates the identification of the two Turranii. "Pflaum 1980" (p. 46) and "Carboni 2017" are not in the bibliography, and there are also some spelling errors (e.g. Hans-George instead of Hans-Georg, p. 1; "Wirtschaftsgesetzbung" instead of -gebung, p. 2; *praefctus*, p. 35, etc.). But these are minor matters in a book which is both useful and accessible.

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Diego Chapinal-Heras: *Experiencing Dodona: The Development of the Epirote Sanctuary from Archaic to Hellenistic Times*. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2021. ISBN 978-3-11-072751-7; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-11-072759-3. XII, 264 pp. EUR 113.95.

During antiquity the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona, especially famous for its oracle, was one of the most important in the Greek world. Although the site has been excavated since the 1870s, it remains poorly published compared with, for instance, Delphi or Olympia. The last decades have seen a growing interest in Dodona and Epirus in general, leading to a steady stream of new publications, the most important concerning the sanctuary being the corpus of all known oracular tablets that appeared in 2013. The most recent addition to the growing number of publications on Dodona is Diego Chapinal-Heras' (DCH) monograph, which is an English translation of his Spanish dissertation from 2017.

Apart from describing the sanctuary, its evolution and main features, DCH also seeks to elucidate its relationship with the surrounding Molossian, Epirote and Hellenic worlds. It is not his intent to produce a new guide book of the sanctuary per se, nor to focus on its religious importance, but rather "to offer a broad insight of Dodona as a scene for cult, political, economic, social and cultural matters". The book consists of eight chapters dealing with different topics such as the evolution of the sanctuary from the Archaic period until 167 BC, various religious aspects, routes, communications and geographical contexts, pilgrimage and finally the multi-functional character of the site.

The broad approach taken by DCH is new and laudable, although at the same time problematic as it forces the author to generalise instead of focusing in more detail on fewer aspects. Accordingly, he seldom gets above synthesising and discussing previous research. He has fully mastered the recent research literature on Dodona, but is less well read on questions dealing with routes, communications and geographical contexts. More worrisome is his inconsistent and rather cursory reading of sources and literature that occasionally leads to misinterpretations. I will here highlight a few.

An important turning point in the development of Dodona took place at some stage during the late fifth or the first half of the fourth century BC, when the administration of the sanctuary was taken over by the Molossians from the Thesprotians, in whose sphere of influence it had been before. The emergence of the Epirote Alliance ca 330/328 BC is another major change that greatly affected the evolution of the site. DCH wants to see the monumentalisation of the sanctuary in the context of these changes, which seems plausible. However, his suggestion that the level of monumentalisation, with the exception of the theatre, would have been deliberately kept low due to a decision to preserve the natural environment of the site (pp. 42, 202, 224) makes little sense. The sacred buildings of Dodona reflect rather the typical architecture of such buildings in Epirus, which are characterised by their small size.

When describing the routes connecting Dodona with other parts of Epirus, Illyria, Thessalia and Ambrakia to the south, DCH relies heavily on Nicolas Hammond's seminal work. At the same time, he also discusses the main sites of Molossia and Epirus "that had a major influence on the development of Dodona and its routes". The only route described by him as leading from the Ionian coast to Dodona is the one beginning at Nekyomanteion, following the course of the Acheron inland. As a result, and with the exception of Nekyomanteion, he totally excludes all of Thesprotia from his discussion, which is strange if one takes into account that the sanctuary for centuries belonged to Thesprotia. The shortest route from Dodona westwards leads to Paramythia and from there onwards towards the coast (N. G. L. Hammond, *Epirus: The Geography, the Ancient Remains, the History and the Topography of Epirus and Adjacent Areas*, Oxford 1967, pp. 34, 166). DCH only mentions this *en passant* while describing the geographical setting of Dodona, when he states that the Tsaracovitsa valley (where Dodona is located) "merges into Souli and Paramythia valleys" (p. 12).

DCH states that he has used ArcGIS in preparing his account of the routes to Dodona, having taken into account "the energy required for movement" (p. XI). However, the reader is never informed about the details of his calculations, nor to what extent his results depend on the fact that he seems to assume that places like Delphi and Dodona could only be reached on foot (p. 224). Would he have come to different conclusions if he had made his calculations assuming that the

travellers/pilgrims journeyed by cart or by horse or donkey? Hammond (1967, p. 166), for instance, rode in only eight hours from Paramythia to Dodona, whereas he described the route along the Acheron as "difficult to access", passing through a "wild and remote area" (Hammond 1967, pp. 161–166).

Special emphasis is understandably put on the region of Molossia, the main settlements and other smaller sanctuaries of which are discussed in relation to Dodona. This treatment is hampered by the fact that DCH, based on a short reference in Hammond's monograph on Epirus (1967, p. 185), seems to believe that Lake Pamvotis did not exist during the Classical and Hellenistic periods (pp. 11, 142). According to him, Georgia Pliakou in her doctoral dissertation (Το λεκανοπέδιο των Ιωαννίνων και η ευρύτερη περιοχή της Μολοσσίας στην κεντρική Ήπειρο: αρχαιολογικά κατάλοιπα, οικιστική οργάνωση και οικονομία, unpubl. PhD diss., University of Thessaloniki 2007) supports this, stating that the Ioannina plain did not then have the lake of today, "but rather was a marshy region". This quotation is in error: Pliakou nowhere in her dissertation denies the existence of the lake, whose limnological and palynological development is nowadays well researched.

Due to inconsistency, DCH sometimes also contradicts himself. Thus, he states early on that the earliest walls of the main Molossian sites date to the first half of the third century BC and that the fortified sites Kastritsa and Megalo Gardiki "were far larger than Dodona, which covered 5–10 ha" (p. 15). Later on, however, he maintains that the fortification of Dodona covered 3.5 ha and should be dated to the second half of the fourth century BC (p. 46), whereas the walls of Megalo Gardiki belong to "the last decades of the fourth or the beginning of the third century BC" (p. 148). DCH rejects Pliakou's recent suggestion to identify Passaron with the castle of Ioannina and prefers to place this most important Molossian town at Megalo Gardiki, "given the size and features of this … site, one of the largest in the Molossian territory". However, Megalo Gardiki is in reality, despite its name, only a medium-sized acropolis covering 8.95 ha, being close in size to Dodona (3.5 ha) or Ammotopos/ Orraon (5.5 ha), and is clearly much smaller than Kastritsa (34.5 ha) or the castle of Ioannina (the exact size of which during antiquity cannot be estimated).

The plundering of Epirus by L. Aemilius Paullus in 167 BC can be mentioned as another example of contradictory statements and cursory and inconsistent use of sources and research literature. On p. 85, DCH writes with reference to it: "when Rome conquered [sic] Epirus, the Molossians alone were punished for their support of Perseus of Macedonia (Plut. *Aem*. 29), since the Thesprotians and Chaonians had contributed troops to the Roman army (Liv. 43.23)", although Plutarch nowhere maintains that only the Molossians would have been so targeted. On p. 99 the same story is told differently: "Those who had supported the Macedonians were punished. Among these were some areas of Epirus, especially Molossia and southern Thesprotia," followed by: "Over decades scholars have attempted to identify evidence of damage or population

decrease in Epirote settlements, but recent investigations suggest that these conclusions may be wrong and that signs of damage in some settlements might belong to the Aetolian attack in 219." In support of the latter statement, DCH refers to Bowden in *Thesprotia Expedition* I (2009, p. 167), although no mention of the Aetolians can be found there. Probably DCH took this statement from Turmo in *Thesprotia Expedition* II (2011, p. 198): but in that case however he has totally ignored the new evidence for the magnitude of the damage caused in 167 BC brought forward in that same volume (pp. 15–21).

The description of the geographical context is occasionally marred by smaller false statements due to a careless use of the literature. On p. 24, the important Dark Age site of Mavromandilia is said to be located "near Dodona", although in reality it is to be found in the Kokytos valley ca. 23 km to the southwest of the sanctuary. DCH's description of the geographical setting of Dodona in the Tsaracovitsa valley (p. 12) could be mentioned as another example, where referencing Hammond (1967, p. 9) he states that "One of the highest points in this area is Korillas (Paramythia), 1,658 m above sea level, which has a sanctuary near the slopes of mount Ptomaros (Olitsika)". However, Mount Gorilla next to Paramythia is actually located more than 20 km west of Dodona, whereas Mount Tomaros (Olytsika), which constitutes the southern border of the Tsaracovitsa valley, rises to the imposing height of 1,974 m above sea level (as also noted by Hammond 1967, p. 10).

This book would definitely have gained from being more thoroughly proofread. This goes not only for the content but also for the language that needed a final polishing. Some of the mistakes could even have been avoided by using a language/grammar check program (does De Gruyter not use such technology?). It would not have been difficult to find and avoid mistakes or misspellings like: ecuation (p. XI), Bizantine times (p. 4), emphsais (p. 17), epigraps (p. 39), Illiad (pp. 42, 66), inscritption, nervetheless (p. 57), Lucius Emilius Paulus, de res rustica (p. 99), Sicyion (p. 127), Crasus (p. 141), "in 31st BCE Nicopolis was founded [sic]" (p. 221) or Dydima (p. 225).

DCH in his dissertation has applied a new approach to Dodona, based on the sanctuary's relationship with its surroundings and historical background, aiming to analyse the multi-functionality of the site not only as a religious, but also as a political, economic and socio-cultural centre. This is positive. Unfortunately, the work suffers from having been too hastily written and badly proofread. Higher-quality maps and illustrations would have raised the quality of the book – and thereby justified the high price that De Gruyter asks for it.

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Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editum. Vol. II^2: *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae*. Pars 13: *Conventus Carthaginiensis*. Fasc. 1: *Pars septentrionalis conventus Carthaginiensis (Titulcia, Toletum, Consabura, Segobriga)*. Ediderunt J. M. Abascal Palazón – G. Alföldy† adiuvantibus C. Campedelli – R. C. Knapp – R. Haensch – M. Heil – J. del Hoyo – M. Mayer Olivé – F. Mitthof – A. U. Stylow – J. Velaza Frías – I. Velázquez. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston MMXIX (2019). ISBN 978-3-11-067163-6; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-11-071870-6. XIV, 384 pp. EUR 219.

Pergratus erit inscriptionum praesertim Latinarum studiosis hic novus titulorum Hispanorum fasciculus qui est primus ex iis quattuor (v. p. XIII) fasciculis quibus tituli intra fines conventus Carthaginiensis reperti edentur. Ceterum hic fasciculus secundum quosdam (e.g. https://www.degruyter.com/serial/cileav2p13-b/html) editus est non a. 2019, ut in ipso libro legitur, sed 2020. (Interea prodiit a. 2022 fasciculus secundus continens "partem mediam" conventus Carthaginiensis.) Titulos fasciculi huius ediderunt homines in rebus epigraphicis versati J. M. Abascal Palazón et G. Alföldy (qui mortem obiit iam a. 2011) adiuvantibus iis, quorum nomina supra leguntur (haec sumpsi e p. [III]); notandum tamen est p. XII memorari etiam alios quosdam "auctores et photographos adiutoresque".

Hoc fasciculo comprehensa sunt oppida quattuor pertinentia ad conventus Carthaginiensis partem eam, quae spectat inter septentriones et occidentem; sunt autem Titulcia, Toletum, Consabura, Segobriga – sed nota bene in hoc fasciculo proponi titulos tantum ipsius municipii; fasciculus enim secundus continet titulos agri Segobrigiensis. Hic fasciculus primus in universum complectitur titulos numero 911; quamquam fatendum est ex parte non minima agi de fragmentis et frustulis. Tituli nunc primum editi qui sunt non multi enumerantur p. 383; inter eos sunt praesertim tituli vasculis inscripti. Nescio cur in hoc laterculo sint omissi tituli n. 7 Titulcensis descriptus ab "amicis" quibusdam (in quo titulo filia habet nomen non patris sed matris) et n. 108 Toletanus, qui titulus notus ex ms. quodam hic videtur primum proponi (ad titulum certe memoratur editio tantum haec, "Gimeno sub prelo"). Tituli momenti alicuius nuper editi non recepti in *L'année épigraphique* sunt e.g. Segobrigenses n. 280 (titulus valde elegans M'. – cf. infra – Octavii Novati praefecti fabrum) et n. 324 (titulus Porciae L. f. Lucullae, cuius cognomen videtur esse ductum ex praenomine patris, parentiumque eius). Tituli omnes instructi sunt commentariis scitu digna explicantibus; ad titulos quosdam, praesertim carmina, addita est versio Hispanica (nn. 126, 158, 455 etc.).

Ut iam ad titulos oppidorum singulorum transeam, ex numero non magno (29) titulorum Titulcensium et ex ipsis titulis facile apparet agi de loco non magni momenti. Quod ad Toletum attinet, notabilis mihi videtur numerus satis altus titulorum agri Toletani, cum tituli urbani occupent nn. 30–57 (adde tamen titulos Christianos nn. 58–78), tituli agri (inter quos autem sunt etiam tituli Christiani) nn. 81–177. Inter titulos Toletanos sive oppidi sive agri non mihi videntur esse multi

qui sint memoratu valde digni (studiosis rerum Hispanarum tamen erunt cordi e.g. mentiones satis numerosae *cognationum* variarum); notari tamen potest unicum exemplum tabulae ceratae in Hispania repertae n. 116. Ad titulum n. 161, in quo memoratur *Murtilus* quidam, scilicet *Myrtilus*, observatur hoc, cognomen "redire in tit. Vareiensi (*HEp* 7, 1997, 585c)"; in mentem tamen veniunt non solum exempla cognominis *Myrtilus* in titulis Lusitanis (*CIL* II 237; *IRCP* 10) sed etiam municipium Myrtilis Lusitaniae et homo ordinis senatorii L. Marius Vegetinus Marcianus Minicianus Myrtilianus (*PIR*^{2} M 323, "[p]robabiliter ex Hispania ortus").

Etiam tituli non multi Consaburae (quod oppidum situm est in altitudine 857 m.) reperti ostendunt non agi de civitate magni momenti. De titulo n. 186 velim observare hoc, litteram *I* secundam in nomine *Mamilia* mihi non videri longam ("*Mamilìa*" editores) sed infra et supra esse totam inscriptam paulo altius quam litterae aliae; nescio an sumi possit hanc litteram esse additam post titulum primarium inscriptum.

Fasciculus hic concluditur titulis Segobrigensibus, qui sunt plus septigenti (nn. 204–911). Sequitur ut facile appareat Segobrigam fuisse urbem aliis longe praestantissimam, id quod efficitur etiam ex eo, quod Segobrigae noti sunt praeter forum, basilicam, thermas etiam circus, theatrum, amphitheatrum (p. 103sq.). Ceterum quod ad titulos Segobrigenses attinet, etiam de iis observari potest saepius agi de fragmentis minimi momenti. Tituli Segobrogenses cum sint satis numerosi, divisi sunt in capita plurima, e. g. in miliaria, titulos sacros, imperatorum, virorum ordinis senatorii, virorum ordinis equestris, etc. Inter titulos senatorum notabiles sunt e. g. tituli positi in honorem C. Calvisii Sabini consulis a. 4 a. C. (n. 267) et M. Licinii Crassi Frugi consulis a. 27 p. C. (n. 268); notabilis est etiam titulus apparitoris, scilicet M. Porcii M. f. *Caesaris Augusti scribae* n. 283 (quod p. 155 dicitur de v. 2, ubi iam legitur tribus *Pup(inia)*, non bene intelligo; nisi sumi potest dictum esse lapicidam primum inscripsisse tribum Segobribrigensium *GAL*, has litteras deinde correxisse in *PVPINIA*; ex im. phot. tamen videtur effici hoc denique esse correctum in *PVP*, sed ita, ut restet vestigium litterae secundae *I*).

Post capita plura (e. g. titulos magistratuum, collegiorum, operum publicorum) incidimus in titulos sepulcrales, divisos in capitula multa. Inter hos mihi notabiles videntur e. g. n. 455, carmen pulcrum quod mater scripsit filiae mortuae (*AE* 2007, 805); n. 467, titulus partim inscriptus, partim delineatus; n. 486, titulus, quem *Placidi[na]e* cuidam posuit *Satur atavus eiusdem*; *atavi* enim in titulis rarissime memoratur. Cognomina memoratu digna inveni in n. 491 (*Liticus*, i. e. *Lithicus* ut videtur) et in n. 497 (Quintia T. l. Anthologis). In universum in titulis observavi hoc, praenomen rarum *Manii* inveniri saepius quam expectaveris; v. nn. 212. 280 (cf. n. 269, ubi p. 146 "13, 268" corrigi debet in 13, 280). 380. 403. 432. 455. 518. 522. 536. 549. 619. Inter homines praenomine Manios reperiuntur Acilii (403), Aurelii (432), Cassii (212), Octavii (280), Valerii (455 et 536; cum in n. 380 memoretur Manius quidam, de cuius nomine non legitur nisi littera prima *V*, nescio an possit cogitari de M'. V[alerio ---]).

Ut solet, etiam hic fasciculus *Corporis* scriptus est lingua Latina ea fere, quae in usu erat apud scriptoribus optimae aetatis; observavi tamen quosdam errores (e. g. *agiatur* pro *agatur* p. 124 n. 226; *vir … oriundus a Segobriga … fuisse putavit* Alföldy p. 149 n. 274 pro *virum … oriundum*), sed pauci sunt et in opere alioqui optimo laudibusque dignissimo nullius fere momenti. Ita restat, ut gratiae mihi sint dicendae iis omnibus, qui huic fasciculo ad finem perducendo operam suam navaverunt.

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Arabella Cortese (ed.): *Identity and Cultural Exchange in Ancient Cilicia: New Results and Future Perspectives. Internationales Kolloquium 18.–19. Mai 2018 in München*. Mitteilungen zur spätantiken Archäologie und byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte 7. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2020. ISBN 978-3-95490-428-0; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-95490-680-2. 160 pp. EUR 39.80.

This book collects together contributions of an international conference which took place in Munich in 2018. The wide variety of authors and titles are:

- Marcello Spanu: "The Cities of Kilikia during the Roman Period: A Reassessment"
- Annalisa Polosa: "Coin Production and Coin Circulation in Cilicia Tracheia"
- Mustafa Sayar: "Spätantike Siedlungen im Ebenen Kiliken"
- Emanuela Borgia: "Cilicia as a Multicultural Region: Indigenous and Foreign People in Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions"
- Yavuz Yeğin – Murat Özyıldırım: "Christliche Identität in Olba am Beispiel des Klosters von Olba"
- Emel Erten: "The End of Antiquity at Olba"
- Arabella Cortese: "Korykos und seine Heiligen in der Spätantike: Landschaft, Raum und Präsenz in der Grabeskirche extra muros"
- Troels Myrup Kristensen: "Meryemlik, Gathering and the Archaeology of Pilgrimage."

The book is a welcome addition to internationally published research on ancient Cilicia, an area which has received less attention than the more western areas of modern Turkey although it has interesting connections and the potential to advance our understanding of the dynamics of a wider area. The introduction by Arabella Cortese states that two questions are specifically addressed: the long acculturation process of Cilicia from the Hellenistic to the Late Antique period, and the local identity of the region. In this the volume is successful to a degree, for although it does not aim to provide a comprehensive summary of the topic, it does present the latest research from the area. This

is most likely to be most useful to those interested in the area or the specific topics of the articles, which cover the latest available archaeological, epigraphic and literary evidence.

The volume is opened by Marcello Spanu's general reassessment of the cities of Roman Cilicia. He focuses on understanding how the process of urbanisation worked, going through the characteristics of the regions in terms of typology and architectural solutions in the urban fabric. These conform largely to what we see in other regions in Asia Minor, although there is a clear need for further evidence from excavations to draw a more detailed picture – all attempts to supply definitive conclusions suffer from this. Despite its limitations, Spanu's contribution works as a good backdrop to the other contributions and provides a useful summary of the current state of the art.

Two of the contributions concern the city of Olba, shedding light on recent excavations in the city. Yavuz Yeğin and Murat Özyıldırım's interesting study of the monastery of Olba and its representation of Christian identity in the area provides a detailed overview of the archaeological material found in the 2010–2015 excavations, especially the architectural decoration. The study shows how the monastery is situated in the general architectural landscape of the region, demonstrating conformity with Romano-Imperial forms of architectural sculpture, while also using local elements. Emel Erten provides an overview of the evidence for settlement at Olba from the Bronze Age until the city's Christianisation from the fourth century onwards, before discussing the literary and archaeological evidence for the decline of the city between the 5th and 7th centuries CE as a result of civil wars, earthquakes and raids by the Sassanians.

The image of the urban centres in the region is complemented by Arabella Cortese's study of Korkytos, a major port city in Cilicia in the Roman and Byzantine periods. Her contribution focuses specifically on the history and architecture of the so-called "extra-mural grave church", a large (78m x 28m) 6th century CE church, which has been associated with a number of early saints. She shows that Korkytos owed much of its late prestige and identity to the influence of Christianity and the rise of the cult of saints. Troels Myrup Kristensen continues research into the Late Antique heritage of Cilicia, discussing Meryemlik, famed for the Basilica of Thekla and its cave church. He provides an interesting, theory-supported approach to the way in which the different spaces contributed to how a pilgrim to the site used and interacted with each space and the wider cityscape.

These contributions to the topography of the area are supplemented by the contributions of Annalisa Polosa (coinage), Mustafa Sayar and Emanuela Borgia (inscriptions).

Although the contributions show that much remains to be excavated in the region to gain a more in-depth picture, the volume is a valuable contribution to an expanding body of research of an interesting area.

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Marco Erpetti: *Il sepolcreto al III miglio della via Prenestina. Tituli pedaturae dagli scavi di Lorenzo Fortunati (Roma 1861)*. Studia Archaeologica 2015. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider 2015. ISBN 978-88-913-0917-4. 159 pp. EUR 69.

Segnaliamo brevemente questo utile volume edito nel 2015, chiedendo scusa per il ritardo della recensione, causato dal lungo periodo del Covid-19 che ci ha impedito un intenso lavoro scientifico. Il III miglio della via Prenestina è noto per la presenza di uno dei complessi architettonici più importanti del suburbio di Roma, vale a dire i resti tradizionalmente attribuiti alla Villa dei Gordiani. Il suo contesto archeologico è caratterizzato da una necropoli romana, che fu scavata nel 1861 dall'archeologo Lorenzo Fortunati; tuttavia, i suoi rendiconti di scavo sono purtroppo insufficienti. Per comprendere come fossero articolate le sepolture è fondamentale lo studio dei *tituli pedaturae* (l'a. usa il termine *pedatura*, che compare di rado nella documentazione epigrafica e mai nelle nostre iscrizioni della via Prenestina). La definizione dello spazio funerario, infatti, permette di valutare l'estensione e il numero delle aree sepolcrali rinvenute. Le caratteristiche dei supporti epigrafici consentono di individuare le tipologie di tombe, soprattutto appartenenti a liberti vissuti tra I e II secolo. I dati raccolti in questo volume si fondano sull'analisi delle iscrizioni delle quali viene offerto un catalogo. Concludiamo con qualche piccola osservazione su tale catalogo: p. 53 invece di *com(b)<m>urantur* con sbagliato uso di segni diacritici si scriva *com⌜ b ⌝urantur*. – p. 55: invece di *Quir(inus)* si scriva *Quir(inius)*. – p. 65: invece di *Ti<ti>tulum* con sbagliato uso di segni diacritici si scriva *ti{ti}tulum*; – p. 83f: il defunto non si chiamava *Dionysus*, bensì *Dionysius*. – p. 85: si tolga il punto esclamativo (!) dopo *macerie*, essendo *maceries* una buona parola accanto alla più comune *maceria*.

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Leoni Hellmayr: *Der Mann, der Troja erfand. Das abenteuerliche Leben des Heinrich Schliemann.* wbg (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft), Darmstadt 2021. ISBN 978-3-534-27349-2; ISBN (e-book PDF) 978-3-534-27385-0; ISBN (e-book EPUB) 978-3-534-27389-8. 288 S. EUR 20.

The life and legacy of Heinrich Schliemann has not been easy to study. He wrote an autobiography, where he added non-existing details about his life, yet he also saved the documents from his life as a merchant, traveller and archaeologist. The proper task of studying his life and his work began quite late owing to a decision taken by Schliemann's children in 1937 to give Ernst Meyer the sole

publishing right to the material then stored in Athens at the Gennadius Library. Meyer blocked other researchers from accessing these documents and took texts out of the collection. These texts then disappeared and have still not been recovered. A number of Schliemann's selected letters were published in 1953 and 1959 by Meyer, and this collection has been useful for research on Schliemann's life. However, the letters give an idealized picture of Schliemann, as Meyer published the letters in a selective manner, leaving out large sections of particular letters. Starting from 1960, the material in the Gennadius Library finally became accessible to scholars, and then began a thorough consideration of what Schliemann had written about himself and his life with the result that both his credibility as a private person and his archaeological achievements were questioned. Critics took their views too far, but later with more research, Schliemann has gained more recognition.

This biography seeks to explain Schliemann's hopes, deeds and accomplishments in the light of the 19th century and its discoveries in science, the improvements in transportation and communication and how this opened up the world to people, though at the same time making it more complex. Hellmayr goes through the events in Schliemann's life, shedding light on its different faces: the merchant, the traveller, the archaeologist, how he promoted his own excavations and also how he handled occasionally fierce criticism from the press and scholars.

Hellmayr has used the Heinrich Schliemann papers at the Gennadius Library, and Schliemann's published works *Ilios: Stadt und Land der Trojaner*, *Ithaka der Peloponnes und Troja*, *Reise durch China und Japan im Jahre 1865* as well as Schliemann's autobiography. The secondary literature reveals many older biographies written on Schliemann.

This book works like a collection of scenes showing Schliemann's life or like a detective story. It explains the choices he made in his life as well as the incidents that forced him to take a certain path. Background information is given on the historical events and important places of the time and how they are connected to Schliemann. To mention just one example, driven by curiosity, Schliemann made a visit to Japan about ten years after the U.S. warships had landed there and certain ports had been opened for foreign ships and visitors.

Hellmayr discusses the main feature of Schliemann's character, which is restlessness, the result of having lived in a broken home and having to leave home and soon also school at an early age. Restlessness is visible in how Schliemann was always on the move, always travelling, forever wanting to see something new. There is a certain contradiction in this: Schliemann's letters and diaries clearly show that he was always on the move, yet there was also a profound interest in learning that only produces results after years of dedicated work. He learned the profession of merchant by necessity, as he had to provide for himself, and by following his own interests, he studied languages, mostly on his own, using the methods he had invented and that suited him.

Therefore, being restless does not quite explain how he was able to accomplish so much. Not everything went right in Schliemann's work. He was able to answer the question *Ubi Troia fuit* and paved the way for future scholars to continue excavations. Wilhelm Dörpfeld proved in work conducted in 1893–1894, just a few years after Schliemann's death, that the actual archaeological level that could be connected to a great destroyed city, on a site where people had lived for thousands of years, was level number six. Schliemann in his fervent attempts to find the city of Priam, had actually dug through this level, ending up in the early Bronze Age about one thousand years earlier.

The book comes with maps and photos. An index would have been useful, given the great number of people and events discussed.

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Leoni Hellmayr (Hrsg.): *Heinrich Schliemann und die Archäologie.* wbg (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft), Darmstadt 2021. ISBN 978-3-8053-5317-5; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-8053-5287-1. 127 S. EUR 32.

The life and work of the German archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann (1822–1890) has been re-examined in new publications at the bicentenary of his birth. This collection of articles written by historians and archaeologists sheds light on his life as merchant, archaeologist, writer and the founder of modern archaeology.

Undine Haase: "Wo alles begann – Das Heinrich-Schliemann-Museum in Ankershagen". The director of the Schliemann museum introduces Schliemann's first home – now turned into a museum – and discusses the history of the museum, its collections and how it instructs visitors about Schliemann, his work and what archaeology was like in the 19th century.

Leoni Hellmayr: "Ein Leben für Troia? Der Mensch hinter dem Mythos Schliemann". Schliemann himself was so intent on gaining recognition and creating a myth about himself that he added non-existing information to his autobiography. On the other hand, he diligently saved documents during his life, including notebook notes, copies of letters he had sent, diaries and books from his business. All this should make the study of his life relatively easy. However, the documents have only been openly accessible to all scholars since the 1960s, and as a result, a thorough study separating verified facts from myths has been delayed for decades. This article explains the complex reasons for this.

Matthias Wemhoff – Bernhard Heeb – Susanne Kuprella: "Schliemanns Welten: Eine Ausstellung anlässlich seines 200. Geburtstages". The highlights of the exhibition Schliemanns Welten (April–October 2022) at the Museumsinsel Berlin are discussed. The themes include Schliemann's extensive journeys, the letters he wrote, in which he often touches upon events in the world, and of course his archaeological work.

Ulrich Veit: "Die Erfindung der modernen Archäologie: Welche Rolle Spielte Schliemann dabei?" This article deals with the development of archaeology, Schliemann's predecessors, and his ability to communicate his ideas to scholars of his time. Archaeological excavations had taken place in the 17th and 18th centuries, but they did not have much in common with modern excavation techniques and could best be described as projects uncovering large architectural remains or hunting for treasures. These excavations mainly served collectors in their search for objects for their collections, but there were also exceptions, such as the excavations conducted in Monticello by Thomas Jefferson, which gave him the title of the father of archaeology in America. Schliemann's ability to communicate his findings and ideas so that others could step in and find different uses for these material is remarkable. The physician Rudolf Virchow did not agree with every interpretation Schliemann made of the findings in Troy, but he became involved enough for the Trojan excavation to become the prototype of modern interdisciplinary settlement excavations. Architect Wilhelm Dörpfeld was also drawn in, making drawings that explained the basic structure of Hissarlik Hill with its complex formation of buildings and layers. Carl W. Blegen and Manfred Korfmann were then able to continue from there.

Wilfried Bölke: "Die Wahrheit über seinen Titel: Schliemanns Promotion an der Rostocker Universität". The title of Doctor of Philosophy supposedly given to Heinrich Schliemann by the University of Rostock in 1869 is one of those issues where the information in Schliemann's autobiography as well as Schliemann's honesty has been called into question. Did he earn a doctorate at all? Did he write his thesis in ancient Greek as he claims? We now know that he earned his doctorate with a thesis called *Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, Troie, Recherches Archéologiques*, and Bölke explains how Schliemann's reputation has been restored. In this investigation, Schliemann's letters to members of his family in Mecklenburg have been used as well as documents found in the Rostock University archives. These documents include Schliemann's CV that he wrote in Greek and Latin, the university's assessment and approval of his work, and the confirmation of his title by the Grand Duke Friedrich Franz II. All this is described in Bölke's article.

Stefanie Samida: "Alles eine Frage der PR: Schliemanns Weg zur Popularität". This article sheds light on Schliemann's worldwide popularity, and how it started to develop after his discovery of Troy. Again, it was Schliemann himself who made his own work known, first by writing a series

of articles in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in Augsburg, one of the most widespread daily newspapers in Germany. Schliemann described in detail the golden objects he excavated in Troy, which he called Priam's treasure. This naming was immediately questioned by contemporary archaeologists, who claimed that it was a fantasy that had nothing to do with the real Priam and that Schliemann had little understanding of the meaning of his excavations (at that time German scholars were excavating in Olympia and Samothrake). Schliemann was, moreover, ridiculed in the Berlin-based satirical magazine *Kladderadatsch*, where it was reported that he had found a petrified horseshoe that must have belonged to the Trojan horse! The writers also anticipated that Schliemann would soon report on the discovery of Cleopatra's grave or the treasure of the Nibelungs. Through active self promotion, Schliemann and his family became a household name and he was celebrated both in Germany and in Britain in the 1880s. Schliemann's death in 1890 was widely reported.

Curtis Runnels: "Mehr als ein Laie: Schliemanns Bücher liefern den Beweis". In scientific and popular science Schliemann is without exception described as a layman. Runnels makes the case, however, that Schliemann should not be seen as an eager amateur, but as an archaeologist of his time in the same way as John Evans, Lane Fox Pitt Rivers and Austen Henry Layard. Schliemann's merits lie in the development of the study of the prehistory and early history of the Aegean. Runnels analyses the books Schliemann wrote between 1869 and 1885 and how his archaeological methods and excavation techniques developed, as did the way he published his results, always making sure there were many illustrations. Schliemann strove to produce the best possible publications, and received advice from John Evans. For the English version of his *Trojanische Alterthümer*, which was published in London in 1875 under the title *Troy and Its Remains*, Schliemann even used the same publisher (John Murray) that had printed Evans's work. This co-operation continued in the books that followed. As Runnels points out, Schliemann always published his results within two years of his current excavation finishing.

Wilfried Bölke: "Otto Kellers Reise nach Troia 1874: Der Beginn einer langjährigen Freundschaft mit Heinrich Schliemann". Schliemann's friendship with Professor Otto Keller provides further evidence of his ability to be accepted by contemporary scholars. Otto Keller was in fact a philologist, but had an interest in archaeology, and visited Schliemann in Athens and then went to Troy in 1874. This visit resulted in correspondence that lasted for fifteen years as well as Keller's public support for Schliemann's theory that Hissarlik was the true site of Troy.

Thomas Martin: "Schliemanns 'Marmorpalast' in Athen. Das Ιλιου Μελαθρον". Athens became the new capital after the Greek War of Independence (1821–1832). The new city aspired to a neoclassical appearance, one of its most prominent architects being Ernst Ziller, who planned and built over 500 buildings. Ziller took his influences from ancient buildings in Athens, such as the library of Hadrian, the Parthenon and the Erechtheion, becoming in time popular with

the Greek people and with the king himself. Besides planning state buildings, he also created churches, banks and other trading houses. He built private residential buildings as well, one of these being Schliemann's own house, which stood out in the way it was built, its building costs being six times the amount that the Athenian upper class usually spent on such projects. On the outside, the main influence came from Italian Renaissance architecture, a feature that was also recognizable in those buildings in Dresden and Vienna that Ziller had designed before coming to Athens. Researchers can now follow the building process from Schliemann's and Ziller's correspondence. The interior that was decorated with Pompeian wall paintings by Juri Subic not only followed the fashion that was fully in use at the time, there were also references to Schliemann's own excavations. Overall, the choices Schliemann made on decoration showed his vast knowledge of ancient literature.

Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan: "Zu Gast bei Schliemanns: Das *Iliou Melathron* als gesellschaftlicher Fixpunkt". This article explains the rich social life that took place in the home of Heinrich and Sophia Schliemann, a life which she continued after her husband's death. An invitation to a party at the Schliemanns' was widely appreciated in Athenian high society, and as one visitor recorded, there was a wide number of different nationalities and professions present: Greek statesmen, professors from the university, Athenian journalists, archaeologists from England, Germany and France, as well as diplomats from various embassies. Their hosts discussed effortlessly with them, having mastered all their languages.

Umberto Pappalardo: "Ein Grab für einen Helden: Das Mausoleum von Heinrich Schliemann". Researchers have asked what was the primary purpose of Schliemann's house in Athens. Was it, for example, built to his everlasting memory? This is unlikely, as Schliemann arranged a mausoleum for himself and his family in Athens, and Ziller was again hired to plan and build this memorial.

The articles tackle many essential questions in Schliemann's life, his work, and its reception. What is noteworthy is Schliemann's ability to make connections with the scholars of his time and the way in which this led to new discoveries and solutions by others. Schliemann's reputation is restored in many ways. The authors have also taken the effort to place Schliemann in his own 19th century world, and thus they succeed in touching on many aspects of the cultural history of the time. The book is richly illustrated and comes with a short bibliography.

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Inscriptiones Graecae. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editae. Vol. XV: *Inscriptiones Cypri.* Pars 1: *Inscriptiones Cypri syllabicae.* Fasc. 1: *Inscriptiones Amathuntis Curii Marii.* Ediderunt Artemis Karnava – Massimo Perna adiuvante Markus Egetmeyer. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2020. ISBN 978-3-11-067082-0. X, 286 pp. EUR 360.

Ce volume des *Inscriptiones Graecae* est le premier de la série prestigieuse qui traite de documents syllabiques. Une première pour les *IG*, tant attendue, une tâche complétée avec diligence. Plus précisément, sont édités ou réédités des textes en syllabaires chypriotes provenant d'Amathonte, de Kourion et de Marion, trois royaumes du sud et de l'ouest de Chypre; un texte de Βάσα Κοιλανίου est inclus (nº 159) et cinq de Δρύμου (nºs 160–164), des dédicaces à Apollo Hylatès et des épitaphes provenant de ce site, dont le toponyme ancien nous échappe.

Dans ce beau volume on trouve la publication des documents syllabiques en dialecte grec chypriote dans la majorité des cas, en "étéochypriote" (langue non-grecque, officielle, semble-t-il, à Amathonte jusqu'à la fin du IVe s. *a.C.*, dont la structure reste encore inconnue) ou même en *abjad* (alphabet consonantique) phénicien dans des inscriptions bilingues ou en remploi. 410 textes y sont présentés en tout, y compris les légendes monétaires des royaumes respectifs. Des concordances et des indices (pp. 201–209, dus à Klaus Hallof) suivent, ainsi qu'un fort utile répertoire des variantes des signes syllabiques et des diviseurs attestés dans tous les textes (pp. 211–237 du à Massimo Perna): il s'agit d'un véritable instrument de travail pour la datation ainsi que pour le déchiffrement des textes nouveaux.

La transcription des documents syllabiques grecs est donnée à la fois en alphabet grec et en alphabet latin (avec des signes diacritiques pour noter les voyelles longues), d'après deux œuvres de référence en la matière, celle d'O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques: Recueil critique et commenté*, Réimpression augmentée, Paris 1983 (abrégé ci-dessous *ICS*²) et celle de M. Egetmeyer, *Le dialecte grec ancien de Chypre*, Berlin – New York 2010. Le dernier savant participe à l'équipe éditoriale du corpus.

Les syllabaires utilisés dans les trois royaumes en revue sont le paphien et les variantes locales du syllabaire dit "commun". À la différence du second volume de la série *IG* XV 2,1, qu'il sera recensé ci-après, il n'y a pas des *testimonia* précédant les inscriptions de chaque site, mais des cartes.

Quelques notes sur l'ensemble de l'ouvrage: il faut clairement distinguer entre monuments en remploi et textes bilingues ou digraphes: absence de cette précision peut, à la rigueur, être déconcertante. Par exemple le nº 8 d'Amathonte présente une inscription fragmentaire alphabétique au dessus d'une inscription syllabique; le monument n'est évidemment pas "digraphe" (ainsi Egetmeyer 2010, p. 588 nº 33 suivi tacitement dans le texte des *IG*) mais en deuxième emploi plusieurs siècles plus tard, comme il est à juste titre souligné par A. Hermary, *RDAC* 1994, p. 208. Le nº 102, un monument du type "fenêtre de bâtiment" d'Épiskopi-Kourion (dans le commentaire corriger le lieu-dit Καλοριζίκη en Καλορίζικη), porte en dessus les restes d'un texte syllabique en une ligne; à la ligne en dessous, on a un texte

phénicien fragmentaire, daté du VIIe s. *a.C.* selon O. Masson-M. Sznycer, *Recherches sur les Phéniciens à Chypre*, Genève – Paris 1972, pp. 89–91. Les restes du texte syllabique sont incompréhensibles; du texte phénicien subsistent deux anthroponymes, dont un *Bikrî, le Sido*[*nien*. Le contenu des deux inscriptions est sans rapport (cf. O. Masson, *ICS*², p. 412, nº 183k, qui a écrit prudemment "inscrite avec légende double"): apparemment il s'agit d'un remploi. De même, le nº 237 de Marion avec une inscription syllabique sur une stèle funéraire du Ve/IVe s. *a.C.*; la stèle fut remployée et les restes d'une épigramme funéraire en alphabet milésien appartiennent à ce remploi datant de l'époque hellénistique.

Amathonte est un des royaumes les plus intéressants (et les plus mal connus de point de vue historique et linguistique) de Chypre. 92 textes y sont présentés et commentés. Si l'on prend en considération les textes dont la langue peut être identifiée, les textes syllabiques en "étéochypriote" s'échelonnent de l'époque chypro-archaïque I (750–600 *a.C.*, nºs 18, 68) à la fin du IVe s. *a.C.* sur des critères historiques valables (à l'exception du texte inédit nº 74, daté du IIIe s. *a.C.* selon les éditeurs, qui adoptent une suggestion de F. Burkhalter). Les textes syllabiques en grec chypriote datent de 600–475 *a.C.* (nºs 69–70) au IVe s. *a.C.* Il y a quelques inscriptions bilingues et digraphes du IVe s. *a.C.* (en étéochypriote et en *koinè*, par exemple les nºs 2, 7). Curieusement, il n'y a pas des bilingues en "étéochypriote" et en grec chypriote). Il y a des inédits, le plus souvent des fragments d'un ou deux syllabogrammes peu explicites, tels les nºs 25, 27–32, 34–35, 39, 40, 42–43, 47–59, 60–68, 74, 78 et 81 dont la langue reste inconnue.

Les monnaies d'Amathonte sont réexaminées par E. Markou et A. Karnava (nºs 85–92); ce dernier numéro porte un nom royal nouveau *a-pi-pa-lo* Ἀπιπάλω (gén.) au lieu de Ἐπιπάλω des éditeurs précédents sur une légende monétaire datée de 370–360 *a.C.*

Les 65 inscriptions de Kourion (nºs 93–158) datent du VIIIe/VIIe s. *a.C.* (nº 119, à condition que le document provient de Kourion) au ɪᴠe s. *a.C.* et sont écrites, dans la grande majorité des cas et là où on peut en juger, en grec chypriote. Quelques-unes des plus anciennes inscriptions sont écrites en syllabaire paphien (sinistroverse dans la plupart des cas), par exemple dans les nºs 93, 96–97, 102–103, 111–118, 126, 129, 150, 152, 156, ce qui donne un indice sur l'influence ou les relations (culturelles ou autres) de Paphos sur Kourion depuis au moins le huitième siècle *a.C.* Une dédicace de la deuxième moitié du IVe s. *a.C.*, en grec chypriote et en Koiné, en syllabaire dit "commun" et en alphabet milésien respectivement (nº 95) est l'unique digraphe. Le lieu de trouvaille du nº 105 est Πισκοπ(ε)ιά (neutre, au pluriel, v. S. Menardos, *Τοπωνυμικαὶ καὶ λαογραφικαὶ μελέται*, Δημοσιεύματα τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἐρευνῶν XXXI, Nicosie 2001, p. 52). Au nº 150 (ainsi qu'au nº 402 de Marion) à corriger l'accentuation du nominatif de l'anthroponyme en Ὀνασίλος (v. P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien*, Paris 1933, p. 249 § 195). Au nº 158 aussi, il faut accentuer Καλορίζικη.

Les 245 inscriptions de Marion (nºs 165–410) constituent un ensemble riche et fort intéressant, entre autres pour l'onomastique grecque chypriote des époques archaïque et classique, la

tradition onomastique, les liens familiaux. Il s'agit en majorité d'épitaphes, de dédicaces, d'inscriptions d'appartenance. Sauf rares exceptions, ces textes sont écrits en syllabaire "commun". On trouve même quelques cas rares de gravure boustrophédon. Elles s'échelonnent du chypro-géométrique III (n° 403) au IVe s. *a.C.* Il y a des textes nouveaux (n°s 257–261, 263, 267, etc.), pour la plupart fragmentaires, avec un ou deux signes syllabiques, des lettres alphabétiques, ou des chiffres.

Les monnaies de Marion (n°s 406–410) sont rééditées par Evangelini Markou et Artemis Karnava. Les légendes présentent le nom du roi régnant, parfois avec son patronyme, associé à l'ethnique Μαριεύς, ou le titre βασιλεύς (au nominatif ou au génitif).

On doit féliciter l'Académie de Berlin et les éditeurs de ce bel projet, qui, assurément comblera un vide: jusqu'alors, une bonne partie de l'épigraphie grecque en écritures syllabiques est restée à l'écart des *corpora* de l'épigraphie alphabétique, souvent inconnue ou négligée des philologues. Je crois que l'initiative des *Inscriptiones Graecae* va remédier à cet isolement.

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Inscriptiones Graecae. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editae. Vol. XV: *Inscriptiones Cypri.* Pars 2: *Inscriptiones Cypri alphabeticae.* Fasc. 1: *Inscriptiones Cypri orientalis (Citium, Pýla, Golgi, Tremithus, Idalium, Tamassus, Kafizin, Ledra).* Ediderunt Maria Kantirea – Daniela Summa. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2020. ISBN 978-3-11-069503-8. X, 378 pp. EUR 410.

Ce volume des *IG* fait suite à *IG* XV 1,1 *Inscriptiones Cypri syllabicae*, Fasciculus 1: *Inscriptiones Amathuntis, Curii, Marii*. Après la préface de Klaus Hallof et celle des éditrices sont rassemblées et commentées avec soin 913 documents alphabétiques en grec, deux en latin (dont un bilingue, en grec et en latin, n° 106), et un bilingue en grec et en phénicien, n° 74. Évidemment, sont inclus des textes digraphes, alphabétiques (en Koiné) et syllabiques (en dialecte chypriote) du Nymphée de Kafizin. Les documents recensés ici proviennent (ou dans certains cas sont présumés provenir) des sites suivants: Kition, Pyla (toponyme actuel), Golgoi, Tremithus, Idalion, Tamassos, Kafizin — où le sanctuaire de la Nymphe ἐν τῷ Στρόφιγγι se situe — et Ledra. Les inscriptions sont regroupées par site et par catégorie, selon l'ordre usuel, précédées par des témoignages littéraires et épigraphiques de chaque site. Plusieurs inédits, par exemple les n°s 180–194 de Kition, le n° 337 d'Arsos, les n°s 794, 797, 810, 817–818, 820, 822–832, 834–835, 837–840, 843–859, 863, 870–874, 876–877, 879–886, 888–889, 891–896 de provenance exacte inconnue, parvenus à Kition sans indication de provenance; il s'agit pour la plupart des épitaphes brèves du type anthroponyme (au vocatif)+χρηστέ/χρηστή+χαῖρε,

surtout d'époque romaine. Les éditrices apportent des compléments et des nouvelles lectures, par exemple aux nos 792, 815 (v. aussi *infra* des corrections aux textes de Kafizin).

Les textes s'échelonnent du VIe s. *a.C.* au VIIe s. *p.C.* Concordances (pp. 273–286). Les indices détaillés (pp. 287–313) sont dus à Klaus Hallof; un utile "index grammaticus" (pp. 314–317) avec des échanges graphémiques, autres faits orthographiques, suffixes, vocabulaire, etc. est du à Jaime Curbera.

Une grande partie du corpus est consacrée aux inscriptions de Kition (nos 1–297). Plusieurs numéros datent de l'époque hellénistique, contribuant ainsi à combler les lacunes des sources littéraires quant à la transformation d'un royaume phénicien (comme l'attestent notamment la langue des documents publics et privés et l'onomastique locale) à une ville hellénophone du royaume ptolémaïque. Les inscriptions hellénistiques donnent des indices de changements majeurs (cultuels, culturels, politiques et démographiques) depuis le début du IIIe s. *a.C.*, quand l'île de Chypre fut annexée au royaume lagide. Le grec des inscriptions officielles et privées de Kition d'époque hellénistique ayant relation à des dignitaires est soigné, avec très peu de fautes. Il est évident que l'hellénisation du substrat phénicien durant l'époque lagide fut rapide, par le moyen de l'enseignement. L'hellénisation affecte aussi l'onomastique phénicienne, par des procédés plus compliqués et variés.

La section VII (nos 474–779), dédiée aux inscriptions du Nymphée de Kafizin, est précédée d'une fort utile mise à jour, résumant, entre autres, la description du site, les fouilles menées, l'apport du dossier au lexique du grec, les termes pour des vases offerts (dont quelques-uns attestés pour la première fois), le culte, les dédicants, la datation des textes. Il s'agit de textes alphabétiques (en Koiné), syllabiques (en dialecte chypriote), ou digraphes. Après contrôle, il y a des corrections aux lectures de T. B. Mitford, *The Nymphaeum of Kafizin: The Inscribed Pottery*, Berlin – New York 1980, par exemple aux nos 690, 693, 700, 703, 739 (dans le commentaire il faut corriger θυμιατέριων = θυμιατ*ή*ριον), 743 (leçon incertaine), 744.

Quant à la syntaxe, dans les textes en Koiné de Kafizin au lieu de l'attendu ἐπί + datif, au sens "(sanctuaire situé) sur (la colline pointue)", plusieurs exemples de l'expression ἐπί + génitif en fonction de locatif sont attestés, par exemple ἐπεὶ τοῦ στόρφειγγος (no 683), dans les textes du dernier quart du IIIe s. *a.C.*, et aux nos 691, 694 (mais dans le même texte on a [ἐπ'] ἀγαθῆι τύχη[ι]), ἐπὶ [τοῦ στ]όρφιγγος (no 720). Dans l'index un exemple de ἐπί + accusatif (même sens) est signalé pour le no 534, mais la restitution reste très hypothétique.

Quant au lexique, relevons des mots rares ou nouveaux, tels ἔπαρμα (Φαβατίωνος) (no 782, II-IIIe *p.C.*) au sens probablement de "poids (levé) par Favation" pour un rocher de 243,63 kg (avec ce sens en *LSJ* Rev. Suppl. [1996], *s.v.*); φυλλολίβανος (no 797, II–IIIe *p.C.*) au sens "sorte de plante aromatique qui fournit l'encens".

Quelques remarques générales:

En ce qui concerne la morphologie nominale, plusieurs noms de femmes au vocatif en –οῦ

sont attestés à l'époque impériale, tels Σεραποῦ (voc. nº 816, Ier–IIe s. *p.C.*), Ἰσοῦ (voc. nº 819, Ier–IIe s. *p.C.* pour lequel v. *infra*), Ἀφροδοῦ (voc. nº 822, Ier–IIe s. *p.C.*), Μασαλοῦ (voc. nº 191, IIe–IIIe s. *p.C.*, pour lequel v. *infra*), Ὀλυμποῦ (voc. nº 253, IIIe s. *p.C.*), Δημητριοῦ (voc. nº 292, IIe–IIIe s. *p.C.* pour lequel v. *infra*), Σωτηροῦ (voc. nº 367, IIe–IIIe s. *p.C.* ?), Ἀρτεμοῦ (voc. nº 864, IIe–IIIe s. *p.C.*), <Θευ>δοῦ (voc. nº 792, d'époque impériale). Selon la doctrine reçue (v. entre autres P. Aupert – O. Masson, *BCH* 103, 1979, p. 367 note 27, avec la bibliographie précédente) les éditrices y reconnaissent un paradigme féminin avec nominatif en –οῦς, bien que des exemples de ce nominatif ne soient pas attestés dans le corpus en question. Le matériel apporté par ce corpus offre un bel exemple du remodelage à l'époque impériale de la flexion des féminins du type Λητώ (nom. et acc. -ώ, gén. –οῦς) avec élimination du nombre des suffixes et réorganisation du paradigme moyennant la généralisation de la voyelle [u] du génitif dans tous les cas. Ainsi, le vocatif du type Ἀρτεμοῦ n'est qu'une étape du processus vers une nouvelle flexion des noms féminins en nom. asigmatique, comme il est attendu à l'époque, -οῦ, voc. -οῦ, acc. –οῦν, gén. –οῦς, usuelle en grec chypriote médiéval et moderne (sur laquelle v. D. Holton *et al.*, *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, vol. 2: *Nominal Morphology*, Cambridge 2019, pp. 569–570, 575 § 2.14), comme l'avait présumé la regrettée Inô Michaelidou-Nicolaou. Il est évident que l'accentuation -οῦ ou -ού est purement conventionnelle de point de vue diachronique.

Le sobriquet féminin Ἰσοῦ (voc., nº 819) s'est développé probablement à partir du théonyme Ἶσις (autres exemples chez Fr. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle 1917, p. 226), mais un diminutif constitué de composés tels Ἰσόδικος et Ἰσόθεμις (Bechtel, *l.c.*, pp. 227–228) n'est pas à exclure.

Dans le nº 292, les éditrices corrigent à tort le vocatif féminin Δημητριοῦ en Δημητρ{ι}οῦ. Toutefois, ce nom est un dérivé en –οῦ tiré de Δημήτριος, cf. Aupert – Masson, *l.c.*, p. 364, n. 23.

Dans le document funéraire inédit nº 191 de Kition mentionné ci-dessus, l'hapax Μασαλοῦ (voc. fém.) est transcrit, malheureusement impossible de vérifier sur la photographie de la planche XV. Dans le commentaire, le nom est rapproché avec MŠL, hypocoristique masculin attesté dans un monument funéraire de Kition de *ca* 350 *a.C.* Néanmoins, pour des raisons d'ordre chronologique, historique et grammatical que cette hypothèse pose, Μασαλοῦς se rattache vraisemblablement à μασάομαι "mâcher, manger, bredouiller". Des anthroponymes dérivés sont attestés, Μάσων et très probablement Μάσυλλος, Μασυλλᾶς pour lesquels v. Fr. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, Heidelberg 1922. Cf. la même formation et sens chez βάτταλος "bègue", issu de βατταρίζω (P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien*, Paris 1933, 247 § 194). Μασαλοῦ serait donc un sobriquet au sens "La bredouillante".

Le génitif Θυρσοῦτος (nº 809), répond probablement à un nom féminin en –οῦ, avec flexion à élargissement à dental, sur laquelle v. Cl. Brixhe, *Essai sur le grec anatolien au début de notre ère*, Nancy 1987, pp. 74–75, 75–76.

Dans le domaine de l'onomastique toujours, au nº 813 il faut signaler la forme rare Πτο[λ]ᾶ̣δος

(selon la lecture de Hallof, mais d'après la photo de la planche XLVIII une restitution Πτο[λλ]ᾶδος ne peut pas être exclue). Il y reconnaît une forme abrégée de Πτολεμαῖος sur laquelle v. O. Masson, *ZPE* 98, 1993, p. 164 (=*Onomastica Graeca Selecta* [désormais abrégé *OGS*] vol. III, Genève, p. 156). Pour la flexion à dentale -ᾶς, -ᾶδος, v. Brixhe, *l.c.*, p. 71.

Il y a des fautes d'accentuation, par exemple les féminins avec désinence –ηα (= -εια) portent l'accent sur l'antépénultième (v. O. Masson, *Gnomon* 62.2, 1990, p. 102 [=*OGS* III, p. 77]); à corriger ainsi le voc. Κρατήα en Κράτηα (nº 828). Le même anthroponyme est accentué correctement dans le nº 133 mais erronément dans l'index p. 292. De même, Ἀριστοκλέα (voc. fém., nº 875) doit être accentuée Ἀριστόκλεα. Également, l'anthroponyme Γράπτη (voc. fém., nº 805_1) doit porter l'accent sur la pénultième, et non pas sur la finale, comme l'adjectif γραπτή (cf. O. Masson, *ZPE* 91, 1992, pp. 107–108 [=*OGS* vol. III, pp. 126–127]); à corriger aussi en [Ὀ]νησίφορος (voc. masc., nº 868) pour lequel v. O. Masson, *l.c.*, p. 107, n. 5 [=*OGS* vol. III, p. 126 n. 5).

Les diverses formes du pronom ΑΥΤΟΣ sont parfois transcrites erronément en αὑτός, etc. au lieu de αὐτός etc., créant ainsi une faute sémantique: par exemple dans l'inscription honorifique *IG* XV $2,1.22_{13}$ Σοαντείων ὁ θίασος (sc. ἀνέθεσεν)… εὐνοίας ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς [α]ὑτούς le complément doit être transcrit εἰς [α]*ὐτούς* dans le sens "à cause du dévouement à l'égard (du *thiase*)" (cf. la transcription correcte du nº *IG* XV $2,1.4_7$). De même, en *IG* XV $2,1.27_6$ il faut transcrire ἡ πόλις … καὶ τῆς εἰς *αὐτὴν* εὐεργεσίας.

Dans l'index, p. 289 il y aurait à corriger Ἀπελλῆς; p. 302 *s.v.* διασαφής et Νύμφηι; le génitif Θυρσοῦτος (nº 809) est indiqué tantôt comme génitif d'un anthroponyme masculin en –οῦς, tantôt comme génitif féminin (p. 317, en trois points); *ibid.*, lire Ὀνησιμιανῆς à la place de –μιαμῆς. Il y a aussi quelques différences entre le texte établi ou le commentaire et l'index: par exemple le sujet Ἀρισστους (nº 299) figure dans l'index *ibid.*, parmi les exemples des masculins en -οῦς, transcrit pourtant Ἀρίσστους; le vocatif Ὀλυμποῦ du nº 253 est reconnu comme masculin dans le commentaire, tandis que dans l'index *ibid.* le nom est rangé parmi les féminins en -οῦς; un anthroponyme au nominatif féminin Πρώκτυος figure dans le nº 329_2, corrigé en Πρωκτ<οῦ>ς dans le commentaire par Jaime Curbera, transformé en "Πρωκτοῦς (?)" dans l'index *ibid.*

En conclusion, le matériel présenté apporte des renseignements très intéressants sur l'introduction de la Koiné à Chypre, sur l'évolution du système nominal au niveau grammatical depuis la période hellénistique déjà, sur la transformation de l'anthroponymie, sur la syntaxe. Il y a aussi un apport considérable sur le lexique, avec des mots nouveaux ou rares. Les spécialistes sauront gré aux éditrices d'avoir rassemblé et annoté ce riche et intéressant corpus qui rendra grand service à la communauté scientifique pour l'histoire sociale et linguistique de la région.

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Egil Kraggerud: *Vergiliana: Critical Studies on the Texts of Publius Vergilius Maro*. Routledge, London – New York 2017. ISBN (hardback) 978-1-138-20134-7; ISBN (paperback) 978-0-367-89020-9; ISBN (e-book) 978-1-315-51209-9. XVI, 363 pp. GBP 100.

This volume brings together over one hundred critical notes on Vergil's poetry by the Norwegian scholar Egil Kraggerud. As the author states in his Preface, this book is not his collected papers on Vergil but a collection of his Vergilian studies in an updated form. This means that the book includes both previously published papers, some of them in partly new or changed forms, and some new, unpublished papers. Of the papers, 22 are devoted to the *Bucolics*, 7 to the *Georgics* and 80 to the *Aeneid*. There is also a useful introduction to conjectural criticism, including a list of other scholars' conjectures (20) defended by Kraggerud as well as his own conjectures (24, of which 4 are on *Ecl*., 3 on *G*. and 17 on *A*.).

Most of the papers deal with textual criticism, but there are also some discussions of the right meaning of certain words. The papers are mostly short notes (2–4 pages); among the more extensive ones are a paper on the introductory part (lines 1–12) of *Ecl.* 6, "On the genesis of Vergil's earliest poetry" and a paper on *G.1.83*, "What does prefixed *in*- mean?" This carefully edited volume would have been more convenient for the reader if the footnotes had been placed after each paper.

The author discusses emendations and conjectures made by several twentieth century scholars (especially W. Clausen, G. B. Conte, M. Geymonat, G. P. Goold, N. Horsfall and R. A. Mynors), but along with them, he often refers to earlier nineteenth and even eighteenth century scholars. Like Nicholas Horsfall in his great commentaries, Kraggerud has found useful material in the studies of the leading classical scholar of the late eigthteenth century, Christian Gottlob Heyne. But it is interesting to see how adequate comments and useful ideas can be found even in school editions. Kraggerud refers to Otto Daniel Fibiger's and G. F. V. Lund's Danish editions of the *Aeneid* for schools as well as to Søren Bruun Bugge's Norwegian school edition of the *Eclogues* (I wonder if it is not just a mere coincidence that the Norwegian author Bernt Lie has given the name Bugge to the Latin teacher in his juvenile book *Svend Bidevind*). Kraggerud's papers also show how the studies of Roman literature and Latin language have flourished in the Nordic countries.

As examples of Kraggerud's critical notes, I have chosen one passage from each of Vergil's three works. In *Ecl.* 5.38 the unanimous form in the MSS is *purpureo narcisso*. However, some scholars, relying on the grammarian Diomedes, prefer the feminine form *purpurea*, which is clearly the *lectio difficilior*. According to Kraggerud, Theocritus' lines 1.132–136 must have been in Vergil's mind when he wrote the Eclogues; in line 1.133 Theocritus used exceptionally the feminine form as the epithet of narcissus (καλὰ ναρκίσσος). Kraggerud's conclusion is that the feminine form in Vergil is "a sign of the bucolic form and points to the *aemulatio* with Theocritus". However, when Kraggerud writes: "Vergil seems in fact to criticize Theocritus for stating that the outcome of Daphnis' death could well be that even thorny plants would bloom with fair flowers," it could also be appropriate to

use the masculine form of narcissus – as opposed to Theocritus. In my opinion it is an exaggeration to say that the feminine form of a word which is usually masculine would be a sign of the bucolic genre.

In his extensive discussion of *G.* 1.71–83 and particularly of the word *inaratae* (line 83), Kraggerud rejects the usual interpretation of *inarata terra* as "the unploughed earth" and has replaced it with "the ploughed land". I must here confine myself only to some of Kraggerud's arguments. The detailed study of the prefix *in* shows that in poetry, in the works Horace and Ovid, *inaratus* is a verbal adjective, prefixed by the negative particle. Looking at the agricultural treatises of Cato and Varro and some later sources shows that *inaratus*, which in poetry would be a verbal adjective meaning 'unploughed', could also be the past participle of the verb *inarare* 'to plough'. Kraggeud takes into account also the larger context. In *G.*1.71–83 Vergil speaks of two different methods of farming, fallowing and rotation. The former method is discussed in 71–72 and the latter in 73–82. If the interpretation of line 83 as "the unploughed land" is correct, it would suit better lines 71–73 than the previous lines 73–82, which raises the question why Vergil would return to fallowing after his discussion on rotation. Kraggerud's interpretation, which has its only predecessor in Emil Glaser's short note in *Philologus* in 1873, seems to be convincing. In addition to Kraggerud's information about Glaser, I would like to mention that he was also the author of the monograph *Publius Vergilius Maro als Naturdichter und Theist: Kritische und ästhetische Einleitung zu Vergils Bukolika und Georgika* (1880).

In *A.* 6.588 (in the story of Salmoneus) the usual reading is *mediaeque per Elidis urbem*, while Kraggerud prefers the reading *mediamque per Elidis urbem*. He enumerates several passages from Ovid and other authors, who have *media* as the epithet of *urbs* (*mediam per urbem*, *media in urbe*, etc.). Kraggerud argues that the adjective *media* given to Elis is without any obvious function. He also asks: "/…/ where could Salmoneus better display his blasphemeous insolence than in the middle of some major city?" But would not Salmoneus' insolence be even greater if one recalls that Salmonia, the city of Salmoneus, is situated in mid-Elis?

Along with such problems of the forms of words (*purpureo* ~ *purpurea*, *mediae* ~ *mediam*), Kraggerud's interests range from punctuation and capital letters to the problems of right words (*ad auras* ~ *ad auris*) and the forms of names (*Panopes* ~ *Panopeus*). His critical notes use good judgement and extensive knowledge. He has fittingly expressed his critical principles at the beginning of his analysis of *A.* 1.462: "Just as it is a wise thing not to reply immediately to new theories, it is likewise good to give oneself ample time for sober reflection and assessment before approving of traditional dogmas in print."

Vergiliana is an important and useful addition to Vergilian studies, contributing especially to the everlasting debate on textual problems and showing the diversity of the problems involved. At the same time it provides the reader with useful glimpses into the history of Vergilian scholarship.

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Paola Lombardi (a cura di): *Come Aurora. Lieve preziosa.* Ergastai *e* philoi *a Gabriella Bevilacqua. Giornata di studio – Roma 6 giugno 2012*. Con la collaborazione di Manuela Mari – Sara Campanelli. Opuscula epigraphica 17. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2017. ISBN 978-88-7140-791-3. 192 pp. EUR 60.

Diversamente da tante *Festschriften* nel campo classico, che troppo spesso sono di contenuto molto variegato e sparso, questo volume offre una raccolta di studi su un tema ben circoscritto, vale a dire sulla documentazione epigrafica greca (in un caso anche latina) soprattutto di Roma e del resto d'Italia, con alcuni prodotti sull'epigrafia greca ed ellenistica della parte greca dell'Impero romano. La qualità dei contributi, molti dei quali sono assai interessanti, in media non è male, anche se non ne mancano di meno bene concepiti e pure meno utili nei quali si ripetono cose già elucidate in altre sedi. Ma questo è un tratto comune a tutti i tipi di *Festschriften*.

Non mi è possibile analizzare più contributi. Interessanti le riflessioni di Luca Bettarini su una defixio metrica da Cirene, in cui è riuscito a correggere la lettura di Pugliese Carratelli (a p. 116 nt. 41: chi scrive ha trattato del nome Βερενίκη più estesamente in un altro contributo: Von *Berenike* zu *Veronica* und Verwandtes: *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif VI. Actes du VIe Colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif Helsinki, 29 août – 2 septembre 2000*, édités par H. Solin – M. Leiwo – H. Halla-aho, Hildesheim 2003, 401–418). Interessante anche la rilettura di una defixio tarantina piena di nomi in parte di difficile comprensione di Giulio Vallarino, anche se alcuni nomi restano ancora incomprensibili, come II 6 Πολυζις (si suole scrivere Πολυζίς, ma poiché la giusta forma del nome resta oscura, io mi asterrei dall'accentuazione); in II 10 se mette l'accento sul paroxytonon, doveva scrivere Ἀνθρωπίσ<κ>ος.

Il greco non è sempre corretto; a p. 51 si scriva Κουῖντα, a p. 83 Μ(ᾶρκος) e Πρίνκιπι; a p. 158 λόγῳ, προσχώρων e τρόπον. – A p. 168, nt. 26 il passo ippocrateo non è da *Acut*., ma da *De diaeta*.

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Lucian: *Alexander or The False Prophet*. Translated with Introduction and Commentary by Peter Thonemann. Clarendon Ancient History Series. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2021. ISBN 978-0-19-886824-8. XV, 234 pp. GBP 90.

Peter Thonemann's new book is an English translation, with an extensive introduction and comprehensive commentary, of Lucian's *Alexander or The False Prophet*, an anti-biographical novel-

like critique of the fraudulent oracle Alexander of Abonouteichos and the cult of the snake-god Glykon in 2nd century AD Roman Paphlagonia. Thonemann affirms that this book accomplishes the aims of the Clarendon Ancient History Series because "quite aside from its extraordinary literary quality, the *Alexander* is one of our very richest sources for the society and culture of the Greek world under the Roman Empire" (p. 5). The book also includes three maps (pp. XIII–XV), six figures of coins and statues (pp. 16–20), two appendices (pp. 161–207), an ample bibliography (pp. 209–227), and a selective index (pp. 229–234).

The Introduction (pp. 1–34) is divided into four parts. Thonemann starts with a short survey of Lucian's life and work, his influence on European literature (namely Erasmus, Ben Johnson and Henry Fielding), as well as the initial form of Lucian's writings: were they presented as books from the beginning or were they delivered orally in public performances? He then examines the case of the unclassifiable *Alexander*, "one of Lucian's boldest and most successful essays in generic hybridization" (p. 7): biography, slander, letter, novel, history, tragedy, parody, critique, pseudo-philosophical apology. Thonemann believes that Lucian's work finds its place among other popular contemporary polemical texts against religious or magical fraud, one of which is Oinomaos of Gadara's *The Exposure of Sorcerers* (see below). In the third part of the Introduction, Thonemann examines the historical reality of *Alexander* vs Lucian's fiction: direct archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence of the Glykon cult, Lucian's and others' descriptions of the oracles of the time, random non-critical information, and clues to the local Paphlagonian context found in *Alexander*. The last part of the Introduction deals with Abonouteichos (Alexander's hometown and the stage of the whole story) and other oracles and Greek cities during the reign of Antoninus Pius. Thonemann has "strong reason to see the Glykon-cult not as a fraud perpetrated by a lone evil genius, but rather as an eminently civic project" (p. 29).

The fresh English translation (pp. 37–60) follows the Greek text of M. D. Macleod 1993 OCT edition (reprinted with corrections) with a few differences, which are collected on pp. 35–36 and explained thoroughly in the commentary. Thonemann himself carefully proposes one correction of his own in the Greek text on § 39, which is discussed in detail on p. 121. The linear commentary (pp. 60–159) is rich and accurate, and meticulously documented with ancient literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources, internal Lucianic cross-references, and modern bibliography. All Greek passages and terms are translated.

The book includes two appendices: the first one is a translation, preceded by an introduction and followed by a commentary, of the sixteen surviving fragments of the attack on oracular divination composed by Oinomaos of Gadara and entitled *The Exposure of Sorcerers* (pp. 161–203). This opuscule stands equally side by side with the *Alexander* and is variously discussed in the introduction and the commentary of Lucian's work. I therefore see no reason why Oinomaos' composition does

not have its own place in the title or subtitle of this volume. *The Exposure of Sorcerers* is a severe criticism of several Apolline oracles which are drawn not only from Archaic and Classical literary works but also from Oinomaos' own experience. Thonemann highlights the points and motifs which are common in the *Alexander* and *The Exposure of Sorcerers*. The English translation follows the Greek text of J. Hammerstaedt's 1988 edition, with a few deviations (Thonemann even proposes two brilliant emendations of his own), and usefully includes the surrounding text of books 5 and 6 of Eusebius' *Preparation for the Gospel*, where the fragments are found. Hence, the fragments are presented in the Eusebian order, i.e. 3, 4, 5, 14, 15, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 1, 2, 12, 13, and 16. The second Appendix is a list of Lucian's works (pp. 205–207).

The volume is carefully printed. There are scarcely any typos: read *bouleutērion* on p. 125, and *philorhōmaios* on p. 150. My only objection is the inconsistency on the transliteration of hypsilon: e.g. *synesis*, *drimutēs*, *euphuēs* on p. 71, *pachys* on p. 78, *glykus* on p. 98. Without doubt, Thonemann's book is a substantial commentary on Lucian's *Alexander or The False Prophet*, and a valuable study of the religious history of the second century AD Greco-Roman World.

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Stefano Maso: *Cicero's Philosophy.* Trends in Classics – Key Perspectives on Classical Research 3. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2022. ISBN 978-3-11-065839-2; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-11-066183-5. XIV, 178 pp. EUR 24.95.

Classicists know Cicero and his significance, but many of them are probably not very familiar with his philosophical views. One reason is that for a long time Cicero was seen as primarily a kind of interpretive translator of Greek philosophy, who transfers its central ideas to the Romans without a significant personal contribution. This conception is too narrow and partly incorrect since Cicero has philosophical originality due to his profound, critical, and synthesizing reflection on Greek philosophy, and this is shown indirectly in his works. Consequently, Cicero's philosophical thinking has been studied more closely in recent times. Stefano Maso's book *Cicero's Philosophy* is a fresh addition to this subject. The book belongs to De Gruyter's Trends in Classics series, whose purpose is "to offer students and scholars reliable, stimulating guides to what really matters in important fields of classical research today, as well as suggestions for future lines of study," (back cover) and *Cicero's Philosophy* is, in accordance with this aim, a sort of companion or handbook for those who are interested in Cicero's philosophical thinking and its context and relations to various subjects, such as politics and eloquence.

Cicero's Philosophy contains a short preface, an epilogue, and five chapters. The first chapter is about Cicero's background, the second about the intellectual, historical, and social context of Cicero's philosophy and his philosophical works, the third about contemporary research trends regarding Cicero's philosophical thinking, and the fourth about the main problems with Cicero's philosophy. In the final chapter, Maso discusses Cicero's translations regarding philosophical key terms. *Cicero's Philosophy* also contains a list of abbreviations of authors and works, secondary literature, a bibliography consisting of the editions of Ciceronian and other ancient works, and indexes of words and classical authors, modern scholars, and the referenced passages.

Maso deals with Cicero's philosophical apprenticeship in the first chapter. This part consists of biographical information and remarks regarding Cicero's and others' works from antiquity to modern biographies, a description of Cicero's education, and clarifications concerning Cicero's studies of rhetoric, oratory, and philosophy. Maso provides here a background to Cicero's philosophical thinking. He portrays a narrative of a great man who was a talented social climber from Arpinum, a diligent official, a profound philosophical soul and Hellenist, who achieved a high-level Roman education, who was caught between the pressures caused by Roman society and patricians and his personal desire for philosophy, and who was inspired by Platonism and other philosophical movements. Maso also argues that Cicero wanted to be a paragon of the perfect orator who practices *eloquentia philosophica* (p. 15), that is, a person who possesses philosophical and intelligent persuasiveness. The first chapter includes a useful division and description of the modern biographies and a list of modern sources regarding Cicero's aim to combine philosophy with eloquence and the arts of rhetoric and oratory.

In the second chapter, Maso clarifies Cicero's philosophical development by propounding a brief intellectual, historical, and social contextualization, and by going through the contents of Cicero's main philosophical works – as is well known, some are fragmentary or lost. His works include *Stoic Paradoxes* (*Paradoxa Stoicorum*), *Hortensius*, *Academica*, *On the End of Good and Evil* (*De finibus bonorum et malorum*), *Tusculan Disputations* (*Tusculanae disputationes*), *On the Nature of the Gods* (*De natura deorum*), *On Old Age* (*De senectute*), *On Divination* (*De divinatione*), *On Fate* (*De fato*), *Laelius on Friendship* (*De amicitia*), *Topica* and *On Duties* (*De officiis*). The contents of these works show Cicero's intellectual versatility that covered many essential theoretical and practical philosophical subjects, such as death, divination, fate, the gods, pleasure, the highest good, virtue, and free will. At this point, it should be noted that Cicero discusses philosophical topics in his other works as well. Moreover, Maso gives in this chapter useful clarifications and remarks regarding, among other things, key concepts and the intellectual context of Cicero's works.

Next, Maso introduces contemporary research on Cicero's philosophy. Chapter three consists of an introduction and three topics, namely the Academy and epistemology; rhetoric and

philosophy; and ethics and philosophy. In the introduction, Maso explains how 'philosophy' was conceived in antiquity and what Cicero's pragmatist approach to philosophy is. At the same time, Maso provides a list of the relevant research literature with brief descriptions. In the following subchapters he explains how contemporary scholars have understood and explained Cicero's complex connections with Platonism, skepticism, Stoicism, Epicureanism, (political) oratory, and ethics regarding the above-mentioned topics. Maso also introduces several recent studies in connection with these themes.

The fourth chapter is useful for an understanding of Cicero's philosophical thinking because Maso discusses its central problems. He focuses here on the following six topics: the problems of Cicero's originality, sources, and influences; Cicero's views of determinism and free will; Cicero's view of skepticism; Cicero's stances on Stoicism and Epicureanism; the accusation of eclecticism; and problems regarding the coherence of philosophy and political life. The first problem is related to the development of Cicero's thinking and more generally to the customs of Roman intellectual culture, which Maso clarifies by considering different possibilities and recent readings. The second problem concerns the problematic consequences of determinism ('every event is determined by prior causes') and indeterminism ('some events are not determined by prior causes'); it seems, somewhat paradoxical that both are needed in Stoicism in order that Stoic fate and free virtuous acts, which constitute Stoic autonomy, are possible. According to Maso, Cicero's solution is to deny both the radical version of Stoic determinism and Epicurean anti-determinism and to accept the probabilistic view of truth, according to which "not everything can always be foreordained and predictable" (p. 87). Regarding the third problem, Maso explains how Cicero agrees with the fundamentality of perceptions and potential erroneousness regarding judgements of them. Consequently, Cicero rejects radical skepticism, according to which knowledge is impossible. Next, Maso clarifies Cicero's understanding and attitudes towards Stoicism and Epicureanism. Cicero carefully examines and considers them, especially Stoic theories of causality and the Epicurean theory of the swerving of material atoms, but at the same time he strongly criticizes both schools. Concerning Cicero's eclecticism, Maso explains that 'eclectic' is a modern term with a negative connotation. He continues that the syncretic method, which Cicero used at least to some extent, was popular during his time, and that Cicero's alleged eclecticism is in fact reminiscent of much modern scientific research, which is based on careful analysis and reasonable interpretation of the research object. Consequently, Cicero should not be considered eclectic in a particularly indefensible sense. Finally, referring to Cicero's political works, Maso argues that his philosophical and political thoughts are essentially related to one another, and that Cicero believes in the values of the kind of state whose foundations are based on "traditional moral virtue" (p. 114), that is, a foundation that is concerned with philosophical awareness and political responsibility. Having said that, Maso states in his epilogue that many of the previous issues still remain open.

The fifth chapter is about Greek key concepts and their Latin translations. These include the following words or expression pairs: (1) ἀδιάφορα – *indifferentia* ('indifferent things'); (2) βούλησις – *voluntas* ('will'); (3) εἱμαρμένη – *fatum* ('fate'); (4) καθῆκον – *officium* ('duty'); (5) κατάληψις, καταληπτικὴ φαντασία – *comprehensio* ('comprehension,' 'understanding'), *visum comprehendibile* ('perceived image,' 'comprehensible appearance'); (6) οἰκείωσις – *conciliatio* ('reconciliation'); (7) πιθανόν – *probabile* ('probable'); (8) πρόληψις – *anticipatio* ('anticipation'), *praenotio* ('foreknowledge'), and *praesensio* ('preconception'). Maso discusses here in detail the philosophical meanings of the Greek and Latin terms. In addition, he explains Cicero's reasons for the translations and provides instances of the above-mentioned delicate concepts in different philosophical traditions.

Maso's book is a wide-ranging and compact study of Cicero's philosophical thinking and its context, touching upon Roman intellectual culture and ancient philosophy in many ways. To me, the book is most suitable for intermediate and advance level studies. I also think that philosophers would benefit most from chapters two, four and five, whereas Cicero scholars would profit primarily from chapters three, four and five. Chapter five, on the other hand, would be useful for translators since it contains stimulating discussions on Cicero's principles of translation. I am not, however, completely happy with certain details. The volume includes some tortuous sentences (see, e.g., the closing of p. 87); the markings of lists and subjects ("A)"; "(A)"; "a)"; "(a)"; "1."; etc.) are inconsistent; some of the source information in the body of the text should be in footnotes (see, e.g., the middle part of p. 63); and some key words, such as Epicureanism, Stoicism, and truth, are omitted in the index. The absence of these words means that it is difficult to find vital and specific parts of the text quickly. Finally, a separate section defining these key terms would have been useful. Overall, *Cicero's Philosophy* is a versatile guide to Cicero's philosophical thinking and recent studies on this topic. It includes relevant information as well as useful clarifications and explanations, especially concerning challenging parts of Cicero's philosophical thinking and certain difficult subjects in ancient philosophy.

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Vladimir D. Mihajlović – Marko A. Janković (eds.): *Pervading Empire: Relationality and Diversity in the Roman Provinces*. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 73. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2020. ISBN 978-3-515-12716-5; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-515-12738-7. 332 pp. EUR 64.

The volume under review contains 17 essays, which emerged from a series of meetings at the Petnica Science Center in Valjevo (Serbia) on the topic "Imperialism and Identities at the Edges of the

Roman World". The meetings and the volume reflect the increasing interest in the application of a range of theoretical perspectives on the archaeology of the Roman world and a shift in focus to a broader geographical range across the Empire. In their brief introduction and later in Mihajlović's contribution (p. 89–91), the editors outline the theoretical and methodological framework of the discussions, which is addressed in the subtitle by the terms "relationality" and "diversity".

Moving away from the Romanisation paradigm considered outdated and unhelpful, the authors do not wish to fall into opposing theoretical "grand narratives" but rather present "particular and clearly defined case studies that are maximally informed with recent theoretical-methodological approaches" (p. 9). This approach is reflected, both positively and negatively, throughout the volume in the wide variety of its contributions. The volume is generally organised around the themes of "Relationalities, diversity of intercultural contacts", "Producing landscape and architecture", "Entanglements of humans and things", and "Entanglements of humans and divine entities".

The volume presents different geographical, chronological and thematic case studies on a variety of different research questions, such as integration in the Roman world, transformations of social structures and landscape, places of entertainment, patterns of consumption and the dynamics of the religious sphere. The writers are both established and emerging specialists in the field of Roman Studies and represent a variety of disciplines.

Although space does not permit a full reading of the contributions, it might be of use to highlight some individual contributions, in this case purely out of personal interest. Inés Sastre's summary of the issues of social and territorial change in NW Iberia were interesting as they show how rural societies in this region were treated by Rome. Her contribution suggests important ways in which other areas without strong urban traditions might be reanalysed. The papers by Antonio Rodríquez-Fernández (on NW Iberia) and Vladimir D. Mihajlović on SE Pannonia also address the complex issues of Roman integration of local peoples in interesting ways, drawing on a variety of new information.

All in all, there is much food for thought in the contributions, and a general view is gained that such detailed readings of the evidence can contribute very positively to our understanding of the complexities and fluctuating nature of the Roman Empire and its provinces, both in terms of sameness and of diversity. On the other hand, its lack of coherence and wide diversity inevitably lead to a situation where individual readers might well find some contributions more relevant and valuable than others for their work.

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Jenifer Neils – Olga Palagia (eds.): *From Kallias to Kritias: Art in Athens in the Second Half of the Fifth Century*. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2022. ISBN 978-3-11-068092-8. X, 380 pp. EUR 119.95.

This book comprises the papers presented at an international conference hosted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 2019. It includes 18 chapters of individual studies that focus on sculpture, ceramics and architecture of the given period within Athens and its immediate sphere of influence. The chapters are grouped into five sections, "Approaching the Acropolis", "Parthenonian Narratives", "Public Discourse in the Agora", "Cult Places and Their Images", and "Athens Beyond Athens", mostly based on the location or finding spot of the studied material.

Several of the papers deal with hitherto unpublished or incompletely published and interpreted archaeological material (Jacob, Steiner, Rotroff and Lynch, Stewart, Kefalidou, Avramidou, Zarkadas). Some reinterpret particular lesser-known objects from the warehouses of Greek museums (Ignatiou, Goette). A couple of the papers measure spaces and structures on the Athenian Acropolis (Valavanis et al., Manidaki). The value of these contributions is not only in the interpretations they make of their material, but also in the introduction of the material itself.

Many of the papers focus on the iconography of a preserved or partly preserved work of art, monument or a group of works of art (Palagia, Neils, Jacob, Shapiro, Stewart, Leventi, Kefalidou, Zarkadas), while others study the iconography of a particular subject based on a variety of available material with the goal of tracing it back to a lost monument (Fullerton, Williams, Kansteiner). These papers generally offer convincing readings of their material, and thus provide a good basis for future studies focused on the meaning of the images for their producers and public.

A common denominator between most of the papers of the book, besides the chronological and geographical scope, is that they represent rather conventional approaches, relying on well-established methods that require little self-reflection on the part of the scholar. These approaches have their relevance and they are well established for a reason. However, the way the editors frame the book leads the reader to expect topical conceptual thinking regarding the way ancient material is discussed in order to connect it with its proper social context – with the people who created it, used it and viewed it – and therefore the lack of this theoretical level in the papers becomes conspicuous. In the very first sentence of the Preface, Palagia and Neils associate the book with the "visual turn" in the humanities, and the increased status of material culture alongside the textual. The editors emphasize the importance of the archaeological and historic contexts of art and artifacts and the contributors' focus on the political and social aspects of art. They hope that the book demonstrates the relevance of Classical Athenian art for a broader field of scholarship and for upcoming generations of students and scholars, that "a change of perspective reveals the unexpected still lurking beneath the surface" (p. 7).

Some of the papers match these parameters better than others. Opening the first section of the book, Panos Valavanis and his associates calculate the capacity of the open-air sacred space on the Athenian Acropolis and the mobility of people it enabled, discussing the effects that 5th century modifications of the space had on the visibility of the ceremonial slaughtering. The steady increase of capacity of participants is plausibly associated with the new democratic institutions and the need to involve more people in worship and in public affairs. The authors address the need to theoretically connect their calculations to the experience of the Athenian people by discussing the concept of "structural movement" (p. 14). Unfortunately, the rather technical aims of this article do not yet allow the concept to be applied in practice.

In her article, Ann Steiner publishes the pottery excavated in the 1930s at the Tholos of the Athenian Agora used for the communal dinners of the prytaneis of the Athenian Council. The capacities of the black-glazed commensal vessels corresponded to the standard units of measurement, used not only in the shops and taverns of the Agora, but also to distinguish the four property classes into which citizens fell. This enables Steiner to suggest that the dining vessels might have been a way of demonstrating the equal responsibilities of the entrusted officials regardless of their differing means and social class. Steiner begins with an archaeological context that can be associated with a distinct group of people and a specific social function, and never lets her material lead her very far from this context. Consequently, the article convincingly deals with an important aspect of the social significance of the pottery for its users.

In some of the articles, the original location and use of the studied object is unclear, and therefore the focus is on their discovery. Despina Ignatiadou proposes persuasively that a monumental bronze griffin paw excavated on the Pnyx in the 19th century was part of a famous sundial from the second half of the 5th century, created by the Athenian astronomer Meton. Hans Rupprecht Goette associates two peculiar reliefs of Herakles found at Sounion with a local Herakleion. The consequences of these propositions – how were the objects seen and used in their particular contexts? – receive relatively little attention, which is understandable within the limits of a single article.

However, if an image is only discussed in the light of available literary sources and parallel images, there is a risk that its social significance will be exhausted by its association with a certain subject, location and historical period. This type of general contextualization bypasses the complex, multi-sensuous relationship the viewers of an image had with the image in its specific function (see e.g. the special issue of *Art History* 41 [2018], edited by M. Gaifman and V. Platt; for discussions of the viewing of ancient art, see the work of scholars like J. Elsner, R. Osborne, V. Platt, M. Squire, and J. Trimble, among others). Moreover, such simplified framing allows one to neglect discussing one's general conceptualization of image and its viewing. An oil painting or a photograph is never

an objective document of its subject and its cultural significance is inseparably tied to the ways it communicates with its diverse audiences, and the ways audiences are able to conceptualize its messages. The same applies to ancient vase painting and sculpture.

Eurydice Kefalidou's article focuses on the fragments of a large Attic red-figure plate excavated in 2016 in Piraeus. The vessel's paintings include at least the Dioskouroi and *kalathiskos* dancers. Kefalidou pays appropriate attention to the traces of prolonged use in the object, but her suggestions for the significance of the plate's imagery is a reflection on the geopolitical history of the time, dominated by the "Spartan character" of the subjects. In his article H. Alan Shapiro suggests that a series of red-figure paintings from the latter half of the 5th century representing certain types of groups of men should be associated with the circles of conservative oligarchs who were responsible for the coups against the Athenian democracy in 411 and 404, and, in Shapiro's view, might have commissioned the vases in question. The fascinating theme of visual self-representation is extinguished under the blanket of sophisticated iconographic discussion. Angelos Zarkadas studies an Attic red-figure hydria, found in Thera, and associates its painting of Boreas and Oreithyia with a particular literary version of the myth emphasizing its connection with Athens. But what about the function of the hydria as a cinerary vase? Why is the hypothesis that it contained the ashes of a young girl who died before marriage only mentioned in passing in the last paragraph?

Dyfri Williams's article about the cityscape of Athens as seen "through the eyes" of 5th century vase-painters aims at exploring "the manner in which Athenian vase-painters approached the physical environments of their imagined narratives and how they became entangled with those that they actually knew, leading them to create simultaneously multiple identities and multiple moments in time, evoking complex ideas and emotions in the minds of their eventual users" (p. 235). This article, however, does not discuss the concepts of gaze or viewership, identity or emotions. Instead, it offers speculative readings of highly simplified architectural elements in secondary details of red-figure vase paintings as representations of actual monuments, most of which are only known from literary sources with their own varying relationships to the material reality of 5th century Athens. The artists' and viewers' perspectives on images and image production are forgotten in the process.

Williams's article is not the only one in the book leaning towards the traditional method of "Kopienkritik", the reconstruction of lost works of art on the basis of existing ones. Mark Fullerton studies Alkamenes' statue of Hekate Epipyrgia, that, according to Pausanias, stood at the entrance to the Athenian Acropolis. Preserved sculptures representing Hekate as triple-bodied are used to discuss Alkamenes' Hekate, and the resulting vision of its "archaistic style" is used as an example of the apparent emphasis Athenians put on autochthony from the mid-5th century onwards. Sascha Kansteiner's title "Statues of Asclepius Created by Athenian Artists: Written Sources and Copies of a 5th -Century Prototype" speaks for itself. Even Iphigeneia Leventi's discussion of the iconography of

female figures in Attic votive reliefs aims to demonstrate that the most popular sartorial types used in the period derived from lost cult statues. The accuracy of artistic prototypes, reconstructed in the spirit of "Kopienkritik", is ultimately impossible to prove, since our knowledge of them usually comes from equivocal literary sources. Even more importantly, if the primary interest in a given object is not the object itself, but the scholar's vision (no matter how learned) of an inexistent object 'behind' it, there is a serious risk of losing sight of one's actual material and its specific socio-historical and archaeological context. (For a critical discussion of "Kopienkritik", see E. K. Gazda 2002, "Beyond Copying: Artistic Originality and Tradition", in E. K. Gazda (ed.), *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity*, Ann Arbor MI, 1–24.)

Finally, several of the articles in the book aim at reconstructing decorations of Athenian monuments from the latter part of the 5th century BCE on the basis of their existing remains. Palagia's and Neils's articles are iconographic studies of the sculptures of, respectively, the metopes and the west pediment of the Parthenon, producing convincing identifications of particular scenes or figures. Especially Palagia's interpretation is admirably economical. Raphaël Jacob attributes the sculptural fragments that he found in the Acropolis Museum storerooms to the pediments of the Parthenon. Vasileia Manidaki has painstakingly documented the uppermost masonry courses of the interior walls of the Parthenon, and argues on this basis that a decorated inner frieze ran around the walls of the cella. Andrew Stewart's article is a summary of the work done by his team in publishing and analysing the unpublished sculpture from the Agora associable with the temple of Athena Pallenis (ca. 433–425 BCE), moved from its original location to the Agora at the time of Augustus and rededicated to Mars. The impressive results of these studies wait to be placed in their political, social and religious contexts.

All in all, this book is an indispensable read for specialized scholars studying the specific material or subjects discussed in the articles. However, before expecting to inspire a wider audience, scholars of ancient visual culture should ask themselves (and explain to others), how we figure out the relationship between the material being studied and the actual people who produced and used it. Answering this difficult question forces us to reach for the conceptual level that connects art and artifacts to the culture as a whole, and allows them to speak to the scholars and students interested in the same culture – or any culture anytime.

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Umberto Pappalardo (Hrsg.): *Heinrich Schliemanns Reisen: Tagebücher und Briefe aus Ägypten und dem Vorderen Orient.* Mit einem Beitrag von Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan. Bearbeitung Anemone Zschätzsch. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie – Sonderbände der Antiken Welt. wbg (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft), Darmstadt 2021. ISBN 978-3-8053-5319-9. 180 S. EUR 50.

Heinrich Schliemann travelled throughout his life, first making business trips, then making a world tour, as he wanted to see the world with his own eyes. These trips then developed into study trips in which he was especially keen on visiting Egypt as well as other sites belonging to the ancient past of the Mediterranean.

Schliemann's diaries and letters are preserved in the Gennadius Library at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, where the material has been digitized and made accessible online. This publication shows excerpts from diaries and letters connected to different journeys between 1858 and 1888. Schliemann was a polyglot who always wanted to learn more languages and to improve his skills; he wrote his diaries in different languages and would often use the language of the country he was visiting.

The actual translation and editing process of this volume has followed the rule that first all the Arabic texts would be translated into Italian by Ezzazia Souilmi and the Greek texts into Italian by Kostantinos Tziampasis. These texts and all the other texts in Italian, French and English would then be translated into German. The contemporary way of speaking and use of language as well as Schliemann's style in writing have been preserved without unnecessary editing or modernizing.

The editors have omitted the illegible parts, marking those where the reading is uncertain and adding explanations. To give some examples, Schliemann sometimes mentions a place that no longer exists or now has a different name. In those parts of the diaries where he wrote in Greek, he gives two dates for the same day, the first date according to the Gregorian calendar, the second according to the Julian calendar. As for his handwriting, reading Schliemann's texts written in European languages is relatively easy, but the Greek letters offer some problems and reading Schliemann's Arabic texts has proved to be difficult even for language experts. It is also interesting to learn that Schliemann had adapted different expressions from Tunisian, Egyptian and Syrian dialects of Arabic – again a testimony to his facility with languages. These difficulties also go some way to explain why this material has not been published before.

Schliemann was interested in many different topics: in history, peoples, habits and customs, educational systems and many other matters. He wrote about the landscape, its *flora* and *fauna*, technical innovations, and the acquisition of commodities such as saltpetre, indigo and sugar. The last category obviously interested him as he made his money trading in these commodities. It is also

noteworthy that starting from his first journey, Schliemann was interested in ancient monuments, which he carefully described. He wrote down inscriptions and cartouches as well as making sketches of buildings. He also makes it clear that he bought artefacts in places he visited and donated them to museums. As to the travel routes he chose, it seems that they were carefully planned in order to avoid unnecessary risks. He bought and consulted guidebooks to know which places to visit; he journeyed with other tourists that he met on the road, both for safety and to lower the costs when, for instance, renting a boat. He travelled using steamboats and railroads – the modern inventions of his time – but he also used horses, donkeys, camels and sailing boats.

The routes of the four journeys discussed are carefully explained in maps. Most material presented in this book come from Schliemann's first trip in 1858/1859. He started in St. Petersburg, where he then worked and lived. From there he sailed to Stockholm and then travelled through Sweden, Denmark, the western part of Germany and Switzerland to Italy and Sicily, where he boarded a ship in Syracuse and sailed to Alexandria. In Egypt, he travelled all the way to Wadi Halfa in the south. On his way back, he travelled by land, seeing Jerusalem, Petra, Damascus and other places in the eastern Mediterranean, as well as visiting Rhodes, Smyrna, Athens and Constantinople that were all, except for Athens, part of the Ottoman Empire at that time. He then returned through Belgrade, Budapest, Vienna and Prague, which all belonged to Austria-Hungary. Schliemann's comments about Alexandria and Cairo are written in Ancient Greek, Modern Greek, Italian, French and Arabic. Schliemann writes that he hired a teacher who teaches Arabic in order to improve his reading skills. The teacher accompanies him to Karnak, where they see the avenue of Sphinxes and Schliemann describes the Pylons built by Ptolemy III and the Coptic grave that he witnesses.

In his second trip in 1864, Schliemann again started from St. Petersburg. He went to Tunis to see the ruins of Carthage and continued to Alexandria, but poor health forced him to interrupt his trip, and he returned to Italy to recover. There he visited Florence, Pompeii and Naples. He then started his actual tour around the world that took almost two years, visiting India, China and Japan, North America and Central America. Schliemann wrote a book on his experiences in China and Japan. The excerpts from his diary in this publication concern Alexandria, Cairo and Port Said, originally written in Arabic and Italian. Schliemann again writes about his interest in improving his Arabic and he sought out opportunities to use the language when meeting people. He saw the Suez Canal that was then under construction, and estimated that it would be finished in the next twenty years. In point of fact, it was opened in 1869.

The third trip centred on Egypt and its many places of interest alongside the Nile. The journey started from Athens, and now the diary is all written in modern Greek, covering events in 1886/1887. The editor gives only some excerpts from the diary as a separate publication is underway

with translations and comments by Christo Thanos. Since the previous visits in Egypt, Schliemann was now considerably more experienced in archaeology as he had excavated in Troy, Mycene and Tiryns, and written many publications; consequently, he has a different approach to the monuments in Egypt.

The fourth trip in 1888 was also to Egypt, and this time Schliemann travelled with Rudolf Virchow. The diary from this journey is lost, but we can still learn a lot about his trip by reading Schliemann's letters and Virchow's letters and reports.

This publication makes fascinating reading. The diaries and letters are full of interesting insights and the reader can also see actual pages from the diaries, for instance, a page written in Greek, where Schliemann has made a sketch of the Parthenon, as well as pages written in Arabic, where it is easy to discern how his writing skills improved over the years. The book is also packed with contemporary photos – a new media then – and contemporary drawings and paintings that have been chosen to show views and buildings as Schliemann might have seen them. The paintings of the Scotsman David Roberts have been used to a large extent; they show Egyptian buildings and architecture in detail as they were then, partly buried in sand. Among the photos are also those taken by Rudolf Virchow in Egypt.

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Alfredo Sansone: *Lucania romana: Ricerche di prosopografia e storia sociale*. Vetera – Ricerche di storia epigrafia e antichità 23. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2021. ISBN 978-88-5491-201-6. 390 pp. EUR 47.

Nella prestigiosa collana "Vetera – Ricerche di storia epigrafia e antichità", fondata dall'indimenticabile Silvio Panciera, con i tipi impeccabili della Quasar, è uscito da qualche mese (23° della serie) il volume di Alfredo Sansone sulla *Lucania romana*.

Adeguatamente presentato da Heikki Solin e da Rita Scuderi, il volume si avvale di una dettagliata *Introduzione* dell'Autore, che esaudisce in modo completo e preciso il suo compito, dando subito dell'opera un'idea ben precisa. Vi viene specificato di primo acchito che, "per facilitare la consultazione del catalogo prosopografico e agevolare il dialogo fra i dati raccolti e le fonti di riferimento", l'intero lavoro appare suddiviso in due parti, nella prima delle quali sono compresi i seguenti capitoli:

Gli studi epigrafici in Lucania dopo il CIL (pp. 29–41)

II. *I confini della Lucania in età augustea* (pp. 43–52)

III. *Iscrizioni escluse dal censimento* (pp. 53–55)

IV. *Le città e le persone* (pp. 57–257).

La seconda parte comprende a sua volta tre capitoli, così intitolati:

Fonti Epigrafiche e Numismatiche (pp. 263–330)

II. *Indici* (pp. 333–353)

III. *Riferimenti bibliografici* (pp. 355–390).

Va subito detto che il nocciolo principale del volume è compreso nella prima parte ed è qui che la trattazione degli argomenti più importanti è fatta in modo prevalente, tanto nei capp. I–III (ov'è tentata una prima apprezzabile e tuttavia ancora perfettibile sintesi dei dati acquisiti), sia nelle varie sezioni del IV (in modo analitico). Meno comprensibile sembra essere la suddivisione del volume in due parti, tanto più che nella seconda delle due il cap. I, quello delle fonti epigrafiche e numismatiche, appare distinto dall'elenco delle città ricorrenti in ordine alfabetico nel cap. IV della prima parte, nel quale i dati delle fonti epigrafiche e numismatiche di ciascuna città avrebbero trovato posto più adeguatamente e con maggior immediatezza e profitto per il Lettore, senza dover ricorrere tra l'altro ad abbreviazioni oggi tanto di moda, ma che finiscono col rendere ancor meno agevole il collegamento e, quindi, l'utilizzo delle fonti in rapporto ad ognuna delle realtà cittadine prese in considerazione. Di conseguenza anche gli *Indici* compresi nel cap. II di questa parte del volume appaiono indirizzati a soddisfare essenzialmente l'aspetto sociale a discapito di tutti gli altri; il che, se da una parte sembra essere perfettamente in linea con l'enunciato stesso del titolo del volume, lascia un senso di insoddisfazione nel Lettore a fronte della notevole fatica affrontata con tanta passione e competenza dall'Autore, tanto più se si pensa al dato di partenza del volume stesso, ch'era stato – per quel che è dato di sapere – quello di fornire un completo lessico epigrafico (e non solo) della Lucania romana sul modello di quelli già presenti nell'area meridionale della Penisola: penso, per la stessa *regio III*, a quello dello Zumbo (*Lessico epigrafico della regio III, Parte prima: I Bruttii*, Roma 1992) e, per quanto riguarda l'area apula, ai lavori di Dora Alba Musca (*Apuliae et Calabriae Latinarum Inscriptionum Lexicon*, Bari 1966) e di Cesare Marangio (*L'epigrafia latina della regio II: Apulia et Calabria. Rassegna degli studi e Indici, 1936–1985*, Mesagne 1987; "Gli studi di epigrafia latina sulla regio secunda nell'ultimo decennio: 1986–1995", in *Studi di Antichità* VIII 2 (1995), pp. 119–186; da ultimo, C. Marangio – S. Tuzzo, *Regio II: Apulia et Calabria. Gli studi di epigrafia latina nell'ultimo quinquennio: 1996–2000. Secondo Supplemento*, Galatina 2002). Probabilmente l'adozione di un modello come quello offerto più di recente da Marina Silvestrini (*Le città della Puglia romana: Un profilo sociale*, Bari 2005) avrebbe potuto contribuire in modo più semplice ed efficace a soddisfare tutte le motivazioni che sono alla base del volume del Sansone, pur continuando a privilegiare l'aspetto sociale da lui privilegiato. Del resto la stessa sproporzione fra le due parti dell'opera in esame avrebbe potuto suggerire una soluzione unitaria, che forse avrebbe contribuito a rafforzare i contenuti più importanti in essa compresi nel cap. IV della prima parte, senza smembrarli.

Ad ogni modo l'obiettivo di fondo del volume sembra essere stato raggiunto con successo, almeno sotto il profilo sociale, com'era peraltro intento dichiarato dello stesso Autore, definito nella *Introduzione* dell'opera (p. 24) nel modo seguente: raccogliere i dati analitici relativi all'argomento trattato, quale "passo preliminare all'approfondimento generale e alla ricostruzione complessiva delle dinamiche sociali della Lucania in età romana, con l'obiettivo di analizzare, attraverso una visione più ampia ed articolata, il rapporto fra *gentes*, *personae*, potere centrale e territorio. Questi e altri aspetti (tendenze onomastiche, forme di promozione sociale, popolamento, ecc.) necessitano sicuramente di un periodo di riflessione e ricerca ulteriore e non potevano essere sviluppati adeguatamente in questa sede, dove si è mirato piuttosto a organizzare e ordinare, attraverso un riesame generale, il variegato materiale documentario a disposizione, quale momento propedeutico e imprescindibile per lo sviluppo di studi futuri. Ci si riserva pertanto di ritornare, in futuro, su questi temi, valutando i dati finora raccolti e i nuovi risultati che emergeranno dalle ricerche attualmente in corso e che si auspica possano essere resi presto disponibili".

Il recensore non può che essere d'accordo con l'Autore, sicuro della buona riuscita dei suoi progetti futuri, confidando pienamente sulle notevoli capacità di studio e di ricerca ch'egli ha già dimostrato non solo nel volume preso qui in esame, ma anche negli altri scritti che ha finora prodotto, augurandogli la completa realizzazione delle sue aspirazioni scientifiche ed accademiche.

Entrando, poi, più nello specifico, lo scrivente prende atto delle osservazioni espresse da Heikki Solin nella sua *Presentazione* dell'opera (pp. 9–15), rilevanti in modo assoluto sotto il profilo più strettamente epigrafico ed istituzionale, dichiarandosi al riguardo completamente d'accordo con lui, per cui ritiene di potersi limitare in questa sede ad indirizzare la propria attenzione per lo più su questioni di topografia antica e di storia degli studi sulla Lucania romana.

A proposito, per es., del secondo capitolo della prima Parte, quello sui confini della Lucania in età augustea, non si può che essere d'accordo con l'Autore, quando scrive che bisogna tener conto "della revisione critica delle modalità con cui ci accostiamo al testo pliniano, la cui credibilità dev'essere contestualizzata nel tempo e nello spazio e valutato alla luce delle intenzioni metodologiche e argomentative dell'autore" (p. 46 sg. e note 57–59), il che peraltro risulta essere stato già messo in atto, in massima parte, dalla critica, specialmente dopo la pubblicazione del volume del Thomsen (*The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasion*, København 1947). Ciò non toglie che i casi irrisolti siano rimasti spesso tali anche dopo.

È quanto è avvenuto, ad es., per *Eburum* (il cui caso, però, sembra ormai avviato a soluzione, come risulterebbe pure, per varie vie, allo stesso Sansone: pp. 45–46), nonché per taluni centri dell'area nord-orientale della *regio III* (specificatamente *Bantia* e *Aceruntia*), a proposito dei quali l'Autore sembra aver generalizzato più del giusto la posizione assunta in merito proprio dallo scrivente, che, a suo dire, avrebbe seguìto "troppo *pedissequamente* il testo pliniano, sulla base del

quale propone l'attribuzione di *Acerentia* e *Bantia* alla Lucania" (p. 47 nota 63), affermazione questa basata su due dei lavori dedicati, con altri, dal sottoscritto all'argomento: cfr. A. Russi, "Orazio Lucanus an Apulus anceps (*Sat*. II 1, 34)", *ASP* XLVIII (1995), pp. 7–16; Idem, *s.v.* Apulia, in *Orazio. Enc. Oraz*., I, Roma 1996, pp. 389–391 (citati peraltro genericamente e senza preciso riferimento al problema in questione). Forse una lettura un po' più attenta di quanto è scritto in proposito nei due lavori suddetti (rispettivamente a p. 14 nota 39 dell'articolo e a p. 391 della voce *Apulia*) avrebbe aiutato quanto meno a tener conto delle motivazioni addotte dal sottoscritto riguardo alla posizione 'regionale' dei due centri in questione, sulla quale egli si è espresso peraltro in più occasioni, sempre con dubbi ed incertezze, sin dal 1973: sull'argomento vd., da ultimo, A. Russi, *Per la storia del Mezzogiorno d'Italia nell'antichità*, Roma 2021, vol. I, pp. 218 (e nota 39), 225 (e nota 27), 230, 249, 287, 332; vol. II, pp. 697 (e note 20–23), 844 (nota 35); opera questa che il Sansone non ha fatto probabilmente in tempo a consultare, essendo uscita nell'ottobre del 2020, pressoché contemporaneamente alla sua (dicembre del 2021), edite comunque entrambe dalla stessa casa editrice (Quasar).

Per l'occasione va pure rilevato che nell'opera appena citata il Sansone avrebbe potuto trovare una spiegazione ben più articolata e complessa rispetto alla sua (p. 47 e note 61–62) circa la presenza nel testo pliniano (*nat.* III 104) dei Lucani tra gli "Apulorum genera tria": cfr. *ibid*., pp. 64 (e n. 24), 339, 342, 348, 369 (n. 98), con espressi riferimenti anche a precedenti lavori dello scrivente sull'argomento: "Un Asclepiade nella Daunia: Podalirio e il suo culto tra le genti daune", *ASP* XIX (1969), pp. 275–287, in part. 283 e n. 24; "Strabone 6, 3, 8. 11 e gli Apuli propriamente detti", *RFIC* 107, 3 (1979), pp. 301–318; "Su un caso di duplicazione in Livio IX 20", *MGR* XII (1987), pp. 93–114, in part. 113 (n. 98).

Quanto, poi, al cap. I della prima parte, quello sugli studi epigrafici in Lucania dopo il *CIL*, stupisce l'assoluto silenzio in esso (ma anche nella *Bibliografia* riportata in fondo al volume) di un'opera fondamentale come quella di Giacomo Racioppi, *Storia dei popoli della Lucania e della Basilicata*, voll. I–II, Roma 1889, apparsa in seconda edizione (rivista ed aggiornata dall'A.) nel 1902, ristampata pure più volte successivamente (notevole, in particolare, la ristampa anastatica voluta da Raffaele Ciasca nel 1970 per conto della Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Lucania).

Sull'importante figura del Racioppi come uomo politico, ma anche come letterato e soprattutto come storico, valgono le testimonianze di personaggi come Giustino Fortunato, Benedetto Croce, Emanuele Ciaceri, Umberto Caldora, Tommaso Pedìo, Gaetano Cingari, Gabriele De Rosa, Antonio Cestaro e tanti altri ancora (in proposito vd., da ultimo, V. Cappelli, in *Diz. Biogr. Ital.* 86 [2016], *s.v*., con i riferimenti bibl. prec.).

Anche a voler circoscrivere il valore dell'opera del Racioppi all'aspetto puramente epigrafico (come enunciato peraltro nel titolo del capitolo in questione), non può non tenersi conto del fatto che

in essa risulta essere stato fatto – per la prima volta in rapporto alla Lucania – abbondante uso (per di più, con adeguato e moderno spirito critico) sia del *CIL* (in particolare dei voll. IX–X del 1883 e I[2,] *Pars prior*, del 1893), sia del *C.I.Gr.* (III–IV, 1853, 1859–1877), nonché di Supplementi al *CIL*, come, ad es., l'*Ephemeris Epigraphica* (spec. vol. VIII, 1899, pp. 1–221), di pubblicazioni periodiche del settore o di discipline affini all'epoca disponibili, come, ad es., le *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (fino all'a. 1900); i *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli*, nuova serie (fino al 1898); la *Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica* (fino al 1899); l'*Archivio Giuridico* (fino al 1894), con ricorso persino a pubblicazioni periodiche locali (se contenenti notizie di scoperte epigrafiche effettuate all'epoca in ambito regionale), come, ad es., la *Lucania Letteraria* (Potenza, 1885), per non parlare poi delle tante opere riguardanti l'epigrafia classica (ma anche quella osca e medioevale), la numismatica, la linguistica, la storia antica e l'archeologia.

Il silenzio, pertanto, dell'opera del Racioppi in un volume, come quello preso qui in considerazione, non sembra giustificabile, anche se un'eventualità del genere era stata già prevista dallo stesso Racioppi, che difatti così scrive nell'Avvertenza "Al Lettore", premessa alla seconda edizione della sua opera (p. III): "Verrà presto il tempo che nuove fortunate indagini e scoperte, nuovi orizzonti aperti ai fasci di luce della scienza progrediente reclameranno altra opera, altro lavoro su questa specie di tela penelopea della storia, che altri tesse, altri sfila, altri ritesse. E l'opera del dimani caccerà tra il ciarpame del rigattiere l'opera della vigilia. È il fato del libro! è il dritto della scienza".

Il richiamo, comunque, all'opera del Racioppi mira solo a ristabilire (in un quadro critico meglio rispondente alla realtà documentale) un più equilibrato rapporto fra tutte le opere menzionate nel volume preso qui in esame, al quale si augura tutto il successo che merita.

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Antonio Sartori (a cura di): *L'iscrizione nascosta: Atti del Convegno Borghesi 2017*. Epigrafia e antichità 42. Fratelli Lega Editori, Faenza 2019. ISBN 978-88-7594-141-8. 570 pp. EUR 100.

This is another publication of the prominent series Epigrafia e antichità, which includes some well-known and frequently cited volumes, e.g., those on women in epigraphy (vols. 19 and 23). Like this one, most of the publications in this series are proceedings of various colloquia consisting of several contributions, but there are also monographs, or collections of papers, by one author (e.g., no. 15, selected papers by G. Susini). As for this particular volume, from the preface by Antonio Sartori it emerges that this volume was destined to be edited by the well-known epigraphist Angela

Donati, editor of several volumes in the same series. However, Donati died prematurely and unexpectedly in late 2018, and Sartori thus had to take over; he refers to the task both as an "onere" and as an "onore".

One of the volumes edited by Donati was called *L'iscrizione esposta* (vol. 37, 2016), a publication containing contributions on the "visibility" of ancient inscriptions, the verb *esporre* meaning 'to exhibit', 'to display'. As the verb *nascondere* means 'to hide', the new volume was obviously meant to be the counterpart of the earlier one, and most of the contributions do deal with inscriptions somehow "hidden" from view. But as is the case with most colloquia, there are of course also contributions dealing with quite other topics, although they might use the verb 'hide' in the title of the contribution (e.g., Federico Frasson on the "hidden truth" behind an inscription from Luna, p. 231ff.; Guido Migliorati on "what is hidden behind the epitaph of the usurper Aureolus in the *Historia Augusta*", p. 261ff.; Mauro Reali on inscriptions from the *ager Insubrium* which are "hidden" because for the moment inaccessible, but also publishing a fragmentary inscription long "hidden" in a monastery, p. 509ff.). Of those contributions that do study aspects of the subject of "hidden" – in the broadest of senses – inscriptions, I would like mention the following.

Mireille Corbier (p. 9ff.) studies three interesting inscriptions: *CIL* IX 2845/6, the inscription of the senator P. Paquius Scaeva and his wife inscribed *inside* their sarcophagus, concentrating on the genealogical details which she deals with also in the case of *CIL* III 4346 (Brigetio), where they are expressed in a metrical riddle of sorts. The third inscription is a marble *tabula* from Rome (*AE* 2014, 170) in which roughly the same text has been written on both sides, but with interesting modifications on the side that has been inscribed with more elegant letters. Alfredo Buonopane (p. 25ff.) publishes three previously "hidden" but recently emerged inscriptions from Verona, two of them previously unpublished, one (*CIL* V 3352) not seen since the 16th century. Silvia Braito (p. 85ff.) deals with an interesting woman, Claudia Capitolina, the daughter of a prefect of Egypt and the wife first of a king of Commagene and then of another prefect of Egypt, and the mother of the female poet Iulia Balbilla. The author speaks of her "epigrafia nascosta", but this label seems to fit mainly the brick stamps in which she is mentioned together with her prefect husband.

In an interesting contribution, Giulia Baratta (p. 109ff.) collects inscriptions "under the feet", by which she mainly means various texts on the soles of shoes, but also on lamps which have the form of a shoe. In Ginette Vagenheim's variation of the theme "hidden" (p. 147ff.), the author briefly discusses two Ligorian forgeries "seen" by Ligorio but which have then "vanished". Marc Mayer (p. 153ff.) discusses rock inscriptions, some of them dated to AD 235, found in a cave in the province of Burgos, Spain. Maria Grazia Granino Cecere (p. 191ff.) studies an elegant funerary altar of a girl from Rome (*CIL* VI 20905) in which the inscription on the front speaks of the parents' *luctus* and of similar things, but in which the back, surely meant to be hidden from public view, contains a sharp

critique of the wife's habits, said to be *venenaria et perfida, dolosa, duri pectoris*. A translation of this text would have been welcome.

A stone containing the recently published Augustan *fasti* of Privernum (*AE* 2016, 228) was in the fourth century reused for inscribing, on the other side of the stone, a register of *fundi* and other properties, surely in the territory of Privernum; this list is competently published in this publication by Maria Letizia Caldelli (p. 279ff.). As is usual, the names of the estates are formed from family names (*[vi]nea Pinian[a]*, *k(asa) Busid[iana]*, *fundus Salonianus* etc.), and the list can thus be used to illustrate the population of Privernum (note that the names just mentioned are not attested for private persons in inscriptions from Privernum). However, Caldelli's focus is not on this aspect but on the presentation of similar documents, especially the *tabula censualis* from Volcei (*CIL* X 407 – not "417" as in Fig. 5). Note that the new inscription is said to be unpublished in EDR15801 (dated May 5, 2022) and described puzzlingly as "un elenco di rendite della locale chiesa" (this has perhaps been inspired by what Caldelli says about a medieval inscription on p. 285f.). Cecilia Ricci (p. 299ff.) discusses the epigram *CIL* XIV 3940a, "hidden" when the other side of the *tabula* on which it was inscribed was used for an new inscription in 1152. Francesca Cenerini (p. 313ff.) republishes the inscription *CIL* XI 408 from Ariminum, seen in the 19th century by Bormann, but then long "hidden" in the storerooms of the local museum. Giovanni Mennella (p. 329ff.) does the same with an inscription from Eporedia (*CIL* V 6820), seen by him to pertain to the *c(ollegium) c(entonariorum)*.

An early medieval inscription long "hidden" but recently discovered in the cathedral of Como is the subject of Sergio Lazzarini's article (p. 347ff.), whereas Marina Vavassori's interesting contribution is a survey of the Latin poem *Theatrum* by the sixteenth-century author Achille Mozzi, in which Mozzi describes the city of Bergamo inserting, i.e. "hiding", in his text citations, not always correct, from inscriptions he had seen around. This survey produces some novelties, for example, the fact that the inscription *CIL* V 5152 was in the time of Mozzi kept in the church of S. Matteo in the upper city. Finally, Serena Zoia (p. 527ff.) studies possible "hidden messages" of inscribed monuments by examining some inscriptions from the *regio XI* which present more or less unusual features e.g. in their layout (note on p. 531 inscriptions *beginning* with the mention of the title *VIvir* or of the tribe) or in the letter forms (see p. 534f. on *CIL* V 5878). These features apparently meant to convey a message to the reader not expressed by the inscription itself. All this is illustrated by photos and is not devoid of interest, but the connection with the subject "hidden" in many cases seems to me rather tenuous.

Of those contributions that do not seem to define themselves as dealing with "hidden" inscriptions, I would like to single out the following: Antonio M. Corda and Antonio Ibba on ligatures (p. 45ff.); Samir Aounallah, Attilio Mastino and Salvatore Ganga, on the inscription of the "Thermes

d'Antonin" (AD 159/162) in Carthage (p. 203ff.); Felice Costabile on a *defixio* (now *AE* 2019, 438) from Sybaris/Thurii mentioning a *lamia* (a substantial commentary follows) and apparently also the otherwise unattested nomen *Rusticenus* (p. 475ff.). But there are interesting things also in other contributions, e.g. in that of Lorenzo Calvelli on the epigraphical collection once in the Palazzo Grimani in Venice at Santa Mara Formosa (p. 379ff.). To conclude, this is another impressive volume in a series that continues to publish work of great interest to the serious epigraphist.

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Benjamin Sippel: *Gottesdiener und Kamelzüchter: Das Alltags- und Sozialleben der Sobek-Priester im kaiserzeitlichen Fayum*. Philippika 144. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2020. ISBN 978-3-447-11485-1; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-447-39034-7. XII, 354 S. EUR 85.

This monograph is the published version of Benjamin Sippel's dissertation, which he defended at the University of Erfurt in 2019. The very title ("Clergymen and Camel Breeders: Daily and Social Life of the Sobek Priests in Imperial Fayum") is alluring, and the book gives a good overview of various aspects of life preserved to us from a given time and place in Roman Egypt. It leads us to the world of the people who served as functionaries in the temples dedicated to the crocodile god Sobek in Fayum under Roman rule.

In the introduction, the author informs the reader that methodologically the study owes a debt to microhistory. He admits, however, that microhistory's focus on a single person or family, for example, is lost in the choice of the corpus of sources of the work, which covers a large area and several sites and is chronologically scattered over several centuries. To anyone working with papyrological sources from Egypt, however, the fact that the source material is both scattered and filled with gaps is no surprise. Thus, the idea of putting together all possible sources, be they archaeological, written in Greek or in Demotic, is always welcome and a task in its own right.

The author has chosen to study the sources thematically rather than chronologically or topographically. Thus, the book is divided into four main chapters, 1. Endogamy and naming practices, 2. Social interactions between the functionaries of the temples and their customers (titled: Spezialisten und Klienten), 3. Secular earning possibilities and alternative career paths, and 4. Conflict situations. The book ends with conclusions that participate in discussions on the overall status of people defined as 'priests' (or better, temple functionaries) and the (somewhat ostensible) decline of the crocodile cults in Fayum. Finally, there are appendices illustrating site-specific names

(Appendix 1), and tables of horoscope notes from Narmouthis, scribes active in the *grapheia* of the Arsinoites, temple functionaries involved in the donkey trade, and temple functionaries and their families involved in the credit business (App. 2–5).

Chapter 1 of the study confirms that names run in families, and that – especially in Soknopaiou Nesos and in Tebtunis – there were also site- or even temple-specific names that are almost exclusively Egyptian. One of the few exceptions, the name Kronion in Tebtunis, provides an interesting example of an *interpretatio graeca* of the god Sobek-Geb as Kronos. Chapters 2–3, dedicated to social interactions and secular earning possibilities, examine the various responsibilities undertaken by the members of temple personnel. They took care of festivities and official sacrifices, drew horoscopes, and answered people's various concerns with the help of oracle lots. Besides the tasks within the temple realm, the same people lived their lives and made their living in the secular sphere of village life. Sometimes they acted as scribes or local guards, but mostly they worked in the fields or in small workshops or bred animals. An interesting case is the breeding of camels in Soknopaiou Nesos, which was situated beside a caravan route to Alexandria.

Chapter 4 takes the reader to conflict situations revealed to us by complaints addressed to various authorities. The author notes that these are certainly biased as only one side of the parties involved has survived to us. Furthermore, the petitions have most likely been drawn along certain predefined lines, which is illustrated by 14 drafts concerning one petition drawn by Aurelius Ammon, for example (P. Ammon II 32–46, cf. p. 206 and note 4). This chapter also includes a delightful insight into the archive of Phratres, which is preserved in Demotic ostraca from Narmouthis. Phratres' list of the deficiencies of both his colleagues and the authorities in office is extensive (cf. pp. 243–245). The archive also serves as an example of how close readings of the extant documents bring new insights to our understanding of a certain time and place in the past.

It is in the nature of human curiosity that one would always want more. I was somewhat puzzled with the cross-references within the book, and thus I could not help but wonder whether the material from Soknopaiou Nesos alone, for example, would have deserved a monograph of its own. The impressive bibliography, however, leads the way to deepening the picture of single sites and single archives. As a whole, the monograph is an interesting and important contribution to the social history of Roman Egypt.

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Supplementa Italica. Nuova serie 31. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2019 (in fact 2020). ISBN 978-88-5491-025-6. 373 pp. EUR 46.

This volume of the meritorious series *Supplementa Italica* contains three contributions. In region II, we have the town of Bantia by Marcella Chelotti (p. 9–42). In region XI, we have Novaria and its environs, including the western shore of the Italian part of the Lago Maggiore and, northwest of there, the Ossola valley squeezed in between the Swiss cantons of Valais/Wallis and Ticino. This entry by Giovanni Mennella and Valentina Pestarino (p. 43–276) is by far the most substantial chapter. Third, in the same region, we find Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) and its territory, covering much of the northwestern corner of Italy bordering on France in the west and on Switzerland in the north, by Silvia Giorcelli Bersani and Mattia Balbo (p. 277–373). The structure of the individual chapters is the same as before, with the main parts as follows: bibliography ("B"); an historical – in the widest of senses – introduction to the city/territory to be discussed ("C"), modestly called "addenda and corrigenda (aggiunte e correzioni)" to earlier treatments; addenda and corrigenda to inscriptions published in earlier collections ("D"); "new" or republished inscriptions ("E"); and indexes. The introductions ("C") contain a wide range of different kinds of information on, for example, the history, territory, population, cults and monuments of the site in question (for instance, in the case of Novaria we have in section C about 30 informative pages on these and other subjects). I must say, and not for the first time (cf. *Arctos* 30 [2018] 282f.), that the introductions would greatly benefit from the information they contain being presented in different subsections and furnished with captions.

In the chapter dealing with the two neighbouring towns of Bantia and Aceruntia, the *corpus* contains only two inscriptions from Bantia, *CIL* IX 416 and 418. Accordingly, section D consists of addenda to only one inscription, the bilingual Latin/Oscan *tabula/lex Bantina* (*CIL* IX 416 = I^2 582, etc.), for 418 is republished in section E (with the correction of *[I]IIIvir(i)* to *IIvir(i)*). Eight inscriptions have been published after the *corpus*; these include the *cippi* pertaining to augury found in the 1960s (*CIL* I^2 3181 = here no. 2a–k). From several of the 'new' inscriptions it appears that the tribe of the city, unknown to Mommsen and Kubitschek, was the *Camilia* (cf. p. 25).

As mentioned above, the chapter on Novaria, consisting of more than 200 pages, is the most extensive contribution. The sections in this chapter are compiled either by Mennella (E) or Pestarino (C and D). The very long section C (p. 94–190) contains addenda not only to texts published in *CIL* (including no. 5997, assumed to come from Mediolanum in *CIL*) but also to those published in the supplement by Pais (1888) and in *Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae* vol. XVII (2016). It is of interest to observe that many inscriptions which Mommsen could not himself inspect still exist (e.g., 6492, 6495, 6501, 6517, 6522, 6532, 6536, 6537, 6540, 6544, 6568, 6587, 6594 [note the corrected readings producing e.g. the otherwise unattested cognomen *Vagianus*, perhaps derived from a nomen **Vagius*], 6597, 6601,

6618, 6621, 6624, 6626, 6628, 6637, 6639, 6640, 6646, 6647, 6650). On p. 92, there is a list of inscriptions that are now "irreperibili", but the list mainly consists of inscriptions known even to Mommsen only from other, normally earlier authors (with the omission of e.g. 6508, seen by Mommsen but now apparently lost). Some of the corrections provided in this section are of more general interest. Note e.g. the following: 6499, described in *CIL* as "ara magna", is in fact a "sarcofago di serizzo"; 6524: the correct reading is *P.* (not *L.*) *Varisidius*; 6527 *Aimili Calventi* (not *Calvini f.*; in the commentary, the author unfoundedly speaks of an adoption; similarly in 6502); 6601: the correct reading of l. 1 turns out to be *M. Graiani Valeri*, which produces a nomen *Graianus -nius* not otherwise attested, as observed by the author.

In some cases, the author seems to be mistaken or does not say all that could be said. In inscription no. 6512, for example, it does not seem a good idea to consider the possibility that *Burius* could be a "variant" of *Eburius*. The forms *nuri* (i.e. *nurui*) and *pintissime* (surely a contraction of *piint-*, cf. *piintissimo* in *CIL* VI 39738 = *AE* 2005, 281; *IPO* A 126 and elsewhere) could have been commented upon. 6518: according to the Clauss-Slaby database, the phrase *eximiae caritatis* is found in no other inscription. 6638: the name of the person whose slave Trophimus was taken over by the emperor Claudius was surely Daphnis rather than "Daphnidianus". 6643: the nomen, transmitted in the genitive, could have been *Severius* rather than *Severus.* The scholar J. Liu is called "Liou" both in the bibliography and e.g. in the addenda to 6515.

Section E contains, in addition to five *falsae*, 82 'new' or republished inscriptions (although many consist of just a few letters or no text at all). Several inscriptions already in *CIL* reappear here, namely 6531, 6542, 6556 = no. 27 (an inscription not seen by Mommsen but which still exists; note that the reading of *CIL*, *Marcus Valerius M. fil. Clau.*, has been corrected to something quite different, *M. Novarius Pheidon*), 6593, 6623, 6642, 8995. Some of the inscriptions are edited here for the first time (61, 68), but most of the 'new' inscriptions presented here have already been published in various publications, often of a more or less local nature. It is rather worrying that many of them have not been collected in the *Année épigraphique* and thus remain practically unknown to scholars (at least nos. 2, 5f., 8f., 10, 12–14, 19, 24, 28–31, 34f., 38–41, 47, 49–54, 56f., 59–62, 64–75, 77–82). It is true that many of these inscriptions are fragments of minor significance, but note, e.g., no. 5 mentioning apparently an *opilio*, and no. 25, the funerary inscription of a *faber carpe(ntarius)*. As for details, in no. 4 the reading should surely be *matri{s}* rather than *matris*.

The last contribution on Augusta Praetoria is obviously welcome, too, but possibly not as important as *Supplementa Italica* contributions in general tend to be. After the publication of the *corpus* in the 19th century the inscriptions of this town have been collected not only in an *Inscriptiones Italiae* volume (XI: 1) of 1932, but also in the fairly recent volume *Iscrizioni di Augusta Praetoria* of 1988. This *Supplementum* does not include the votive inscriptions from the *Summus Poeninus* as the site probably lay outside the border of Italy (p. 297, cf. p. 319). As the *Inscriptiones Italicae* numbers

are used to refer to individual inscriptions in the section with the addenda (where the references to *CIL* V or Pais are unfortunately omitted), it follows that there are addenda only to inscriptions 1–47 and 106ff. and to the few texts in *ICI* XVII. From the addenda in this section it appears that some inscriptions that were not seen by Mommsen do in fact still exist (at least 34 = *CIL* V 6821; 42 = 6838; 107 = 6845; 114 = 6897; 117 = 8945). Older readings are corrected here and there (e.g., no. 46 = 6861 line 4, *Camil[l]ia[e] Firminae*; 47 = 6862 *C. Iulius Mamae* – rather than *Mami – fil.*; a few words of commentary would have been useful). In some cases the commentaries seem perfunctory or simply wrong. For instance, in the commentary to inscription no. 116 = 6896, which mentions a soldier of the legion XII Primigenia, saying that the legion was stationed in Mainz in Germania Superior would have been more to the point than saying "Il campo principale di azione della legio XXII Primigenia era sito lungo il limes renano". Similarly, in no. 18 = 6950, it is not correct to say that the name of Saturnina, the daughter of Maricca Namici fil(ia), is here used "in funzione nominale anziché cognominale".

The section with the 'new' inscriptions contains some inscriptions published after the *Augusta Praetoria* volume of 1988 but not in the *AE*. Note, for example, in votive inscription no. 2 the uncommon formulation *Matr[onis] … Valerius Iustus et sui* instead of *cum suis*, which is not commented upon by the editors (the parallels seem to concentrate in the area of *CIL* V, XII and XIII; e.g. *CIL* V 6566f., votive inscriptions set up by a certain Verinus *et sui*). Note, too, especially no. 14, an inscription inscribed with elegant letters in honour of someone from the local tribe *Ser(gia)*, who seems to have been *praefectus [---] Ca[esaris]*, no doubt in Augusta. There are further inaccurate details. In the commentary on no. 5 the editors do not seem to have recognized the full significance of the dedication *G(enio) T(iti) n(ostri) et Iunoni Varenae T. f. Severillae*, for they speak of dedications by slaves and freedmen to the *genius* of their masters "o alla Iuno". However, *Iuno* in the dative followed by a female name (we are of course dealing with the wife of *Titus noster*) in the genitive is not really a dedication to Iuno but rather a dedication to the *Iuno* of a woman, *Iuno* here being the female equivalent of a male person's *Genius* (cf. L. Chioffi, Genius e Iuno a Roma, *MGR* 15 (1990) 165–234). In no. 24, the reading is uncertain in many places. In l. 5, *[A]styanaci* seems plausible, but this is of course the dative not of "*Astyanaces*" (p. 348) but of *Astyanax*, and this is a masculine name and as such not suitable to be the cognomen of a Tafia. Hence, the reading *Tafiae* in l. 4 seems more than uncertain.

To conclude, the few critical observations presented above should not obscure the fact that this is another successful volume of a series that has established itself as an indispensable tool for the epigraphist dealing with Italy.

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INDEX LIBRORUM IN HOC VOLUMINE RECENSORUM

Jochen Althoff (ed.): *Aristoteles:* Parva naturalia. *Akten der 18. Tagung der Karl und Gertrud Abel-Stiftung vom 30. September bis 2. October 2015 in Mainz*, 2021. (Mika Perälä) 189

Silvia Balatti – Hilmar Klinkott – Josef Wiesehöfer (eds.): *Paleopersepolis: Environment, Landscape and Society in Ancient Fars*, 2021. (Minna Silver) 193

Giulia Baratta – Alfredo Buonopane – Javier Velaza (a cura di): *Cultura epigráfica y cultura literaria: Estudios en homenaje a Marc Mayer i Olivé*, 2019. (Olli Salomies) 197

Claudia Beltrão da Rosa – Federico Santangelo (eds.): *Cicero and the Roman Religion: Eight Studies*, 2020. (Nicoletta Bruno) 201

Maria Letizia Caldelli: *I prefetti dell'annona da Augusto a Costantino*, 2020. (Olli Salomies) 205

Diego Chapinal-Heras: *Experiencing Dodona: The Development of the Epirote Sanctuary from Archaic to Hellenistic Times*, 2021. (Björn Forsén) 207

Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editum. Vol. II2: *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae*. Pars 13: *Conventus Carthaginiensis*. Fasc. 1: *Pars septentrionalis conventus Carthaginiensis (Titulcia, Toletum, Consabura, Segobriga).* Ediderunt J. M. Abascal Palazón – G. Alföldy† adiuvantibus C. Campedelli – R. C. Knapp – R. Haensch – M. Heil – J. del Hoyo – M. Mayer Olivé – F. Mitthof – A. U. Stylow – J. Velaza Frías – I. Velázquez, 2019. (Olli Salomies) 211

Arabella Cortese (ed.): *Identity and Cultural Exchange in Ancient Cilicia: New Results and Future Perspectives. Internationales Kolloquium 18.–19. Mai 2018 in München*, 2020. (Pirjo Hamari) 213

Marco Erpetti: *Il sepolcreto al III miglio della via Prenestina. Tituli pedaturae dagli scavi di Lorenzo Fortunati (Roma 1861)*, 2015. (Heikki Solin) 215

Leoni Hellmayr: *Der Mann, der Troja erfand. Das abenteuerliche Leben des Heinrich Schliemann*, 2021. (Christa Steinby) 215

Leoni Hellmayr (Hrsg.): *Heinrich Schliemann und die Archäologie*, 2021. (Christa Steinby) 217

Inscriptiones Graecae. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editae. Vol. XV: *Inscriptiones Cypri.* Pars 1: *Inscriptiones Cypri syllabicae.* Fasc. 1: *Inscriptiones Amathuntis Curii Marii.* Ediderunt Artemis Karnava – Massimo Perna adiuvante Markus Egetmeyer, 2020. (Anna Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou) 221

Inscriptiones Graecae. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editae. Vol. XV: *Inscriptiones Cypri.* Pars 2: *Inscriptiones Cypri alphabeticae.* Fasc. 1: *Inscriptiones Cypri orientalis (Citium, Pýla, Golgi, Tremithus, Idalium, Tamassus, Kafizin, Ledra).* Ediderunt Maria Kantirea – Daniela Summa, 2020. (Anna Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou) 223

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Lucian. *Alexander or The False Prophet*. Translated with Introduction and Commentary by Peter Thonemann, 2021. (Orestis Karavas) 229

Stefano Maso: *Cicero's Philosophy*, 2022. (Visa Helenius) 231

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Umberto Pappalardo (Hrsg.): *Heinrich Schliemanns Reisen: Tagebücher und Briefe aus Ägypten und dem Vorderen Orient.* Mit einem Beitrag von Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan. Bearbeitung Anemone Zschätzsch, 2021. (Christa Steinby) 240

Alfredo Sansone: *Lucania romana: Ricerche di prosopografia e storia sociale*, 2021. (Angelo Russi) 242

Antonio Sartori (a cura di): *L'iscrizione nascosta: Atti del Convegno Borghesi 2017*, 2019. (Olli Salomies) 246

Benjamin Sippel: *Gottesdiener und Kamelzüchter: Das Alltags- und Sozialleben der Sobek-Priester im kaiserzeitlichen Fayum*, 2020. (Erja Salmenkivi) 249

Supplementa Italica. Nuova serie 31, 2019. (Olli Salomies) 251

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