

Universidad de Sevilla 50 - 2019

FILOLOGÍA CLÁSICA

HISTORIA ANTIGUA

ARQUEOLOGÍA CLÁSICA

HABIS

HABIS

50



SEVILLA 2019

Reservados todos los derechos. Ni la totalidad ni parte de este libro pueden reproducirse o transmitirse por ningún procedimiento electrónico o mecánico, incluyendo fotocopia, grabación magnética o cualquier almacenamiento de información y sistema de recuperación, sin permiso escrito de la Editorial Universidad de Sevilla.

DIRECTORES

Rocío Carande Herrero y Pilar Pavón Torrejón

CONSEJO DE REDACCIÓN

Luis Ballesteros Pastor (Universidad de Sevilla, España), José Luis Escacena Carrasco (Universidad de Sevilla, España), José Beltrán Fortes (Universidad de Sevilla, España), Antonio Bravo García (Universidad Complutense, España), Antonio Caballos Rufino (Universidad de Sevilla, España), José María Candau Morón (Universidad de Sevilla, España), Francisca Chaves Tristán (Universidad de Sevilla, España), Juan Fernández Valverde (Universidad Pablo de Olavide, España), Enrique García Vargas (Universidad de Sevilla, España), Pilar León Alonso (Universidad de Sevilla, España), José María Maestre Maestre (Universidad de Cádiz, España), José Luis Moralejo Álvarez (Universidad de Alcalá, España), Salvador Ordóñez Agulla (Universidad de Sevilla, España), Antonio Ramírez de Verger (Universidad de Huelva, España), José Miguel Serrano Delgado (Universidad de Sevilla, España), José Solís de los Santos (Universidad de Sevilla, España), Francisco Villar Liébana (Universidad de Salamanca, España)

SECRETARIOS

Francisco José García Fernández y José Miguel Jiménez Delgado

CONSEJO ASESOR

Rutger J. Allan (Universidad de Amsterdam, Holanda), Manuel Bendala Galán (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, España), Alberto Bernabé Pajares (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, España), Genaro Chic García (Universidad de Sevilla, España), José Antonio Correa Rodríguez (Universidad de Sevilla, España), Francisco Javier Fernández Nieto (Universidad de Valencia, España), Manuel García Teijeiro (Universidad de Valladolid, España), Juan Gil Fernández (Universidad de Sevilla, España), Luis Gil Fernández (Universidad Complutense, España), Cristóbal González Román (Universidad de Granada, España), Javier de Hoz Bravo (†) (Universidad Complutense, España), Simon J. Keay (Universidad de Southampton, Reino Unido), Peter Kruschwitz (Universidad de Viena, Austria), Francisco J. Lomas Salmonte (Universidad de Cádiz, España), Jesús Luque Moreno (Universidad de Granada, España), José María Luzón Nogué (Universidad Complutense, España), M.^a Cruz Marín Ceballos (Universidad de Sevilla, España), Patrizio Pensabene (Universidad de Roma “La Sapienza”, Italia), Miguel Rodríguez-Pantoja Márquez (Universidad de Córdoba, España), Diego Ruiz Mata (Universidad de Cádiz, España), Eustaquio Sánchez Salor (Universidad de Extremadura, España), Bartolomé Segura Ramos (Universidad de Sevilla, España), Emilio Suárez de la Torre (Universidad Pompeu Fabra, España), Nicolas Tran (Universidad de Poitiers, Francia)

Este volumen ha sido parcialmente financiado por las Facultades de Filología y Geografía e Historia de la Universidad de Sevilla.

© Editorial Universidad de Sevilla 2019
c/ Porvenir, 27. 41013 Sevilla
Teléfonos: 954 48 74 46 - 74 51. Fax: 954 48 74 43
Correo electrónico: eus4@us.es
<http://www.editorial.us.es>

Impreso en España-Printed in Spain
ISSN 0210-7694
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.12795/Habis>
Depósito Legal: SE-669-1994
Maquetación: Referencias Cruzadas - referencias.maquetacion@gmail.com
Impresión: Pinelo Talleres Gráficos, s.l.-Salteras. Sevilla



ÍNDICE

JUAN GIL. Los primeros años de <i>Habis</i>	7
JOSÉ MARÍA LUZÓN NOGUÉ. Así nació la revista <i>Habis</i>	11
DIEGO RUIZ MATA. Años recordados por la revista <i>Habis</i>	15
JOSÉ ANTONIO CORREA RODRÍGUEZ. Javier de Hoz Bravo, helenista y paleohispanista	29
RAÚL SÁNCHEZ CASADO. El servidor del <i>ka</i> y la pureza ritual: algunas notas sobre la escena de circuncisión en la tumba de Ankhmahor	35
ANTONIO MANUEL SÁEZ ROMERO / MARÍA LUISA LAVADO FLORIDO. Cremaciones fenicias y un nuevo saladero de pescado púnico de <i>Gadir</i> . Avance de los hallazgos registrados en el área de Los Chinchorros (Calle San Bartolomé, Cádiz)	49
ALEJANDRO ABRITTA. Una nueva perspectiva sobre el problema de la <i>performance</i> de los mimiambos de Herodas	83
ANTONIO RUIZ CASTELLANOS. <i>Hasta Regia</i> y la cultura religiosa fenicia	101
AGUSTÍN MORENO. Motivos griegos en el episodio de Tito Livio del ataque de Porsena a Roma	129
GORETTI OYA GARCÍA. <i>Genetrix Orbis</i> . Madre de la dinastía Julio-Claudia, madre del Imperio, madre del orbe. La imagen de Livia Drusila en el territorio de la Bética	147
FRANCISCO CIDONCHA REDONDO. Mujeres <i>infames</i> en la sociedad romana del Alto Imperio	167
MIGUEL MARTÍNEZ SÁNCHEZ. Cónyuges, familiares y compañeros: aproximación a la tipología de los dedicantes en la epigrafía gladiatoria romana	183
JOSÉ M. CANDAU MORÓN / FÁTIMA AGUAYO HIDALGO. Sangre judía en odres griegos. Flavio Josefo y la historiografía griega	205
ALBERTO ROMERO CRIADO. Análisis semántico de los lexemas <i>vũv</i> y <i>vuvĩ</i> en el Nuevo Testamento.....	225
ANA C. VICENTE SÁNCHEZ. Intercambios epistolares entre Darío y Alejandro. Perspectiva intertextual desde la plutarquea <i>Vida de Alejandro</i> ..	245
JOSÉ D'ENCARNAÇÃO. ¿Uma inscrição romana em S. Martinho do Porto?.	269

SALVADOR ORDÓÑEZ AGULLA / SERGIO GARCÍA-DILS DE LA VEGA. <i>Astigitanus ex Baetica</i>	283
JOSÉ ANTONIO CORREA RODRÍGUEZ. El hidrónimo <i>Tader</i> (Río Segura) .	297
ELEONORA GIUNCHI. Amor abrasador: carbones y brasas en los epigramas eróticos de la <i>Antología Palatina</i>	305
MATTIA C. CHIRIATTI. Il <i>De oratione dominica</i> . Nissenno ed i commenti esegetici anteriori: uno studio comparativo	327
PETER KRUSCHWITZ. How the Romans Read Funerary Inscriptions: Neglected Evidence from the <i>Querolus</i>	341
STÉPHANIE GUÉDON. El cristianismo en el extremo Occidente africano en la Antigüedad tardía: una presencia religiosa sometida a discusión	363
PEDRO CASTILLO MALDONADO. La <i>Epistola ad Vincentium</i> de Liciniano de Cartagena y la tradición de la <i>Epistola de die Sancto Dominico</i> en la <i>Spania</i> bizantina	379
FRANCISCO SALVADOR VENTURA. La <i>Historia Wambae</i> de Julián de Toledo y sus caracteres de historiografía clásica	391
RESEÑAS.....	409

A. Álvarez-Ossorio Rivas, E. Ferrer Albelda y Á. Delgado Pereira (coords.), *Guerra y Paz. Las religiones ante los conflictos bélicos en la Antigüedad*, *Spal Monografías* nº XXIII (Judit Mata Soler) 409 • A. F. Caballos Rufino, *Hispalis, de César a Augusto. La Colonia Romula y los orígenes institucionales de la Sevilla romana entre la República y el Imperio* (Victor A. Torres González) 411 • J. Gil, *Chronica Hispana saeculi VIII et IX*, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* LXV (Juan Martos) 414 • H. Jiménez Vialás, *Carteia y Traducta. Ciudades y territorio en la orilla norte del Estrecho de Gibraltar (siglos VII a. C.-III d. C.)*, *Collecció Instrumenta* 57 (Sergio España-Chamorro) 416 • J. J. Justel, A. García-Ventura (eds.), *Las mujeres en el Oriente cuneiforme* (Daniel León Ardoy) 420 • C. Martínez López y P. Ubric Rabaneda (eds.), *Cartografías de género en las ciudades antiguas* (Colección *Feminae*) (Julia Guantes García) 424 • Á. Narro, *Platón. El Banquete*, *Colección Rhemata Textos Griegos*, volumen 1 (Carmen Sánchez-Mañas) 426 • M. Navarro Caballero, *Perfectissima femina. Femmes de l'élite dans l'Hispanie romaine*. 2 vols (Francisco Cidoncha Redondo) 429 • G. Ottone – A. L. Chávez Reino, *Teopompo di Chio. Filippiche* (Fozio, *Biblioteca, cod. 176*), (Álvaro Ibáñez Chacón) 431 • S. Panzram y L. Callegarin (eds.), *Entre civitas y madina. El mundo de las ciudades en la Península Ibérica y en el Norte de África (siglos IV –IX)*. (Jerónimo Sánchez Velasco) 434 • P. Pavón (ed.), *Marginalización y mujer en el Imperio romano*, (Salvador Ordóñez Agulla) 436 • F. Prados Martínez, H. Jiménez Vialás y J. J. Martínez García (Coords.), *Menorca entre fenicis i púnics. Menorca entre fenicios y púnicos*, (Francisco José García Fernández) 441 • D. Quint, *Virgil's Double Cross. Design and Meaning in the Aeneid* (María Emilia Cairo) 446 • J. Rodríguez Mellado, P. Garrido González y J. Vázquez Paz (eds.), *La necrópolis tardoantigua de la Plaza del Humilladero de Ntra. Sra. de Regla (Chipiona, Cádiz): primera*

campaña de excavaciones arqueológicas (2015) (Luis Gethsemani Pérez Aguilar) 449 • M. Sánchez Romero, R. M^a Cid López, *Motherhood and Infancies in the Mediterranean in Antiquity* (Marta Álvaro Bernal) 453 • C. Sierra Martín, *Tucidides Archaiolegikós. Grecia antes de la Guerra del Peloponeso*, (Marc Mendoza Sanahuja) 456 • N. A. Vitiglio, *Il lessico miceneo riferiti ai cereali* (José Miguel Jiménez Delgado) 457 • J. Untermann, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum. Band VI. Die vorrömische einheimische Toponymie des antiken Hispanien*, (José Antonio Correa Rodríguez) 461 • VVAA. *Costruzione e decostruzione della cartografia tolemaica*. Número monográfico de *Geographia Antiqua* 26 (Gonzalo Cruz Andreotti) 466

HOW THE ROMANS READ FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS: NEGLECTED EVIDENCE FROM THE *QVEROLVS**

Peter Kruschwitz
University of Vienna
peter.kruschwitz@univie.ac.at
ORCID: 0000-0002-8427-1056

CÓMO LEEN LOS ROMANOS LAS INSCRIPCIONES FUNERARIAS: UN DATO INADVERTIDO EN EL *QVEROLVS*

ABSTRACT: The late antique comedy *Querolus* (or *Aulularia*) makes a number of references to the ways in which the text of an inscribed urn was read. This is important, hitherto neglected evidence for the way in which encounters and interactions with inscribed objects, especially from a funerary sphere, were imagined in the Roman world. Based on an in-depth discussion of relevant passages, initial conclusions are drawn and linked to related phrases and passages in surviving epigraphic evidence, giving reason to rethink the multi-layered, complex sensuous experience that is commonly just referred to as 'reading inscriptions'.

KEYWORDS: *Querolus*; Reading; Latin Epigraphy; Roman Inscriptions.

RESUMEN: La comedia tardoantigua *Querolus* (o *Aulularia*) hace varias referencias a las formas en que se leía el texto de una urna inscrita. Este es un dato importante, hasta ahora inadvertido, del modo en que se imaginaban en el mundo romano los encuentros e interacciones con objetos inscritos, especialmente los pertenecientes a la esfera funeraria. Partiendo del examen de algunos pasajes relevantes, se extraen conclusiones iniciales y se comparan con frases y pasajes relacionados en testimonios epigráficos, lo que lleva a repensar la compleja experiencia que comúnmente se denomina "leer inscripciones".

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Querolus*; leer; epigrafía latina; inscripciones romanas.

RECIBIDO 20/11/18. ACEPTADO 19/12/18.

*For the purpose of this paper, I follow the text and numbering system of the Budé edition by C. Jacquemard-Le Saos (Paris 1994) with two exceptions: see below, nt. 11 and 24. I have added my own translation to key passages from the *Querolus* to provide the reader with some guidance to this often neglected text.

1. THE *QUEROLVS* AND AN INSCRIBED FUNERARY URN

The late antique¹ Latin comedy *Querolus* (or *Aulularia*) is an extraordinary piece in many respects². It is the sole (almost) completely surviving comedy after Plautus and Terence. It is written in (albeit rhythmical)³ prose rather than in verse. In a number of ways it reads as though it was written as a sequel to Plautus' *Aulularia* – as an '*Aulularia: the Next Generation*', so to speak, since Querolus, the play's protagonist and quintessential grouch, is cast as son of an Euclio and protected, like Plautus' Euclio in the *Aulularia*, by a (somewhat masochistic) Lar familiaris⁴. Despite its lengthy monologues and somewhat static dialogues, it is a radically challenging political read, dissecting forms of political and religious corruption as well as the ambitions of certain social types with meticulous attention to detail, sarcastic wit, and decent verbal humour⁵.

Querolus, unbeknown to him, houses a treasure in his home. In a dedicatory letter, the anonymous author of the play explains to the addressee, one Rutilius, that –

*Pater Queroli nostri fuit auarus Euclio. hic Euclio aurum in ornam
concessit olim, quasi busta patris, odoribus insuper infusis tituloque extra
addito. nauem ascendens ornam domi fodit, rem nulli aperuit. hic peregre
moriens parasitum ibidem cognitum filio coheredem instituit tacita scrip-
turae fide, si eidem thesaurum occultum sine fraude ostenderet.*

Our Querolus' father was Euclio, a miser. This Euclio once upon a time put his gold in an urn, as if it were the burial of his father, with added sprinklings of fragrances and an inscription attached to the

¹ Cf. e. g. J. Küppers, "Zum "Querolus" (p. 17.7–22 R) und seiner Datierung", *Philol.* 123 (1979) 303–323. There have been occasional attempts to suggest a radically later date, most notably by A. Maserà, *Querolus sive Aulularia. La nuova cronologia e il suo autore* (Turin 1991); these have quite rightly been rejected as unfounded: cf. e. g. K. Smolak, rec. Maserà, "Querolus sive Aulularia", *WS* 109 (N. F. 30) (1996) 321.

² For a bibliography on the *Querolus* see D. Lassandro – E. Romano, "Rassegna bibliografica degli studi sul *Querolus*", *BStudLat* 21 (1991) 26–51.

³ Cf. A. García Calvo, "La versificación del *Querolus* y el doble condicionamiento prosódico del ritmo", *CFC(L)* 15 (1998) 323–332.

⁴ An argument has been made for Plautus' *Aulularia* as the immediate point of reference for the invention of the *Querolus* plot by W. Emrich, *Griesgram oder Die Geschichte vom Topf. Querolus sive Aulularia. Lateinisch und Deutsch* (Berlin 1965) 16, supported by E. Lefèvre, *Plautus' Aulularia* (ScriptOralia 122) (Tübingen 2001) 48–50. In a slight variation to that, J. Küppers, "Die spätantike Prosa-Komödie "Querolus sive Aulularia" und das Problem ihrer Vorlagen", *Philol.* 133 (1989) 82–103 suggested the origin of the *Querolus* plot was to be found in ancient scholarly discussions surrounding Plautus' *Aulularia*. More radically still, K. Gaiser, *Menanders 'Hydria'. Eine hellenistische Komödie und ihr Weg ins Lateinische Mittelalter* (Heidelberg 1977) saw Menander's *Hydria* as a source for the *Querolus* (if through a Plautine intermediary); this view was credibly rejected by M. Molina Sánchez, "Observaciones sobre el original del *Querolus sive Aulularia*", *Estudios de Filología Latina* 4 (1984) 133–143.

⁵ For a critical appraisal of the ancient audience of the play cf. Küppers (above, n. 4) 88, a view shared by Lefèvre (above, n. 4) 49–50.

outside. When he was about to go on a boat trip, he buried the urn in his house, and he did not tell anyone about it. When he was about to die abroad, he made a parasite, whom he had met there, co-heir with his son in a secret testamentary instrument, on condition of his honest pointing out the treasure to the son.

(*Querol.* 3 J-LS)

Similarly, in the Lar's prologue to the actual play –

Pater huius Queroli Euclio fuit auarus et cautus senex. hic enorme pondus auri olim in ornam condidit. sic quasi <busta> paterna uenerans, aurum celabat palam. peregre uadens ornam domi sepeliit ac reliquit ante aras meas: tumulum suis, mihi thesaurum commendauit. abiit neque rediit senex. peregre moriens, uni tantummodo rem indicauit fraudulentum et perfido, cui tamen siue oblitus siue superacuum putans de busto et titulo nihil exponit.

The father of that man Querolus was Euclio, a greedy and wary old man. He once placed an enormous amount of gold in an urn. Thus, worshipping it like his father's burial, he concealed the gold in plain view. Going abroad, he buried the urn and left it in front of my altar: thus he left the burial with his family and his treasure with me. The old man left and never returned. As death was imminent when he was abroad, he revealed the matter to but a single person, a fraudulent and dishonest one, whom, however, he told nothing about the burial and its inscription – be it that he forgot or regarded it as superfluous.

(*Querol.* 12–13 J-LS)

In short, Euclio forgot to mention that there was a trick involved – something that would make it rather more challenging to retrieve the gold than it would at first appear – as well as an ominous inscription (*titulus*).

Mandrogerus, the parasite in question, accompanied by two colleagues – Sardanapallus and Sycophanta –, shows little inclination to share the inheritance with Querolus⁶. Instead, they concoct a plan to abscond the gold from him, exploiting Querolus' misanthropy and his superstition⁷. Mandrogerus, reinventing

⁶ On this 'trio of rogues' see in more detail K. Smolak, "Das Gaunertrio im *Querolus*", *WS* 101 (N. F. 22) (1988) 327–338, who makes an argument in favour of an interpretation of the three as styled in the fashion of early Christian monks. For an appreciation of Mandrogerus and the others as instances of the comedic stock character that is the parasite and its manifestations specifically in the *Querolus* see G. Vidović, "Dish to Cash, Cash to Ash: Mandrogerus the Applied Parasite and the Evolution of Comedy", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* [Central European University, Budapest] 16 (2010) 9–29.

⁷ The play's critical focus on matters of pagan superstition and abuse of cultic positions has led T. Adamik, "Moralität im *Querolus*", *AAntHung* 39 (1999) 1–8 to believe that there is an underlying

himself as a magician, offers to expel spirits from Querolus' domicile through a procedure that does not allow Querolus' own presence inside: an obvious ploy to gain time to search the house for the hidden urn, of course. They find the urn and steal it – only to discover that it, inspite of its significant weight, does not seem to contain what they were hoping for.

Disappointed, Mandrogerus and his companions decide to throw the urn back into the house. The urn, now smashed, reveals its true treasure – leaving the greedy parasites, who still wish to obtain their inherited share upon eavesdropping on the people in the house, between a rock and a hard place: if they wish to assert knowledge of the urn and its contents, they must essentially admit to theft or sacrilege – or both, breaking the *sine fraude* requirement that Euclio had stipulated when appointing Mandrogerus co-heir to his son. True to comedic convention, Querolus and Mandrogerus find an amicable solution after all.

2. A FAKE WAKE

In scene 10, Mandrogerus, Sardanapallus, and Sycophanta mourn the 'loss' of their treasure – after they discovered that the urn did not contain what they were hoping for. Their treatment of, and focus on, the urn and its elusive treasure amounts to a what is *de facto* a mock vigil, following the rogue *exequiae* that was the theft and abduction of the urn. Commemorative speeches are being given in turn by those in attendance – and in mourning over their loss:⁸

Sardanapallus. *Sumite tristitiam, miseri sodales, cucullorum tegmina. plus est hoc quam hominem perdidisse: damnum uere plangitur. quid agitis nunc, potentes, quid de thesauris cogitatis? aurum in cinerem uersum est. utinamque totum sic fieret aurum: magis essemus diuites.*
 Mandrogerus. *Depone paulisper inane pondus, lacrimas demus funeri. o fallax thesaure, ne te ego per maria et uentos sequor, propter te feliciter nauigauit, propter te feci omnia. mathesim et magicam sum consecutus,*

Christian current to the play. Slightly more cautious (though uninformed by any methodology as to how to interpret dramatic scripts and their overall message) M. L. Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*. II. *Stoicism in Christian Latin Thought through the Sixth Century* (Leiden 1985) 94–96 (who lists the *Querolus* under 'Latin Christian Poets' as part of her chapter on 'Lesser Christian Writers of the Fourth and Fifth Century'). This is tentative at best, of course, as there is nothing inherently Christian about the play and its plot itself, and as a criticism of pagan practice (or its extremes, anyway) hardly constitutes a Christian position. For a view diametrically opposed to that of Adamik see F. Corsaro, "Garbata polemica anticristiana nella anonima commedia tardoimperiale *Querolus sive Aularia*", *MSLC* 13 (1963) 11–21.

⁸ Surprisingly enough, even though 'what happened when the grave or pyre was reached remains largely unknown' (V. M. Hope, *Roman Death. The Dying and the Dead in Roman Antiquity* (London – New York 2009) 77), this scene from the *Querolus* does not appear to have played any significant role in the study of death-related rituals in ancient Rome.

ut me sepulti fallerent? aliorum fortunam exposui: fatum ignoravi meum. iam iam omnia recognosco varia haec phantasmata. erat hic plane bona fortuna, sed alteri debebatur, non mihi. nostra haec mutare fata: thesaurum nos, sed alienum invenimus. quoniam est haec peruersitas? numquam ego fleui meum, nunc plango alienum. et te, Querole, iustus non tangit dolor?

Sardanapallus. *O crudele aurum, quisnam te morbus tulit? quis te sic rogus adussit? quis te subripuit magus? exheredasti nos, thesaure. quoniam redituri sumus, tot abdicati? quae nos aula recipiet? quae nos olla tuebitur?*

Sardanapallus. Wretched companions, wear mourning, seek the cover of our hoods⁹. This is more than just to have lost a human being: we mourn a true loss. What are you going to do now, powerful people, what do you think about treasures? Gold has been turned into ash. If only all gold would become like that: we were a lot richer.

Mandrogerus. Put down for a while the worthless weight, let us give tears for the funeral. Oh deceitful treasure, indeed I follow you across the seas and through storms, for you I have sailed under a good star, for you I did everything. Did I achieve mastery of science and magic, so the buried may mislead me? I have brought other people's fortune to light: I did not know my own fate. Now I understand all those visions already. Good fortune was here all right, but it belonged to someone else, not me. Our fates have been exchanged: we found a treasure, but someone else's. What perversity is this? I have never cried for anyone of my own, now I mourn someone else's? And you, Querolus, are free of deserved pain?

Sardanapallus. Oh you cruel gold, which illness took you away from us? What pyre did burn you so, beyond recognition? Which sorcerer took you? You disinherited us, treasure. Where are we supposed to go, having been rejected so many times? Which hall will receive us? Which pot will protect us?

(*Querol.* 83–84 J-LS)

Their mournful 'commemoration' does not stop here, however. Mandrogerus requests from the others:

Mandrogerus. *Perlege, quaeso, iterum titulum funeris atque omnem scripturae fidem.*

Mandrogerus. Please do read the funerary inscription once again as well as the whole testamentary instrument.

(*Querol.* 85 J-LS)

⁹On this aspect of the trio's dress, resembling the hoods used by monks, cf. Smolak (above, n. 6).

Sardanapallus superstitiously refuses, whereas Sycophanta is happy to oblige. No sooner has he done so as he is put off by the foul smell that evaporates through the urn's lid – the smell of ritual-related fragrances, as the initial dedication of the play had already given away. Soon their display of self-pitying respect for the 'deceased' is over, however, and they carry on with their actions along the lines that were described in the previous section.

3. THE INSCRIBED TEXT

The text of the urn's inscription that Sycophanta volunteers to proclaim¹⁰ reads as follows –

*Trierinus*¹¹ *Tricipitini filius conditus et sepultus hic iacet.*
Trierinus, son of Tricipitinus, lies contained and buried here.

(*Querol.* 85 J-LS)

Scholarly responses to this (obviously fictive) inscription appear to have focused on its onomastic aspects alone. Whereas some contented themselves with the (misguided) view that Trierinus and Tricipitinus were names made up altogether to convey a foreign sound¹², others were more adventurous. In particular, Dean Lockwood – in the common, if deplorable move of denying Roman authors their originality – tried to establish a Greek substrate and sought to connect the name to '(Hermes) Trismegistos'¹³.

¹⁰ Repeated verbatim at *Querol.* 101 J-LS, on which see below, section 4.2.

¹¹ The manuscripts show an ambiguity regarding this name. The majority of surviving manuscripts have indeed Trierinus, as printed above. Complications arise from the observation that the Hamburg codex for the *Querolus*, which belongs to an important, different branch of the text's stemma, has *Trierinius*. M. D. Reeve, "Tricipitinus's Son", *ZPE* 22 (1976) 21–31 thus plausibly argued that '[m]ore pertinent to the decision between these variants is the second of the questions I raised a moment ago, whether the Remensis was the manuscript at the top of the stemma. If it was, and if Sciassius is less likely to have read Trierinus twice as Trierinius than a French monk to have read Trierinius twice as Trierinus, then the inscription on the urn has been circulating in a corrupt version.' The problem is, however, that this only makes sense to the textual critic in defence of the cherished, yet problematic force of the *lectio difficilior*. In onomastic terms, Trierinius has to be regarded as a nomen gentile (derived from Trierinus). Trierinus in turn would be a cognomen (just like Tricipitinus), very much as required in this context. Therefore the text of the otherwise sensible edition of C. Jacquemard-Le Saos has been altered here accordingly. The need for a cognomen (rather than a nomen gentile) overrides the otherwise at least remotely interesting observation that formations of gentilicia along the lines of *Trierinius from Trierinus (such as e. g. Severinius from Severinus) have been claimed to be representative of Gallic practice (i. e. close to the assumed geographical context from which the *Querolus* has been claimed to be); cf. H.-G. Kolbe, *Die Statthalter Numidiens von Gallien bis Konstantin (268–320)* (Vestigia 4) (Munich 1962) 17 (with n. 5).

¹² Thus Emrich (above, n. 4) 189 nt. 63 ('gesucht fremdartige Namen, die weiter nichts besagen sollen').

¹³ D. P. Lockwood, "The Plot of the *Querolus* and the Folk-Tales of Disguised Treasure", *TAPhA* 44 (1913) 215–232, esp. 232 (and 226, where the author suggests a connection to Hermes Eriounios, whose

It is hardly absurd to suspect meaning behind the names Trierinus and Tricipitinus. They are suspicious by nature, as they, in their awkwardness, are of course the exact opposite of our own time's 'John Smith'. It is absurd, however, to suspect a Greek substrate behind these names: the very shape of the onomastic formula with its filiation is altogether Roman.

Even if it is clear that Lockwood's explanation of the deceased's name Trierinus is wrong and that (thus far) no straightforward explanation has been established, matters are not altogether hopeless. The father's name that features in the filiation, Tricipitinus, as Lockwood himself had pointed out, is attested in Roman onomastics as cognomen. It was in use by the semi-legendary family of the Lucretii, and perhaps the most famous bearer of this name was Spurius Lucretius Tricipitinus, the father of Rome's heroine Lucretia, whose (Lucretia's) honour suicide, according to Roman legend, heralded the end of tyranny and the beginning of a new era – the Roman Republic. The origin of the cognomen, as far as the Lucretii are concerned, is not entirely clear; yet it not particularly difficult to explain. The cognomen Tricipitinus was most likely related to a three-headed (*triceps*) deity worshipped by this family, as Hermann Usener pointed out over a century ago¹⁴. In fact, it may even be possible to narrow this down even further, from an unknown deity to Hecate in particular, as Raffaele Pettazzoni tentatively suggested¹⁵.

An inherent allusion to the powerful, chthonic deity that is Hecate, the three-formed (with three bodies and three heads in visual representations) moon-goddess, seems particularly appropriate in the context of the *Querolus* and its buried treasure. Already Hesiod had written –

ἦ δ' ὑποκυσσάμενη Ἐκάτην τέκε, τὴν περὶ πάντων
 Ζεὺς Κρονίδης τίμησε: πόρην δέ οἱ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα,
 μοῖραν ἔχειν γαίης τε καὶ ἀτρυγέτιοι θαλάσσης.
 ἦ δὲ καὶ ἀστερόεντος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἔμμορε τιμῆς
 415 ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖσι τετιμένη ἐστὶ μάλιστα.
 καὶ γὰρ νῦν, ὅτε πού τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
 ἔρδων ἱερὰ καλὰ κατὰ νόμον ἰλάσκηται,
 κυκλήσκει Ἐκάτην. πολλή τέ οἱ ἔσπετο τιμῆ
 ῥεῖα μάλ', ᾧ πρόφρων γε θεὰ ὑποδέξεται εὐχάς,
 420 καὶ τέ οἱ ὄλβον ὀπάξει, ἐπεὶ δύναμις γε πάρεστιν.

(Hes. *Th.* 411–420)

epithet he suggests to survive in what he believes may once have been **Trieriunius* in the *Querolus*). This view, obviously absurd and against any phonological likelihood, has been repeated by Jacquemard-Le Saos (above, in the initial note, marked with an asterisk) 66 ad *Querol.* 101 (without reference to Lockwood's article).

¹⁴ H. Usener, "Dreihheit", *RhM* N. F. 58 (1903) 1–47, 161–208, esp. 176.

¹⁵ See R. Pettazzoni, *Essays on the History of Religions* (transl. H. J. Rose) (Leiden 1967) 119 n. 65.

The mysterious personal name Trierinus and the rather more accessible filiation are not the only peculiar constituents of this inscription, however. The phrase *conditus et sepultus hic iacet* is equally astonishing, as it states the same thing thrice (!) over: *conditus*, *sepultus*, and *hic iacet*. No question: all of these are amply attested in Latin funerary inscriptions individually. What is rather less common, is a cluster of them. The closest parallel in terms of a cluster of those three expressions in a single text may be seen in a metrical inscription from Alcalá del Río / Ilipa in the Baetica, which reads as follows:

*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum). | M(arcus) Calp(urnius) Lucius | decurio.
| flere cupis q(ui)cumque meos | in marmore casus, siste paru(m) | lacri-
mas. sorte miserandus iniqua | amis{s}isse pium pater dedit(um)q(ue) se-
pul|cro. quam bene iam gesse (!) ann(os) XXVI | m(enses) VI d(ies)que
VIII, conditus ego iaceo | misero genitore relicto. iam ma|ter misera
palmisque ubera tu|ndens et soror infelix comi|tantur luctibus ambe (!).
coniux | cara mea relicta cum paruo|lo filio casta mater uidu(a) | n(un)
c mi inuita suprestat, (!) | qui (!) nostrum tumulum (h)ono|rauit corpus
fos(s)a ima (?) q[ui]ete (?), | pih(i) (!) parentes, regna qui mun|di tenetis:
hic ego sepultus | iaceo placidusque quiesco. | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). s(it) t(ibi)
t(erra) l(euis).*

(CIL II 1088 = CLE 541)

Even here, however, the relevant phrases show a mere two of these expressions at a time rather than combination of all three as seen in the *Querolus*. Is the triad of *conditus*, *sepultus*, and *hic iacet* intentional, a third allusion to the magical number three after Trierinus and Tricipitinus? Is it thus intended to be read carefully, with a keen eye, by those who know how Latin funerary inscriptions and their phrasing commonly work – following the train of thought step-by-step: ‘enclosed, buried, and yet it lies in here’?¹⁶

4. TAKING NOTE OF THE INSCRIPTION

When Mandrogerus and his fellow parasites try and locate the treasure, they are looking for an unspecific vessel placed on an altar in Querolus’ home. Consequently, they pay little attention to its appearance or even its inscription:

Mandrogerus. *Pulchre edepol res processit. inuentus, spoliatus, clausus est homo. sed ubinam ornam respicimus uel ubi arculam istam confringemus atque abscondemus, ne furtum indicia prodant?*

¹⁶ Note that *condere* and *sepelire* are also used in the Lar’s description of how the deposit came about; see *Querol.* 12–13 J-LS (quoted above, section 1).

Sycophanta. *Nescio, edepol, nisi ubicumque in flumine.*

Sardanapallus. *Credis, Mandrogerus, prae gaudio ornam illam inspicere non ausus fui.*

Sycophanta. *Neque ego.*

Mandrogerus. *Atqui, hercle, ita facto opus fuit, ne mora suspicionem afferet.*

Sycophanta. *Verum est.*

Mandrogerus. *Primum fuit, ut inueniretur. istud iam sequitur: tutum est.*

Mandrogerus. By Pollux, that went nicely. We found, robbed, and locked in the man. But where do we examine the urn – where shall break open that box¹⁷ and hide it, lest the evidence gives away the theft?

Sycophanta. No idea, by Pollux, unless perhaps somewhere by the river.

Sardanapallus. Will you believe it, Mandrogerus, I was so chuffed, I did not even dare to take a closer look at the urn!

Sycophanta. Me neither.

Mandrogerus. And, by Hercules, that is how it had to be done, lest any delay raised any suspicion.

Sycophanta. True.

Mandrogerus. Our first job was to find it. That other thing will follow: it is safe now.

(*Querol.* 80 J-LS)

As the text makes clear, they identified the object of their desires on the basis of its location (as indicated by Euclio before his death) as well as on its roughly appropriate shape. The object's inscription, according to this account, did not only remain unread, but, in fact, altogether unnoticed: further examination of the object – *ornam inspicere* or *respicere*, as they call it – merely would have stalled the perpetrators' actions.

Their negligence may seem somewhat far-fetched to professional epigraphists, even though for several decades now the view persists that inscriptions are merely additions to objects that serve a primary purpose other than merely being stationery of sorts. In the context of the play, as well as in the context of a sneaky crime carried out under time constraints, this is perhaps less ludicrous than it may at first appear. In fact, even to the audience this would not have been particularly surprising, if it were not for the fact that they already knew of the inscription, since the Lar familiaris had mentioned it in his opening monologue¹⁸. The audience's previous knowledge, however, is not so much designed to give them a sensation of being intellectually superior to the rogues of the play. It is

¹⁷ This refers to an *arcula* they used in order to remove the urn from the house without arousing any suspicion.

¹⁸ See above, section 1.

a device to create suspense, as one must now – following the thieves’ repeated comment on their failure to examine the loot carefully! – expect the inscription to become an element of surprise to them.

4.1. Ignoring, Reading, Reciting

Within the context of the play, the inscribed object is read, or ‘inspected’ (*inspicere*) at least three times; only the second and third occasion are part of the action however:¹⁹ the first instance is merely implied to have taken place when the parasites were finally examining the urn, as is indicated by the word *iterum*, ‘again’, in the context of the first ‘public’ reading of the text:

Mandrogerus. *Perlege, quaeso, iterum titulum funeris atque omnem scripturae fidem.*

Sardanapallus. *Quaeso, inquam, sodes, funus egomet quodlibet contingere nequeo: nihil est quod metuum magis.*

Sycophanta. *Meticulosus homo es tu, Sardanapalle! ego perlego: ‘Tri-erinus Tricipitini filius conditus et sepultus hic iacet.’ Hem me miserum, hem me miserum!*

Mandrogerus. *Quidnam tibi est?*

Sycophanta. *Anima in faucibus. audieram egomet olere aurum, istud etiam redolet.*

Mandrogerus. *Quomodo?*

Sycophanta. *Claustrum illud plumbeum densa per foramina diris fragrat odoribus. nunquam ante haec comperi aurum sic ranciscere usurario cuilibet faetere hoc potest.*

Mandrogerus. *Quisnam cinerum est odor?*

Sycophanta. *Ille pretiosus atque tristis, cultus quem poscit miser.*

Mandrogerus. *Honorifice hoc bustum tractatum apparet, cuius adhuc sic redolet dignitas.*

Mandrogerus. Please read the funerary inscription again as well as the entire testamentary instrument.

Sardanapallus. Please, I say, if you don’t mind, I cannot possibly touch a burial of any kind: there is nothing I fear more than that.

Sycophanta. You are a fearful man, Sardanapallus. I will read it: ‘Trierinus, son of Tricipitinus, lies contained and buried here.’ Ugh, wretched me, ugh, wretched me!

Mandrogerus. What is up with you?

Sycophanta. I am choking. I had already heard that gold smells, but this stuff stinks.

¹⁹ The inscription is referred to, but not discussed in greater detail, a fourth time, at *Querol.* 104 J-LS, where Querolus denies to have had previous knowledge of the inscription.

Mandrogerus. How so?

Sycophanta. That leaden lid exudes such foul smells through those little holes. I had never heard before that gold gets rancid like that. This has the ability to outstink any usurer.

Mandrogerus. What is the smell of the ashes like?

Sycophanta. It is precious, yet sad, as the wretched cult requires.

Mandrogerus. Clearly a burial has been treated respectfully, if its dignity reeks to the present day.

(*Querol.* 85 J-LS)

Mandrogerus asks his fellow parasites to (re-)perform an act that he calls *perlegere* on two documents, the *titulus funeris* and the *omnis scripturae fides*. The second element never happens, as the first element is powerful enough to let the action take its course. First, Sardanapallus reveals his fear of touching (*contingere*) the burial (*funus*). Then Sycophanta takes over and reads out the inscription's text aloud;²⁰ this he introduces with a direct reference to Mandrogerus' request *perlege quaeso*, when he says *ego perlego*. Subsequently, the smell of the urn's contents becomes the focus of interest, diverting attention from the text itself²¹.

Two main questions arise from the epigraphist's point of view: (i) why does Mandrogerus ask for the inscription to be read, and (ii) how does the 'reading' of this text actually happen? As usual with dramatic scripts, one must approach these questions from two different angles, namely from the viewpoint of the play's internal logic as well as with a view on the audience and its privileged knowledge (as compared to that of the characters of the play itself).

From the perspective of an outsider to the play's fictional reality, the answer is straightforward. First, Mandrogerus must ask for the inscription to be read, so that the audience may acquire knowledge of its content – having already learnt at the beginning of the play that this inscription will play a certain role. Secondly, the reading must take the form of a reading aloud, for how else would the audience get to know its content and its peculiar wording (with its subtext, as discussed above)?²²

On the level of the play's internal logic, however, a response to the two questions are somewhat more complicated and requires more careful attention to the wording. Moreover, one must be careful to acknowledge that what happens on stage may partly be a result of the requirements that arise from the need to play to an audience and thus not be an altogether faithful depiction of human activity as one would encounter in actual practice. On the basis of that, one must

²⁰ Note that he would appear to read out in full what – presumably – was written in abbreviation, as customary: *filius*.

²¹ On the issue of smell see below, section 5.2.

²² Cf. above, section 3.

acknowledge that no express motivation is given for Mandrogerus to ask for a (re-)reading of the inscription. One may infer from his request for the inscription to read (*perlegere*) in conjunction with *omnis scripturae fides*, however, that it was his intention to check the information and the instructions he was given by Euclio against what he encountered when he tried to retrieve the treasure. Individuals might check documents against each other in silence, but, of course, when more people are involved, reading aloud what is written is rather more effective²³.

This leads to a tentative answer to the second question, of course: Mandrogerus requests *Perlege, quaeso... titulum funeris*, a phrase that in its use of *perlegere* in the imperative and in conjunction with the politeness marker *quaeso* closely resembles a ubiquitous phrase of Roman funerary epigraphy. In response to that, Sardanapallus asks to be let off the hook for the following reason: *funus egomet quodlibet contingere nequeo: nihil est quod metuum magis*. His response implies that, in order to perform the act of *perlegere*, handling – and in fact: holding and touching (*contingere*) – the inscribed object becomes necessary, and it does so to an extent that a superstitious person (like Sardanapallus) may feel like committing an act of sacrilege. As Sardanapallus is afraid (*meticulosus*) of reaching out to, and interfering with, the realm of the dead, Sycophanta performs the deed for him (*ego perlego*), only to be struck by the stench that the object emits. How does he interact with the inscription? On the basis of the text, one may infer that he took and held the object (*contingere*) and further infer, from the scripted speech assigned to his character, that he read the inscription out aloud – and that he did read it in entirety while maintaining physical contact with the object.

4.2. Piecing It All Together

Sycophanta's (and Sardanapallus') behaviour is rather different from that of Mandrogerus when, after the urn had been smashed to pieces and the deposit of the treasure had come to light, he faces the investigations of Querolus and his two supporters, Arbiter and Pantomalus. Insisting that he has a claim to part of the treasure, as stipulated by Querolus' father Euclio, Mandrogerus asserts that he had left the funerary urn unharmed (until he threw it through Querolus' window, that is):

Querolus. *O Arbiter bone, plus iste admisit quam putabamus. hic, nisi fallor, ipse est qui urnam illam funestam nobis proiecit in domum.*

Mandrogerus. *Dii te seruent: ipsam ego proieci. tandem apparet ueritas.*

Querolus. *Dic, quaeso, Mandrogerus, fragmenta si aspexeris, potesne agnoscere?*

²³ Note that this is also implied in a number of Latin inscriptions; further on this matter see below, section 5.2.

Mandrogerus. *Ita ut compaginari per me possint omnia.*

Querolus. *Hem, Pantomale, nescio quid paulo ante hic proferri iusseram.*

Arbiter. *Praesto sunt partes illae in quibus titulus inscriptus fuit.*

Querolus. *Agnoscisne, Mandrogerus?*

Mandrogerus. *Agnosco, hercle. tandem cessent artes²⁴ et praestigia.*

Querolus. *Si uerum agnoscis, lege celeriter quod scriptum hic fuit.*

Mandrogerus. *Et legi et lego. cedo huc mihi, Pantomale, fragmentorum paginas. ‘Trierinius²⁵ Tricipitini filius conditus et sepultus hic iacet.’*

Querolus. *Eho scelestissime, dispicis? si uiuorum neglexisti gratiam, etiamne mortuis manus intulisti ad ludum et ludibria? neque contentus eruisse bustum atque honores ultimos, per fenestram etiam funestas mihi proiecisti reliquias. quid ad haec dicis? thesaurum abstulisti, uiolasti sepulchrum, perditte: (...).*

Querolus. Oh Arbiter, good man, he admitted more than we were hoping for. Unless I am mistaken, he himself is the man who threw us that funerary urn into our house.

Mandrogerus. May the gods save you: I threw that very thing. Finally, truth comes to light.

Querolus. Say, please, Mandrogerus, if you looked at the fragments, would you be able to identify it?

Mandrogerus. To such an extent that with my help everything could be pieced together again.

Querolus. Hey, Pantomalus, I had ordered for some stuff to be brought here a little while ago.

Arbiter. Here are those parts, where the inscription had been written.

Querolus. Can you identify this, Mandrogerus?

Mandrogerus. I can, by Hercules. Finally, trickery and deceit will come to an end.

Querolus. If you can truly identify this, quick, read what was written here.

Mandrogerus. I read it then and I read it now. Pantomalus, hand me over those fragmented bits. ‘Trierinius, son of Tricipitinus, lies contained and buried here.’

Querolus. Oy, you rogue, you can make it out? You may have betrayed the gratitude of the living; but you even have laid your hands on the dead, for fun and mischief? Not content with having excavated the burial and last honours, you even threw me those mortal remains through the

²⁴ Jacquemard-Le Saos's edition gives the text as *cessent partes et praestigia*, which follows the text of the Hamburg codex (cf. above, n. 11), but is clearly an inferior reading, introducing a meaningless alliteration (which may have been caused by the occurrence of the word *partes* immediately before the passage in question). Bizarrely enough, the same editor then disregards this *uaria lectio* in her own translation, where she renders the passage as ‘[f]inis les artifices et les tours de passe-passe’.

²⁵ See above, n. 11.

window. What do you have to say to that? You stole the treasure, you desecrated the burial, you scoundrel: (...).

(*Querol.* 100–101 J-LS)

Here, too, the inscription is read out aloud, but under rather different circumstances – and, as will become clear shortly, in a rather different manner. Querolus asks Mandrogerus if he were able to identify (*agnoscere*) the *fragmenta* of the urn – a question to which Mandrogerus responds that with his guidance one would be able to piece everything together again (*ut compaginari per me possint omnia*). He is not shown all fragments of the vessel, however, but only those parts on which the *titulus* was inscribed. Mandrogerus confirms that he is able to identify the pieces in question, expressing his hope that the charade will soon be over.

Querolus, putting Mandrogerus' words to the test, asks him: *lege celeriter quod scriptum hic fuit*. This is different from what Mandrogerus had requested from his companions before in two essential points:²⁶ first, Querolus uses the simplex *legere* rather than the compound *perlegere*, and secondly, there is an emphasis on the rush perusal of the text – *celeriter*. Mandrogerus' response to this differs from that of his companions as well. He does not merely start to read, as Sycophanta had done after taking on that responsibility (*ego perlego*, above). Instead, he says *et legi et lego*, then requests the fragmented pieces from Pantomalus (*cedo... fragmentorum paginas*), and then verbatim repeats the text that the audience had already encountered in the earlier scene.

Contrary to the act denoted by *perlegere* earlier, *legere here* seems to imply a mere 'gathering of content' from a text – something that Mandrogerus was capable of doing both earlier (*et legi* – from the intact inscription) and now (*et lego* – with the inscription in pieces). For why, one must ask, does Mandrogerus request the fragments of the inscriptions to be given to him? It seems altogether reasonable to assume that this was supposed to be staged in a way in which Mandrogerus did precisely what he had offered to do before: his knowledge of the fragments was *ita ut compaginari per me possint omnia*, and he would appear to conclude his act of *compaginare omnia* by reading out the restored text on the basis of the re-arranged fragments. This view is supported by Querolus' reaction to Mandrogerus' efforts, *eho scelestissime, dispicis*. This must mean that the whole point of asking Mandrogerus to *legere celeriter* was not to gauge whether or not he was able to reproduce the text with his voice (*perlegere*)²⁷, but whether or not he was indeed

²⁶ See above, section 4.1.

²⁷ Related instances (and distinction) may be seen in Petronius. As for *perlegere*, cf. Petr. 34.7 (labels on amphorae, stating origin and age, are being read out, triggering Trimalchio's comment on how wine outlives humans; a silent reading would not warrant such a response), 129.10 (*perlegisse* with an added *totum*, suggesting that Chrysis *intellexit* that the reading-out of the message was now complete). *Legere* by contrast occurs in 71.11 (*horologium in medio, ut quisquis horas inspiciet, uelit nolit, nomen meum legat*: the emphasis is not on the reading aloud of the inscription, but on the fact that a visual encounter

capable of *dispicere*:²⁸ a verb that denotes an ability to see clearly even under difficult conditions (such as emerging from darkness or from afar)²⁹.

5. INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION: RETHINKING ENCOUNTERS WITH INSCRIBED TEXTS

Innate knowledge and a default understanding of common human activities and cultural practices – such as ‘reading’ – are often taken for granted. Latin epigraphists, for example, just seem to know how to read an inscription. But all we really know is how we ourselves read such texts. What do we really know about how they used to be read?³⁰

An approach that sees a direct, unbroken, and unchanged tradition between contemporary reading experiences and those of Roman antiquity may seem natural; yet it means turning a blind eye to what potentially may have been a markedly different manifestation of a familiar cultural practice. In that regard, it must be argued, the hitherto neglected evidence from the *Querolus* has a number of potentially quite wide-ranging and significant (if hardly altogether surprising) implications for the way in which one may imagine ancient encounters with funerary inscriptions, putting into perspective certain notions and expressions often found in inscriptions themselves. These affect three areas in particular, namely (i) the visual, (ii) the sensory (beyond the visual), and (iii) the spiritual.

cannot be avoided when checking the time), and as a more general expression of an ability to read in 48.7 and 75.4. *Legere* as in reading aloud features in 59.3, where a reference to the use of the *uox* is added. On inscriptions in Petronius see further J. Nelis-Clément – D. Nelis, “Petronius’ Epigraphic Habit”, *Dictynna* 2 (2005) (available online at <https://journals.openedition.org/dictynna/137>; accessed January 2019) and U. Roth, “An Epitaph for Trimalchio: *Sat.* 30.2”, *CQ* 64 (2014) 422–425.

²⁸ A similar use of *legere* must be assumed for a passage that immediately precedes the ‘reading’ of the fragmentary inscription. At *Querol.* 96 J-LS Mandrogerus hands the *fides* that he obtained to Querolus in order to assert his entitlement to a share of the treasure, and he does so saying *Quid multis opus est, Querole? quod scriptum est, lege. sume igitur. noui fidem uestram* (‘Why waste a lot of words, Querolus? Read what has been written. Take it already. I know your trustworthiness.’). Querolus takes the writ and gives the following response: *Herclē, explorasti. hem, quid istuc est? ‘Senec Euclio Querolo salutem dicit filio. (...)’* (‘By Hercules, you ascertained it. Huh, what is that? ‘Old Euclio to Querolus, his son: greetings! [...]’) The only reasonable explanation for this verbal behaviour is that the author imagined Querolus to receive the *fides*, to skim-read it as advised (*legere!*), an act he acknowledges by his comment regarding Mandrogerus’ having done his homework (*explorasti* can hardly refer to a mere level of careful preparation, but must refer to the writ’s content), and then to hesitate over the peculiar content – something he then finds necessary to read out aloud (not least for the need to involve the audience, of course).

²⁹ Cf. *ThLL* s. v. *dispicio*, 1415, esp. 24–54 (for the verb’s use *proprie*).

³⁰ For some relevant studies on the Greek and Hellenistic side of matters cf. P. Bing, “The Un-read Muse? Inscribed Epigram and Its Readers in Antiquity”, in: M. A. Harder – R. F. Regtuit – G. C. Wakker (edd.), *Hellenistic Epigrams* (Hellenistica Groningana 6) (Leuven 2002) 39–66; cf. also D. Meyer, *Inszeniertes Lesevergnügen: Das inschriftliche Epigramm und seine Rezeption bei Kallimachos* (Hermes E. 93) (Stuttgart 2005) as well as J. Day, “Epigraphic Literacy in Fifth-century Epinician and Its Audience”, in: P. Liddell – P. Low (eds.), *Inscriptions and their Uses in Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford 2013) 217–230.

5.1. Visual Engagement

Maureen Carroll, in an important article on ‘dialogues with the dead in Roman funerary commemoration’, has raised the significance of the involvement of the readers’ voice in Roman funerary inscriptions, quite rightly raising the issue of silent reading vs. reading³¹. The same issue, on a more fundamental level still, has recently seen fundamental re-evaluation by Stefan Busch³². If anything, this area requires further exploration and even closer readings of the ancient evidence. To begin with one rather remarkable example, Ricardo Hernández Pérez, in his study of the topoi and common phrases of the *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* from Roman Spain, discusses two inscriptions from Idanha a Velha (Civitas Igaeditanorum, Lusitania), both of which contain the phrase *tu qui legis, aue; qui perlegisti, uale*³³. He suggests (for very good reasons) that the varying greeting formulae may indicate that *legere* refers to the beginning of the act of reading, where as *perlegere* refers to the completion of the same act³⁴.

Based on the evidence from the *Querolus*, is it possible to think that the point of the Lusitanian inscription was, in fact, something else? After all, in neither of the two cases from Idanha a Velha the phrase *tu qui legis* comes first in the text: in both cases, it sits at the beginning of the third line – something that one’s eye might catch upon skim-reading the inscriptions. Is it possible that the casual greeting *aue* was for the skim-reading, whereas the wish of well-being, *uale*, was reserved to those who made an effort to read the text aloud as well to the end?

The answer to this question need not, and will not, be straightforward. As Wytse Keulen in the relevant *Thesaurus* entry has established, *perlegere* may refer to readings of texts in their entirety just as much as it can refer to careful readings and to readings aloud – or silent³⁵. Even only a quick survey of inscriptions that contain both *legere* and *perlegere* yields sufficient evidence to support the view that an express distinction between (silent?) skim-reading and reading aloud (in entirety) does indeed exist, even if such a distinction was not ‘enforced’

³¹ M. Carroll, “‘*Vox tua nempe mea est*’. Dialogues with the Dead in Roman Funerary Commemoration”, *Accordia Research Papers* 11 (2007–2008) 37–80. The same aspect has been touched upon in the context of Pompeian graffiti, if somewhat marginally, by P. Kruschwitz, “Reading and Writing in Pompeii: an Outline of the Local Discourse”, *Studj Romanzi* n. s. 10 (2014) 245–279, esp. 272 and 277–278 with n. 88.

³² S. Busch, “Lautes und leises Lesen in der Antike”, *RhM* 145 (2002) 1–45, esp. 30–33 on inscriptions and their depictions in literary sources.

³³ *AE* 1967.158 and 174.

³⁴ R. Hernández Pérez, *Poesía latina sepulcral de la Hispania Romana: estudio de los tópicos y sus formulaciones* (València 2001) 230–231. This view was repeated, without any significant additions or further insights, by A. A. Nascimento, “*Legere, perlegere*: da singularidade epigráfica ao sentido do texto e do monumento”, *SEBarc* 8 (2010) 13–27, esp. 14–17.

³⁵ *ThLL* s. v. *perlego*, 1513.18 ff.

universally³⁶. A small number³⁷ of instructive cases may suffice to illustrate the ways in which this distinction between *legere*, ‘skim-read’, and *perlegere*, ‘read aloud (in entirety?)’, was indeed productively utilised in Latin inscriptions. Note, for example, the following piece from Milan:

Atiliae [- - -] | contuber[nali - - -]. | hunc qui leges [titulu]m peto perlegas | neue reu[ell]as | de se quod immatu[- - -] la]udabile cernas. | hic iacet triste [- - -]erabile funus | uere flori similis [- - -] nostra per annos | ornabat cubita [- - -]ia laeta gerebat | nunc huius memo[ri]ae p]erscripta posuere | ut quae hilari[- - -]mas cum littera | Mes[- - -].

(CIL V 5961 = CLE 639)

While it seems straightforward to imply a meaning like ‘skim-read’ for *leges*, one may wonder about the meaning of *peto perlegas* – is this a reading to the end, or is it reading aloud? The peculiar following phrase *neue reu[ell]as de se quod immatu[- - -] la]udabile cernas* is a clear indication of what the author had in mind: unless one wanted to argue that there is a pointless and inelegant repetition of a request to read the text in its entirety, this must be a request to read aloud (*perlegere*) and not to omit anything praiseworthy (*neue reu[ell]as*) about the deceased. If taken in conjunction, the request is both meaningful and much fuller than if taken as a mere reduplication.

Equally relevant in the present context would appear to be the following inscription from Lyon:

Murrae et Verecundo Murrani fili(i)s. | qui legis has pueri moribundas perlege uoces et lacrimam fatis da gemitumque meis. | Murra patris primam referens e nomine partem, amborum effigiem matre fauente tuli. | bis mihi septenos aetas ostenderat annos certaue iam nostri fama pudoris erat, | cum subitae mortis, pro fallax causa fuisti lusus et aequalis non inimica manus. | nam temere emissus non ad mea funera clauus haesit et in tenero uertice delituit. | [at uos hoc(?)] primum perculsi uolnere Manes parcite iam luctu sollicitare meos, | [- - -] posuistis funere nati, trimus et in decimo mense sepulte iaces, | [- - -] uocarunt immunes: nostribus ossibus urna sat est.

(CIL XIII 2219 = CLE 1198)

³⁶ A particularly peculiar case in that regard is *ILAlg II 2.4725 = CLE 2025*, where the text of the inscription has been read as follows: *tu qui praeter[fiens titulum per]legis istum oro legas to[tu]m ut discas bene uiuere semper* eqs. Here *legas to[tu]m* would appear to mean something like ‘to read the text in its entirety’, leaving *[per]legis* as a more general expression for ‘scanning’ (or some such).

³⁷ Further cases are collected e. g. by R. A. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 28.1–2) (Urbana, IL 1962) 232–234.

Edward Courtney, in his book *Musa Lapidaria*, renders *has pueri moribundas perlege uoces* as ‘read to the end these dying words of a young boy’ and explains: ‘The *moribundae uoces* seem to be 11–16 [i. e. *[at uos hoc(?)] primum percussi eqs.*]. *perlege* = ‘read to the end’, contrasted with *legis*’³⁸. This is true on two counts: first, Courtney is right in his assumption that the *moribundae uoces* of the boy ought to be seen in the final three lines of the inscription (following the actual layout); secondly, Courtney is right to suggest that one ought to contrast *legere* and *perlegere*.

Courtney is most certainly mistaken, however, in his suggestion that *perlegere* means to the end – for what would be the point of reading the dying boy’s (alleged) final words to the end? There is nothing closer to the end of that passage that is particularly worth noting – it is a reference to a second loss the family of this boy had suffered only a short while ago. The point is something else: the boy’s final words, as presented in this text, contain a strong exhortation to his parents: *Manes parcite iam luctu sollicitare meos – nostris ossibus urna sat est*. This directive, combined with an element of consolation, becomes much more immediate – and geared towards the requirements of the grieving family – if it were to be read aloud. In that regard, the text would appear to follow the logic of what has been suggested so far and to request from its readers who gave the text a quick glance (*qui legis*) to do the boy’s parents a favour and to read out (*perlege*) at least the final part of the inscription, combined with expressions of compassion and pain that are both visible (*lacrimam*) and audible (*gemitumque*).

Finally, there is the following case from Arles (Arelate, Gallia Narbonensis):

*[Cae]c[il]io | Nigro fa[bro nau]ali. | [praete]riens quicumque leges
h[aec carmina nostra] | [qu]ae tibi defuncti nomina uer[a dabunt], | [in-
comptos] elegos ueniam peto ne ue[r]earis] perlegere, et dicas carmen
ha[bere bene(?)]. | [C]aecilius Niger est hic ille [sepul]tu[s]: [eundem]
| quo cernis titulum, star[e habet ecce locum]. | nunc tibi nauales pauci
damus ul[tima uota], | hoc et defuncto corpore munus [habe]. | ossa tuis
urnis optamus dulce quiesc[ant] | sitque leuis membris terra mo[lesta
tuis]. | arti[ff]ic[i] artifices Nigro damus ista s[odali] | carmina quae
claudit iam res[oluta salus].*

(CIL XII 5811 = ILGN 108 = CLE 1191 = ILS 7726)

This text does not add much in terms of the already established distinction between skim-reading and reading aloud; it is quite noteworthy, however, due to its reference to a reader’s potential dread to engage with it (*ne uer[earis] |*

³⁸ E. Courtney, *Musa Lapidaria. A Selection of Latin Verse Inscriptions* (Atlanta 1995) 184–185, 396–397 no. 197.

perlegere), reminiscent of Sardanapallus' fear to handle the urn and its inscription in the *Querolus*. Moreover, with *dicas* it even more explicitly than the previous texts implies an undeniable act of speaking (as opposed to an act of silent text processing).

In short, there are excellent reasons to believe that – as depicted in the *Querolus* – visual engagements with funerary inscriptions were deemed to trigger, or at least deemed to be capable of triggering, acts of reading texts out aloud. The terminology used in the *Querolus* finds more or less exact equivalents in the corpus of Latin inscriptions, suggesting that a more general reconceptualisation is in order.

5.2. Other Forms of Sensorial Engagement

In addition to visual forms of engagement with Latin inscriptions, other forms related to different aspects of the human sensorium have begun to emerge that relate to a much richer and fuller reading experience. These include not only the obvious acoustic side, as a natural consequence of *perlegere* as an act of reading aloud; as the evidence of the *Querolus* demonstrates at some length, they also cover the tactile and the olfactoric³⁹.

The inscription from Lyon, above, appears to contain the request to *perlegere* the final words of the deceased as an act of exhortation directed to the parents of the deceased in particular. When it came to the act of *perlegere* in the *Querolus*, however, the point of reading aloud was not to direct any request at anyone but, rather simpler and more practical, to share knowledge of content in a most effective way. The exact same approach to spreading knowledge effectively (and, unlike some may be inclined to argue, not at all evidence for lack of literacy) can be seen in a long (and in many respects hugely remarkable) poem from Sulmo:

*C[- - M]jrranus et Decri[a] | Se[- - S]jecundae l(iberta) Melusa
sibi et [suis]. | sal[ue] u[er]ator qui istac iter facis, | saluo tuo corpore con-
siste et lege: | iniquitate Orchi qui perperauit saecula | quod debuerant
facere filii patri et | matri fecerunt miseri{s} pater et mater | fili(i)s dulcis-
simis suis, quoniam non | potuerunt exsorare deos ut [- - -] | suis, neque
ipsi retinere potuerunt, neque | etiam restituere. hoc quod [p]o[it]u[erunt]
| nomina suorum restituerunt ad superos | Primigeni Seueri Pudentis
Casti Lucillae et | Potestatis et miseris derelictis [a]f[il]li(i)s | quoniam spe-
rabant se citius [- - -] suos, | uiuis nomina eodem adiecerunt dum | malo
fati nati et iniqua fortuna | qui non potuerunt antecedere suos | neque*

³⁹ Although the image of 'devouring texts' was known to the Roman world (cf. e.g. Cic. *Att.* 126 [= 7.3.2] S-B and *Att.* 86 [= 4.11.2] S-B), somewhat unsurprisingly no strong case can be made as of yet that the fifth human sense – taste – was also conceptualised as relevant for inscriptions.

etiam persequi tam cito quam | ipsi cupiunt. at nunc miseris desertis | a natis nostris rogamus deos superos | atque inferos ut liceat nepotulum | nostrum Thiasum qui est nobis derelictus | ex Pudente filio inmaturus qua[li]s scintilla | quae de igne exierit, memoria nostrorum, | exsuperet nos: uiuat ualeat sint illi quae | ipse expetet. et nunc te rogamus nepotule | noster per tuorum maiorum misericordiam ut tu pietati seruias et hoc sephulcrum tuorum tutaris et | si qui(s) te roga(ue)rit qui hoc comporta(ue)rit | dicito auus meus Murranus, nam ipsa | miseria docet etiam barbaros scribere | misericordias. et nunc rogo uos omnes natos nascentesque ut si quid la(p)sus | me praeterit hominem barbarum natu | Pannunium multis ulceri(bu)s et malis | perturbatum ignoscatis. rogo at nu[nc] | inprecamus deos ut si quis hoc sephulcr[um] | aut hunc titulum laeserit in[tulerit illi?] | fortuna mala et quod mer[itu]m sit [hunc] | titulumque quicumque legerit aut lege[ntem] | auscul(ue)rit alleuet illos for[tuna] | superior et ualeant semper [in aeterno?] | quicumque in hoc titulo scrip[ta legerit] | quietis sit uobis terra leuis et [- - -] | desperatum qui superant [- - -] | tempore obito sit [- - -].

(AE 1989.247)

In a final prayer (*inprecamus deos*), Murranus – after commemorating the deeply upsetting fate of his family, expressing his hopes in his grandson, and requesting forbearance for his lack of refined expression and poetic abilities – curses those who will interfere with the burial and blesses those who may read (*quicumque legerit*) or may, in fact, listen while someone reads (*quicumque... lege[ntem] | auscul(ue)rit*), with additional blessings for the actual reader to follow.

Of importance to the action in the *Querolus*, where the object is handled on several occasions and the act of reading appears to have involved an act of *contingere* (as Sardanapallus put it), the issue of a tactile experiences of inscriptions is something that does not seem to stand out as a topic in actual inscriptions. Typically, when tactile experiences are mentioned, they come in the shape of instructions to refrain from physically interfering with existing monuments – suggesting *e silentio* that touching was fine (and perhaps even assumed), as long as it did not exceed a certain level of invasion and interference⁴⁰. From other parts of the Mediterranean of the Graeco-Roman sphere, physical interaction is equally scarcely attested – most notably, though, in SIG 3.985, a mysterious inscription from Philadelphia that, in the context of a cult, required participants to touch the object on

⁴⁰ For the use of *tangere* in such context see e. g. AE 1939.195 and, arguably, CIL VI 30117 (cf. p. 3736) = CLE 1469.

a regular basis⁴¹, adding a potentially religious or cultic facet to an act that otherwise may just be seen as a practical necessity. If that assumption is not altogether absurd, it might provide a meaningful backdrop for a better understanding of Sardanapallus' behaviour.

Finally, the issue of smell as related to the experience of Latin inscriptions. There are quite a few instances in which issues of smell have been addressed in these texts⁴². Unlike in the *Querolus*, smell, when linked to the funerary sphere in the Latin inscriptions, appears to have been addressed consistently as a positive aspect. This is different in Roman Egypt, however, where from 2nd century A. D. Hermoupolis at least one text has emerged that implies widespread unpleasant olfactoric experiences (as related to mummification on this occasion):⁴³

Τὸν Ἐπιμάχου με παῖδα μὴ παραδράμης,
ὄδεῖτα, σοιγῆ· μείνον, οὐ δυσωδία
παρ' ἐμοί σε λυπεῖ τῆς ἀηδοῦς κεδρίας·
σταθεῖς ἐπάκουσον ὀλίγον εὐώδους νεκροῦ.

(GVI 1975 = Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* [1969] 377, 97, lines 1–4)

A text that suggests that there is no harm in stalling one's step near this particular monument, as there are not any unpleasant odour-related experiences (δυσωδία) to be expected, must mean, of course, that the 'smellscape' on Roman burial grounds – due to the mixture of human decomposition and fragrant substances that were in use – must have been rather overpowering, justifying Sycophanta's summarising expression *anima in faucibus*.

5.3. Spiritual Engagement

Last, but certainly not least, one must consider the level of spiritual involvement that an engagement with inscribed funerary monuments (and vessels) may have implied. Sardanapallus, in the *Querolus*, refused to engage, because, as he put it: *funus egomet quodlibet contingere nequeo: nihil est quod metuam magis* – a

⁴¹ For a discussion of this matter cf. K. B. Neutel, "Slaves Included? Sexual Regulations and Slave Participation in Two Ancient Religious Groups", in: S. Hodkinson – D. Geary (edd.), *Slaves and Religions in Graeco-Roman Antiquity and Modern Brazil* (Newcastle upon Tyne 2012) 133–148, esp. 138–139.

⁴² See this author's blog post at <http://thepetrifiedmuse.wordpress.com/2015/06/24/more-than-meets-the-eye-fragrance-sensuousness-and-inscribed-latin-poetry/> for a rough and ready survey of such instances in the *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*.

⁴³ Further on this text see e. g. D. Montserrat, "Unidentified Human Remains: Mummies and the Erotics of Biography", in: D. Montserrat (ed.), *Changing Bodies, Changing Meanings. Studies on the Human Body in Antiquity* (London – New York 1998) 162–169, esp. 167–168. – On the topic more generally see also A. O. Koloski-Ostrow, "Roman Urban Smells: The Archaeological Evidence", in: M. Bradley (ed.), *Smell and the Ancient Senses* (London – New York 2015) 90–109, esp. 107–109.

response that earns him the label of being *meticulosus*, a fearful man. Similarly, the aforementioned inscription from Arles seems to imply a certain level of (potential) distance and fearful reservation when it asks the reader *ne uerearis*.

There is no need for an exhaustive record of ancient necrophobia and related attempts to provide rationalising narratives for it, in which aspects of hygiene, pollution, and personal disgust are reinterpreted in religious or cultic terms⁴⁴. What emerges from the *Querolus*, however, is that even an engagement with funerary texts – at least when inscribed on actual containers of mortal remains – might have been seen as problematic by some. Approaching and handling them, as required, would appear to set in motion a string of cultic and ritual events that was deemed to be feared – engaging with a sphere outside of human control.

The fact that this can be presented as covering the very reading of an inscription, involving making contact with an object that represents the otherworld, reinforces the more general notion of funerary inscriptions as a spiritually charged and religiously marked texts as well as that of the human voice as a medium powerful enough to invoke spirits and to cast spells that may not be controlled anymore once they have been uttered.

Mandrogerus, the *Querolus*' original epigraphist, does not seem to have been particularly bothered: whether it was his nature of being a scoundrel or his self-professed mastery of science and magic (*mathesim et magicam sum consecutus!*) that led him to a more rational approach, is another story.

⁴⁴A number of interesting observations in that regard may be found in F. Retieff – L. Cilliers, "Burial customs and the pollution of death in ancient Rome", in: Health and Healing, Disease and Death in the Graeco Roman World (*Acta Theologica Suppl.* 7, 2005) 128–146, an aspect that would seem to persist to some extent even in archaeological scholarship, cf. E.-J. Graham, "Memory and Materiality: Re-embodiment of the Roman Funeral", in: V. M. Hope, J. Huskinson (edd.), *Memory and Mourning: Studies on Roman Death* (Oxford 2011) 21–39.

