



TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 17, 2002

2002

HOPLIXHABELEN



**Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte,
Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

TYCHE

**Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte,
Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

Band 17

2002



H O L Z H A U S E N

Herausgegeben von:

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer, Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Gemeinsam mit:

Wolfgang Hameter, Bernhard Palme und Hans Taeuber

Unter Beteiligung von:

Reinhold Bichler, Herbert Graßl, Sigrid Jalkotzy und Ingomar Weiler

Redaktion:

Franziska Beutler, Sandra Hodeček, Bettina Leiminger, Georg Rehrenböck
und Patrick Sängler

Zuschriften und Manuskripte erbeten an:

Redaktion TYCHE, c/o Institut für Alte Geschichte, Universität Wien, Dr. Karl Lueger-Ring 1,
A-1010 Wien. Eingesandte Manuskripte können nicht zurückgeschickt werden.
Bei der Redaktion einlangende wissenschaftliche Werke werden angezeigt.

Auslieferung:

Holzhausen Verlag GmbH, Kaiserstraße 84/1/4, A-1070 Wien
maggoschitz@holzhausen.at
Gedruckt auf holz- und säurefreiem Papier.

Umschlag: IG II² 2127 (Ausschnitt) mit freundlicher Genehmigung des Epigraphischen Museums in
Athen, Inv.-Nr. 8490, und P.Vindob. Barbara 8.

© 2003 by Holzhausen Verlag GmbH, Wien

Bibliografische Information Der Deutschen Bibliothek

Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der
Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind
im Internet über <http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar

Eigentümer und Verleger: Holzhausen Verlag GmbH, Kaiserstraße 84/1/4, A-1070 Wien. Herausgeber:
Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer, Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber,
c/o Institut für Alte Geschichte, Universität Wien, Dr. Karl Lueger-Ring 1, A-1010 Wien.
e-mail: hans.taeuber@univie.ac.at oder Bernhard.Palme@onb.ac.at
Hersteller: Holzhausen Druck & Medien GmbH, Holzhausenplatz 1, A-1140 Wien.
Verlagsort: Wien. — Herstellungsort: Wien. — Printed in Austria.

ISBN 3-900518-03-3

Alle Rechte vorbehalten.

I N H A L T S V E R Z E I C H N I S

Petra A m a n n (Wien): Das konstantinische „Reskript von Hispellum“ (CIL XI 5265) und seine Aussagekraft für die etrusko-umbrischen Beziehungen (Tafel 1–3)	1
Roger S. B a g n a l l (New York), Klaas A. W o r p (Amsterdam): The Receipt for Wheat from Abusir	29
Michel C h r i s t o l (Paris), Thomas D r e w - B e a r (Lyon): Le <i>*tutor cessionarius</i> de Tralles	31
Gerhard D o b e s c h (Wien): Caesars Urteil über Ciceros Bedeutung — Gedanken zu Cic. <i>Brut.</i> 253 und Plin. <i>n. h.</i> 7, 117	39
Gerhard D o b e s c h (Wien): Noch einmal der Tod des Kaisers Claudius in der <i>Apokolokyntosis</i>	63
R. Malcolm E r r i n g t o n (Marburg): A Note on the Augustal Prefect of Egypt	69
Hans F ö r s t e r (Wien): „Ich habe gehört: Du bist betrübt“ — Ein Text aus dem Schenute-Archiv (P.Vindob. K 4716) (Tafel 4)	79
Nikolaos G o n i s (Oxford): Studies on the Aristocracy of Late Antique Oxyrhynchus (Tafel 5)	85
Hermann H a r r a u e r , Federico M o r e l l i (Wien): Eine bisher unerkannte mathematische Aufgabe (Tafel 6)	99
Elisabeth K o s m e t a t o u (Leuven): Remarks on a Delphic Ptolemaic Dynastic Group Monument	103
Barnabás L ő r i n c z (Budapest): <i>Amici</i> in Pannonien	113
Fritz M i t t h o f (Wien): Munatidius Merula, ritterlicher Procurator und stellvertretender Dioiket der Provinz Ägypten im Jahre 201 n. Chr.? (Tafel 6–7)	121
Marjeta Š a š e l K o s (Ljubljana): The Festival of Carna at Emona (Tafel 8)	129
Marjeta Š a š e l K o s (Ljubljana): The Noarus River in Strabo's <i>Geography</i>	145
Paul S c h u b e r t (Neuchâtel): P.Gen. II 99 et les archives d'Eutychidès fils de Sarapion	155
Giacomo S c i b o n a (Messina): Due note a I.G XIV 352	159
Alexander S i m a (Heidelberg): Plinius <i>nat. hist.</i> XII 63 und das Steuerwesen im antiken Ḥaḍramawt	165
Gábor S z l á v i k (Budapest): Althistorische Forschungen in Ungarn von der zweiten Hälfte des Jahres 2000 bis Ende 2001	175
Dieter W e b e r (Göttingen): Eine spätsassanidische Rechtsurkunde aus Ägypten	185
Franz W i n t e r (Wien): Die dokumentarischen Papyri Ägyptens und die Septuaginta: Studien zu 2Kön	193
Franziska B e u t l e r , Martina P e s d i t s c h e k , Ekkehard W e b e r (Wien): <i>Annona epigraphica Austriaca 2001–2002: Text</i>	205

Index	231
Konkordanzen	235
Bemerkungen zu Papyri XV (Korr. Tyche 397–489)	241
Buchbesprechungen	263
Ernst B a l t r u s c h, <i>Sparta. Geschichte, Gesellschaft, Kultur</i> (Beck'sche Reihe 2083), München 1998 (P. Siewert: 263) — Walter B u r k e r t, <i>Kulte des Altertums. Biologische Grundlagen der Religion</i> , München 1998 (P. Siewert: 263) — Claude E i l e r s, <i>Roman Patrons of Greek cities</i> , Oxford 2002 (K. Harter-Uibopuu: 267) — Günter G r i m m, <i>Alexandria. Die erste Königsstadt der hellenistischen Welt. Bilder aus der Nilmetropole von Alexandrien dem Großen bis Kleopatra VII</i> (Sonderhefte der Antiken Welt — Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie), Mainz am Rhein 1998 (G. Dobesch: 268) — Christoph H o r n, <i>Antike Lebenskunst. Glück und Moral von Sokrates bis zu den Neuplatonikern</i> (Beck'sche Reihe 1271), München 1998 (P. Siewert: 270) — Georges K i o u r t z i a n, <i>Recueils des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes des Cyclades de la fin du III^e au VII^e siècle après J.-C.</i> Paris 2000 (Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance. Collège de France. Monographies 12) (H. Harrauer: 273) — Stephan L ü c k e, <i>Syngeneia. Epigraphisch-historische Studien zu einem Phänomen der antiken griechischen Diplomatie</i> (Frankfurter Althistorische Beiträge 5), Frankfurt am Main 2000 (S. B. Zoumbaki: 274) — Dorothee R e n n e r - V o l b a c h, <i>Die sogenannten koptischen Textilien im Museum Andreasstift der Stadt Worms. Bestandskatalog</i> , Wiesbaden 2002 (H. Froschauer: 277) — Ulrich S i n n, <i>Sport in der Antike. Wettkampf, Spiel und Erziehung in der Antike</i> (Nachrichten aus dem Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, Bd. 1), Würzburg 1996 (P. Siewert: 278) — Heike N i q u e t, <i>Monumenta virtutum titulique. Senatorische Selbstdarstellung im spätantiken Rom im Spiegel der epigraphischen Denkmäler</i> (HABES 34), Stuttgart 2000 (E. Weber: 278)	
Index (H. Förster: koptisch; B. Leiminger: griechisch und lateinisch)	281
Eingelangte Bücher	285
Richtlinien für die Abfassung der Manuskripte	289
Tafeln 1–8	

MARJETA ŠAŠEL KOS
The Festival of Carna at Emona

Tafel 8

Dedicated to Lidio Gasperini

The tombstone of L. Caesernius Primitivus from the territory of Emona

An elegant funerary stele was immured in the southern wall of the small church of sv. Lenart (St. Leonard) at the village of Spodnje Gameljne (Tafel 8, Abb. 1), some 9 km to the north of Ljubljana (= Emona); in 1997 it was removed from the wall, transported to the National Museum of Slovenia and replaced with an excellent cast. The original tombstone was made of dark grey limestone from Glince, a small hamlet west of Ljubljana, where traces of ancient quarries were discovered¹.

Its measurements are 93.5 x 62 x 27–30 cm, the height of letters: 6.4–3.1 cm. The inscription field of the tombstone is flanked on each side by a small column with a capital, decorated with large leaves. Above the inscription field is a gable with a wreath, in each of the two corners a dolphin is depicted. Unfortunately, the last three lines of the epitaph are now missing and the last visible line is badly damaged (Tafel 8, Abb. 2).

Bibliography:

CIL III 3893 = ILS 7235a = AIJ 209

A. Müllner, *Notizen über einige römische Inschriftsteine*, Mitt. Hist. Ver. Kr. 18 (1863) 76; Id., *Emona, Archaeologische Studien aus Krain*, Laibach 1879, no. 100; A. von Premerstein, *Festschrift Hirschfeld* (s. n. 6), 241, no. 8.

- 1 *D(is) M(anibus).*
- 2 *L(ucio) Caesernio*
- 3 *Primitivo,*
- 4 *(quinque)v(iro) et dec(urioni) col(legii) fab(rum),*
- 5 *et Olliae Primillae,*
- 6 *coniug(i) eius.*
- 7 *Leg(atis) ex testament(is) eor(um)*
- 8 *dec(uriis) IIII coll(egii) fabr(um),*
- 9 *uti rosas Carnar(iis)*
- 10 *ducant (denariis) CC.*
- 11 *L(ucius) Caesernius*

¹ A. Ramovš, *Gliničan od Emone do danes*, Geološki zbornik 9 (1990) 18ff. — My grateful thanks are due to Gianfranco Paci and Claudio Zaccaria for having kindly read my article and offered helpful comments and corrections.

- 12 *Primitivos*
 13 *parentib(us)*.

Line 4: five vertical *hastae* are actually engraved, the first is higher than the other four, such as when denoting a *sevir*, in which case the sixth, too, is higher. Could the sixth possibly be missing due to a stone-cutter's error? This is the opinion of Mommsen and Dessau. *De(curioni)*: Premerstein by oversight; C is clearly visible. *Dec(uriali)*: Saria. *Decurialis*: a member of a *decuria*, according to C. T. Lewis, C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, usage mostly post-classical. *Decurio*: the head or chief of a *decuria*, a company of ten. Lines 11–13 are now missing; they were still seen by Müllner and Mommsen, but no longer by Saria.

„To the divine Spirits of the Deceased. To Lucius Caesernius Primitivus, one of the board of five and the head of the *decuria* of the college of artisans (*collegium fabrum*), and to his wife Ollia Primilla. By their wills they left 200 *denarii* to the four *decuriae* of the *collegium fabrum* in order that they would bring roses (to their grave) on the day of the festival of Carna. Lucius Caesernius Primitivus (had the tombstone erected) to his parents“.

L. Caesernius Primitivus and his functions

The inscription is interesting from several aspects. This is the tombstone of a member of one of the most eminent and economically thriving families of Emona, who had come from northern Italy, particularly from Aquileia, to live in the new colony. The Caesernii are very well documented in Aquileia, and this city may be considered the main centre of settlement of the *gens*. As early as the second half of the 1st century BC, they began to settle at Emona, which became the secondary centre of the family. From Emona its members spread to various towns of Noricum and Pannonia, as Romanization progressed in these two provinces². The early date of their settlement is indicated by the tombstone of T. Caesernius Diphilus, a freedman of T. Caesernius Assupa and a *sexvir* in Aquileia (*AIJ* 176)³, which illustrates very early connections between both towns and the major role Aquileia must have played in the early phases of municipal organization in Emona⁴. A part of the wealth of the Caesernii was based on the iron industry, therefore it is not surprising that L. Caesernius Primitivus had a leading position in the *collegium fabrum*, a college of artisans consisting mainly of iron workers and smiths, copper and bronze workers, as well as stone-cutters, who, in large towns, were also employed as fire brigades.

A. von Premerstein deliberately excluded the possibility that a stone-cutter might have forgotten to engrave the sixth high vertical *hasta* (which would correspond to the high first one) when denoting the first mentioned office of L. Caesernius Primitivus. He criticized Mommsen for having restored the function in question as *IIIIIVir*

² J. Šašel, *Caesernii*, *Živa antika* 10 (1960) 201–221 (= *Opera selecta*, 1992, 54–74).

³ M. Šašel Kos, *The Roman Inscriptions in the National Museum of Slovenia / Lapidarij Narodnega muzeja Slovenije* (Situla 35), Ljubljana 1997, no. 3.

⁴ M. Šašel Kos, *Caesarian Inscriptions in the Emona Basin?*, in: *Epigrafia romana in area adriatica* (Actes de la IX^e rencontre franco-italienne sur l'épigraphie du monde romain), ed. G. Paci, Macerata 1998, 104f.

(accepted by Dessau), both in this inscription, as well as in *CIL* III 3836⁵, the tombstone of T. Vellius Onesimus who was *quinquevir* in Aquileia, *sevir* and *Augustalis* in Emona, and *Augustalis* in Parentium⁶. The case of Vellius Onesimus may not be as clear as that of Caesernius Primitivus, since the line with the problematic numeral is damaged at the beginning, and the missing space would theoretically be large enough to allow for the sixth vertical hasta, a small part of which even seemed to me to be visible when I first inspected the stone. Recently, I examined the altar again and could actually confirm Premerstein's reading. Consequently a revision of this important inscription is required in the near future.

In the case of L. Caesernius Primitivus, however, the number of *hastae* is five beyond any doubt. Premerstein argued that he had been a member of a municipal board of five, known in Rome both in the Republican and imperial periods, but also in some other Italian towns. In Rome they were known as *quinqueviri cis Tiberim* and were first subordinate to the *tresviri capitales*, who were also responsible, among other obligations, for the security of the streets in town, especially by night, and for fire brigades. At the end of the Republic, the responsibility for the security police operating in the streets and for fire police was taken over by the *aediles* and with it also the *quinqueviri* (cf. Pomponius, *Digest.* I 2, 2 § 33: *et tamen hi, quos Cistiberes dicimus, postea [per] aediles senatus consulto creabantur*). They were freeborn and had municipal slaves at their disposal. In terms of rank, the *quinquevirate* was the lowest municipal office. Boards of five, which in Premerstein's opinion were a copy of those in Rome, have sporadically also been attested elsewhere in Italy, but never in the provincial towns; they were municipal officials, not officials of a *collegium*, as they have often been defined previously. Premerstein collected altogether ten inscriptions of the *quinqueviri* from various towns in Italy, three of which come from *Regio X*: from Aquileia (the disputed T. Vellius Onesimus whose career should be reinterpreted, since he has often been erroneously regarded as a *sevir* in Aquileia), from Concordia, and from Emona. Incidentally, this is one of the arguments that Emona actually belonged to the *Regio X*⁷. The inscription from Concordia, in which one C. Aquillius Mela is mentioned, *ex decuria armamentaria, quinquevir bis*, is interesting as a parallel (*CIL* V 1883 = ILS 1939). However, there is no certainty about the exact role of boards of five in the Italian cities outside Rome, since it should not be expected that they would have necessarily been a copy of those which were active in the capital of the Roman

⁵ Šašel Kos, *Roman Inscriptions* (s. note 3), no. 9.

⁶ M. Šašel Kos, *Aspects of the Sevirate and Augustalitas in the Northeastern Adriatic Area*, *Histria Antiqua* 5 (1999) 175f. (discussion and interpretation of this inscription is based on the author's assumption that Onesimus had been a *sevir* in Aquileia). A. von Premerstein, *Stadrömische und municipale Quinqueviri*, in: *Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfelds sechzigstem Geburtstag* (Beiträge zur alten Gesch. u. griechisch-röm. Alterthumskunde), Berlin 1903, 240, no. 6 included him among the *quinqueviri* in Aquileia.

⁷ Premerstein, *Quinqueviri* (s. note 6), 240ff. More on Emona in *Regio X* in M. Šašel Kos, *Emona was in Italy, not in Pannonia*, in: *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia II* (Situla 41), Ljubljana 2003 (forthcoming). See now also ead., *The Boundary Stone between Aquileia and Emona*, *Arh. vest.* 53 (2002) 373–382. The new boundary stone now definitely settled the disputed problem.

empire⁸. Boards of five are not the only very rarely attested ones, in some central Italian towns, for example, municipal boards of eight are documented⁹.

In my opinion Premerstein's arguments in favour of the existence of municipal *quinqueviri* are still valid, and the inscription from Emona referring to Onesimus (his no. 6 on p. 240) as a *quinquevir* in Aquileia is an additional argument for the existence of a board of five in Emona as well. There may be other explanations such as that the title *quinquevir* would have referred to the president of a college¹⁰, which, however, seems to me less likely. Nonetheless, the alternative explanation, that L. Caesernius Primitivus may have been a *sevir* despite the numeral being composed of only five *hastae* — but with the first higher —, should not be entirely excluded¹¹, particularly because he actually has no filiation and may have been a freedman. On the other hand, even if a freedman, it may be entirely conceivable for a freedman to attain the „lowest“ municipal office, such as the *quinquevirate*. From the methodological point of view, too, it is better not to conjecture a stone-cutter's error if it is possible to give a logical commentary of the text as it is; consequently, *quinquevir* should be preferred to *sevir* and should be considered as almost certain.

L. Caesernius Primitivus also held one of the leading posts in the *collegium fabrum*. It was usual for the *collegia* which formed the fire brigades (the *fabri*, *centonarii*, and *dendrophori*) to be divided into smaller units in order to facilitate maneuvers when fires occurred. The internal division of such *collegia* resembled that of other municipal institutions: they were divided into several *decuriae* (ten men), and only rarely also in *centuriae*. It is unknown how many *decuriae* would have existed in the *collegium* in Emona at that time; four are mentioned in the inscription, and theoretically this may have been all. Each *decuria* was headed by a *decurio* (see e. g. CIL VI 33858; XIV 4569). At the head of the *collegia* were the *magistri quinquennales*, who were elected for five years from among the *decuriones*; these may also have performed, in addition to various tasks connected with their profession, religious functions within their *collegia*¹². Members of these *collegia* were often of servile descent; in general they did not participate in the municipal administration at a higher level and only a very few of them attained the office of municipal *decurio*, but they were often *seviri* and/or *Augustales*¹³. These were posts created by the Augustan

⁸ This was kindly pointed out to me with reason by Gianfranco Paci and Claudio Zaccaria.

⁹ A. Buonopane, *Un octovir da Trebula Matuesca*, in: *Mélanges Raymond Chevallier*. Vol. 2 : Histoire & archéologie (Caesarodunum 29), Tours 1995, 167–174.

¹⁰ Suggested to me as a possibility by Claudio Zaccaria who referred to J. P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains*, I, Bruxelles 1895, 404ff.; IV, Louvain 1900 (repr. Hildesheim 1970), 423.

¹¹ G. Alföldy, *Augustalen- und Sevirkörperschaften in Pannonien*, Acta Ant. Acad. Sc. Hung. 6 (1958) 433–459, considered him a *sevir*, following Mommsen's interpretation in CIL III 3893; equally J. Tondel, *Le rôle social des *Augustales dans les provinces danubiennes*, Acta Univ. Nicolai Copernici 96 (Historia 13), 1979, 31.

¹² H. L. Royden, *The Magistrates of the Roman Professional Collegia in Italy from the First to the Third Century A.D.* (Biblioteca di Studi Antichi 61), Pisa 1988, 12–17; 223f.; 232. See also J. P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains*, I, Bruxelles 1895, (repr. Hildesheim 1970), 359f.

¹³ Royden, *Magistrates* (s. note 12), 229ff.

system specifically for rich freedmen or those of libertine descent; they were not only responsible for organizing games in honour of the *princeps* but were often also municipal benefactors¹⁴. However, in my opinion it is much more likely that L. Caesernius Primitivus was actually a *quinquevir*, regardless of the fact how to interpret his functions. He may or may not have been a member of the street and fire police; it must be admitted that there is no evidence to explain the tasks of the *quinqueviri* in the towns of Italy other than Rome.

L. Caesernius Primitivus belonged, as a member of the board of five, to the municipal upper class. His membership in the *collegium fabrum*, especially since he was at the head of one of its *decuriae*, indicates that he had originated from a wealthy upper middle class family. The family of his wife, the Ollii, seems to have also been from a similar geographical, as well as economical, background as the *gens Caesernia*. One of its members may have been a *duumvir* of Emona — thus interpreted by B. Saria (*AIJ* 218) — although this is not entirely certain, since his name is abbreviated. Interestingly, members of the *gens Ollia* figure among the *negotiatores* in the Greek East¹⁵. A branch of the Caesernii must have had a large estate in the region of Spodnje Gameljne, in the immediate vicinity of Emona, where members of the family were also buried.

Legacies to decorate the tombs

The couple bequeathed to the four *decuriae* of the *collegium fabrum* a moderate sum of 200 *denarii* in order to use (some of the) money out of the yearly interests to buy wreaths of roses and perhaps other garden flowers, to be used to decorate their grave and thus honour their memory. The sum of 200 *denarii* equaled 800 *sestertii*; the yearly interests were usually 6% or 12% of the capital which would amount to 48 or 96 *sestertii*¹⁶. Flowers would have been bought out of this sum; it is less likely to suppose that some of the money may have remained to the members of the *collegium* for other purposes. Either sum may seem at first glance to have been too much merely to buy roses, but the roses listed by S. Mrozek cost between 16 and 140 *sestertii*, and possibly even more¹⁷. Roses were then solemnly carried to the grave of the Caesernii, each year on the day of the festival of the goddess Carna, Carnaria (June 1), which is mentioned solely in this inscription.

¹⁴ See in general on *seviri Augustales* A. Abramenko, *Die municipale Mittelschicht im kaiserzeitlichen Italien. Zu einem neuen Verständnis von Sevirat und Augustalität* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe III, 547), Frankfurt am Main 1993; cf. also A. D. Nock, *Seviri and Augustales*, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philol. et d'Hist. orientales* 2, 1933–1934 (*Mélanges Bidez*), 627–638 (= *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, I, ed. Z. Stewart, Oxford 1972, 348–356); for this area in particular, see F. Tassaux, *Sévirat et promotion sociale en Italie nord-orientale*, in: *Les élites municipales de l'Italie péninsulaire de la mort de César à la mort de Domitien. Entre continuité et rupture*, ed. M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni (Coll. *Éc. fr. Rome* 271), Rome 2000, 373–415, and Šašel Kos, *Aspects* (s. note 6).

¹⁵ J. Hatzfeld, *Les Trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient Hellénique*, Paris 1919 (repr. New York 1975), 398.

¹⁶ S. Mrozek, *Prix et rémunération dans l'Occident romain*, Gdansk 1975, 58.

¹⁷ Mrozek, *Prix* (s. note 16), 58f.

Similar cases from northern Italy indicate that eminent members of various *collegia* wanted their colleagues to remember them gratefully after their death at least once a year. Rich members undoubtedly supported their colleges financially when alive; financial help was expected particularly from those of their members who performed leading functions in them. They were expected to pay into the common treasury a certain sum upon entering their office (*summa honoraria*), to provide for a solemn banquet, to organize games, to erect statues to gods, or make some other donation to the *collegium*, which was to a great extent dependent on some additional benefaction by its rich members. Usually this was some property or money which was either given to the college by its members when still alive, or was bequeathed by them¹⁸. However, (part of) the money that the college received from interest had to be spent in decorating the benefactor's grave once, or even several times a year, as specified in his will.

It has long been known from the studies of S. Mrozek and R. P. Duncan-Jones that inscriptions mentioning a legacy intended for the decoration of graves, similar to the tombstone of L. Caesernius Primitivus, are typical of northern Italy; money intended to cherish memory of the dead was also called *tutela*. Elsewhere in Italy and in the province of Africa, inscriptions in which the costs of various buildings or private distributions of money are noted, are more usual, while in other provinces of the western part of the empire inscriptions mentioning money are in general very rare.

In a recent article, C. Kokkinia analyzed a Greek inscription from Bithynia also mentioning, among other instructions, that a grave should be decorated every year with roses. She collected and commented upon other such documents in Italy and the Roman provinces, especially in the Greek east, which are all in all comparatively rare¹⁹. These funerary inscriptions mention legacies left to *collegia* or local inhabitants so that they would bring flowers (mainly roses) and other offerings to the grave at certain holidays. It is clear from these instructions that the deceased, or those who provided for their graves while still alive, most often wished their memory to be remembered either on Parentalia and / or Rosalia, Violaria, or on the birthdays of the deceased, as well as anniversaries of their death, but also on other holidays, such as some important family celebration, the foundation date or any other important day of the *collegium*, or even the birthday of the emperor. Parentalia was a festival in honour of the dead *par excellence*, lasting from February 14 to 21, which ended on February 22 with the holiday of *cara cognatio*, the gathering of the family, or, later, perhaps of the members of a cult association.

The date of the festival of Rosalia varied in different regions and differing seasons in accordance with the blossoming of roses, ranging from May to the first week of July. In the beginning it was not related to the cult of the dead; this connection is first attested at the end of the 1st century AD. As late as the reign of Domitian, Rosalia were mentioned, e.g. in the precepts of the *collegium Silvani*, as a spring festival

¹⁸ Mrozek, *Prix* (s. note 16), 60f.

¹⁹ C. Kokkinia, *Rosen für die Toten im griechischen Raum und eine neue ροδισμός-Inschrift aus Bithynien*, Mus. Helv. 56 (1999) 204–221.

which was ranked along with the New Year festival and the birthday of the emperor²⁰. One of the important tasks of many *collegia* was also to ensure a decent burial for its members, particularly for those who were not rich enough, and for whom burial could not have been provided by their family, hence forging a link between Rosalia and the cult of the dead. Rosalia (*dies rosarum*) became more and more closely connected with visiting and decorating graves, like *Violaria* (*dies violarum*), when violets were scattered over the graves. In inscriptions, Rosalia are often mentioned along with the Parentalia. It is true that in most of these inscriptions either the Parentalia and/or Rosalia are mentioned (e.g. *CIL* XI 1436 = *ILS* 7258 from Pisa: 400 *sestertii* were given, *ex cuius reditu parental(ia) et rosar(ia) quotann(is) at sepulchrum suum celebrent*), and/or the birthday of the deceased, but as has been mentioned above, there are a few inscriptions in which other days are referred to that had no connections with rites for the dead; they served merely as dates that for one reason or another were important for the owners of the grave.

The majority of the inscriptions mentioning legacies to provide for a grave come from the Latin west; Kokkinia cited 41 examples in Latin and 16 in Greek. The latter can undoubtedly be considered a testimony to an advanced Romanization or, better, the actual presence of colonists from Italy²¹. From the mentioned 41 Latin documents, 25 come from the former Cisalpine Gaul, 10 are from the rest of Italy (of these, 4 are from Rome), 3 from Macedonia, while three are from Thrace and Illyria²². Clearly, such tombstones were predominantly found in northern Italy²³. The sums of legacies of this kind greatly varied²⁴, thus for example, M. Sullius Verus from Vardagate (= Terruggia) bequeathed 400 *sestertii* to his *vicus* (*vicanis Iadatinis*), in order that a wreath of roses be placed each year at his and his parents' grave (*ut de reditu eorum quodquod annis rosam ponant*, *CIL* V, 7450). L. Publicius Italicus from Ravenna gave to the *collegium fabrum* 30 000 *sestertii* while still alive, to distribute 8 *sestertii* to all members present on the festival of Neptune, while to his 28th *decuria* he gave 600 *sestertii*. With 100 *sestertii* from this sum, they should annually decorate two graves of his family with roses: the grave of his wife and that of his two sons. They should also make a sacrifice for the sum of 50 *sestertii*, while the rest of the money should be spent to prepare a solemn dinner (*CIL* XI 126). On the other hand, Q. Titius Severus

²⁰ M. P. Nilsson, *Das Rosenfest*, in: *Opuscula selecta* 1. Acta Inst. Athen. Regni Sueciae 8° II:1, Lund 1951, 311–329 (= Beiträge z. Religionswiss. II, Stockholm 1918, 133–154), particularly 312f.; 321.

²¹ As a typical feature of Romanization, the feast is mentioned by R. MacMullen, *Romanization in the Time of Augustus*, New Haven, London 2000, 26f.

²² Kokkinia, *Rosen* (s. note 19), 209, citations for Latin inscriptions are in her footnote 17. The numbers should be altered in as much as the author considered Emona to have been in Pannonia, which is still the prevailing opinion, but the town certainly belonged most of the time to Regio X; the Emona inscription should therefore be counted among the ex-Cisalpine examples. 27 such inscriptions are listed by Mrozek, *Prix* (s. note 16), 57ff.

²³ See also F. M. Ausbüttel, *Untersuchungen zu den Vereinen im Westen des römischen Reiches*, Frankfurter Althist. Stud. 11 (1982) 68–69.

²⁴ R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire. Quantitative Studies*, Cambridge 1974, 171ff.; particularly also 203ff.

from Atria (= Adria) gave to the college of sailors (*collegium nautarum*) 400 *sestertii*, to bring roses and victuals to his grave every year (*ad rosas et escas ducendas ei omnibus annis*, *CIL* V 2315). If exceptionally large sums are not counted, such legacies are usually not greater than 2000 *sestertii* and not smaller than 200²⁵.

The tombstone of L. Caesernius Primitivus is not the only one of this kind from Emona or its immediate vicinity. Another tombstone, unfortunately merely a fragment²⁶, was found immured in the church at Zavoglje, a small village east of Ljubljana. The situation there must have been very similar to that at Gameljne. At Zavoglje, too, a *villa rustica* may have existed during the Roman period, or else a small village, or both. At least one rich family must have lived there, since on another fragmentary tombstone, immured in the same church, the Coponii are attested (*CIL* III 3859). The gentilicium *Cop(p)onius* originated in southern Italy, elsewhere it is rare²⁷. The name is attested twice in northern Italy and Dalmatia, thrice in Noricum and Gallia Narbonensis; epigraphic evidence indicates that it spread to the most Romanized regions bordering with Italy. These two inscriptions may serve as one of several arguments that Emona belonged to the Italian *Regio X*²⁸, although they could theoretically also be explained as having belonged to colonists from northern Italy, who had brought with them their own way of life and their specific customs.

It is interesting that *denarii* are mentioned in both inscriptions from the Emona territory instead of more usual *sestertii*; the problem of different denominations as they appear in the epigraphic monuments has been dealt with in an interesting article by S. Mrozek²⁹. Most of the inscriptions, in which a sum of money is mentioned, are dated to the second half of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century AD, while almost none are attested after the middle of the 3rd century. The *sestertius* was a counting unit, therefore it is much more often used in the inscriptions; this is confirmed by an inscription from Ostia (*CIL* XIV 431) in which the capital involved was given in *sestertii* (50 000), as was also the yearly sum (100) to decorate the statue of the benefactor, while money offered on the day of the celebration of this foundation was given in *denarii* (3 *denarii* for the *decuriones*, 5 for the *Augustales*). *Denarii* in the inscriptions referring to the distribution of money are epigraphically attested in Italy after AD 120, but even after this date *sestertii* as a denomination are still predominant. In one and the same city, where both *sestertii* and *denarii* are epigraphically attested, the former always appear in the earlier inscriptions, while *denarii* became used more

²⁵ Mrozek, *Prix* (s. note 16), 58.

²⁶ D. Božič, *Arheološki vestnik*, forthcoming.

²⁷ J. Šašel, *Emona*, in: *RE Suppl.* XI (1968), 566 (= *Opera selecta*, Ljubljana 1992, 573); cf. B. Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, Vol. II: *Cabalicus – Ixus*, Wien 1999, 74.

²⁸ Šašel Kos, *Emona* (s. note 7).

²⁹ S. Mrozek, *Les espèces monétaires dans les inscriptions latines du Haut-Empire romain*, in: *Les „dévaluations“ à Rome. Époque républicaine et impériale (Rome, 13–15 novembre 1975)* (Coll. *Éc. fr.* Rome 37), Rome 1978, 79–87. The reference was kindly brought to my attention by Dr. Chris Howgego. See also S. Mrozek, *Le sesterce et le denier dans les inscriptions latines des provinces balkaniques*, in: *Studia Aegaea et Balcanica in honorem Lodovicae Press*, Warszawa 1992, 179–182, for interesting parallels.

often towards the end of the 2nd and in the 3rd century³⁰. This would suggest that the tombstone of L. Caesernius Primitivus can most probably not be dated before AD 120. A similar tombstone was discovered at Bellunum (*CIL* V 2046); it was erected by Iuuentius Titus while he was still alive, for himself and his wife. He gave 500 small money-bags (*folles*)³¹ of *denarii* to the *collegium fabrum*, in order to have their grave remembered at the time of Rosalia and Vindemia (vintage): *ad mem(oriā) col(endam) ruserum et vindemia(rum)*.

Carna

L. Caesernius Primitivus and his wife Ollia Primilla requested that their memory be remembered on the *Carnar(ia)*; as has been mentioned earlier, the name of the holiday has not been attested elsewhere. First of all, I would like to emphasize that I follow the *communis opinio*, according to which *Carnar(ia)* refer to the goddess Carna; I disagree with any other hypothesis that would see in the word some other meaning (such as, theoretically, *carnarias rosas*, roses red as meat)³², or that it would even refer to some other divinity, possibly a local Celtic one³³.

In his *Fasti*, Ovid describes the first day of June which is sacred to the goddess Carna. In the opinion of J. G. Frazer, who edited the Latin text with a translation and an exhaustive commentary³⁴, and later briefly annotated the *Fasti* for the Loeb Classical Library³⁵, her name should probably be derived from *caro, carnis*: „flesh“, the early etymology, favoured also by G. Dumézil³⁶, although there are several etymologies of her name³⁷. It is interesting that a word *karne* is preserved in Hesychius, with the meaning of ζημία, „a given share, punishment“. Since Ovid in the very beginning of his narrative concerning Carna describes her as the goddess of hinges, Frazer — and scholars before and after him³⁸ — presumed that he had confused her with Cardea³⁹. However, W. F. Otto argued that a goddess Cardea never

³⁰ Mrozek, *Espèces* (s. note 29), 83f.

³¹ *Folles* in this case should probably be explained as a substitution for the usual small baskets, *sportulae*, which are often mentioned in such a context.

³² However, the word *carnarius* is not attested as an adjective, merely as a noun: a dealer in meat.

³³ R. Pettazzoni, *Carna*, *Studi Etruschi* 14 (1940) 163–172, who suggested, not at all plausibly, *Carneus* or even *Cernunnos*. *Carneus* is a doubtful deity, preserved in a dubiously transcribed inscription from Lusitania (*CIL* II 125), cf. M. Ihm, s. v. *Carneus*, in: *RE* 3 (1899), 1598.

³⁴ J. G. Frazer, Publius Ovidius Naso, *Fastorum libri sex*. Ed. with a Translation and Commentary by J. G. Frazer. IV: *Commentary on Books V and VI*, London 1929; on Carna pp. 141–147.

³⁵ Cambridge, London 1989²; 2nd ed. revised by G. P. Goold; 1st ed. appeared in 1931.

³⁶ G. Dumézil, *La religion romaine archaïque*, Paris 1966, 377.

³⁷ They are listed by D. Porte, *L'étiologie religieuse dans les Fastes d'Ovide*, Paris 1985, 230ff.; see also G. Radke, *Die Götter Altitaliens* (Fontes et Commentationes 3), Münster 1965, 83–84.

³⁸ Notably G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte*, München 1904, 138f.

³⁹ E. Aust, s.v. *Cardea*, in: *RE* 3 (1899), 1586f.; cf. W. Fauth, *Römische Religion im Spiegel der „Fasti“ des Ovid*, in: *ANRW* II 16. 1 (1978), 131 and no. 165.

existed and his arguments were accepted by W. Eisenhut and W. Fauth⁴⁰. This seems plausible and certainly Ovid's verses can by no means be considered an argument in favour of the existence of a goddess of hinges other than Carna.

Recently J. Scheid argued that Ovid's „calendar in verses“ should be viewed for what it actually is, not a liturgic document but a learned exegesis in the tradition of the Alexandrian poets, not much different in contents from the antiquarian treatises on cults and religion of Varro, Verrius Flaccus or Plutarch, from which it differs merely in literary style. Thus Ovid cannot be accused of incoherence or even less of incompetence in religious matters; moreover, his reputation would not allow him to commit an error concerning the actual state of affairs, since it could be easily detected by anybody⁴¹. Ovid most probably recorded current religious practices and beliefs, and explained them on the basis of his antiquarian knowledge and in his own poetic style. It is thus clear that he preserved some ancient folk lore and many interesting genuine details about Roman cults and religion that can be a starting point for a serious discussion. It also cannot be excluded that he added some bits to a story of his own accord, especially if he supposed that it would have been pertinent and congruous with the rest of his poetic narrative.

Ovid says of Carna that she is an ancient goddess and names her a goddess of hinges. This may be his invention, but it is more probable to suppose that in Ovid's times she was actually also seen as a special protectress of doors. Even if a goddess Cardea did exist (which indeed does not seem to be confirmed in the sources), it may be hypothesized that her role had been taken over by Carna, since by virtue of some other aspects of her magical powers she may have seemed an adequate goddess to take over the protection of hinges. Folk etymology may have also played some part, as the name of the goddess, Carna, may have been falsely associated with the word *cardo*⁴². If that were true it would merely mean that her domain became more complex. Ovid went on to say that by her divine power she opened what was closed and closed what was open, and he continued that in the course of time it had become obscure how she had acquired her powers, but his song will reveal it. She, a nymph, was allegedly born in an old sacred grove of Alernus near the Tiber, where the *pontifices* still performed their sacrifices. In ancient times she was called Cranaë, wandering through the countryside, chasing wild beasts with her darts, until Janus fell in love with her, and in return for her lost maidenhood gave her a whitethorn with which she could repel any harm from doors (verses 105–130).

Ovid then described *striges*, some kind of screech-owls, monstrous nocturnal birds who came by night to attack babies in the cradle and drink their blood. Thus they had sucked the blood of Proca (the future king of Alba Longa) when he was five days old, but the nurse who took care of him went to Cranaë to ask her for help, whereupon she came to the cradle and saved the infant by having thrice touched the doorposts with

⁴⁰ W. F. Otto, *Römische „Sondergötter“*, Rheinisches Museum für Philologie N. F. 64 (1909) 460 ff.; W. Eisenhut, s. v. *Cardea*, in: *Der Kleine Pauly* 1 (1964), 1054; Fauth, *Religion* (s. note 39), 131.

⁴¹ J. Scheid, *Myth, Cult and Reality in Ovid's Fasti*, in: *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n. s. 38, 1992, 118–131.

⁴² Cf. Fauth, *Religion* (s. note 39), 131.

arbutus leaves and thrice marked the threshold with them, sprinkled the entrance with salubrious water in which she had put some herb, and sacrificed a two month old sow to exchange „a heart for a heart, entrails for entrails“. In the end she placed Janus' rod of whitethorn at the small window of the chamber and the baby recovered (verses 131–168).

In the remaining verses concerning Carna (169–182), Ovid explained why it was a custom to eat fat bacon and broad beans mixed with hot spelt on this day. She was a goddess of ancient times when people feasted on pork and ate what was then growing in their fields: broad beans and spelt (a kind of wheat-like grain). These two foods eaten on the June Kalends protected people from any intestinal illness. This part of the story is corroborated by the data from Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1. 12. 31–33)⁴³, who added an interesting piece of information concerning Carna's shrine. He says that some maintained that the month of June was named after Iunius Brutus who was the first Roman consul. After Brutus had expelled Tarquinius, he had a shrine (*sacrum*) built to Carna in fulfilment of his vow on the first day of this month on the hill of Caelius. Since the defeat of Tarquinius and a shrine of Carna cannot be causally related, it rather seems that Brutus must have suffered from a cardiac disease at the time, although Macrobius is vague about it. Macrobius goes on to say that it is believed that this goddess is the protectress of vital human organs, and people pray to her to preserve the health of their liver, heart, and intestines. He indeed mentioned Brutus' heart; Brutus presumably believed that he had been cured by the intervention of the goddess to whom he had gratefully erected a shrine. Broad bean gruel with lard is sacrificed to her, a food which more than anything else strengthens bodily vigour. Therefore the Kalends of June were popularly called the broad bean Kalends, since in this month the first ripe broad beans are brought to the altars. This is what Macrobius tells us concerning Carna; his data differ slightly from the corresponding part of Ovid's story, but can easily be combined and mutually explained. A shrine on Caelius dedicated to Carna by L. Iunius Brutus⁴⁴, mentioned by Macrobius, is also referred to as a *fanum* by Tertullian (*Nat.* 2.9.7). It is recorded in the *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*⁴⁵. Macrobius' information about the sacrifice of the broad bean gruel on the Kalends of June is also confirmed by Varro, cited in Nonius Marcellus (*De compendiosa doctrina*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, Teubner 1903, vol. 3, 539, quotation 341 M., 33–34: Varro de

⁴³ His text is as follows: *Nonnulli putaverunt Iunium mensem a Iunio Bruto qui primus Romae consul factus est nominatum, quod hoc mense, id est Kalendis Iuniis, pulso Tarquinio sacrum Carnae deae in Caelio monte voti reus fecerit. Hanc deam vitalibus humanis praeesse credunt. Ab ea denique petitur ut iecinora et corda quaeque sunt intrinsecus viscera salva conservet: et quia cordis beneficio, cuius dissimulatione Brutus habebatur, idoneus emendationi publici status extitit, hanc deam quae vitalibus praeest templo sacravit. Cui pulve fabacia et larido sacrificatur, quod his maxime rebus vires corporis roborantur. Nam et Kalendae Iuniae fabariae vulgo vocantur, quia hoc mense adultae fabae divinis rebus adhibentur.*

⁴⁴ A. Mastrocinque, *La cacciata di Tarquinio il Superbo. Tradizione romana e letteratura greca*, II, Athenaeum 62 (1984) 210–229; id., *Lucio Giunio Bruto. Ricerche di storia, religione e diritto sulle origini della repubblica romana*, Trento 1988.

⁴⁵ D. Palombi, *Dea Carna, Fanum*, in: E. M. Steinby, *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*. Vol. 2, Roma 1995, 7.

Vita Pop. Rom. lib. 1: „*quod calendis Iuniis et publice et privatim fabatam pultem dimactant*“⁴⁶.

It is clear that Ovid's story concerning Carna is neatly divided into three parts. The first is a definition of her as a goddess of hinges and her association with an obsolete deity of vegetation Alernus / (H)Elernus who, according to G. Dumézil, may have presided over the approaching sowing of vegetables and grains, since he was celebrated on February 1, while Carna's domain was to watch over the transformation of all foods, both vegetal and animal, into flesh⁴⁷. As a goddess of hinges she is also coupled with Janus, who endowed her with the branch of whitethorn. Greeks believed that branches of whitethorn or buckthorn fastened to doors or windows kept out witches (Dioscorides, *De natura medica* 1. 119), and it is still generally believed that plants with strong odours hung in rooms repel bloodsuckers and vampires⁴⁸. Whitethorn could also protect people from ghosts on the day of the year when the souls of the dead were believed to be lurking around the city and intruding on the living (Phot., *Lexicon*, s.v. *μιαρὰ ἡμέρα*; scholiast to Nicander, *Theriaca* 860^a). This may indicate that part of her role could have been connected with the Lower World, but not necessarily. In the second part, her ability to drive away *striges* and protect babies against them by using whitethorn and her magic is described, as well as by sacrificing a young sow and exchanging its heart and intestines for those of the baby. Lastly, in the third part, where she is expressly termed as a „*prisca dea*“, Ovid described the ritual performed on the day of her feast, popularly called *Kalendae fabariae*, „broad bean Kalends“. A gruel made of broad beans mixed with wheat (spelt), eaten during the ceremonies at her festival together with rich pork fat, a food which gives strength to the body, protected people against any harm to their internal organs, *viscera*.

Rather than assume that Ovid deliberately confused the two goddesses, Cardea/ Cranaë and Carna⁴⁹, as is usually the case despite the study of W. F. Otto, who argued that Cardea had never even existed⁵⁰, it may either be supposed that Carna had always also been a protectress of hinges, or that in the course of time she took over the role of some other deity originally charged with this task. The more so, because Carna may have at an early date been known as a protectress of doors and families. G. Wissowa distinguished between Cardea and Carna, assuming that Ovid had mixed both stories⁵¹. He considered the goddess, also on the basis of the tombstone from Emona, to be related to the cult of the dead, and he additionally remarked that Helernus, too, was a divinity of the underworld, since on February 1 *pontifices* sacrificed a dark animal to him⁵². In his article *De feriis anni Romanorum*

⁴⁶ Cf. also Festus, *De rerum significatu* (ed. W. M. Lindsay, 1913), 344 (381 Th.).

⁴⁷ G. Dumézil, (H)Elernus, *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* 1 (1973) 304–308.

⁴⁸ D. J. Ovsec, *Vraževerje sveta. O nastanku vraž, njihovem razvoju in pomenu*. [Superstition World Wide. Superstitious Beliefs, Their Development and Meaning], Ljubljana 2001, 36.

⁴⁹ See, e. g., D. Porte, *L'étiologie religieuse dans les Fastes d'Ovide*, Paris 1985, 230ff., with further citations.

⁵⁰ Otto, *Sondergötter* (s. note 40).

⁵¹ Wissowa, *Abhandlungen* (s. note 38), 138f.

⁵² G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Handbuch der klass. Altertumswiss. 5, 4), München 1912², 236; cf. 107.

*vetustissimi*⁵³, he also referred to Carnaria, assigning to the festival a role similar to Parentalia and Rosalia, when the deceased were commemorated. His arguments were not based merely on the Emona inscription; the sacrifice of broad beans would according to him also indicate rituals relating to propitiation of the dead and interestingly, the Kalends of June are marked with the letter *N*, indicating a *dies nefastus*, in a similar way as the Kalends of February, the day of Helernes. G. Dumézil, on the other hand, rejected the first part of Ovid's story where she is said to be the goddess of hinges — unnecessarily, it seems, especially because he does accept Ovid's association of the goddess with Helernus, which is also mentioned in the first part of his story, at the very beginning. He disagreed with Wissowa and others who explained her function as partly that of a goddess of the underworld⁵⁴. Furthermore, he also criticized K. Latte, who defined Carna as a goddess whose festival on the Kalends of June should be interpreted as a rite celebrating the first broad bean harvest, when ripe broad beans were sacrificed on the altars⁵⁵. In Dumézil's opinion, his interpretation is erroneous, since the festival is nowhere mentioned as such, but most of all, because bacon was eaten together with the broad beans and both were sacrificed to Carna⁵⁶. However, Latte was no doubt right in emphasizing that the first fresh broad beans eaten on Carnaria had nothing to do with the black beans used in the rituals performed on the Lemuria⁵⁷.

The great dilemma in defining Carna correctly is whether she may — in addition to her other characteristics — also be regarded as the goddess of the dead (Wissowa, Altheim, Bömer, and the majority of scholars)⁵⁸ or whether she was just the goddess of food, eating and digestion, without any connotations of the afterlife (Dumézil, Latte). However, explanations of her divine role (in addition to those that have already been mentioned), which differ in details, are multiple. W. F. Otto considered her a divinity of the dead, as well as the protectress of the door, the entrance to the house, such as Artemis and Hecate in Greece; according to him Cardea is not genuine, and all her characteristics should be ascribed to Carna, along with her association with Janus. In his opinion, she would have originally been the goddess of a *gens*, the Carnii or Carni⁵⁹. She was explained as a lunar goddess by R. Pettazzoni, perhaps related to the

⁵³ *Abhandlungen* (s. note 38), 154–174.

⁵⁴ Dumézil, *Religion* (s. note 36), 377ff. See also id., *Carna* (Déesses latines et mythes végétales, 5), *REL* 38 (1960) 87–99.

⁵⁵ K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, München 1960, 70f.

⁵⁶ G. Dumézil, *Religion romaine et critique philologique*, *REL* 39 (1961) 87–91 (1. Carna).

⁵⁷ Both broad beans and beans are mentioned in modern works referring to the Greek and Roman literary sources, but beans, which were later brought from America, had not existed in the Roman period, cf. D. Zohary, M. Hopf, *Domestication of Plants in the Old World*, Oxford 2000³, 112ff. The reference was kindly brought to my attention by Dr. Metka Culiberg.

⁵⁸ F. Altheim, *Griechische Götter im alten Rom*, Giessen 1930, 189: he equates Carnaria with Lemuria; F. Bömer, P. Ovidius Naso, *Die Fasten*. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von F. B., II, Heidelberg 1958, 342f.; cf. also P. Fabre, *La religion romaine*, in: *Histoire des religions*, ed. M. Brillant, R. Aigrain, III, Paris 1955, 322.

⁵⁹ Otto, *Sondergötter* (s. note 40), 460–464; cf. Latte, *Religionsgeschichte* (s. note 55), 58 note 1.

Carni or some local Celtic deity, but certainly with funeral rituals⁶⁰. A. Grenier saw in her a protectress of threshold, doors and families, especially children⁶¹, while J. Gagé hypothesized that she would have been a female counterpart to Caranus⁶². A. Mastrocinque regarded her as a goddess related to the Lower World, but also as a witch and a nymph of the woods, who controlled the evil spirits of the night, a protectress of new-born babies and of houses, as well as of the vital organs of the human body, which recalls votive deposits near the Etrusco-Italian sanctuaries, frequently containing clay images of human organs. According to him she could have been a manifestation of Mater Larum⁶³.

In any case it is important to recall that her origins were quite obscure as early as the time of Ovid, who defined her as an ancient Italian goddess. However, despite her origins not being well known, June 1 remained a holiday until as late as the 4th century AD, and *ludi* were still yearly celebrated on this day. They are mentioned in Philocalus' Chronicle of AD 354⁶⁴. Carna, who in the hazy past had saved Proca, the great-grandfather of Romulus and a king in Alba Longa⁶⁵, had proven to be favourably disposed towards the Romans since the very earliest times of their history⁶⁶. The tombstone from Spodnje Gameljne in the territory of Emona indicates that during the 2nd century AD (the most probable date for the tombstone), she was also celebrated on the very outskirts of Italy.

Even immediately after Wissowa published his monograph and his treatises on Roman religion, where he defined Carna as a „Totengöttin“, there were scholars who remained unconvinced by his arguments, such as W. Warde Fowler. Wissowa argued his thesis mainly on the basis of the Emona inscription and the fact that in the calendar of Numa, June 1 is marked as a *dies tristis*, although this information is isolated and does not appear anywhere else⁶⁷. W. Warde Fowler, in his book on the Roman festivals, did not disagree entirely with the opinion that Carna would also have been related to the cult of the dead, and he accepted Mommsen's explanation that by *Carnar(iis)* the Kalends of June were meant in the inscription from Emona. Yet he formulated his view about the goddess much more carefully: „But it is going a little too far to argue on this slender evidence, even if we add to it the fact that the day was *nefastus*, that the festival of Carna was of the same kind as the Parentalia, Rosalia etc.; a careful reading of Ovid's comments seems to show that there were curious

⁶⁰ Pettazzoni, *Carna* (s. note 33).

⁶¹ A. Grenier, *Les religions étrusque et romaine*, in: *Les religions de l'Europe ancienne* III (Mana 2), Paris 1948, 115f.

⁶² J. Gagé, *Le dieu „Inventor“ et les Minucii*, MEFRA 78 (1966) 116.

⁶³ Mastrocinque, *Bruto* (s. note 44), 41–44, summarized by Palombi (s. note 45).

⁶⁴ Furius Dionysius Filocalus, under whose name this chronicle is preserved: *CIL* I² 266, cf. 319. Cf. also D. Sabbatucci, *La religione di Roma antica dal calendario festivo all'ordine cosmico*, Milano 1988, 182 ff. (the reference was kindly brought to my attention by Claudio Zaccaria).

⁶⁵ C. M. McDonough, *Carna, Proca and the Strix on the Kalends of June*, TAPA 127 (1997) 315–344.

⁶⁶ J. Loehr, *Ovids Mehrfacherklärungen in der Tradition aitiologischen Dichtens* (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 74), Stuttgart, Leipzig 1996, 345f.

⁶⁷ Wissowa, *Abhandlungen* (s. note 38), 138f.

survivals of folklore connected with the day and with Carna which cannot all be explained by reference to rites of the dead.⁶⁸

Indeed, there is no need — just because of the Emona inscription — to consider Carnaria a festival related to the cult of the dead, since there is enough evidence suggesting that festivals and days mentioned in inscriptions similar to the Emona tombstone are not all connected with rites of the dead. One such inscription from Rome, also cited by K. Hopkins when discussing the forms of belief in the afterlife among the Romans⁶⁹, is particularly interesting since it listed several occasions when the grave in question should be visited: Parentalia, the dead person's birthday, two minor holidays when it was the custom to scatter roses and violets over the graves, as well as the Kalends, Nonae and Ides of these months (*CIL VI 10248: ... ita ut ex reditu eius insulae quodannis die natalis sui et rosationis et violae et parentalibus) memoriam sui sacrificis quarter in annum factis celebrent et praeterea omnibus) kalendis, nonis, idibus suis quibusque mensibus lucerna lucens sibi ponatur incenso inposito*). On Parentalia and the other three mentioned days, the deceased (whose name is not known due to the fragmentary state of the inscription) requested that sacrifices be performed on his grave, while on the Kalends, Nonae and Ides he should be remembered with an oil lamp, which should be brought and lit on his grave, with some incense added. In a Greek inscription from Macedonian Bitola, it is said that the festive day of Vettius Bolanus should be remembered every year (Vulić, *Spomenik* 71, 1931, no. 500: ... καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄγειν τὴν τοῦ Οὐεττίου Βωλανοῦ ἑορτάσιμον ἐκ τῶν τόκων ἡμέραν ...), which may or may not have been his birthday; it could well have been an otherwise important day for him, or a family holiday⁷⁰. In a similar way the Carnaria, mentioned in the tombstone from Spodnje Gameljne (Emona), may have denoted a date which was an important family holiday or an anniversary for both L. Caesernius Primitivus and his wife Ollia Primilla. As Latte has emphasized, citing a date by way of giving the name of a festival or a holiday was common enough in the Roman period. In his opinion, Carnaria would either denote the birthday or the anniversary of the death of one of the deceased, or else some other important family holiday⁷¹. Since both husband and wife are mentioned on the tombstone, it is less likely that the date would have referred merely to the husband. A family festivity seems more likely, or perhaps a festive day of the *collegium fabrum*, in which L. Caesernius Primitivus was a *decurio*. Another possibility would be that the festival of Carnaria itself may have been traditionally celebrated either by the Caesernii family or else by the *collegium*, because of some special importance having been attached to it.

⁶⁸ W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic. An Introduction to the Study of the Religion of the Romans* (Handbooks of Archaeology and Antiquities), London 1899, 131.

⁶⁹ K. Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* (Sociological Studies in Roman History 2), Cambridge 1983, 233f.

⁷⁰ On the importance of birthdays see D. P. Harmon, *The Family Festivals of Rome*, in: *ANRW II 16, 2* (1978), 1596ff.; in general on family festivals: 1592–1603.

⁷¹ Latte, *Religionsgeschichte* (s. note 55), 71 note 3.

The tombstone of L. Caesernius Primitivus, as well as the fragmentary inscription mentioning a similar legacy, offer evidence that life at Emona did not much differ — in terms of municipal organization and various religious and funerary customs — from life in other towns of northern Italy. Such inscriptions have not been discovered to date either in neighbouring Noricum or in Pannonia, and very likely will not be discovered in the future. They are an interesting testimony to certain local peculiarities which gave a specific imprint to various regions of Italy. Region by region, people lived differently in Italy as they also did in different areas of the same province, despite some fascinating phenomena of Roman uniformity.

Inštitut za arheologijo ZRC SAZU
Novi trg 2
1000 Ljubljana
Slovenia

Marjeta Šašel Kos

