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EDICIONES COMPLUTENSE

New evidence for the dating of Palladas and Eutolmius Scholasticus Illustris[1]

Luca Benelli[2]

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Abstract. Kevin Wilkinson has identified clues in the text of epigrams by Palladas which in his view enable us to date this poet to the age of Constantine, earlier than had previously been assumed. He seeks to prove this new chronology with the help of a papyrus (P. Ct. YBR inv. 4000) which he attributes to Palladas. Scholars however have challenged the attribution of the papyrus and refuted Wilkinson's new chronology for Palladas. More recently, Wilkinson tried to defend his hypothesis with the help of an epigram by Palladas (AP 6.85), which supposedly mentions a Roman military-administrative title (–πριλάριος) that was abolished at the start of the fourth century CE. The present article will propose a new interpretation for AP 6.85: departing from Wilkinson's arguments about –πριλάριος, it will be demonstrated that Gordioprilarios is in fact the early fourth century military saint Gordius, mentioned for the first time in a homily (nr. 18) of 370-378 CE by St Basil, and that the Timothy of the epigram is the Alexandrian patriarch of ca. 381-385 CE. It may thus be inferred that Palladas was still alive after 370 CE. The article will also demonstrate that the AP-poet Eutolmius Scholasticus Illustris is in fact Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus.
Keywords: Palladas; Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus; Timothy 1st patriarch of Alexandria; St Minas; St Gordius of Caesarea; St Basil of Caesarea; passio; miracula.

[es] Nuevas evidencias para la datación de Páladas y Eutolmio Escolástico Ilustre

Resumen. Kevin Wilkinson ha identificado en el texto de los epigramas de Páladas indicios que en su opinion podrían llevarnos a datar a este poeta en la época de Constantino, antes de lo que se solía asumir. Wilkinson intenta apoyar esa nueva cronología con la ayuda de un papiro (P. Ct. YBR inv. 4000) que atribuye a Páladas. Los estudiosos, sin embargo, han rechazado tal atribución y refutado la nueva cronología que Wilkinson propone para Páladas. Más recientemente, Wilkinson ha tratado de defender

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[2] Universität zu Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde, Albertus-Magnus-Platz, D-50923 Köln.
lbenell1@uni-koeln.de
luca_benelli@virgilio.it

su hipótesis apoyándose en un epigrama de Páladas (AP 6.85), que supuestamente hace referencia a un cargo militar-administrativo romano (–πριλάριος) que fue abolido a comienzos del siglo IV p.C. El presente artículo propone una nueva interpretación para AP 6.85: partiendo de los argumentos de Wilkinson sobre –πριλάριος, se demostrará que Gordioprilarios es en realidad San Gordio, de comienzos del siglo IV y mencionado por vez primera en una homilía (nr. 18) de San Basilio datada hacia 370-378, y que el Timoteo del epigrama es el patriarca alejandrino de ca. 381-385. De ello debe deducirse que Páladas estaba todavía vivo después del año 370. El artículo se propone demostrar también que el poeta de la Antología Palatina Eutolmio Escolástico Ilustre es en realidad Flavio Eutolmio Taciano.
Palabras clave: Páladas; Flavio Eutolmio Taciano; Timoteo primer patriarca de Alejandría; San Minas; San Gordio de Cesarea; San Basilio de Cesarea; passio; miracula.

Summary. 1. Introduction. 2. Eutolmius Scholasticus Illustris and Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus. 3. Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, Pope Timothy I of Alexandria, a late-fourth-century Passio S. Menae, the Foundation of the crypt at Abū Mīna in the Maryut and Saint Basil's Homily *On Gordius* (nr. 18). 4. Monosyllables, truncated words and the Greek and Latin grammatical, epigrammatic and poetic tradition. 5. Conclusions.

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1. Introduction

Since the publication of the new Yale epigram papyrus (*P. Ct. YBR inv.* 4000),[3] scholars have debated its possible attribution to Palladas and Wilkinson's proposal to date the Alexandrian Greek epigrammatist to the late third-early fourth century CE rather than the late fourth-early fifth century CE[4]. According to R. Ast[5] and J. Dijkstra[6], Palladan authorship is credible but the date is uncertain, while according to L. Floridi[7], the date is credible but Palladan authorship is uncertain. In a preliminary article, sought to show that there is no evidence for Palladan authorship of the *P. Ct. YBR inv.* 4000 and that given the large mass of epigrams that support dating of the poet to the late fourth-early fifth century CE[8], Palladas cannot be

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3 Wilkinson 2012. A new edition of the text of the *ca.* 60 Greek epigrams contained therein, accompanied by an entirely new historical, philosophical, botanical and historical-medical interpretation and edited by the author of this article, will appear shortly in the series *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen (PTA)*.

4 Wilkinson 2009, 2010a and 2015.

5 Ast 2014.

6 Dijkstra 2014: 370-373.

7 Floridi 2014.

8 Pall. *AP* 11.292 (against Themistius' oration nr. 34 [*ca.* 384 CE]: [shortly] after 384 CE); Pall. *AP* 9.400 (on the mathematician and philosopher Hypatia, killed in Alexandria 415-416); Pall. *AP* 9.528 ("on the House of Marina", Marina being the daughter, born around 403 CE, of the Emperor Arcadius: probably after the year 420 CE and surely after 403 CE); Pall. *AP* 11.281 (on the iatrosophist Magnus, still alive in Alexandria in the year 388 CE); Pall. *AP* 10.90 (possibly on the patriarch Theophilus [385-412 CE]); Pall. *AP* 10.91 (possibly on the patriarch Theophilus [385-412 CE]); Pall. *AP* 9.175 (possibly addressed to the patriarch Theophilus [385-412 CE] or to the mathematician Theo, Hypatia's father); Pall. *AP* 9.378 (on the Serapeion after its destruction: after the year 391 CE); Pall. *AP* 11.293 (on Olympius and the horse: *cf.* Syn. *Ep.* 133 [ed. Garzya] [404-405 CE]); Pall. *AP* 7.681–688 (on a certain Gessios, possibly that of Liban. *Ep.* 463 [ed. Förster], 892 [ed. Förster], 1042 [ed. Förster], 1524 [ed. Förster], still alive in Alexandria in the year 388 CE, or possibly the pagan Kesios, an opponent of Schenute of Atripe, or possibly *Flavius Aelius Gessius praeses Thebaidos* in 376-378 CE). Other epigrams support this dating of the Alexandrian poet: an epigram by Palladas (Pall. *AP* 11.291) and two letters of Synesius (*cf.* Syn. *Ep.* 1 and 75 Garzya [404–405 CE]) are all addressed to a poet named Nicander; a further

dated to the earlier period[9]. In two subsequent articles, i defended the traditional dating for Palladas and proposed to identify the marriage law quoted in *AP* 11.378 with that of 421 CE (*CTh* 3.16.2) rather than that of 331 CE (*CTh* 3.16.1)[10], as proposed by Wilkinson[11]. Meanwhile L. Floridi[12] and the late A. Cameron[13] expressed their doubts concerning Wilkinson's reconstruction, and L. Floridi discussed the chronology of Pallad. *AP* 11.378 at length, showing that it is not possible to date Palladas with certainty on the basis of the law quoted in the latter epigram alone, since not only the law of 421 CE (*CTh* 3.16.2) but also other lost laws from the second half of the fourth century CE would be equally plausible identifications. Indeed, the sources on marriage laws and marriage customs from this period are scarce and equivocal[14]. Moreover, i demonstrated that the law of the year 421 (*CTh* 3.16.2) could also have been valid in the Eastern Empire; anyone interested in dating Pallad. *AP* 11.378 should refer to my two articles (Benelli 2016 and especially 2018). The focus of this article will be a different epigram, *i.e.* Pallad. *AP* 6.85[15]:

Τὸν θῶ καὶ τὰς κνῆ τάν τ' ἀσπίδα καὶ δόρυ καὶ κρᾶ
Γορδιοπριλάριος ἄνθετο Τιμοθέῳ.

His breaster and leggers and shield and spear and heller
Captain Gordy dedicates to Timothy.

Here is the *apparatus criticus* from the Waltz edition[16]:

Lemma A [in textu]: ἀνάθημα; – πεπαιγμένον add. C
Plan. VI 150 f. 67^{v} – **2** Γορδιοπριλάριος *m:* Γοργοπριλάριος Jacobs || Τιμοθέῳ P
Plan.$^{a.\,c.}$: –θέου Plan.$^{p.\,c.}$

Wilkinson reproposed a very interesting interpretation for the final part of the proper noun Γορδιοπριλάριος (v.2): according to Friedrich Jacobs[17], –πριλάριος is a

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epigram by Palladas (*AP* 11.280) mentions a doctor or surgeon named Gennadius, as does Aug. *Ep.* 159.3 (*ca.* 414 CE), in both cases with a possible allusion to his visit to the Underworld.

9 Benelli 2015.

10 Benelli 2016; Benelli 2018.

11 Wilkinson 2009: 49-51.

12 Floridi 2016.

13 Cameron 2016a: 91-112, and 2016b.

14 Floridi 2016: 63.

15 English translation by Paton 1915-1918, 1: 344-345.

16 Waltz 1931[1], 1960[2]: 61.

17 Jacobs 1798-1814, 2.3: 244. Jacobs' interpretation was accepted by Dübner 1864: 231, Paton 1915-1918, 1: 344-345 («apparently the only one to understand both components: "Captain Gordy"», summarizes Wilkinson 2015: 69 n. 15) and Zerwes 1956: 331. No mention is made and no alternative ventured by Waltz 1931, 1960[2]: 172 (who however correctly intuits that some form of abbreviation was involved); Waltz 1946-1947: 23 n. 3; Beckby 1957-1958, 1: 688. The only other proposal is from Franke 1899: 83 (in passing and without reference to Jacobs): «fortasse e voce pilarius [!] fictum est». However, as rightly noted by Wilkinson 2015: 69 n. 15, *pilarius* ('juggler': *cf. OLD* 1379 and Quint. *Inst.* 10.7.11, *CIL* 6.8997) is not only nonsensical: it cannot yield -πριλάριος. As a loanword in Greek, it is attested only later, mostly as a synonym of ἀκοντιστής ('darter, javelin-man': *cf.* Lyd. *Mag.* 1.46.5). Moreover, given the weapons described in the epigram (he dedicated to Timothy not only his spear, but also his breastplate, greaves, shield and helmet), it is certain that Gordius, or Gordianus, as preferred by Wilkinson 2015: 69-71, was not (or not only) a juggler or a javelin-man, but something more.

contraction of πρι(μιπι)λάριος[18], the *primuspilus* being, as Wilkinson informs us[19], «a Roman legion's top centurion, a post held for one year, after which he received the honorary title of *primipilaris* and a cash payout that was sufficient for entrance in the equestrian class»[20]. Since the military primipilate[21] was abolished in the wide-ranging government reforms of the late third and early fourth centuries[22], later becoming a civilian role under the supervision of the provincial governor with primary responsibility for the *pastus primipili* (a tax related to the *annona*)[23], it follows that our epigram could have been written no later than the 320s[24] and that Palladas was writing at the beginning of the fourth century CE[25]. According to this view, Pallad. *AP* 6.85 thus demonstrates the need to revise the dating of the most famous Alexandrian Greek epigrammatist of Late Antiquity from the late fourth-early fifth century CE to the late third-early fourth century CE.

Neither Lucia Floridi nor the late Alan Cameron were able to demolish Wilkinson's new interpretation of *AP* 6.85 and his new dating of it, although they both raised some important points. Floridi[26] rightly noticed that in *AP* 6.85, Palladas could have been playing with the two different meanings of *primipilaris*, one in use until the late third-early fourth century CE (a high military rank) and the other attested thereafter (a civilian official): Gordianos, if this was his name, could have been a civilian official with primary responsibility for the *pastus primipili* (a tax related to the *annona*) alive in the late fourth-early fifth century CE and satyrized because of the "military" meaning of his name. Thus, Gordianos, the civilian official responsible for collecting the *pastus primipili*, might dedicate his "army" to Timothy (*i.e.* not to a god). For his part, Cameron rightly noticed that instead of mocking an illiterate, perhaps barbarian soldier[27], the words in I.1 of *AP* 6.85 are clearly modelled on the Homeric forms δῶ for δῶμα, κρῖ for κριθή, etc. and are, therefore, hyper-epic forms[28]. In any case, regarding Γορδιοπριλάριος he had no new solution[29]. Both Floridi's[30] and Cameron's[31] considerations have merit, but neither were able to refute Wilkinson's reconstruction in its entirety. That is, they failed to explain how a Palladas alive at the end of the fourth century CE could still be acquainted with the "military" *primipilaris*, attested until the 320s or 330s at the latest, and to identify Gordioprilarios and Timothy.

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18 Wilkinson 2015: 69.

19 Wilkinson 2015: 70.

20 For a discharge payment of 600 000 sesterces see Dobson 1978: 116.

21 See Dobson 1978 and 2000.

22 Until the end of the third century CE, these officers proudly displayed their attainments in Greek and Latin inscriptions: *cf.* Dobson 1978: 165-335. «The first civilian *primipilares* are attested during the reign of Diocletian (284-305), who was probably responsible for this reform, although Carrié 1979, 173-176 has defended the possibility of implementation as early as the end of the reign of Gallienus (260-268)».

23 *Cf.* Wilkinson 2015: 70, quoting Carrié 1979. *Cf.* also Jones 1964, 1: 459, 2: 594-596.

24 Wilkinson 2015: 70: «because this rank had always been acquired only after a long career of service in the army (no attested examples earlier than the age of 49 or 50) (cf. Dobson 1978, 60-64), the disappearance of these men would have occurred no more than about 30 years after the reform. In other words, even on the latest possible date for the reform, not a single military *primipilaris* would have survived the 320s».

25 Wilkinson 2015: 71.

26 Floridi 2016: 54 n. 28.

27 *Cf.* Wilkinson 2015: 68-69. *Cf.* the earlier Jacobs 1798-1814, 2.3: 243; Dübner 1864: 231; Paton 1915-1918, 1: 344-345; Zerwes 1956: 331; Cameron 1965a: 217.

28 Cameron 2016b: 50-51, quoting Pall. *AP* 11.383.5-6 γραμματικοῖς γὰρ / οὐδὲ τέλος κριθῇ, κρῖ δὲ μόνον λέγεται.

29 Cameron 2016b: 51.

30 Floridi 2016: 54 n. 28.

31 Cameron 2016b: 50-51.

Wilkinson has not been able to identify either Gordioprilarios or Timothy either too. A second weak point is that his new interpretation takes no account of the following epigram (*AP* 6.86), which –according to Waltz[32]– might have been the "excuse" for Palladas to write 6.85. The lemma accompanying 6.86 was interpreted by Waltz in such terms[33]: he argued that Palladas' aim in 6.85 was to make fun of 6.86 and its author: εἰς τὸ παιχθὲν ὑπὸ Παλλαδᾶ. *AP* 6.86 was written by a certain Eutolmius Scholasticus Illustris and it reads as follows[34]:

κνημῖδας, θώρηκα, σάκος, κόρυν, ἔγχος Ἀθήνῃ
Ῥοῦφος Μεμμιάδης Γέλλιος ἐκρέμασεν.

Rufus Gellius, son of Memmius, suspended here to Athene
his greaves, breastplate, shield, helmet and spear.

Here is the *apparatus criticus* from the Waltz edition[35]:

> Lemma A [in textu]: εἰς τὸ παιχθὲν ὑπὸ Παλλαδᾶ [scil. de eodem argumento quod serius per iocum Palladas iterum tractauit].
> Plan. VI, 151 f. 67ᵛ. – **1** κόρυν Plan.: –υς P || Ἀθήνῃ Plan.: –νη P || **2** Μεμμιάδης Huet: Μεμβιάδης *m*.

To dismiss the lemma in the margin of *AP* 6.86 is impossible, since even a brief look at the four verses finds a strong connection between the two epigrams. Indeed, all the nouns and verbs of 6.85 find correspondences in 6.86. However, since 6.85 seems to be rather strange, the nouns that are cut off in 6.85.1 seem to be meant for effect, and given that 6.86 is a pagan epigram, while 6.85 is not, it follows that the lemma of 6.86 could be taken to indicate that 6.85 is the response to it[36]. If in 6.85 Palladas was in fact responding to 6.86, *i.e.* to an epigram by Eutolmius Scholasticus Illustris, it follows that either he was writing after Eutolmius or he was a contemporary of Eutolmius. This was Waltz's interpretation[37]. However, this is not fully compatible with the content of the lemma of *AP* 6.86, since this seems to speak for the opposite reconstruction: that it was Eutolmius who was responding to Palladas, and not the other way round. This is because παιχθὲν in 6.86 seems to imply that Palladas' epigram 6.85 had already been written when Eutolmius composed 6.86 («on what had been said as a joke by Palladas»)[38].

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32 Waltz 1931, 1960²: 61.
33 Waltz 1931, 1960²: 61.
34 English translation based on that of Paton 1915-1918, 1: 344-345.
35 Waltz 1931, 1960²: 61.
36 In this case, Waltz 1931, 1960²: 61 and Beckby 1957-1958, 1: 688 could therefore have been right in interpreting and "translating" the lemma of *AP* 6.86 (Waltz: «scil. de eodem argumento quod serius per iocum Palladas iterum tractavit»; Beckby on 6.85: «Parodie von 86?»). On this interpretation of the lemma of *AP* 6.86, see also Livrea 1997b: 48 and n. 27.
37 Waltz 1931, 1960²: 61.
38 I thank Jürgen Hammerstaedt (Cologne) and Enrico Emanuele Prodi (Oxford) for this very important remark. For an epigram from the Greek Anthology written immediately after the previous one and imitating, commenting on or even quoting it, see the sequence consisting of Simm. *AP* 7.203, on the πέρδιξ, Agath. *AP* 7.204-205 (ep. 35-36 Viansino), on Agathias' πέρδιξ, and Damoch. Gramm. *AP* 7.206, written by a disciple of Agathias (*cf.* Viansino 1967: 77-78), indirectly mentioning Agathias' πέρδιξ and the previous epigrams.

2. Eutolmius Scholasticus Illustris and Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus

In order to find a solution to this conundrum and be sure of the right interpretation of both the lemma of *AP* 6.86 and Palladas' epigram *AP* 6.85, it is now necessary to establish the identity of the author of *AP* 6.86, Eutolmius Scholasticus Illustris. The questions that should be asked with regard to the dating of Palladas' are thus the following: when did Eutolmius Scholasticus Illustris live and who was he?

The evidence with which to date Eutolmius consists of only four epigrams and the lemma, but no epigram refers to any (known) historical fact; the only clue at our disposal is his name. The proper noun Eutolmius occurs only in Late Antiquity, especially in the fourth century CE[39]. The term σχολαστικός in our passage can only mean 'advocate, as an officially recognized legal adviser' and it is used with such a meaning for the first time in the third century CE (*OGIS* 693), in epigrammatic lemmata from the period of the *Cycle* of Agathias or later (*cf. AP* 1.33, 1.34, 1.36 etc.; the lemmata ΝΕΙΛΟΥ ΣΧΟΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΥ, ΑΓΑΘΙΟΥ ΣΧΟΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΥ, ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΣΧΟΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΥ, etc.). The third term (ἰλλούστριος, derived from latin *illustris* in the expression *uir illustris*), occurs in papyri only from the sixth century CE onwards and in literary texts from even later[40]. Beckby therefore proposed to date Eutolmius to the period of the epigrammatists of the *Cycle* of Agathias and even, with reference to the lemmata ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΙΛΛΟΥΣΤΡΙΟΥ (*AP* 9.2, 9.370) and ΑΒΛΑΒΙΟΥ ΙΛΛΟΥΣΤΡΙΟΥ (*AP* 9.762) and those quoted above, to include him in the *Cycle*[41]. Beckby's reconstruction was refuted by Averil and Alan Cameron: «as for Eutolmius, his poems belong rather to Palladas' *Sylloge* than to the *Cycle*[42]: three of his four epigrams occur next to poems by Palladas (6.86, 7.608, 7.611) and the fourth (9.587) is not in a *Cycle*-sequence»[43]. Nevertheless, Cameron[44] subsequently seemed to assign Eutolmius to the sixth century CE or even to include him in the *Cycle*. The position of the two British scholars is well-founded, but they were not able to identify him with a known person. A more interesting proposal is that of Livrea[45]: he pointed out that if Palladas was making fun of an epigram of Eutolmius[46], then Eutolmius must have lived no later than the beginning of the fifth century[47], arguing further that the most likely identification is with Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus[48]. As we shall see, both Eutolmius Scholasticus Illustris and Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus were "advocates" (on Tatianus, see *CIG* 4226.1 = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 919.1 here below) who had obtained the title *uir illustris* (concerning Tatianus, see CTh 9.38.9 [31 August 396], a decree that mentions and re-establishes Tatianus as *uir*

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39 *Cf.* P–W 6.1: 1519 "Eutolmius nr. 1-2" (O. Seeck; R. Reitzenstein); *PLRE* 1: 111, 316, 876-878.

40 *Cf.* Cameron 2016b: 50 n. 10: «the lemma claims that Palladas was making fun of Eutolmius, whose titles, *scholastikos* and *illoustrios*, suggest that he wrote in the sixth century».

41 Beckby 1957-1958: 105.

42 *Cf.* Cameron 1965a: 217.

43 Cameron & Cameron 1966: 8 n. 18.

44 Cameron 1967: 131; 2016b: 50 n. 10.

45 Livrea 1997b.

46 *Cf.* Livrea 1997b: 48 and n. 27; for this interpretation of the lemma of *AP* 6.86, see above, as well as the earlier Waltz 1931, 1960[2]: 61 and Beckby 1957-1958, 1: 688.

47 According to the editors of the *PLRE* (2: 439-440), Palladas and Eutolmius were originally included in the same collection and they were either contemporaries or lived not long after one another. However, the view that Eutolmius lived after Palladas («in view of Eutolmius' titles, suggestive of a date not before the fifth century, it is probable that he was in fact rather the later of the two», according to the *PLRE*, *ad loc.*) is surely wrong, and new arguments against it will be offered here below.

48 Livrea 1997b: 48-49.

illustris a few days before his death; he is believed to have first acquired the title in the late 370s CE, since he was at that time *comes sacrarum largitionum*). Both were or could have been contemporaneous with Palladas[49], and both were poets: from the pen of Eutolmius Scholasticus we have about four epigrams, all from the *AP* (6.86; 7.608; 7.611; 9.587) and all "Homeric" *centones*. Tatianus was the author of a sort of *cento*-sequel to the *Iliad* (*cf.* Liban. *Ep.* 990, 2-3 [ed. Förster]; Eudocia, praef. 19ff.[50]), a «verse sequel to the *Iliad*»[51], or a «Fortsetzung der Ilias, welche den Fall Trojas schildert, wie es scheint, in der Form eines homerischen Cento, den er mit einigen Versen mischte»[52], which was even used in schools, thanks to the political importance and influence of its author (*cf.* Liban. *Ep.* 990, 3 [ed. Förster]). Many arguments speak for Eutolmius' identification with Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus[53], and thus it may be useful to summarize what we know about the latter, with reference to the entries on him in the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire (PLRE)*[54] and in the *Realenzyklopädie*[55]:

Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus came from a non-senatorial family[56] and he was a native of Lycia[57], probably of Sidyma[58], where an epigram on his political career has been recovered, maybe written in the year of his consulship (391 CE)[59] (*CIG* 4226 = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 919 = *ILS* 8844)[60]: [Τ]ᾰτιανὸς μετὰ δικανικὴν [τοῖς] | ἄρχουσιν συνκαθεσθεὶς / ἡγεμόνι βικαρίῳ ἀνθυπά[τῳ] | δυσίν τ' ἐπάρχοις / ἀρχὴν Θηβαίων λάχεν, ε[ἶτ'] | Αἰγύπτου πάσης, / κεῖθεν ὑπατικὸς Συρίης ἠδ' [ἔπ]|αρχος ἑώας / θησαυρῶν τε θείων κόμ[ης], | εἶτ' ἔπαρχος μέγας φάνη· / ταῦτα δ' ἔτι πράττων ἔτ[εσι] | τριάκοντα καὶ τρισὶν / δέξατ' ἀείδιον ὑπάτων [λάχος?] | εἵνεκα πάντων etc. His consulship therefore lasted for thirty-three years. He was an advocate[61], that is a σχολαστικός (see above, *CIG* 4226.1 = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 919.1), in around 358 CE (*i.e.* 33 years before his consulship, *cf.* here above), when he was already a friend of Libanius (*cf.* Liban. *Ep.* 456 [ed. Förster] on the year 355-356 CE)[62]. Later he became an *assessor* to a *praeses*, a *uicarius*, a *proconsul* and two prefects (see above, *CIG* 4226.1-2 = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 919.1-2). Some time between 358 CE and 367 CE he became *praeses Thebaidos* (*cf. CIG* 4816 = *Epigr. Gr.* 1020 Kaibel Τατιανὸς ἡγεμὼν Θηβαΐδος ἱστορήσας ἐθαύμασεν / ὦ θαῦμα δεινὸν τῶν σοφῶν Αἰγυπτίων). In the year 367 (more precisely on 27 January 367[63]) he became *praefectus Aegypti*

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49 *Cf.* the same arguments in Livrea 1997b: 48-49.

50 Ludwich 1882: 214; Ludwich 1897: 83-86; Usher 1999: ix-x

51 *Cf.* Holum 1982: 14.

52 *Cf.* Seeck 1906: 255.

53 *Cf.* Livrea 1997b: 48-49.

54 *PLRE* 1: 876-878 "Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus 5".

55 P–W 4A.2: 2463-2467 "Tatianus nr. 3" (W. Enßlin). On Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, see also Sievers 1870: 312, 321, 349; Güldenpenning & Ifland 1878: 193-207, especially 203-207; Grégoire 1923: 154; Stein 1928, 1: 327; Roueché 1989: 50-52, 63-67; Scharf 1991: *passim*; Mecella 2016.

56 On Tatianus' family, see Scharf 1991.

57 *Cf. Hell.* 4.47-50.7 = *AE* 1949.219.7 = *SEG* 15.661.7; Athan. *Fest. Ind.* in Larsow 1852: 43, where *Lucius* is to be interpreted as *Lycius* (*cf.* Seeck 1906: 285); Zos. 4.45.1; *CTh* 9.38.9; Eun. Fr. 59; Liban. *Or.* 56.16 (vol. IV, 139.16 Förster); Schwartz 1904: 352 n. 9; Grégoire 1923: 152; Scharf 1991: 230; Livrea 1997b: 43.

58 *Cf.* Grégoire 1923: 152; Roueché 1989: 50, 64; Livrea 1997b: 43.

59 *Cf.* Grégoire 1923: 152. On this inscription and Tatianus' *cursus honorum*, see Mecella 2016: 2. For a metric analysis of the epigram, see Merkelbach 1978: 173-174.

60 *Cf.* Grégoire 1923: 152. *Cf.* Benndorf & Niemann 1884: 81 nr. 64; *cf.* also 157.

61 *Cf.* Mecella 2016: 2.

62 On Tatianus and Libanius, see Sievers 1868, especially 266 nr. 7; Güldenpenning & Ifland 1878: 203-207; Seeck 1906: 285-288, 493; Stein 1928, 1: 327.

63 *Cf. Barbarus Scaligeri* in Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* 1: 295, 280 = Frick, Chron. Min. 1: 364.

(later renamed *praefectus Augustalis*)[64]. According to the *Excerpta Latina Barbari* (*Chron. Min.* 1: 296-7), *eo anno (a. 367) introivit Tatianus in Alexandria primus Augustalius vi kal. Februarias*, while in *CIG* 4226 = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 919 (quoted above) he is said to have governed the whole of Egypt (ἀρχὴν Θηβαίων λάχεν, ε[ἶτ'] | Αἰγύπτου πάσης); moreover, he issued an edict at Oxyrhynchus (probably in Augustamnica: *cf. P. Oxy.* 1101) and confirmed nominations there (*cf. P. Oxy.* 2110, 6 October 370). He may therefore have been the first *praefectus Augustalis*[65]. In 368-369 he participated in Valens' persecution of the Homoousians (*cf.* Ruf. *HE* 1.2; Phot. Bibl. cod. 258, 484 b 36; Suid. *s.v.* Οὐάλης [o 764 Adler])[66]. He helped the Arian bishop Lucius take refuge from the people of Alexandria which were trying to kill him[67]. He remained in office as *praefectus Aegypti* or *praefectus Augustalis* until the year 370 CE[68]. According to the *Excerpta Latina Barbari*, he was again *praefectus Augustalis* in Egypt in the years 374-376 and 378 CE; according to Cantarelli he remained strongly connected with Egypt and a powerful figure there until the end of the year 378 (maybe as *comes sacrarum largitionum*: see here below)[69]. He was also *consularis Syriae* and *comes Orientis*, probably concurrently[70], in the years 370-374 CE (praised by Libanius *Or.* 10.37 but blamed for adopting the practice of flogging offenders to death in *Or.* 46.8; he also commissioned a number of construction projects in Antioch: *cf.* Liban. *Ep.* 851.1-2 [ed. Förster]). In the year 374 he became *comes sacrarum largitionum*, an office in which he remained until the year 380 at the latest[71] and in any case until the last day of Valens' reign[72]. He then lived in retirement in Lycia until the year 388 ca., when, on the death of Maternus Cynegius, the Emperor Theodosius summoned him from Lycia and sent him the codicils of the *Praefectus Praetorio Orientis (PPO)*[73]. He remained in office as PPO until the year 392[74]. As PPO, he was awarded many honours by the city of Antioch[75]. He was pos-

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64 *Cf. CTh* 12.18.1 (10 May 367, styled *"praefectus Aegypti"*); *P. Oxy.* 1101 (ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου, undated); *praefectus* Athan. *Fest. Ind. s.a.* 367-370, *Hist. Aceph.* 18.

65 *Cf.* Jones 1954: 224; P–W 2.2: 2361 "Augustales nr. 2b)" (K. J. Neumann); Gelzer 1909: 7; Seeck 1906: 286.

66 *Cf.* Ruf. *HE* 1.2; Phot. Bibl. cod. 258, 484 b 36; Suid. *s.v.* Οὐάλης (o 764 Adler).

67 *Cf. Hist. Aceph.* 18 and Schwartz 1904: 343.

68 *Cf.* Larsow 1852: 43-45; Schwartz 1904: 352f.; Sievers 1868: 258; Cantarelli 1911: 342f.

69 Cantarelli 1910, reprinted in Cantarelli 1915: 285ff.

70 *Cf.* the *PLRE* 1: 877 and Lenski 2002: 62.

71 *Cf. CTh* 10.20.8^{a} (16 February 374); *CTh* 10.22.1^{a} (11 March 374); *CTh* 9.21.8^{a} (21 May 374); *CTh* 8.7.14^{a} (25 January 377); *CJ* 8.36.3 (17 June 380).

72 *Cf.* Lenski 2002: 62; Delmaire 1989b: 62-67; Roueché 1989: 50-52.

73 *Cf.* Zos. 4.45.1; Mommsen, Chron. Min. 1: 244, 388. *Cf.* Rauschen 1897: 287 n. 8; van Loy 1913: 319; Seeck 1895-1920, 5: 178, 219, 225; Stein 1920: 215ff.; Stein 1928, 1: 319; Caspar 1930-1933, 1: 277; Roueché 1989: 50; Mecella 2016: 2.

74 As PPO, he was in office on 16 June 388 (*CTh* 16.4.2^{a}), 21 June 388 (*CTh* 12.1.119^{a}), 18 October 388 (*CTh* 10.22.2^{a}), 2 March 389 (*CTh* 1.5.9^{a}), 28 April 389 (*CTh* 1.15.13^{+}+8.11.5), 4 May 389 (*CTh* 16.5.17^{a}), 5 May 389 (*CTh* 8.4.16^{a}), 27 June 389 (*CTh* 9.21.9^{+}), 6 September 389 (*CTh* 9.35.5^{a}), 26 November 389 (*CTh* 16.5.19^{a}), 17 December 389 (*CTh* 12.1.120), 21 January 390 (*CTh* 3.17.4^{a}), 15 February 390 (*CTh* 9.1.17^{a}), 17 June 390 (*CTh* 12.1.121^{a}), 21 June 390 (*CTh* 16.2.27α), 6 July 390 (*CTh* 11.16.18α), 23 August 390 (*CTh* 16.2.28^{a}), 2 September 390 (*CTh* 12.1.122^{a}), 8 September 390 (*CTh* 13.5.19^{a}), 11 March 391 (*CTh* 3.3.1^{a}), 22 March 391 (*CTh* 11.16.19^{a}), 18 July 391 (*CTh* 13.9.4^{a}), 28 July 391 (*CTh* 12.1.123^{a}), 17 September 391 (*CTh* 11.3.5^{a}), 13 March 392 (*CTh* 9.40.15^{a}), 15 March 392 (*CJ* 5.10.1), 9 April 392 (*CTh* 1.29.8^{a}), 17 April 392 (*CTh* 16.3.2^{a}), 27 May 392 (*CTh* 2.8.21^{a}), 15 June 392 (*CTh* 16.5.21^{a}), 30 June 392 (*CTh* 12.1.127^{a}), 31 July 392 (*CTh* 7.4.19^{a}) and some tine in September 392 (*CJ* 11.25.2^{a}). He is called PPO Orientis in *CTh* 5.11.2, 11.16.19, and PPO elsewhere.

75 *Cf.* Liban. *Ep.* 840.4 (ed. Förster). In this period, he received Liban. *Ep.* 840 (ed. Förster), 851 (ed. Förster), 855 (ed. Förster), 871 (ed. Förster), 872 (ed. Förster), 899 (ed. Förster), 909 (ed. Förster) (388 CE), 941 (ed. Förster),

sibly responsible for the new policy on decurions that all born of curial stock were to remain in their home town whatever subsequent honours they received[76]. As PPO, he was called ὁ λαμπρότατος ἔπαρχος τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου (or similar)[77]. Tatianus was consul prior to 391 CE together with Quintus Aurelius Symmachus[78]. Because of the intrigues of Fl. Rufinus, Tatianus fell from power[79], Rufinus succeeding him as PPO[80]. Having been induced to recall his son Proculus[81], he was then forced to witness his execution (6 December 393)[82], before being himself condemned to death[83] and then reprieved[84] and exiled to Lycia[85]. Some of his financial measures were cancelled[86] and he was subject to the *damnatio memoriae*[87]. He was reinstated as *inlustris* after the fall of Rufinus: *cf.* the aforementioned passage in *CTh* 9.38.9 (31 August 396)[88]. Some scholars and ancient authors think that he was unable to enjoy the restoration of the title of *uir inlustris*: according to Asterius[89], he died while still in disgrace; according to Photius[90], he ended his days as a blind beggar; according to the authors of the *PLRE*[91], he was perhaps already dead when *CTh* 9.38.9 was issued. However, Tatianus is called in *CTh* 9.38.9 (31 August 396)[92] *uir illustris* and not *illustris memoriae uir*: as seen by Seeck[93], this means that he must have been still alive when this law was issued (31 August 396)[94]. Shortly thereafter, he died, probably at the end of that same summer[95]. Tatianus, as mentioned above, had a son,

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959 (ed. Förster), 987 (ed. Förster), 990 (ed. Förster), 992 (ed. Förster) (390 CE) and 1021 (ed. Förster) (391 CE). He is mentioned in Liban. *Or.* 48.1, 49.1, 49.31, 56.14, 56.16 and 56.21 and in *Ep.* 18 (ed. Förster), 852 (ed. Förster), 873 (ed. Förster), 874 (ed. Förster), 906 (ed. Förster), 907 (ed. Förster) (388 CE), 918 (ed. Förster), 919 (ed. Förster), 970 (ed. Förster) (390 CE), 996 (ed. Förster), 1022 (ed. Förster) (391 CE).

76 *CTh* 12.1.122; cf. Liban. *Or.* 47.1, 49.3; Liban. *Ep.* 873 (ed. Förster).

77 *Cf. IGC* 281 = *AE* 1907.32; *Hell.* 4.50-51 (= *IGC* 275 and 276 = *AE* 1949.220); *IGC* 290 Myra; *Hell.* 4.51-2 = *AE* 1949.221 (Side, Pamphylia); *D* 8809 = *SB* 8919 (Antinoopolis); *P. Lips.* 1.14; *SB* 8624; and *cf. P. Ross.-Georg.* 5.60. *Cf.* texts 25-27 in Roueché 1989: 47-52.

78 *Cf.* Rauschen 1897: 334; Liebenam 1909: 40, *s.a.* 391; Seeck 1895-1920, 5: 231; Stein 1928, 1: 321; *Fasti* 10.37; Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Vrbis Romae* 1: 391-8; *P. Lips.* 1.7.14 (29 May 391 CE); *SB* 8624; *P. Ross.-Georg.* 5.60; Liban. *Ep.* 990, 996. To mark his consulate, Tatianus received a series of panegyrics, from Libanius (*Ep.* 1021.4 F.; fr. 45, in vol. XI, 634 Förster [*cf.* P–W 12.2: 2527.37 "Libanios" (R. Förster & K. Münscher)]), Parthenopaeus (*cf.* Liban. *Ep.* 996.3 [ed. Förster]) and Priscianus (*cf.* Liban. *Ep.* 1022 [ed. Förster] [*cf.* Seeck 1906: 245 II]).

79 *Cf.* Grégoire 1923: 152; Rebenich 1989; Roueché 1989: 50; Mecella 2016: 3.

80 *Cf.* Mecella 2016: 3.

81 *Cf.* Barnes 1984: 229.

82 *Cf. Chron. Pasch. s.a.* 393; Claud. *in Ruf.* 1.247; Zos. 4.52.4; Asterius, *Hom.* 4 *ad fin.* in *PG* 40: 224D. *Cf.* Barnes 1984: 229.

83 *Cf.* Zos. 4.52.1; Claud. *in Ruf.* 1.239; *CTh* 9.38.9. *Cf.* Barnes 1984: 228-229.

84 *Cf.* Barnes 1984: 229.

85 *Cf.* Zos. 4.45; Asterius, *Hom.* 4 *ad fin.* in *PG* 40: 224-5; Eun. fr. 59, Claud. *in Ruf.* 1.246ff. *Cf.* Barnes 1984: 228.

86 *Cf. CTh* 12.1.131 (27 Februay 393), *CTh* 9.42.12-13 (12 June 393) and *CTh* 11.1.23 (12 June 393).

87 *Cf.* Grégoire 1923: 151-152; Roueché 1989: 50, 64. *Cf.* Roueché 1989: nr. 25-27 at 47-52, and 64; Grégoire 1922: nr. 281 = *IGC* 281, and *cf.* nr. 290 = *IGC* 290 and 293[2] = *IGC* 293[2]; Dittenberger 1903-1905: 2: nr. 723 = *OGIS* 723; Dessau 1892-1916, 2.2: nr. 8809 = *ILS* 8809; Milne 1898: 195; *CIL* 3.737 and 4.8612; Mommsen 1866: 238-239; Wescher 1866: 150-153.

88 *Cf.* Mecella 2016: 3-4; Roueché 1989: 50; Grégoire 1923: 152; Tillemont 1732: 156, § 71 and note n. L on page 52.

89 Asterius, *Hom.* 4 *ad fin.* in *PG* 40: 224-225.

90 Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 258, 484 b 39.

91 *PLRE* 1: 877.

92 *Cf.* Grégoire 1923: 152; Tillemont 1732: 156, § 71 and note n. L on page 52.

93 Seeck 1906: 288.

94 *Cf.* P–W 4A.2: 2466 "Tatianus nr. 3" (W. Enßlin).

95 *Cf.* P–W 4A.2: 2466 "Tatianus nr. 3" (W. Enßlin); Seeck 1906: 288.

Proculus (*praefectus Vrbis Constantinopolitanae* in the years 388-392[96], when his father was PPO)[97]. He also had a daughter, whose son was also called Tatianus (he would become *praefectus Vrbis Constantinopolitanae* in the year 450 CE[98])[99]. According to Libanius (*Ep.* 855, 899; *Or.* 30.53; «le rhéteur félicite Théodose de "s'être adjoint, croyant être utile à l'Etat, un homme (*i.e.* Tatianus)[100] qui jure par les Dieux, non seulement devant les autres, mais encore devant l'Empereur"», summarizes Grégoire[101]), he was a pagan[102]; and he is treated sympathetically by pagan authors such as Eunapius (*FHG* IV: 40 fr. 59 Müller[103] = fr. 57 Blockley[104]) and Zosimus (4.45.1f.; 4.52.1)[105]. His laws show an anti-clerical bias[106]: for example *CTh* 16.2.27 (21 June 390) against clerical legacy-hunting, partially revoked by *CTh* 16.2.28 (23 August 390); *CTh* 9.40.15 (13 March 392) prohibiting the clergy from protecting condemned criminals; and *CTh* 16.3.1 (2 September 390) prohibiting monks from frequenting towns[107], revoked by *CTh* 16.3.2 (17 April 392).

Tatianus was also noted also for his building activities in Alexandria, possibly in the Bruchion (Abrakjun)[108], the district of the Museum and the Library[109]. The so-called *Barbarus Scaligeri* or *Excerpta Latina Barbari* (Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* 1:

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96 *Cf.* Mecella 2016: 2.

97 *Cf. SEG* 7.195; Zos. 4.45; Liban. *Or.* 10.37, *Ep.* 840 (ed. Förster), 851 (ed. Förster), 970 (ed. Förster); Roueché 1989: 50; Mecella 2016: 2.

98 *Cf.* Roueché 1989: 65.

99 *Cf.* Liban. *Ep.* 899 (ed. Förster) and *Hell.* 4.47-50 = *AE* 1949.219 = *SEG* 15.661; Seeck 1906: 288; Roueché 1989: 64. Tatianus' grandson (according to Livrea 1997b: 43-44), or more likely the son of Tatianus' grandson and thus Tatianus' great-grandson (according to Roueché 1989: 64-66) is known to be the author of the following epigram (*Hell.* 4.47-50 = *AE* 1949.219 = *SEG* 15.661 = no. 37 in Roueché 1989: 63-67) in honour of his great-grandfather:

τίς; πόθεν; ἐκ Λυκίης μέ[ν,] | ἀριστεύσας δ' ἐνὶ θώκοις |
Τατιανὸς θεσμοῖς τε δίκης | πτολίεθρα σαώσας. vac. |
ἀλλά με πανδαμάτωρ χρόν[ος] | ὤλλευν, εἰ μὴ ἐμὸς παῖς |
ἐξ ἐμέθεν τρίτατος καὶ | ὁμώνυμος ἔργα θ' ὅμοιο[ς] |
5 ἐκ δαπέδων ἀνελὼν | στήλης ἐπίθηκεν ὁρᾶσθ[αι] |
πᾶσιν ἀρίζηλον ναέταις | ξίνοισει θ' ὁμοίως vac. |
Καρῶν ἐκ γέης ὅς ἀπήλασε | λοίγιον ἄτην vac. |
τὴν δὲ δίκην μερόπεσιν | ὁμέστιον ὥπασ' ἐπεῖναι |
πεμφθεὶς ἐκ βασιλῆος | ἔθ' ἁδομένοισιν ἀρωγός. |

«Who is this? From where? (I am) Tatianus from Lycia, who held the highest offices, and by just laws saved cities. But all-conquering time would have destroyed me if my child, of the third generation, who has the same name and similar achievements, had not lifted me up from the ground and set me on a monument, to be seen and admired by all, local inhabitants and strangers alike. (It is) he who drove deadly ruin from the land of the Carians, and gave justice to dwell among men, when he had been sent from the emperor as a defender for the people, who still rejoice» (English translation by Roueché 1989: 64).

100 This identification was proposed by Gothofredus 1634: 39 and again by Sievers 1868: 192 n. 26, 267. *Cf.* Van Loy 1913: 319, who accordingly proposed a date around 388 CE for Libanius' speech nr. 30 (*Pro templis*). *Cf.* Seeck 1906: 285; Grégoire 1923: 151-152.

101 Grégoire 1923: 151.

102 *Cf.* Grégoire 1923: 151; Seeck 1906: 285; Sievers 1868: 267.

103 Müller 1841-1873.

104 Blockley 1981-1983, 2: 82

105 *Cf.* Sievers 1868: 267.

106 *Cf.* Mecella 2016: 7.

107 *Cf.* Mecella 2016: 5.

108 *Cf.* John of Nikiu 88.20 Charles (1916; with Zotenberg's notes) and Lenski 2002: 379 n. 16.

109 *Cf.* P–W 3.1: 898 "Bruchion" (O. Puchstein).

296-297)[110] provides the following information: *hic condidit in Alexandria fluvium qui vocatur Tatianus*[111] *et portas fecit auro perfusas, quae nunc dicuntur Petrinas*[112]. It also states (Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* 1: 296-297) that Tatianus commissioned these buildings during his second *praefectura Aegypti*, *ca.* 375-376ff.[113] His πύλαι are still attested in the sixth century CE: *cf. P. Cair. Maspero* 67168, 81.85 (*ca.* 501-600 CE) Πυλῶν Τατιανοῦ. As for *portas ... Petrinas*, it remains unclear whether *Petrinas* means in this passage 'of stone' or 'of Peter', Peter being Peter II, the patriarch of Alexandria in the years 375-376, the period to which the so-called *Barbarus Scaligeri* or *Excerpta Latina Barbari* (Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* 1: 296-297) attributes these new buildings; the parallels with *fluvium qui vocatur Tatianus* and Πυλῶν Τατιανοῦ seem to speak for the second possibility.

Tatianus was surely a controversial figure: although pagan (*cf.* Liban. *Ep.* 855 [ed. Förster], 899 [ed. Förster]; *Or.* 30.53 and here above)[114], he did not hesitate to interest himself in questions related to the church in Alexandria. During his early years as *praefectus Aegypti* or *praefectus Augustalis*, he was ordered by the pro-Arian Emperor Valens to persecute the non-Arian Christians and the Homoousians in Egypt (368-369 CE)[115]. Tatianus was in fact one of the pagans (in addition to Aelius Palladius, Vindaonius Magnus and Fortunatianus) employed by Valens in the suppression of his Nicene opponents precisely because they had few scruples about using force against Christian holy men[116]. In September 367 CE for example, together with the *dux Aegypti* and very probably again with Valens' approval[117], he helped the Arian bishop Lucius take refuge from the people of Alexandria who were trying to kill him[118]. The Arian Lucius had been consecrated bishop of Alexandria in early 362 CE by the Homoians, who promoted his cause with Jovian at Antioch in October 363 CE[119]. However, the Nicene Athanasius obtained the see of Alexandria in 363, as the successor to Georgius (who died in 361 CE), in place of Lucius. Thereafter, Lucius continued to harbour designs on the Alexandrian see[120], and after Athanasius' death (373 CE), Lucius returned to the city and used the window of opportunity under emperor Valens to regain his former post. The prefect of Egypt, Aelius Palladius, with Valens's approval, went to the episcopal palace and arrested Peter, Athanasius' legitimate heir, but the Nicene bishop was able to escape and head for Rome. Meanwhile, in order to restore order and impose his chosen successor in Egypt, Valens assembled a military force under the *comes sacrarum largitionum* Vindaonius Magnus, a committed pagan and former supporter of Julian. Magnus marched into Egypt with Euzoius of Antioch in train, oc-

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110 The name *Barbarus Scaligeri* comes from its first editor, the humanist Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609).

111 *Cf.* P–W 1.1: 1384 "Alexandreia" (O. Puchstein); Maspero 1912: 37-38; Lenski 2002: 400.

112 *Cf.* P–W 1.1: 1384 "Alexandreia" (O. Puchstein); Lenski 2002: 400.

113 For a different opinion, see Lenski 2002: 400 n. 33, according to whom Tatianus' building activities unfolded between 367 and 370.

114 On Tatianus as a pagan, see also Lenski 2002: 216.

115 *Cf.* Ruf. *HE* 1.2; Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 258, 484 b 36; Suid. *s.v.* Οὐάλης (ο 764 Adler); Seeck 1906: 286.

116 *Cf.* Lenski 2002: 216; Haehling 1978: 73, 118-120, 144, 204-205. On Fortunatianus as a pagan, see Delmaire 1989b: 57. See also Haehling 1978: 118-119, 144, on the pagan Clearchus, who was influential earlier in Valens' reign.

117 *Cf.* Lenski 2002: 255 n. 255: «given that Lucius was offered protection by the prefect and the *dux Aegypti* during this visit, he may have come under Valens's sanction. Epiph. *Adv. Haeres.* 68.11.4 confirms that he had more than once consulted with Valens about effecting his return».

118 *Cf. Hist. Aceph.* 5.11-13 and Schwartz 1904: 343, Martin 1996b: 593-594.

119 *Cf.* Lenski 2002: 237, 255.

120 *Cf.* Lenski 2002: 255.

cupied Alexandria, and imposed Lucius[121], who proceeded to act rigorously against the opponents of Arianism. Indeed, it was in this period that Valens lost his compunction about the use of violence and began openly enforcing his religious program, seeking to impose the Arian faith throughout the eastern empire. Towards the end of Valens' reign however, the cause of Arianism in the Roman East was to come to an end. As summarized by Lenski, when he «learned that his forces in Thrace had been defeated by the Goths at the battle of *Ad Salices* in the summer of 377, Valens seems to have issued a law allowing the return of the ecclesiastics he had exiled. This we know from Jerome and Rufinus[122], both of whom were in the east at the time and both of whom indicate that Valens recalled the Nicene exiles before departing to fight against the Goths»[123]. Peter II once more obtained the see of Alexandria –as we shall see– at the beginning of 378 CE[124], and Lucius again had to flee from Egypt, this time to Constantinople, in 380 CE accompanying into exile the Arian Demophilus, who had been deposed by Theodosius I[125]. Tatianus, still in Egypt around 377-378, was forced by Valens's new tolerant religious policies to collaborate with the followers of the Nicene Creed in Alexandria, including the patriarch Peter II (373-378/379/380/381), in the final months of his episcopate after having returned to Alexandria, and his successor Timothy (378/378/379/380/381-385).

In contrast, during his rule as *praefectus praetorio Orientis* and *consul Orientis*, he was, as seen, a fierce opponent of the church[126]. Indeed, the paganism of Tatianus and his son Proculus has been seen by E. Stein[127] and Ch. Roueché[128] as one of the most likely reasons for their fall: Tatianus was chosen as PPO in 388 after pagan sensibilities had been offended by the activities of the Christian Cynegius[129], but his downfall was brought about by another energetic Christian, Rufinus, and was followed almost immediately by a law banning all pagan practices (*CTh* 16.10.12, of November 392)[130]. Other reasons for his downfall have been identified in the power accumulated by Tatianus and by his son[131] and concerns over the fact that Tatianus and Proculus were men of the eastern empire who reached high office in a reign otherwise dominated by men of western origin[132] from a geographically limited area[133].

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121 *Cf.* Lenski 2002: 255-256. *Cf.* Theod. *HE* 4.21.1-22.36; Epiph. *Adv. haeres.* 68.11.4–8, 69.13.3, 73.38.1; Greg. Naz. *Or.* 25.12–14, 33.3–4, 43.46; Ruf. *HE* 11.3; Soc. 4.20.1–22.6; Soz. 6.19.1-20.5; Suid. *s.v.* Οὐάλης (o 764 Adler); Cedrenus, p. 545; Jacob of Edessa *Chron.*, p. 298; *Synodikon vetus* 72; Theoph. *a.m.* 5865-66. *Cf.* Barnes 1993: 180-182; Martin 1996b: 189-97.

122 Jer. *Chron. s.a.* 378: «Valens de Antiochiae exire conpulsus sera paenitentia nostros de exiliis revocat»; Ruf. *HE* 11.13; *cf.* Prosper *Chron.* 1164; Oros. 7.33.12; Soc. 4.35.2-3; Soz. 6.37.17. Their assertion is confirmed by a precise entry in the Syriac *Chronicon Edessenum*, which records that the Nicenes expelled from Edessa had returned by the 27 December 377: *Chron. Edes.* no. 33 (a. 689 = *a.d.* 377-78); cf. *Chronicon ad annum 846*, p. 203; *Chronicon ad annum 724*, p. 105.

123 Lenski 2002: 261.

124 *Cf.* Soc. 4.37.1–3 (ed. Hansen, *GCS*); Soz. 6.39.1–2, with Martin 1996b: 797-98.

125 *Cf.* Theodoret. *HE* 4.21-23; Soz. *HE* 6.19f.; Soz. *HE* 6.38f.; Soz. *HE* 7.5; Soc. 4.20-22 (ed. Hansen, GCS); Soc. 4.24 and 36-37, 5.7 (ed. Hansen, *GCS*).

126 *Cf.* Mecella 2016: 7.

127 See, in part., *SEG* 7.195.

128 Roueché 1989: 52.

129 *Cf.* Stein 1920: 206; Roueché 1989: 50; Mecella 2016: 2.

130 *Cf.* Stein 1920: 212; Roueché 1989: 50.

131 *Cf.* Dagron 1974: 257 and 189, suggesting that Theodosius himself was disturbed by such power.

132 *Cf.* Matthews 1975: 114 and Roueché 1989: 50-52; *cf.* Mecella 2016: 2.

133 *Cf.* Roueché 1989: 51.

Tatianus is thus a very complex figure, with a long and extremely varied (and interesting) political history, especially as far as religion is concerned, and it is in this context that we should seek to contextualize our epigram.

3. Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, Pope Timothy I of Alexandria, a late-fourth-century Passio S. Menae, the Foundation of the crypt at Abū Mīna in the Maryut and Saint Basil's Homily *On Gordius* (nr. 18)

The *PLRE* does not contain anything of use in solving our chronological problem with *AP* 6.85 and *AP* 6.86, which us rather to focus on another proper noun, the "Timothy" mentioned by Palladas in 6.85. Until recently, a series of scholars had proposed to identify the Timothy of the epigram with the two only cases attested in Alexandria in that period: either the Alexandrian patriarch of 378-385 (or 381-385)[134] or a rival of Cyril from around 412 CE[135], Cyril being the patriarch responsible for the killing of Hypatia. However, no scholar has been able to find any clues in support of either alternative. It is now time –I think– to show that there is a very strong argument in favour of identifying this Timothy with the Patriarch of Alexandria in 378-385 or 381-385. This argument is linked to two separate but similar soldier-saints who lived in the late third and early fourth centuries CE, precisely the period to which Wilkinson proposes to date the last attested examples of military *primipilares*[136]: St Gordius and St Menas.

Bearing the name of Pope Timothy I of Alexandria (*ca.* 378/379/380/381-385) is a short and strange text, of the hagiographic type: the *Miracula S. Menae*. As has been already pointed out by Krumbacher and Drescher[137], the text of the *Miracula S. Menae* cannot have been written by Timothy I of Alexandria (378/380/381-385 CE), partly because certain linguistic features of the Greek text, as we have it today, are not entirely consistent with a late-fourth-century date (although, as we shall see, it is possible that a collection of miracles of St Menas did already exist at the end of the fourth century CE, and a codex of this tradition, one of the oldest, the Par. gr. 1454, ff. 162^{v}-168^{v} [tenth century CE], transmits what is surely an older textual *facies* than that of the *editio princeps*[138] of the Greek version). However, more interesting for us is another text connected with St. Menas of Egypt: his *passio*. The Egyptian Saint's original *passio* is lost, but a series of *passiones* from the Byzantine period and a *kontakion*, rightly or unrightly attributed to Romanus the Melodist (Rom.

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134 *Cf.* Zerwes 1956: 332; Beckby 1957-1958[1], 1: 688 («Timotheos: ein Mensch, doch steckt im 2. Teil θεός (Gott); ein Timotheos war 381-385 Patriarch in Alexandria»).

135 Sozomenus (6.29: ἀλλ' οἵᾳ μὲν ἀγωγῇ ἐχρῆτο καὶ ἡλίκων ἦν θείων καὶ παραδόξων πραγμάτων ποιητὴς ἱστορεῖ Τιμόθεος ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτροπεύσας, εὖ μάλα αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλῶν ὧν ἐπεμνήσθην καὶ ἄλλων εὐδοκίμων μοναχῶν τοὺς βίους διεξελθών) attributes to patriarch Timothy I of Alexandria a work similar to the so-called *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* (a narrative of the voyage undertaken in *ca.* 394-395 CE [on 6 September 394, the day of the defeat of the usurper Eugenius, the author of *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* visited Saint John of Lykos: *cf. Historia monachoum in Aegypto* 1.64] by a group of pilgrims to the monastic communities living in the Egyptian desert: the most recent critical edition is by Festugière 1961), but since Timothy I (who in died *ca.* 385 CE) was already dead by then (*ca.* 394-395 CE), he cannot have been its author: Butler 1898-1904, 1: 277 proposed ("einleuchtend" according to the autor of the lemma *Historia monachorum* in P–W 8.2: 2110 [H. Lietzmann]) to identify the author of the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* with a second Timothy, attested in around 412 CE as a candidate for the role of patriarch of Alexandria (*cf.* Socr. 7.7 [ed. Hansen, *GCS*]) and the opponent of the future patriarch Cyril.

136 Wilkinson 2015: 69-71.

137 Krumbacher 1901: 343-344; Drescher 1946: 104-112.

138 Pomjalovskij 1900: 62-89.

Mel. *Cantica dubia* nr. 75 Maas and Trypanis[139]), are preserved. As noted many decades ago by Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri[140], they all derive from the homily of St Basil of Caesarea on the martyr St Gordius (*in martyrem Gordium*: hom. nr. 18)[141]. The later *passiones* under discussion are the *Passio Bollandiana* (the title is based on the fact that it was published in the journal *Analecta Bollandiana* in the year 1884: *Analecta Bollandiana* 3 [1884]: 258-270)[142], the *Passio Theophiliana* (so called, since it was published by Theophilus Ioannou in Venice[143]) and the *Passio* published by K. Krumbacher[144] himself. In order to get an idea of the relationship between these texts, let us quote some parallel passages from Basil's homily on Gordius (nr. 18)[145], the later *passiones* of the Byzantine period and the *kontakion* of Romanus (Rom. Mel. *Cantica dubia* nr. 75 Maas and Trypanis[146]). We shall start with a parallel between Basil's homily and the *Passio Bollandiana* (the text of the *Passio Bollandiana* is to be found in *Analecta Bollandiana* III [1884]: 258-270; the parallels are simply the first eleven quoted by Franchi de' Cavalieri)[147]:

	Basil. *Hom. in Gordium martyrem* (nr. 18 in *PG* 31: 489-508 [*CPG* nr. 2862]).	*Passio Bollandiana* (from *Analecta Bollandiana* 3 [1884]: 258-270)
I	2. ἐγκατειλεγμένος δὲ στρατείᾳ ἐπιφανεῖ, ὡς ἑκατὸν στρατιωτῶν ἀρχὴν πιστευθῆναι, καὶ σώματος ῥώμῃ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀνδρίᾳ τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς καταλόγοις ἐμπρέπων. 2. After enlisting as a soldier in the army he occupied a prominent position such as that he was entrusted with the leadership one one hundred soldiers, and he was conspicuous among the military ranks for the strength of his body and the bravery of his spirit.	1. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν Ῥουτιλιανῶν ἀφηγούμενος, ψυχῆς παραστήματι, μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει καὶ πᾶσιν ἄλλοις οἷς ὥρα σώματος καὶ γενναιότης χαρακτηρίζεσθαι πέφυκε, τῶν ἄλλων ἐτύγχανεν διαφέρων. 1. And he, placed at the top of the military rank of the troop of the *Rutiliani*, formed a high opinion of himself ongrounds of his desperate courage, his stature, his beauty, and of all other qualities by which the grace of the body and the nobility are characterized, and he was able to be conspicuous among all the troops.
II	ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τότε τύραννος τὸ πικρὸν καὶ ἀνήμερον τῆς ψυχῆς μέχρι τοῦ πολέμου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐξέτεινε, … κηρύγματα δὲ ἦν πανταχοῦ, καὶ διαγράμματα ἥπλωτο κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀγορὰν καὶ πάντα τόπον ἐπίσημον, μὴ προσκυνεῖσθαι Χριστὸν, ἢ θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν τοῖς προσκυνοῦσι· καὶ πρόσταγμα ἦν ὑποκύπτειν εἰδώλοις ἅπαντας, … ἢ τοὺς μὴ πειθομένους πάσχειν ἀνήκεστα· When the tyrant of the time extended his bitterness and savagery of spirit to war with the church, and lifted against piety his hand which fought against God, there were proclamations everywhere and edicts were spread in every marketplace and every place of note, not to worship Christ or the penalty for worshippers would be death. And there was a command for everybody to bow down before idols, and to regard as gods stones and wood fashioned with the mark of craft, or for the disobedient to suffer unbearable punishments.	*Ib.* γράμματα κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐφοίτα τὴν οἰκουμένην, τὸ ἀσεβὲς αὐτῶν (τῶν βασιλέων) διακελευόμενα σέβειν θρήσκευμα, θάνατόν τε τὴν ζημίαν ὁρίζοντα τοῖς μή τοῖς αὐτῶν θεσπίσμασι πειθομένοις. Rescripts were circulating in the entire world, ordering to respect their (of the emperors) impious religious politics and determining death as the penalty for those of them who would not respect their decisions.

139 Maas & Trypanis 1970.
140 Franchi de' Cavalieri 1908; *cf.* also the earlier Franchi de' Cavalieri 1901: 92 and Tillemont 1693-1712, 5: 758-759.
141 *PG* 31: 489-508.
142 The *Passio Bollandiana* comes from the collection of Symeon Metaphrastes: *cf.* Ehrhard 1896: 55
143 Ioannou 1884: 284-298.
144 Krumbacher 1907: 31-43.
145 *PG* 31: 489-508.
146 Maas & Trypanis 1970.
147 Franchi de' Cavalieri 1908: 10-13. *Cf.* Leclercq 1933: 325-328. The English translation of the text of Basil's homily quoted below the abbreviated Greek text is by P. Allen (in Leemans, Mayer, Allen & Dehandschutter 2003: 57-62).

III	… χρήματα διηρπάζετο … ἐστενοχωρεῖτο τὰ δεσμωτήρια, ἔρημοι ἦσαν οἱ εὐθηνούμενοι τῶν οἴκων, αἱ δὲ ἐρημίαι πλήρεις τῶν φυγαδευομένων· … καὶ πατὴρ παρεδίδου παῖδα, καὶ πατέρα υἱὸς κατεμήνυεν, … Money was seized, the bodies of those who love Christ were torn to shreds with beatings, women were dragged through the middle of the city, there was no pity for youth, no respect for age. Instead, those who did no wrong underwent the punishment of criminals; prisons were crowded, those who had prosperous houses were bereft, whereas lonely places were full of people seeking refuge. The complaint made against those who suffered these things was piety, and father betrayed child, and son informed against father, …	*Ib.* ἐστενοχωρεῖτο τὰ δεσμωτήρια τῶι πλήθει τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην θηρευομένων, ἔρημοι τῶν οἰκητόρων οἵ ποτε τῶν οἴκων εὐθηνοῦντες ἐδείκνυντο, αἱ ἐρημίαι τῶι πλήθει τῶν φευγόντων εἰς πόλεις μετεσκευάζοντο … διηρπάζοντο χρήματα … φύσεως ἀνετρέποντο νόμοι, πατρὸς μὲν παῖδα προδιδόντος … υἱοῦ δὲ πατέρα. … prisons were crowded by the multitude of those who were everyday caught, without their inhabitants, who appeared as flourishing with their houses, the wildernesses transformed themselves into towns, because of the multiture of those who were going to live in banishment … money were seized … the nature's laws were turned back, in the sense that the fathers betrayed their sons and the sons their fathers …
IV	… δεινὴ δέ τις νὺξ κατειλήφει τὸν βίον, … κατήφεια δεινὴ, ὥσπερ τις νεφέλη, τὰ πάντα κατεῖχεν· ἀπελήλαντο μὲν οἱ τοῦ θείου θεραπευταὶ, … δαίμονες δὲ κατεχόρευον, κνίσσαις καὶ αἵμασι τὰ πάντα καταμιαίνοντες· … and a frightful night descended on human life. Houses of prayer were demolished by unholy hand; altars were overturned; there was no offering, no incense, no place for sacrifice. Instead, a terrible depression, like a cloud, encompassed everything. The worshippers of the divine were driven out, every pious group was scared away, while the demons danced in triumph, defiling everything with the odour of fat and with blood.	*Ib.* καὶ νὺξ βαθεῖα τοῦ παντὸς κατεσκέδαστο, τῶν πιστῶν πανταχόθεν ἐλαυνομένων … αἵμασί τε καὶ κνίσαις τῶν θυσιῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ ἀέρος μολυνομένου. … and a deep night pured upon the all things, being the believers from every sides plagued by the streams of blood and by the savour of the burnt sacrifices and being the air itself stained.
V	τότε ὁ γενναῖος οὗτος προλαβὼν τὴν ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἀνάγκην, ῥίψας τὴν ζώνην, ὑπερόριος ἦν, … πρὸς τὰς βαθυτάτας καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀβάτους ἐρημίας ἀπέδραμε, <u>τὸν</u> μετὰ τῶν θηρίων <u>βίον</u> τῆς πρὸς τοὺς εἰδωλολατροῦντας κοινωνίας ἡμερώτερον ἡγησάμενος Then that noble man, averting the necessity of the law courts, threw off his commission, was banished, despising authorities, despising glory, all kinds of wealth, family, friends, household members, the enjoyment of life, everything that is much desired by human beings, and ran off to the deepest desolate places that are inaccessible to human beings. He considered life with wild beasts to be more civilised than mixing with idol-worshippers …	2. τὸ τῶν κρατούντων ἀκούσας ἀσεβὲς πρόσταγμα, τ ὴ ν στρατιωτικὴν ζ ώ ν η ν ἀποβαλών, ύ π ε ρ ό ρ ι ον ἑαυτὸν ἐν ἐ ρ ή μ οις τόποις κατέστησε, τὴν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων διαγωγὴν μᾶλλον τῆς μετὰ τῶν ε ἰ δ ω λ ο λ α τ ρ ῶν προελόμενος. … after having heard the impious command of the emperors and having his soldier-belt thrown away, he set down himself on the way to go abroad, in lonely places, preferring the wild way of life, together with the beasts, to a life to be spent together with idolaters.
VI	ἐκζητῶν τὸν Θεὸν, ἕως εἶδε τὸν περιπόθητον, ὡς ἰδεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ Θεὸν δυνατόν … 3. καθαρεύων τὰ ὦτα, καθαρεύων τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· καὶ πρό γε πάντων τὴν καρδίαν κεκαθαρμένος, … εἶδε δι' ἀποκαλύψεων, ἐδιδάχθη τὰ μυστήρια … … seeking out God until he saw the object of his great desire – as much as it is possible for a human being to see God. [...] Purifying his ears, purifying his eyes, and above all having purified his heart, so that he would be able to see God and become blessed, he saw through revelations, he learnt the mysteries, …	*Ib.* κ α θ α ρ θεὶς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν φωτισθεὶς καὶ τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀπόρρητα δ ι ' ἀ π ο κ α λ ύ ψ εως μυηθεὶς … … having been purified and having baptized his soul, and having been introduced by revelation to the secrets of the reverence towards the God …

VII	αἰσθόμενος ἑαυτοῦ ἱκανῶς γυμνασθέντος … ταῖς νηστείαις, ταῖς ἀγρυπνίαις, τῇ διηνεκεῖ καὶ ἀπαύστῳ μελέτῃ τῶν λογίων τοῦ Πνεύματος, τηρήσας τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις … κατειλήφει θέατρον, ἀγῶνα ἱππικὸν θεωμένη. Ἐπεὶ οὖν πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω συνείλεκτο, οὐκ Ἰουδαῖος ἀπῆν, οὐχ Ἕλλην· καὶ Χριστιανῶν δὲ πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον αὐτοῖς συνανεφύρετο … καὶ πάντες ἤδη πρὸς τὴν θέαν τῆς τῶν ἵππων ἁμίλλης ἦσαν συντεταμένοι· And he was like an athlete, realising that he is sufficiently trained and oiled for the contest by means of fasting, vigils, prayers, the continuous and incessant meditation of the sayings of the Spirit, with his eyes fixed on that day on which the entire city in a body, celebrating a feast in honour of the demon who is fond of war, occupied the theatre to view the horse-race. And so, when the entire people was gathered in a high spot, there wasno Jew absent, no Greek. And a not inconsiderable crowd of Christians was mixed with them, those who were living unguardedly, and sitting with the council of vanity, not avoiding the gatherings of corrupt people, those who even at the time were present as spectators of galloping horses and experienced charioteers. Rather, masters even dismissed their slaves, and children ran from schools to the spectacle, and every common and insignificant woman was present. The stadium was full, and everyone was already intent on watching the horse race.	*Ib.* νηστείαις δὲ καὶ ἀγρυπνίαις καὶ τῆι τῶν θείων λογίων ἐπιμελεῖ μελέτηι … καθαρθεὶς … ἡμέραν φυλάξας καθ᾽ ἣν πᾶσα ἡ Κοτυαέων πόλις δημοτελῆ ἑορτὴν ὡς γενέθλιον ἦγεν ἱππικόν τε συνεκροτεῖτο θέατρον· ἐπεὶ πάντα τὸν δῆμον ἄνωθεν εἶχε θεώμενον, ἐκ παντὸς γένους συνειλεγμένον, Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Χριστιανῶν, καὶ πάντες ἤδη πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἵππων ἅμιλλαν ὅλοις ὄμμασιν ἀνητένιζον. … having purified himself by the way of fasts, of vigilances and with the careful practice of the Divine Scripture … having paid attention to the day, in which the entire city of Cotyaeum was celebrating a feast at public expense as a sort of birthday-feast and the people had been gathered in the hippodrome. As soon as he saw from above the entire people, gathered together from all kins, from the Jews and the Greeks (scil. Pagans), and also from the Christians, and all were already looking intently at the contest of the horses with both eyes …
VIII	τότε δὴ ὁ γενναῖος ἐκεῖνος … ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων ἐπικαταβὰς τῷ θεάτρῳ … τοὺς τὸ στάδιον περικαθημένους παραδραμὼν, εἰς τὸ μέσον κατέστη … Καὶ οὕτως ἀπτόητος ἦν … ὥστε, ἐν περιφανεῖ τοῦ θεάτρου γενόμενος … ἐξεβόησε …· *Εὑρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν·* … δηλῶν διὰ τούτων, ὅτι οὐ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἤχθη …, ἀλλ᾽ ἑκουσίως ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἀγῶνι· Then that man, noble and great in spirit, great in purpose, coming down from the mountains to the theatre, was not terrified by the people. He did not consider how many hostile hands would betray him, but with intrepid heart and majestic purpose, ran past those sitting around the stadium as if they were a row of stones or many trees, and he took his stand in the middle, confirming the saying that the just man is confident like a lion (Prov. 28:1). And he was so undaunted in his spirit that, when he was in a conspicuous place in the thatre, with unhesitating confidence he shouted out these words, which some people hear up to today: "I was found by those not looking for me; I appeared plainly to those not enquiring about me" (Isa 65:1). He showed through these words that he was not driven to danger out of necessity but that he surrendered himself willingly to the struggle.	*Ib.* τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι καταλιπὼν διατριβήν, κάτεισι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ μέσος τοῦ θεάτρου γενόμενος πάντας τε τοὺς περὶ τὸ στάδιον ἔχοντας παρελθὼν καὶ τόπωι ἐπιβὰς μετεώρωι … ἐξεβόησεν· *Εὑρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν·* …. δεικνὺς διὰ τούτων, ὡς οὐ πρὸς ἀνάγκην, ἀλλ᾽ἐθελοντὴς ἧκε πρὸς ἀγῶνας ἀποδυσάμενος. … after having abandoned his life on the mountains, he travels down to the town and, after having settled himself at the center of the hippodrome, come forward in order to speak before all the spectators and mounted on a prominent place, he cried aloud: "I was found by those not looking for me; I appeared plainly to those not enquiring about me" (Isa 65:1), showing through these words that not out of necessity, but willingly he came to the struggles after having undressed himself.

IX	4. εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ἐπέστρεφε τὸ θέατρον τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς θέας … πάντα δ' οὖν βοῆς καὶ θορύβου πεπλήρωτο· παρώφθησαν μὲν ἵπποι, παρώφθησαν δὲ ἡνίοχοι· ἡ δὲ τῶν ἁρμάτων ἐπίδειξις ψόφος μάταιος ἦν. Οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἐσχόλαζεν ὀφθαλμὸς ἄλλο τι βλέπειν ἢ Γόρδιον … 4. So he immediately turned the thatre upside down by the unexpected sight. […] So everything was filled with shouting and confusion. Horses were neglected, charioteers were neglected, the display of the chariots was an idle sound. Nobody's eye had time to look at anything except Gordius, …	*Ib.* πάντας οὖν ὁ μάρτυς πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θέαν ἐπέστρεφε, τὰ τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ παρωρᾶτο, ἡ τῶν ἵππων ἅμιλλα διεπτύετο, οὐδὲν ἦν οὐδενὶ προτιμότερον ἢ τὸ ἐκεῖνον μόνον, ὁρᾶν τοσαύτην τόλμαν ἐπιδειξάμενον. The martyr then turned the eyes of all to the contemplation of himself; the events on the stage were disregarded by the pubic; the scene of the contest of the horses was rejected; for all the public there was no view more precious than that of that man, who had shown so great courage.
X	ἐπεὶ δὲ διὰ τῶν κηρύκων σιωπὴ τῷ δήμῳ ὑπεσημάνθη, ἐκοιμήθησαν μὲν αὐλοὶ, κατεσιγάσθησαν δὲ ὄργανα … καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνάρπαστος ἦν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτοῦ που καθήμενον, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα διατιθέντα. When the heralds signalled for the people to be silent, the flutes died down, and the many-pitched instruments stopped playing. Gordius was listened to, Gordius was looked at. And immediately he was carried off to the magistrate sitting there who was organising the race.	3. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τῶν κηρύκων φωνὴ σιωπὴν παραγγείλασα τόν τε τοῦ δήμου θόρυβον καὶ τὴν τῶν αὐλῶν ἠχὼ κατεκοίμησεν, εὐθὺς ἀνάρπαστος πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα Πύρρον ὁ Μηνᾶς ἤγετο, ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τότε καθήμενον καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων θεατὴν καθιστάμενον. As soon as the voice of the heralds summoned to silence, and caused to fall asleep the clamour of the public and the sound of the flutes, Menas was immediately carried off and brought before the eyes of the Pyrros, the governor, who was sitting on a high place and had become a spectator of the contests.
XI	τέως μὲν οὖν πραείᾳ καὶ ἡμέρῳ φωνῇ τίς καὶ πόθεν εἴη διεπυνθάνετο. ὡς δὲ εἶπε τὴν πατρίδα, τὸ γένος, τὸ εἶδος τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἐν ᾧ ἦν, τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς φυγῆς, … So for a while he interrogated him closely in a mild and gentle voice about his identity and his provenance. When Gordius said his country, his race, the nature of his rank, the cause of his flight, …	*Ib.* ὃς … πραείᾳ … φωνῇ καὶ ἡμέρῳ τίς καὶ πόθεν εἴη διεπυνθάνετο. ὡς δὲ πατρίδα καὶ γένος αὐτήν τε στρατείαν καὶ τὸν τῆς φυγῆς τρόπον … εἶπεν ὁ μάρτυς … … who … in a mild and gentle voice interrogated him about his identity and his provenance. When Gordius, the martyr, said his country, his race, the nature of his rank, the way of his flight, …

Let us now list some parallels between Basil's homily on Gordius (nr. 18 in *PG* 31: 489-508 [*CPG* nr. 2862]) and a *kontakion* on St Menas written by Romanus the Melodist (Rom. Mel. *Cantica dubia* nr. 75 Maas & Trypanis[148]; the parallels are simply the first eleven quoted in Franchi de' Cavalieri)[149]:

	Basil. *Hom. in Gordium martyrem* (nr. 18 in *PG* 31: 489-508 [*CPG* nr. 2862]):	Rom. Mel. *Cantica dubia* nr. 75 Maas & Trypanis:[1]
I	ἐγκατειλεγμένος δὲ στρατείᾳ ἐπιφανεῖ, ὡς ἑκατὸν στρατιωτῶν ἀρχὴν πιστευθῆναι, καὶ σώματος ῥώμῃ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀνδρίᾳ τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς καταλόγοις ἐμπρέπων. 2. After enlisting as a soldier in the army he occupied a prominent position such as that he was entrusted with the leadership one one hundred soldiers, and he was conspicuous among the military ranks for the strength of his body and the bravery of his spirit.	β΄ 2-3 στρατοῦ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ Φρυγίαν καταλόγοις ἐμπρέπων κα<ὶ ἀ>νδρείως εὐπρόθυμος, ἔχων κατὰ βαρβάρων κράτιστον τὴν παλάμην, … … being conspicuous among the the military ranks of the troops settled in Phrygia, and courageously well-willing, he, who committed the most powerful violence against the barbarians, …

148 Maas & Trypanis 1970.

149 *Cf.* Franchi de' Cavalieri 1908: 10-13. The English translation of the text of Basil's homily quoted below the abbreviated Greek text is by P. Allen (in Leemans, Mayer, Allen & Dehandschutter 2003: 57-62).

II	ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τότε τύραννος τὸ πικρὸν καὶ ἀνήμερον τῆς ψυχῆς μέχρι τοῦ πολέμου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐξέτεινε, … κηρύγματα δὲ ἦν πανταχοῦ, καὶ διαγράμματα ἥπλωτο κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀγορὰν καὶ πάντα τόπον ἐπίσημον, μὴ προσκυνεῖσθαι Χριστὸν, ἢ θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν τοῖς προσκυνοῦσι· καὶ πρόσταγμα ἦν ὑποκύπτειν εἰδώλοις ἅπαντας, … ἢ τοὺς μὴ πειθομένους πάσχειν ἀνήκεστα· When the tyrant of the time extended his bitterness and savagery of spirit to war with the church, and lifted against piety his hand which fought against God, there were proclamations everywhere and edicts were spread in every marketplace and every place of note, not to worship Christ or the penalty for worshippers would be death. And there was a command for everybody to bow down before idols, and to regard as gods stones and wood fashioned with the mark of craft, or for the disobedient to suffer unbearable punishments.	δ΄ 3 τοὺς δὲ μὴ πειθομένους … τιμωρεῖσθαι κελεύομεν … and we order that … the disobedient … should be punished.
III	… χρήματα διηρπάζετο … ἐστενοχωρεῖτο τὰ δεσμωτήρια, ἔρημοι ἦσαν οἱ εὐθηνούμενοι τῶν οἴκων, αἱ δὲ ἐρημίαι πλήρεις τῶν φυγαδευομένων· … καὶ πατὴρ παρεδίδου παῖδα, καὶ πατέρα υἱὸς κατεμήνυεν, … Money was seized, the bodies of those who love Christ were torn to shreds with beatings, women were dragged through the middle of the city, there was no pity for youth, no respect for age. Instead, those who did no wrong underwent the punishment of criminals; prisons were crowded, those who had prosperous houses were bereft, whereas lonely places were full of people seeking refuge. The complaint made against those who suffered these things was piety, and father betrayed child, and son informed against father, …	ε΄ 3 εἷλκεν γονεῖς τὸ τέκνον, καὶ υἱὸς τὸν πατέρα παρεδίδου … the son abused the parents; and the son betrayed the father...
IV	… δεινὴ δέ τις νὺξ κατειλήφει τὸν βίον, … κατήφεια δεινὴ, ὥσπερ τις νεφέλη, τὰ πάντα κατεῖχεν· ἀπελήλαντο μὲν οἱ τοῦ θείου θεραπευταὶ, … δαίμονες δὲ κατεχόρευον, κνίσσαις καὶ αἵμασι τὰ πάντα καταμιαίνοντες· … and a frightful night descended on human life. Houses of prayer were demolished by unholy hand; altars were overturned; there was no offering, no incense, no place for sacrifice. Instead, a terrible depression, like a cloud, encompassed everything. The worshippers of the divine were driven out, every pious group was scared away, while the demons danced in triumph, defiling everything with the odour of fat and with blood.	ε΄1-2 Ἅπαντα δὲ τὸν ἀέρα ῥυπῶν καπνὸς ἐμίανε τῶν θυσιῶν καὶ κνῖσα δὲ πλείστων θυμάτων· And the smoke deriving from the burnt-offerings filled and stained the air, and also the savour of the burnt sacrifices.

V	τότε ὁ γενναῖος οὗτος προλαβὼν τὴν ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἀνάγκην, ῥίψας τὴν ζώνην, ὑπερόριος ἦν, … πρὸς τὰς βαθυτάτας καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀβάτους ἐρημίας ἀπέδραμε, τὸν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων βίον τῆς πρὸς τοὺς εἰδωλολατροῦντας κοινωνίας ἡμε- ρώτερον ἡγησάμενος Then that noble man, averting the necessity of the law courts, threw off his commission, was banished, despising authorities, despising glory, all kinds of wealth, family, friends, household members, the enjoyment of life, everything that is much desired by human beings, and ran off to the deepest desolate places that are inaccessible to human beings. He considered life with wild beasts to be more civilised than mixing with idol-worshippers …	ε΄ 4ff. ἀλλ’ οὗτος ὁ στερρὸς … μᾶλλον προέκρινεν μετὰ θηρῶν ἢ μετ’ ἀθέων οἰκεῖν· ἐν ἐρήμῳ ἀβάτῳ ἀνεχώρει πάντα ῥίψας; ς΄ 3 ὁ μάρτυς … ὑπερόριος στέγων … but this cruel man … preferred to live rather together with the wild beasts than with godless men. He retired in an impassable lonely place, after having thrown all away; the martyr … keeping himself hidden abroad …
VI	ἐκζητῶν τὸν Θεὸν, ἕως εἶδε τὸν περιπόθητον, ὡς ἰδεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ Θεὸν δυνατόν … καθαρεύων τὰ ὦτα, καθαρεύων τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· καὶ πρό γε πάντων τὴν καρδίαν κεκαθαρμένος, … εἶδε δι’ ἀποκαλύψεων, ἐδιδάχθη τὰ μυστήρια … … seeking out God until he saw the object of his great desire – as much as it is possible for a human being to see God. [...] Purifying his ears, purifying his eyes, and above all having purified his heart, so that he would be able to see God and become blessed, he saw through revelations, he learnt the mysteries, …	
VII	αἰσθόμενος ἑαυτοῦ ἱκανῶς γυμνασθέντος … ταῖς νηστείαις, ταῖς ἀγρυπνίαις, τῇ διηνεκεῖ καὶ ἀπαύστῳ μελέτῃ τῶν λογίων τοῦ Πνεύματος, τηρήσας τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις … κατειλήφει θέατρον, ἀγῶνα ἱππικὸν θεωμένη. Ἐπεὶ οὖν πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω συνείλεκτο, οὐκ Ἰουδαῖος ἀπῆν, οὐχ Ἕλλην· καὶ Χριστιανῶν δὲ πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον αὐτοῖς συνανεφύρετο … καὶ πάντες ἤδη πρὸς τὴν θέαν τῆς τῶν ἵππων ἁμίλλης ἦσαν συντεταμένοι· And he was like an athlete, realising that he is sufficiently trained and oiled for the contest by means of fasting, vigils, prayers, the continuous and incessant meditation of the sayings of the Spirit, with his eyes fixed on that day on which the entire city in a body, celebrating a feast in honour of the demon who is fond of war, occupied the theatre to view the horse-race. And so, when the entire people was gathered in a high spot, there wasno Jew absent, no Greek. And a not inconsiderable crowd of Christians was mixed with them, those who were living unguardedly, and sitting with the council of vanity, not avoiding the gatherings of corrupt people, those who even at the time were present as spectators of galloping horses and experienced charioteers. Rather, masters even dismissed their slaves, and children ran from schools to the spectacle, and every common and insignificant woman was present. The stadium was full, and everyone was already intent on watching the horse race.	ς΄4ff. ἦν γυμνάζων ἑαυτὸν ταῖς ἀγρύπνοις μελέταις, τὸν νοῦν ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν προσευχαῖς ὑπαλείφων καὶ νηστείαις σφίγγων He was used to exercise himself with wakeful practices, anointing his mind with prayes to the God and binding it with fasts.

VIII	τότε δὴ ὁ γενναῖος ἐκεῖνος … ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων ἐπικαταβὰς τῷ θεάτρῳ … τοὺς τὸ στάδιον περικαθημένους παραδραμὼν, εἰς τὸ μέσον κατέστη … Καὶ οὕτως ἀπτόητος ἦν … ὥστε ἐν περιφανεῖ τοῦ θεάτρου γενόμενος … ἐξεβόησε …· *Εὑρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ <u>ζητοῦσιν</u>*· … δηλῶν διὰ τούτων, ὅτι οὐ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἤχθη, ἀλλ' ἑκουσίως ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἀγῶνι· Then that man, noble and great in spirit, great in purpose, coming down from the mountains to the theatre, was not terrified by the people. He did not consider how many hostile hands would betray him, but with intrepid heart and majestic purpose, ran past those sitting around the stadium as if they were a row of stones or many trees, and he took his stand in the middle, confirming the saying that the just man is confident like a lion (Prov. 28:1). And he was so undaunted in his spirit that, when he was in a conspicuous place in the thatre, with unhesitating confidence he shouted out these words, which some people hear up to today: "I was found by those not looking for me; I appeared plainly to those not enquiring about me" (Isa 65:1). He showed through these words that he was not driven to danger out of necessity but that he surrendered himself willingly to the struggle.	θ´ 1ff. ὁ μάρτυς τότε … ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀπεκατέβη τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ὄχλους παρέδραμεν· μέσον δὲ ἐγκατέστη … ταῦτα ἐβόα πρὸς αὐτούς· "Φανεροῦμαι, … τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ <u>ἐρευνῶσιν</u>, The martyr at that time … descended from the country in the hippodrome; and he ran through all the spectators. And, after having settled himself in the centre of the hippodrome, he began to shout: "I will reveal myself … to those, who are not searching after myself".
IX	εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ἐπέστρεφε τὸ θέατρον τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς θέας … πάντα δ' οὖν βοῆς καὶ θορύβου πεπλήρωτο· παρώφθησαν μὲν ἵπποι, παρώφθησαν δὲ ἡνίοχοι· ἡ δὲ τῶν ἁρμάτων ἐπίδειξις ψόφος μάταιος ἦν. Οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἐσχόλαζεν ὀφθαλμὸς ἄλλο τι βλέπειν ἢ Γόρδιον … 4. So he immediately turned the thatre upside down by the unexpected sight. […] So everything was filled with shouting and confusion. Horses were neglected, charioteers were neglected, the display of the chariots was an idle sound. Nobody's eye had time to look at anything except Gordius, …	ι´1 ff. εὐθὺς μετέστρεψεν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τοὺς πάντας ἐκ τῆς θεωρίας … ἦλθεν βοὴ συμμιγὴς … τῶν ὄχλων …; ια´1 ff. Ὑπερωράθη λοιπὸν ὁ ἀγών, τῶν τετραπόδων ὁ δρόμος εἰκῇ … ι´1 ff. he immediately tuned all around from the contemplation of the spectacle to that of himself … a voice, mixed up together from those of the multited, arrived …; ια´1 ff. the contest was disdained for the future, the race of the quadrupeds without purpose …
X	ἐπεὶ δὲ διὰ τῶν κηρύκων <u>σιωπὴ</u> τῷ δήμῳ ὑπεσημάνθη, ἐκοιμήθησαν μὲν αὐλοὶ, κατεσιγάσθησαν δὲ ὄργανα … καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνάρπαστος ἦν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτοῦ που καθήμενον, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα διατιθέντα. When the heralds signalled for the people to be silent, the flutes died down, and the many-pitched instruments stopped playing. Gordius was listened to, Gordius was looked at. And immediately he was carried off to the magistrate sitting there who was organising the race.	ια´6 ff. διὰ δὲ τῶν κηρύκων πᾶς ⟦ὁ⟧ λαὸς μόλις ἐσίγησε καὶ αὐλῶν σιωπώντων … … by the way of the heralds all the people assembled in the hippodrome became silent, being silent also the flutes …
XI	τέως μὲν οὖν πραείᾳ καὶ ἡμέρῳ φωνῇ τίς καὶ πόθεν εἴη διεπυνθάνετο. ὡς δὲ εἶπε τὴν πατρίδα, τὸ γένος, τὸ εἶδος τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἐν ᾧ ἦν, τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς φυγῆς, … So for a while he interrogated him closely in a mild and gentle voice about his identity and his provenance. When Gordius said his country, his race, the nature of his rank, the cause of his flight, …	ιβ´ 2 Λεγέτω, τίς καὶ πόθεν ἔφυ … may he say, who he is and from where he comes …

From all these examples it is clear that the text of the *Passio Bollandiana* (from *Analecta Bollandiana* 3 [1884]: 258-270) and of the *kontakion* of Romanus (Rom. Mel. *Cantica dubia* nr. 75 Maas & Trypanis[150]) derives in both cases from an original *Passio* written before the work attributed to Romanus[151]. In fact, the dating of the *kontakion* demonstrates that it was not Symeon Metaphrastes who copied parts of Basil's homily on Gordius[152] (although the *Passio Bollandiana* derives from his Byzantine collection of hagiographical texts)[153] but someone who lived prior to Romanus[154]. The same Late Antique *Passio S. Menae* written prior to Romanus the Melodist (*ca.* 500-540 CE) is also the source of the text of the other two currently known Byzantine *passiones* of St. Menas, the *Passio* published by Krumbacher[155] and the *Passio* published by Theophilos Ioannou in Venice in the year 1884[156]. Let us list a few examples[157]:

	Basil. *Hom. in Gordium martyrem* (nr. 18 in *PG* 31: 489-508 [*CPG* nr. 2862])	*Passio* published by Krumbacher[2]
I	2. ἐγκατειλεγμένος δὲ στρατείᾳ ἐπιφανεῖ, ὡς ἑκατὸν στρατιωτῶν ἀρχὴν πιστευθῆναι, καὶ σώματος ῥώμῃ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀνδρίᾳ τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς καταλόγοις ἐμπρέπων. 2. After enlisting as a soldier in the army he occupied a prominent position such as that he was entrusted with the leadership one one hundred soldiers, and he was conspicuous among the military ranks for the strength of his body and the bravery of his spirit.	… τῶν λεγομένων Ῥουτιλιακῶν, ἐν οἷς ἀνεφέρετο καὶ ὁ μακάριος Μηνᾶς ὁ ἀληθινὸς στρατιώτης τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ οἷόν τις ἐν ἐσκοτισμένοις ἄστροις ἡμεροφαὴς ἀστὴρ ἐν μέσωι αὐτῶν διαπρέπων. … of the so-called Rutiliaci, among whom also the holy Menas, the truthfull soldier of Christ, had been ranked, also appearing conspicuous among them as a star shining by day between other darkened stars.
II	ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τότε τύραννος τὸ πικρὸν καὶ ἀνήμερον τῆς ψυχῆς μέχρι τοῦ πολέμου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐξέτεινε, … κηρύγματα δὲ ἦν πανταχοῦ, καὶ διαγράμματα ἥπλωτο κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀγορὰν καὶ πάντα τόπον ἐπίσημον, μὴ προσκυνεῖσθαι Χριστὸν, ἢ <u>θάνατον</u> εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν τοῖς προσκυνοῦσι· καὶ πρόσταγμα ἦν <u>ὑποκύπτειν εἰδώλοις</u> ἅπαντας, … ἢ τοὺς μὴ πειθομένους πάσχειν ἀνήκεστα· When the tyrant of the time extended his bitterness and savagery of spirit to war with the church, and lifted against piety his hand which fought against God, there were proclamations everywhere and edicts were spread in every marketplace and every place of note, not to worship Christ or the penalty for worshippers would be death. And there was a command for everybody to bow down before idols, and to regard as gods stones and wood fashioned with the mark of craft, or for the disobedient to suffer unbearable punishments.	διὸ γράφομεν πᾶσι πανταχοῦ ἄρχουσί τε καὶ τοῖς κατὰ πόλιν στρατηγοῖς ἅμα τῶι ἐκτεθῆναι τὰς ἡμῶν διατάξεις μηδὲν ἀμελὲς περὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους εὐεργέτας γενέσθαι, τίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας καὶ σπουδῆς πάντας πανταχοῦ μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων τὴν προσήκουσαν θεραπείαν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτελεῖν, τοῖς τε ἐν στρατείαις καὶ πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἁπλῶς πάσηι τύχηι. εἰ δέ τις ἀντείποι πρὸς τὰ ἡμῖν δοκοῦντα, τοῦτον κελεύει τὸ ἡμέτερον κράτος ἀπαραιτήτως πάσηι τιμωρίαι <u>ἀπολέσθαι</u>. εὐθέως οὖν οἱ κήρυκες κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἐβόων, ὥστε πάντας ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας <u>ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν οἴκους ἁπαντᾶν</u>. … for this reason we write to all the people who are governing everywhere and to the governors of every city, in order that, together with the promulgation of our dispositions, nothing careless will occur to our benefactors, or will be inflicted, but, on the contrary, that all people, everywhere, with all diligence and haste, together with women and sons may pay the fitting service to the gods, and we simply wish also to those from the military ranks and to all citizens every kind of fortune. However, in case someone would speak in opposition to our decrees, our command orders that such a person should be unmercifully killed after every kind of punishment.

150 Maas & Trypanis 1970.
151 *Cf.* Franchi de' Cavalieri 1908: 17-18.
152 *Cf.* Franchi de' Cavalieri 1908: 13-14.
153 *Cf.* Ehrhard 1896: 55.
154 *Cf.* Franchi de' Cavalieri 1908: 13-14, 17-18.
155 Krumbacher 1907.
156 Ioannou 1884: 284-298.
157 The English translation of the text of Basil's homily quoted below the abbreviated Greek text is by P. Allen (in Leemans, Mayer, Allen & Dehandschutter 2003: 57-62).

III	… χρήματα διηρπάζετο … ἐστενοχωρεῖτο τὰ δεσμωτήρια, ἔρημοι ἦσαν οἱ εὐθηνούμενοι τῶν οἴκων, αἱ δὲ ἐρημίαι πλήρεις τῶν φυγαδευομένων· … καὶ πατὴρ παρεδίδου παῖδα, καὶ πατέρα υἱὸς κατεμήνυεν, … Money was seized, the bodies of those who love Christ were torn to shreds with beatings, women were dragged through the middle of the city, there was no pity for youth, no respect for age. Instead, those who did no wrong underwent the punishment of criminals; prisons were crowded, those who had prosperous houses were bereft, whereas lonely places were full of people seeking refuge. The complaint made against those who suffered these things was piety, and father betrayed child, and son informed against father, …	
IV	… δεινὴ δέ τις νὺξ κατειλήφει τὸν βίον, … κατήφεια δεινὴ, ὥσπερ τις νεφέλη, τὰ πάντα κατεῖχεν· ἀπελήλαντο μὲν οἱ τοῦ θείου θεραπευταὶ, … δαίμονες δὲ κατεχόρευον, κνίσσαις καὶ αἵμασι τὰ πάντα καταμιαίνοντες· … and a frightful night descended on human life. Houses of prayer were demolished by unholy hand; altars were overturned; there was no offering, no incense, no place for sacrifice. Instead, a terrible depression, like a cloud, encompassed everything. The worshippers of the divine were driven out, every pious group was scared away, while the demons danced in triumph, defiling everything with the odour of fat and with blood.	
V	τότε ὁ γενναῖος οὗτος προλαβὼν τὴν ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἀνάγκην, ῥίψας τὴν ζώνην, ὑπερόριος ἦν, … πρὸς τὰς βαθυτάτας καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀβάτους ἐρημίας ἀπέδραμε, τὸν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων βίον τῆς πρὸς τοὺς εἰδωλολατροῦντας κοινωνίας ἡμερώτερον ἡγησάμενος Then that noble man, averting the necessity of the law courts, threw off his commission, was banished, despising authorities, despising glory, all kinds of wealth, family, friends, household members, the enjoyment of life, everything that is much desired by human beings, and ran off to the deepest desolate places that are inaccessible to human beings. He considered life with wild beasts to be more civilised than mixing with idol-worshippers …	καὶ ἐν τόποις ἐρήμοις καὶ ἀβάτοις διέτριβεν and he spent his time in lonely and inaccessible places.
VI	ἐκζητῶν τὸν Θεὸν, ἕως εἶδε τὸν περιπόθητον, ὡς ἰδεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ Θεὸν δυνατόν … 3. καθαρεύων τὰ ὦτα, καθαρεύων τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· καὶ πρό γε πάντων τὴν καρδίαν κεκαθαρμένος, … εἶδε δι' ἀποκαλύψεων, ἐδιδάχθη τὰ μυστήρια … … seeking out God until he saw the object of his great desire – as much as it is possible for a human being to see God. [...] Purifying his ears, purifying his eyes, and above all having purified his heart, so that he would be able to see God and become blessed, he saw through revelations, he learnt the mysteries, …	

VII	αἰσθόμενος ἑαυτοῦ ἱκανῶς γυμνασθέντος … ταῖς νηστείαις, ταῖς ἀγρυπνίαις, τῇ διηνεκεῖ καὶ ἀπαύστῳ μελέτῃ τῶν λογίων τοῦ Πνεύματος, τηρήσας τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις … κατειλήφει θέατρον, ἀγῶνα ἱππικὸν θεωμένη. Ἐπεὶ οὖν πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω συνείλεκτο, οὐκ Ἰουδαῖος ἀπῆν, οὐχ Ἕλλην· καὶ Χριστιανῶν δὲ πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον αὐτοῖς συνανεφύρετο … καὶ πάντες ἤδη πρὸς τὴν θέαν τῆς τῶν ἵππων ἁμίλλης ἦσαν συντεταμένοι· And he was like an athlete, realising that he is sufficiently trained and oiled for the contest by means of fasting, vigils, prayers, the continuous and incessant meditation of the sayings of the Spirit, with his eyes fixed on that day on which the entire city in a body, celebrating a feast in honour of the demon who is fond of war, occupied the theatre to view the horse-race. And so, when the entire people was gathered in a high spot, there wasno Jew absent, no Greek. And a not inconsiderable crowd of Christians was mixed with them, those who were living unguardedly, and sitting with the council of vanity, not avoiding the gatherings of corrupt people, those who even at the time were present as spectators of galloping horses and experienced charioteers. Rather, masters even dismissed their slaves, and children ran from schools to the spectacle, and every common and insignificant woman was present. The stadium was full, and everyone was already intent on watching the horse race.	γενεθλίου δὲ ἀγομένου τῶν βασιλέων καὶ πάντων συνηγμένων… … being celebrated the feast for the birthday of the emperors and being all people assembled …
VIII	τότε δὴ ὁ γενναῖος ἐκεῖνος … ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων ἐπικαταβὰς τῷ θεάτρῳ … τοὺς τὸ στάδιον περικαθημένους παραδραμὼν, εἰς τὸ μέσον κατέστη … Καὶ οὕτως ἀπτόητος ἦν … ὥστε, ἐν περιφανεῖ τοῦ θεάτρου γενόμενος … ἐξεβόησε …· *Εὑρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν·* … δηλῶν διὰ τούτων, ὅτι οὐ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἤχθη …, ἀλλ' ἑκουσίως ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἀγῶνι· Then that man, noble and great in spirit, great in purpose, coming down from the mountains to the theatre, was not terrified by the people. He did not consider how many hostile hands would betray him, but with intrepid heart and majestic purpose, ran past those sitting around the stadium as if they were a row of stones or many trees, and he took his stand in the middle, confirming the saying that the *just man is confident like a lion* (Prov. 28:1). And he was so undaunted in his spirit that, when he was in a conspicuous place in the thatre, with unhesitating confidence he shouted out these words, which some people hear up to today: *"I was found by those not looking for me; I appeared plainly to those not enquiring about me"* (Isa 65:1). He showed through these words that he was not driven to danger out of necessity but that he surrendered himself willingly to the struggle.	γενεθλίου δὲ ἀγομένου τῶν βασιλέων καὶ πάντων συνηγμένων ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι ζέων τῶι πνεύματι καὶ ἐρρωμένος τῆι πρὸς θεὸν εὐσεβείαι ἐπεισῆλθεν ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι τοῦ δικαστοῦ καθεζομένου καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας θεωροῦντος ψάλλων καὶ λέγων· *Εὑρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν,* ἐμφανὴς ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν. … being celebrated the feast for the birthday of the emperors and being all people assembled in the amphitheatre, he, Menas, bubbled up in his spirit and powerful thanks to reverence towards Gord, entered in the amphiteatrer, while the governor was sitting and contemplating the contests, and he, Menas, in the way of singing said: *"I was found by those not looking for me; I appeared plainly to those not enquiring about me"* (Isa 65:1).

IX	4. εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ἐπέστρεφε τὸ θέατρον τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς θέας … πάντα δ’ οὖν βοῆς καὶ θορύβου πεπλήρωτο· παρώφθησαν μὲν ἵπποι, παρώφθησαν δὲ ἡνίοχοι· ἡ δὲ τῶν ἁρμάτων ἐπίδειξις ψόφος μάταιος ἦν. Οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἐσχόλαζεν ὀφθαλμὸς ἄλλο τι βλέπειν ἢ Γόρδιον … 4. So he immediately turned the thatre upside down by the unexpected sight. […] So everything was filled with shouting and confusion. Horses were neglected, charioteers were neglected, the display of the chariots was an idle sound. Nobody’s eye had time to look at anything except Gordius, …	
X	ἐπεὶ δὲ διὰ τῶν κηρύκων σιωπὴ <u>τῷ δήμῳ</u> ὑπεσημάνθη, ἐκοιμήθησαν μὲν αὐλοὶ, κατεσιγάσθησαν δὲ ὄργανα … καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνάρπαστος ἦν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτοῦ που καθήμενον, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα διατιθέντα. When the heralds signalled for the people to be silent, the flutes died down, and the many-pitched instruments stopped playing. Gordius was listened to, Gordius was looked at. And immediately he was carried off to the magistrate sitting there who was organising the race.	σιγῆς δὲ γενομένης καὶ <u>πάντων</u> ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει γεγονότων … … having become all silent and in a position of ecstasy …
XI	τέως μὲν οὖν πραείᾳ καὶ ἡμέρῳ φωνῇ τίς καὶ πόθεν εἴη διεπυνθάνετο. ὡς δὲ εἶπε τὴν πατρίδα, τὸ γένος, τὸ εἶδος τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἐν ᾧ ἦν, τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς φυγῆς, … So for a while he interrogated him closely in a mild and gentle voice about his identity and his provenance. When Gordius said his country, his race, the nature of his rank, the cause of his flight, … Basil. *Hom. in Gordium martyrem* (nr. 18 in *PG* 31: 489-508 [*CPG* nr. 2862])	ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ ἡγεμὼν, τις ἂν εἴη …. … the governor interrogated him about his identity … *Passio* published by Ioannou ([1884]: 284-298)
I	2. ἐγκατειλεγμένος δὲ στρατείᾳ ἐπιφανεῖ, ὡς ἑκατὸν στρατιωτῶν ἀρχὴν πιστευθῆναι, καὶ σώματος ῥώμῃ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀνδρίᾳ τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς καταλόγοις ἐμπρέπων. 2. After enlisting as a soldier in the army he occupied a prominent position such as that he was entrusted with the leadership one one hundred soldiers, and he was conspicuous among the military ranks for the strength of his body and the bravery of his spirit.	οὗτος ἐπὶ τῆς τυραννικῆς ἐπικρατείας Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν βασιλέων, στρατιωτικοῖς καταλόγοις ἐναρίθμιος γεγονὼς ἀριθμοῦ τινος … This man, having become conspicuous among the military ranks under the imperial rule of Diocletian and of Maximianus, the Emperors, …
II	ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τότε τύραννος τὸ πικρὸν καὶ ἀνήμερον τῆς ψυχῆς μέχρι τοῦ πολέμου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐξέτεινε, … κηρύγματα δὲ ἦν πανταχοῦ, καὶ διαγράμματα ἥπλωτο κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀγορὰν καὶ πάντα τόπον ἐπίσημον, μὴ προσκυνεῖσθαι Χριστὸν, ἢ θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν τοῖς προσκυνοῦσι· καὶ πρόσταγμα ἦν ὑποκύπτειν εἰδώλοις ἅπαντας, … ἢ τοὺς μὴ πειθομένους πάσχειν ἀνήκεστα· When the tyrant of the time extended his bitterness and savagery of spirit to war with the church, and lifted against piety his hand which fought against God, there were proclamations everywhere and edicts were spread in every marketplace and every place of note, not to worship Christ or the penalty for worshippers	Πύρρος …, ὃς ἀνάγραπτα τὰ παράνομα διατάγματα τῶν δυσμενῶν αὐτοκρατόρων προτίθησι δημοσίαι περιέχοντα τάδε· … ἀναγκαῖον οὖν τὸ νῦν ἡγησάμεθα πάντας ὑμᾶς εἰσηγήσασθαι διὰ τῆς παρούσης γραφῆς, ὥστε πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ θεραπείαν περὶ αὐτούς τε καὶ τοὺς τούτων οἴκους ἐπιδείξασθαι. διὸ κελεύομεν τοῖς ἁπανταχοῦ πᾶσιν ἄρχουσί τε καὶ ἀρχομένοις, ἡγεμόσι τε καὶ τοῖς ἐπ’ ἐξουσιῶν, ἅμα τῶι μαθεῖν τὰς ἡμετέρας ταύτας διατάξεις, μηδὲν ἀμελὲς περὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους εὐεργέτας ἐνδείξασθαι, ἀλλὰ πάσηι σπουδῆι καὶ στοργῆι τὴν προσήκουσαν αὐτοῖς τιμὴν καὶ λατρείαν πάνδημον προθύμως προσφέρειν, τοῦτο εἰδόσιν· Pyrrhos, … who delivers to all the marked impious dispositions of the godless emperors, that entail the following: we considered for the present moment necessary

	would be death. And there was a command for everybody to bow down before idols, and to regard as gods stones and wood fashioned with the mark of craft, or for the disobedient to suffer unbearable punishments.	to let all of you be instructed by the way of the present decree, in order that all care and all attention will be practiced towards them and towards ther houses. For this reason we order to all who govern, everywhere, and also to those who are governed, to all officials and governors, and also to those who are in office, that together with the becoming aware of our present dispositions, nothing careless will occur to our benefactors, but, on the contrary, that with all haste and affection the proper honour and a general worship will be readily offered them – this to those who know.
III	… χρήματα διηρπάζετο … ἐστενοχωρεῖτο τὰ δεσμωτήρια, ἔρημοι ἦσαν οἱ εὐθηνούμενοι τῶν οἴκων, αἱ δὲ ἐρημίαι πλήρεις τῶν φυγαδευομένων· … καὶ πατὴρ παρεδίδου παῖδα, καὶ πατέρα υἱὸς κατεμήνυεν, … Money was seized, the bodies of those who love Christ were torn to shreds with beatings, women were dragged through the middle of the city, there was no pity for youth, no respect for age. Instead, those who did no wrong underwent the punishment of criminals; prisons were crowded, those who had prosperous houses were bereft, whereas lonely places were full of people seeking refuge. The complaint made against those who suffered these things was piety, and father betrayed child, and son informed against father, …	
IV	… δεινὴ δέ τις νὺξ κατειλήφει τὸν βίον, … κατήφεια δεινὴ, ὥσπερ τις νεφέλη, τὰ πάντα κατεῖχεν· ἀπελήλαντο μὲν οἱ τοῦ θείου θεραπευταὶ, … δαίμονες δὲ κατεχόρευον, κνίσσαις καὶ αἵμασι τὰ πάντα καταμιαίνοντες· … and a frightful night descended on human life. Houses of prayer were demolished by unholy hand; altars were overturned; there was no offering, no incense, no place for sacrifice. Instead, a terrible depression, like a cloud, encompassed everything. The worshippers of the divine were driven out, every pious group was scared away, while the demons danced in triumph, defiling everything with the odour of fat and with blood.	
V	τότε ὁ γενναῖος οὗτος προλαβὼν τὴν ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἀνάγκην, ῥίψας τὴν ζώνην, ὑπερόριος ἦν, … πρὸς τὰς βαθυτάτας καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀβάτους ἐρημίας ἀπέδραμε, τὸν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων βίον τῆς πρὸς τοὺς εἰδωλολατροῦντας κοινωνίας ἡμερώτερον ἡγησάμενος … Then that noble man, averting the necessity of the law courts, threw off his commission, was banished, despising authorities, despising glory, all kinds of wealth, family, friends, household members, the enjoyment of life, everything that is much desired by human beings, and ran off to the deepest desolate places that are inaccessible to human beings. He considered life with wild beasts to be more civilised than mixing with idol-worshippers …	… καταλιπὼν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατείαν ἀνεχώρησε λάθρα διαδρὰς εἰς τόπους ἐρήμους καὶ ἀβάτους διατρίβειν μᾶλλον ἑλόμενος ἐν κακουχίᾳ πολλῇ ἢ οἰκεῖν ἐν σκηνώμασιν ἁμαρτωλῶν, … … having left his own troop, he retired secretly in lonely and inaccessible places, preferring to spend his remaining life in very bad conditions than to live in quarters of soldiers of bad character …

VI	ἐκζητῶν τὸν Θεὸν, ἕως εἶδε τὸν περιπόθητον, ὡς ἰδεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ Θεὸν δυνατόν … 3. καθαρεύων τὰ ὦτα, καθαρεύων τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· καὶ πρό γε πάντων τὴν καρδίαν κεκαθαρμένος, … εἶδε δι' ἀποκαλύψεων, ἐδιδάχθη τὰ μυστήρια … … seeking out God until he saw the object of his great desire – as much as it is possible for a human being to see God. [...] Purifying his ears, purifying his eyes, and above all having purified his heart, so that he would be able to see God and become blessed, he saw through revelations, he learnt the mysteries, …	
VII	αἰσθόμενος ἑαυτοῦ ἱκανῶς γυμνασθέντος … ταῖς νηστείαις, ταῖς ἀγρυπνίαις, τῇ διηνεκεῖ καὶ ἀπαύστῳ μελέτῃ τῶν λογίων τοῦ Πνεύματος, τηρήσας τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις … κατειλήφει θέατρον, ἀγῶνα ἱππικὸν θεωμένη. Ἐπεὶ οὖν πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω συνείλεκτο, οὐκ Ἰουδαῖος ἀπῆν, οὐχ Ἕλλην· καὶ Χριστιανῶν δὲ πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον αὐτοῖς συνανεφύρετο … καὶ πάντες ἤδη πρὸς τὴν θέαν τῆς τῶν ἵππων ἁμίλλης ἦσαν συντεταμένοι· And he was like an athlete, realising that he is sufficiently trained and oiled for the contest by means of fasting, vigils, prayers, the continuous and incessant meditation of the sayings of the Spirit, with his eyes fixed on that day on which the entire city in a body, celebrating a feast in honour of the demon who is fond of war, occupied the theatre to view the horse-race. And so, when the entire people was gathered in a high spot, there wasno Jew absent, no Greek. And a not inconsiderable crowd of Christians was mixed with them, those who were living unguardedly, and sitting with the council of vanity, not avoiding the gatherings of corrupt people, those who even at the time were present as spectators of galloping horses and experienced charioteers. Rather, masters even dismissed their slaves, and children ran from schools to the spectacle, and every common and insignificant woman was present. The stadium was full, and everyone was already intent on watching the horse race.	μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ἱκανὸν τῆς ἐν ἐρήμωι διατριβῆς θεόθεν γεγενημένης αὐτῶι τινος ἐλλάμψεως αὐθόρμητος παραγίνεται πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν γενέθλια τῶν κρατούντων λαμπρὰ παρὰ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους ἐπετελεῖτο. συνηθροισμένων δὲ πάντων ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι καὶ τοῦ δικαστοῦ προκαθημένου πρὸς τῆι θεωρίαι τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα διατιθέντος, … … after enough interval of time of life in a lonely place, having occurred to him a sort of illumination from God, he came, self-impelled, to the town, in a day, in which a magnificent feast for the birthday of the emperors was celebrated by all the people. Being all people assembled in the hippodrome and being the governor sat and intent on viewing those who were contending, and having the contest been established, …
VIII	τότε δὴ ὁ γενναῖος ἐκεῖνος … ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων ἐπικαταβὰς τῷ θεάτρῳ … τοὺς τὸ στάδιον περικαθημένους παραδραμὼν, εἰς τὸ μέσον κατέστη … Καὶ οὕτως ἀπτόητος ἦν … ὥστε, ἐν περιφανεῖ τοῦ θεάτρου γενόμενος … ἐξεβόησε …· *Εὑρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν·* … δηλῶν διὰ τούτων, ὅτι οὐ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἤχθη …, ἀλλ' ἑκουσίως ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἀγῶνι· Then that man, noble and great in spirit, great in purpose, coming down from the mountains to the theatre, was not terrified by the people. He did not consider how many hostile hands would betray him, but with intrepid heart and majestic purpose, ran past those sitting around the stadium as if they were a row of stones or many trees, and he took his stand in the middle, confirming the saying that the *just man is confident like a lion* (Prov. 28:1). And he was so undaunted in his spirit that, when he was in a conspicuous place in the thatre, with unhesitating confidence he shouted out these words, which some people hear up to today: *"I*	μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ἱκανὸν τῆς ἐν ἐρήμωι διατριβῆς θεόθεν γεγενημένης αὐτῶι τινος ἐλλάμψεως αὐθόρμητος παραγίνεται πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν γενέθλια τῶν κρατούντων λαμπρὰ παρὰ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους ἐπετελεῖτο. συνηθροισμένων δὲ πάντων ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι καὶ τοῦ δικαστοῦ προκαθημένου πρὸς τῆι θεωρίαι τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα διατιθέντος, ὑπεισῆλθεν ἀθρόον ἐν μέσωι τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς μετὰ παρρησίας πολλῆς κράζων καὶ λέγων τὸ προφητικὸν ἐκεῖνο λόγιον· *Εὑρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν*, ἐμφανὴς ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσι. … after enough interval of time of life in a lonely place, having occurred to him a sort of illumination from God, he came, self-impelled, to the town, in a day, in which a magnificent feast for the birthday of the emperors was celebrated by all the people. Being all people assembled in the hippodrome and being the governor sat and intent on viewing those who were contending, and having the contest been established, he, Menas, insinuated himself suddenly

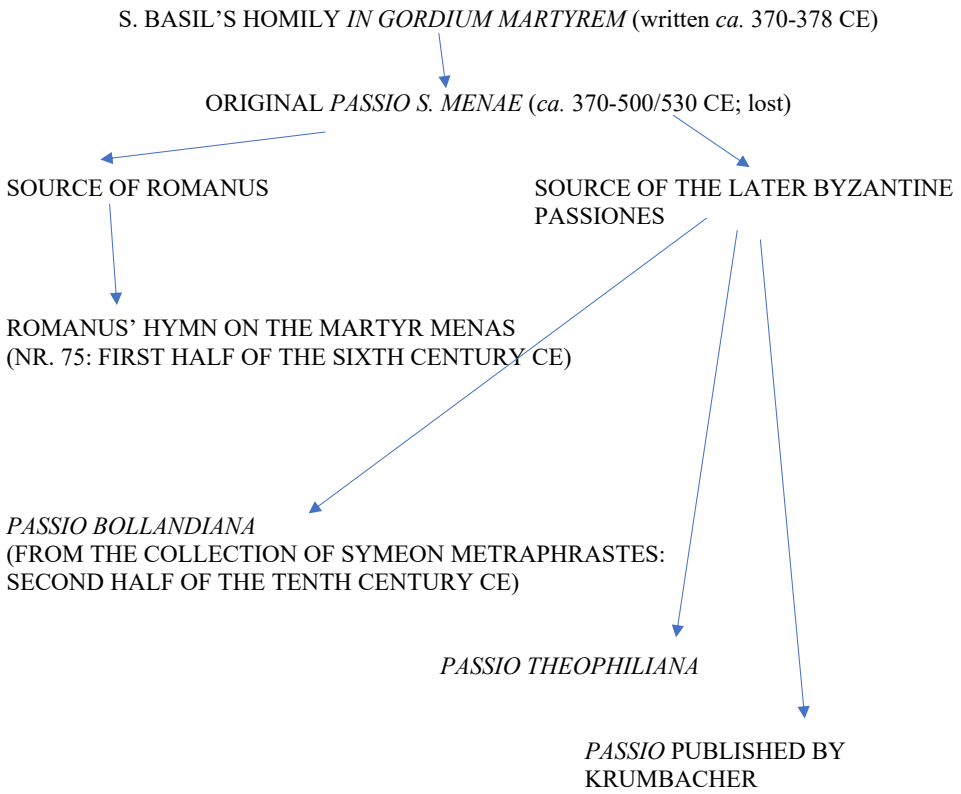
	was found by those not looking for me; I appeared plainly to those not enquiring about me" (Isa 65:1). He showed through these words that he was not driven to danger out of necessity but that he surrendered himself willingly to the struggle.	in the middle of all the multitude, shouting and saying with much freedom of speech: *"I was found by those not looking for me; I appeared plainly to those not enquiring about me"* (Isa 65:1).
IX	4. εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ἐπέστρεφε τὸ θέατρον τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς θέας … πάντα δ' οὖν βοῆς καὶ θορύβου πεπλήρωτο· παρώφθησαν μὲν ἵπποι, παρώφθησαν δὲ ἡνίοχοι· ἡ δὲ τῶν ἁρμάτων ἐπίδειξις ψόφος μάταιος ἦν. Οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἐσχόλαζεν ὀφθαλμὸς ἄλλο τι βλέπειν ἢ Γόρδιον … 4. So he immediately turned the thatre upside down by the unexpected sight. […] So everything was filled with shouting and confusion. Horses were neglected, charioteers were neglected, the display of the chariots was an idle sound. Nobody's eye had time to look at anything except Gordius, …	
X	ἐπεὶ δὲ διὰ τῶν κηρύκων σιωπὴ τῷ δήμῳ ὑπεσημάνθη, ἐκοιμήθησαν μὲν αὐλοὶ, κατεσιγάσθησαν δὲ ὄργανα … καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνάπραστος ἦν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτοῦ που καθήμενον, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα διατιθέντα. When the heralds signalled for the people to be silent, the flutes died down, and the many-pitched instruments stopped playing. Gordius was listened to, Gordius was looked at. And immediately he was carried off to the magistrate sitting there who was organising the race.	σιγῆς δὲ μεγάλης γεγενημένης ἐν τῶι καταπλήττεσθαι πάντας ἐπὶ τοσαύτηι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς παρρησίαι, παρηλλαγμένον καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὸ χρῶμα μάλιστα ἔχοντος … … having occurred a big silence, since all had become amazed by the such great freedom assumed by that man, who had also very strange character and colour …
XI	τέως μὲν οὖν πραείᾳ καὶ ἡμέρῳ φωνῇ τίς καὶ πόθεν εἴη διεπυνθάνετο. ὡς δὲ εἶπε τὴν πατρίδα, τὸ γένος, τὸ εἶδος τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἐν ᾧ ἦν, τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς φυγῆς, … So for a while he interrogated him closely in a mild and gentle voice about his identity and his provenance. When Gordius said his country, his race, the nature of his rank, the cause of his flight, …	ὁ ἡγεμὼν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀγαγών τὸν ἅγιον ἐπυνθάνετο· τίς εἴη καὶ πόθεν ἀφῖκται. … the governor, after having turned the saint's gaze to his own eyes, he interrogated him about his identity and his provenance.

On the basis of the parallels, similarities and differences between the three *passiones* (*Bollandiana*, *Theophiliana* and the one published by Krumbacher[158]) and the hymn of Romanus the Melodist (*Cantica dubia* nr. 75 Maas & Trypanis[159]), Franchi de' Cavalieri was able to reconstruct the following *stemma* of the entire tradition of the Late Antique and Byzantine Greek *passiones* written on the figure of the Egyptian Saint Menas[160]:

[158] Krumbacher 1907: 31-43.

[159] Maas & Trypanis 1970.

[160] Franchi de' Cavalieri 1908: 17-18, who, however, limited himself to describing a possible *stemma*, without drawing it.



After having listed all these parallels between the homily of St Basil nr. 18, the *kontakion* of Romanus (Roman. Mel. *Cantica dubia* nr. 75 Maas & Trypanis[161]) and the three Byzantine *passiones* (*theophiliana*, *bollandiana* and *krumbacheriana*), and after having drawn the *stemma* as reconstructed by Franchi de' Cavalieri[162], is now possible to conclude that someone, at an unknown time between the homily of Basil (370-378 CE) and the *kontakion* of Romanus, simply copied from Basil's homily *On Gordius* (nr. 18 in *PG* 31, 489-508 [*CPG* 2862]) in order to write the *passio* of a new saint, St Menas. As already seen, the date of this act of plagiarism can be more precisely given, since St Basil wrote his homily in the years 370-378 CE (he recited it on the 3 January, the *dies natalis* of the martyr[163]), when he was bishop of Caesarea (he died in September 378 or on 1 January 379 CE)[164]. The original *Passio S. Menae* was therefore written between the year 370 and the first decades of the sixth century CE, when Romanus the Melodist possibly wrote his hymn (*Cantica dubia* nr. 75 Maas & Trypanis[165]) on the martyrdom of St Menas, the most similar, together with the *Passio Bollandiana*, to the original, Late Antique, *Passio S. Menae*, and also to the homily nr. 18[166] of St Basil.

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161 Maas & Trypanis 1970.
162 Franchi de' Cavalieri 1908: 17-18.
163 *Cf.* Girardi 1999: 13 and n. 35, 73 n. 1.
164 *Cf.* Girardi 1999: 11.
165 Maas & Trypanis 1970.
166 *PG* 31: 489-508.

The time range between the original, Late Antique, *Passio S. Menae* and the hymn written by Romanus the Melodist (*Cantica dubia* nr. 75 Maas & Trypanis[167]) can be narrowed even further if we accept Franchi de' Cavalieri's reconstruction[168] in its entirety: Romanus' source was not the original *Passio*, but only a later copy or a remake of it, and the original *Passio S. Menae* was therefore written in an unknown period between the the year 370 and *ca.* the year 500 CE.

But who wrote the original text of the *Passio S. Menae*? And when? Krumbacher[169] and Franchi de' Cavalieri[170] were not able to answer these two questions. However, it is now possible to find an answer. It should be noted that the literary tradition associated with the cult of St Menas includes not only texts in Greek, but also in Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopic and possibly other languages[171]. The Coptic texts in particular are the oldest, in terms of both the date of the manuscripts and the date of the texts themselves. An encomium to St Menas (from a manuscript found at Hamouli in the Fayûm and now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York: *P. M.* 590ff 50^{r}-68^{v}, written in about 892-893 CE) is also transmitted in Coptic. Written in the seventh or eighth century by a patriarch of Alexandria named John, either John III of Samannud (677-686 CE)[172] or John IV (775-789 CE)[173], it includes a brief history of the cult of St Menas up to the Arab conquest (the encomium was therefore compiled after 640 CE[174])[175]. As noted already by Drescher, this encomium is particularly important, possibly the most important text in the medieval literary tradition associated with St Menas[176], since it quotes sources that were already old when it was written and are now lost. On pages 37-38 (based on the numbering given by Drescher[177]) of the encomium, John the Archbishop states the following about his sources[178]:

> ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲕⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛ ϫⲓⲛ ⲛ̀ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲁⲛ[ϭⲉⲛ]ⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩ ⲕⲏ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲛ ⲧⲃⲓⲃⲗⲓⲟⲑⲩⲕⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ · ⲉⲩⲥⲏϩ ϩⲛ̄ ϩⲉⲛⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲉⲛⲓⲛ: — ⲉⲁ ⲛϩⲓⲥⲧⲱⲗⲓⲟⲅⲣⲁⲫⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲁⲓⲟⲛ · ⲛⲧⲁⲩ̀ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ̀ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥϩⲁⲓⲥⲟⲩ · ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲗ ⲛϫⲓⲛ ⲛⲉϣⲟⲣⲡ · ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛϩⲩⲡⲉⲣⲉⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲡϣⲁϫⲉ · ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲙ ⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉϥⲥⲩⲅⲅⲉⲛⲓⲁ · ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲁ ·
>
> «we shall not invent and tell you fictitious tales but the things which our holy fathers have set forth for us from the beginning, which we have found lying in the library of the Church of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, written in Greek by the old chroniclers who lived at that time, these who saw with their eyes from the

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167 Maas & Trypanis 1970.

168 Franchi de' Cavalieri 1908: 17-18.

169 Krumbacher 1907.

170 Franchi de' Cavalieri 1908.

171 A very useful overview can be found in Krause 1978: 1122-1128.

172 *Cf.* Evetts & Butler 1895: 209.

173 *Cf.* Drescher 1946: 127; Krause 1978: 1123. According to Ward-Perkins 1949: 30 n. 18 and Krause 1978: 1123m, the author of the encomium is John IV (775-789 CE), who had also been an administrator of the church (*cf. Patrologia Orientalis [= PO]* 10.381, 11.605 and Drescher 1946: 127 n. 2).

174 *Cf.* Ward-Perkins 1949: 30.

175 The Coptic text is to be found in Drescher 1946: 35-73, with the history of the cult of St Menas up to the Arab conquest on pages 63-72. Drescher's English translation is on pages 126-149, with the history on pages 143-149. *Cf.* Krause 1978: 1122-1123 and Ward-Perkins 1949: 30.

176 *Cf.* Drescher 1946: 126.

177 Drescher 1946.

178 *Cf.* Krause 1978: 1123.

beginning and became officers of the word, instructing us about his family and his martyrdom»[179].

This note about the sources is particularly important for us, since, as already seen, the encomium contains a history of the cult of St Menas up to the Arab conquest (seventh century CE), with an account of the destruction of the St Menas monastery near Lake Mariout. One passage provides the following information[180]:

ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϣⲛⲣⲉ ⲇⲉ ϣⲛⲏ ϩⲙ ⲡϯⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ · ⲉⲥϯ · ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱ ⲙⲥ̅ ⲛϩⲛⲧϥ̅ ⲛ ⲛⲉⲗⲓϣⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ · ⲡϣⲛⲣⲉ ⲇⲉ ϣⲛⲏ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲁⲗⲉⲡⲉⲛϫⲓⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲙⲓⲥⲉ · ⲁϥⲥⲩⲣⲁ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉϥⲉⲣⲥⲁⲙ ⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡϯⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲡⲥⲁⲗⲉ—…—ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲉⲉⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲁϥⲥⲱϣⲧ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲡⲥⲁⲗⲏ ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲥⲩⲣⲁ · ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩ ⲟ̅ⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ · ⲁϥⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲓⲛⲏⲃ ⲁϥⲱⲃϣ̅ · ⲁⲩⲕⲱ ⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲱϥ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲛⲉϥⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ · ⲁⲩϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϩⲙ̅ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉϥⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ·ⲁⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩⲧⲛ̅ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲉⲣⲱⲃ ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣⲁϩⲧϥ̅· ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲃⲟⲥϥ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ · ⲁϥⲡⲱⲧ ϩⲛ̅ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲉⲣⲛⲧⲉ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡϯⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ [ⲛⲁ]ⲡϯⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲩⲣ̅ϣ̅ ⲡⲛⲣⲉ · [ⲁⲩ]ϫ ⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲛⲉϥⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲟⲩϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲧⲁ ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ · ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲛⲉϥⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ · ⲙⲛ̅ ⲛⲉⲧ ϩⲙ̅ ⲡϯⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲣⲉⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ϩⲓϫⲛ̅ ⲛⲉⲗⲓϣⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲩⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ · ⲁⲩⲡⲱⲧ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲉⲡⲏ ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧ ϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϩⲙ̅ⲡϯⲙⲉ · ⲛⲥⲁⲗⲉ · ⲙⲛ̅ ⲛⲉ ⲃⲗ̅ⲗ̅ⲉ · ⲙⲛ̅ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ · ⲁϥϯ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲁⲗⲥⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ—…—ⲁⲡⲥⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲱⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̅ ⲧⲉϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̅ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲣⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ · ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧϣⲱⲛⲉ ϩⲛ̅ ⲥⲓⲛϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁϥϫⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲁⲗⲥⲟ · ϩⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉϫⲙ̅ ⲡⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁⲡⲩⲗⲱⲛ · ⲁⲩⲉⲓϣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲛ̅ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲏⲧⲉ · ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲛϣⲟⲣⲡ̅ · ⲁⲡⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ · ⲉϥⲙⲟⲩϩ ⲁϫⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲁ · ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ̅ ⲙⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲩϣⲏ · ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧ ⲛⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ̅ ⲡⲛⲉϩ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲁⲛⲟⲥ ·

ⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲡⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓ̅ⲟⲥ Ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ Ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⲛⲉϣⲛⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ Ⲓⲟⲩⲃⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ̅ ⲁⲩⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲁⲩⲅⲟⲩⲥⲧⲁⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ Ⲧ[ⲁⲇⲓ]ⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲧⲁϣⲉⲟⲉⲓϣ̅ ⲛⲛⲉⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ[ⲕ]ⲏⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲑⲗⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ · ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̅ ⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲑⲓⲥⲧⲁ ⲙ ⲡⲗⲓϣⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲁⲩ[ⲧⲁⲁ]ϥ ⲉⲧ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲃⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϥ · ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡϣⲁ ⲙⲡϫⲓⲇⲉⲓⲕ ⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ ⲥⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲉⲡ[ⲏ]ⲡ · Ⲁϩⲉⲛⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲙ ϩⲓ ϣⲡⲛⲣⲉ ϣⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ̅ ⲉⲙⲛ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁ ϣϫⲓⲛⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ̅ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲉ ⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ̅ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲩⲉⲛ ⲇⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ · ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ ⲧⲁⲗⲥⲟ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ·

«And there was a boy in that village of Esté, the place where the saint's remains were buried. The boy had been a cripple from his birth. He crawled one day till he was outside the village. And, it being God's will to reveal the holy Apa Mena's remains, the cripple looked and saw a lamp shining in the tomb of the holy Apa Mena. And, when he crawled up to the tomb, by the disposition of God a heaviness came over him and he fell asleep. And his parents searched for him and found him there asleep. They raised a stick as though to beat him but he jumped up and ran into the village. When the people of the village saw him, they were amazed. His parents asked him what had happened to him and he told them everything. His parents came out with all the folk of the village and God caused them to see the light over the saint's remains. They all believed. They went in haste and brought all the sick in the village and the lame and the blind and those possessed with de-

179 Translation by Drescher 1946: 129.

180 *Apud* Drescher 1946: 67f. On this passage, see also Ward-Perkins 1949: 32-33.

vils. He gave them all healing. And the report spread abroad in the whole country of Mariotes. They brought all who were sick in any way and granted them all healing. And so they built over the tomb a small oratory like a tetrapylon. They hung a lamp in its midst like the one at first. The lamp remained burning, without ever going out, day and night. And all who took away (some) of the oil of the lamp to distant lands received healing; so that a great concourse gathered there as well as countless multitudes from every land coming thither at all times unceasingly. And they suffered distress because the place was a desert and they lacked (?) water and the benefit of the Holy Mysteries. Accordingly, the chief citizens of Alexandria and those of Mariotes and all the archons of Egypt besought the holy Athanasius, the archbishop, to built a wondrous memorial-church to the glory of God and the holy Apa Mena and the joy and gladness of all the peoples who came to it. And the holy Athanasius was unable because of the trials caused by the impious Arians persecuting him. But God confounded the (vile faith) of the heretics. He raised up the just and pious king Jovian. The Church took honour again in his days. Then the holy Athanasius undertook the carrying-out of the people's request to the glory of God and His blessed martyr. And when the God-loving king, Jovian, heard, he wrote to the *stratelates* of Alexandria that he should help him with money for the building of the church (in the name of) the blessed martyr. And so he gave orders with great power. He brought it to completion in all beauty, adorning it with precious marbles glistening like gold.

In the days of the just kings, Valens and Valentinus (*scil.* Valentinianus), his brother, the sons of the king Jovian of happy memory, they wrote to the *augustal* of Alexandria, Tatian. He proclaimed to all the bishops of Egypt the combat (?) of the holy Apa Mena. And so the bishops came together and deposited the remains of the holy Apa Mena in the crypt which had been made for them. And they celebrated the feast of the consecration of the church on the first of Epêp. And countless, great wonders and miracles were wrought through the saint and people were coming from every place, bringing gifts to his shrine because of the healing favours which God granted him»[181].

This last passage is for us the most important of the entire literary tradition associated with St Menas. It deals clearly with the consecration of the first church dedicated to the Saint, whose construction had already begun under the Archbishop Athanasius[182]. The passage states that the first church, or rather the crypt, of St Menas was consecrated after the proclamation by the *augustal* of Egypt, our Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus or Eutolmius Scholasticus Illustris (the author of *AP* 6.86, the subsequent epigram)[183], of the "combat" of St Menas. The term 'combat' is Drescher's translation[184], but it is not fully understandable. The Coptic text has ⲉⲧⲁⲑⲗⲏⲥⲓⲥ, and it is known that besides 'combat', the Greek noun ἄθλησις in Byzantine times can mean 'contest, struggle, of martyrdom'[185]. Moreover, in some manuscripts or editions, the later Byzantine *passiones* of St Menas are themselves called ἄθλησις. For example,

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181 Translation by Drescher 1946: 145.

182 For the interpretation of the passage, see Ward-Perkins 1949: 32-33.

183 See Ward-Perkins 1949: 32-33 and n. 23 on Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus and the passage from the Coptic encomium.

184 Also quoted in Ward-Perkins 1949: 32.

185 *Cf.* Lampe 1961: 46 *s.v.* and Basil. *Hom.* 5.1 in *PG* 31, 237A.

in Krumbacher's edition of his *passio*, perhaps the latest of the entire preserved tradition, the Greek text is introduced with the words ἄθλησις (ἄθλησις *Par. Gr.* 1454 [tenth century CE] and 1519 [eleventh century CE], *Vindob. Hist. Gr.* 19 [eleventh century CE], *Vat. Gr.* 803 [twelfth century CE]: μαρτύριον *alii*) τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μηνᾶ τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος ἐν τῶι Κοτυαίωι[186]. What Tatianus proclaimed to all the bishops of Egypt was therefore simply the martyrdom of St Menas, *i.e.* the text of the *passio* of the new Saint. In any case, he proclaimed only that Menas was a martyr. We have thus found the name of the person who published the original *passio* for the first time, or at least of the person who proclaimed the martyrdom of St Menas of Egypt: Tatian, that is the same Eutolmius Scholasticus Illustris, author of *AP* 6.86. However, he merely proclaimed that Menas was a martyr or published the *passio*; he was not the author of the text. Who then wrote it? In the text it says that "they" wrote (ⲁⲩⲥϩⲁⲓ) to the *augustal* (ⲙⲡⲁⲩⲅⲟⲩⲥⲧⲁⲗⲓⲟⲥ) of Alexandria (ⲛⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ), Tatianus (Ⲧ[ⲁⲇⲓ]ⲁⲛⲟⲥ: although partially supplemented, this reading is certain), and that he proclaimed the *passio* or at least the martyrdom (ⲉⲧⲁⲑⲗⲏⲥⲓⲥ). But who was this "they" (–ⲩ–, in ⲁⲩⲥϩⲁⲓ)? To whom does the Coptic –ⲩ– refer? Initially I thought that "they" (–ⲩ–) –in the mind of the author of the encomium– could not be Valentinian and Valens (Ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ Ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ), since their names are used purely as chronological coordinates (the entire series of nouns, proper nouns and adjectives ⲛⲡⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓ̄ⲟⲥ Ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ Ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⲛⲉϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ Ⲓⲟⲩⲃⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ̄ is introduced by ⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ, 'in the time of'). Moreover, since in the previous paragraph "they" are the followers of St Menas, and Athanasius and Jovian are mentioned as being responsible for the construction (not the consecration!) of the first church of St. Menas, I initially inferred that it was the Egyptian followers of the new saint who wrote to Tatianus *collectively*, in other words, the church, the patriarchate in Alexandria. I therefore thought it was the Archbishop of Alexandria who wrote and sent the *passio* to Tatian, and Tatian, or Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus or Eutolmius Scholasticus Illustris, later proclaimed the *passio* to all the bishops of Alexandria. Nevertheless, Valens is attested as the sender of orders to Tatianus in the role of *comes sacrarum largitionum* in a series of decrees of the *CTh*[187], and Tatianus was, as we have seen, one of the pagans (in addition to Aelius Palladius, Vindaonius Magnus and Fortunatianus) employed by Valens in suppressing his Nicene opponents. Based on these considerations, after discussing the syntax of the Coptic passage with Prof. Paola Buzi (Sapienza University of Rome), I revised my position: I now believe that Valens himself, Emperor in the East until 9 August 378 CE, wrote to Tatianus in his capacity as *comes sacrarum largitionum* and/or *praefectus Augustalis* and ordered him to publish the *passio* or at least to proclaim Menas' martyrdom. The sender of the dispatch to Tatianus was therefore the Emperor Valens himself. However, it is not very likely that Valens, though Christian, wrote the *passio* of an almost unknown (as he was then) Egyptian martyr and Saint, and it is also unlikely that a pagan such as Tatianus wrote it. Who then did write it? In my opinion, it may be inferred that the text of the new *passio* came from the patriarch of Alexandria, or at least from the milieu of the patriarchate. As pointed out above, the *Miracula* bear the name of a patriarch, Timothy, and one may infer

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186 Krumbacher 1907: 31. On this edition, see Kaufmann 1910b: 22; Miedema 1913: 18.

187 *Cf. CTh* 10.20.8 (16 February 374 CE); 10.22.1 (11 March 374 CE); 9.21.8 (21 May 374 CE); 8.7.14 (25 January 377 CE).

that the lost *passio* was written by the same Timothy. Now, the next question is: who was the Archbishop of Alexandria at that time?

As already mentioned, the *passio* most probably came into the hands of Tatianus from the followers of Menas, represented by the Church of Alexandria and its Archbishop. In order to identify more precisely the source of the *passio* proclaimed by Tatianus we may follow a process of elimination. The source was not Theophilus, since his patriarchate is quoted only and unequivocally in the following paragraph, in connection with the construction of a bigger church or basilica above the crypt: «and when some time had passed until the days of Theodosius the Great, with Arcadius and Honorius, his sons, in the days of Theophilus the archbishop…»[188]. And since the construction of the church began only under the short reign of Jovian (CE 363-364)[189], who merely ordered the *stratelates* of Alexandria to provide money for the building of the church, we can surmise that the church was brought to completion only in the 370s, maybe before the the death of Valentinian I in 375[190] or soon afterwards[191]. Such a dating is also supported by the fact that the first attested *praefectura Aegypti* of Tatianus (367-370) would be too early for the completion of a church «in all beauty». However, the chronicle known as *Barbarus Scaligeri*, or more correctly *Excerpta Latina Barbari*, also attests to a *praefectura Aegypti* for Tatianus in the following years:

p. Chr. 374 nr. 294 *sub Tatiano praeside*
p. Chr. 375 nr. 296 *sub eodem Tatiano Augustalio secundo*
p. Chr. 376 nr. 299 *sub eodem Tatiano Augustalio*
p. Chr. 378 nr. 304 *sub Tatiano Augustalio praesidae*

Thus, according to the *Barbarus Scaligeri*, Tatianus was also *praefectus Aegypti* in the years 374-376 and 378. As seen in the account of the life of Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, the so-called *Barbarus Scaligeri* or *Excerpta Latina Barbari* (Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* 1: 296-297) states that Tatianus commissioned in Alexandria a series of buildings, waterworks and other facilities during his second *praefectura Aegypti*, *ca.* 375-376 CE (in the same period he was also *comes sacrarum largitionum*)[192]. In this very promising context, one could try to contextualize the last phases of the construction and/or consecration of the church of St. Menas[193] and therefore the publication of the *passio*. Perhaps the year 378 would be too late, given the beginning of the church's construction under Jovian (363-364: at most 15 years), but it would be fully compatible with the more general building policies of Tatianus in those years and would also enable us to connect the epigram by Palladas *AP* 6.85 with the testimony of the encomium of John of Alexandria: according to the *Barbarus Scaligeri*, Pope Peter II of Alexandria died on 14 February 378 CE and his brother Timothy (the Timothy of epigram *AP* 6.85, as already proposed by other scholars, and the

188 *Cf.* Ward-Perkins 1949: 32-33.
189 *Cf.* the text of the Coptic encomium in Drescher 1946: 66-67. *Cf.* Ward-Perkins 1949: 32.
190 *Cf.* Ward-Perkins 1949: 32.
191 *Cf.* Ward-Perkins 1949: 41.
192 According to Cantarelli 1915: 285, Tatianus was in Egypt twice, firstly as Prefect (367-370 CE) and secondly as *comes sacrarum largitionum* (374-377 CE). *Cf.* Drescher 1946: 145 n. 1.
193 According to Ward-Perkins 1949: 32 the church was consecrated shortly after the year 375 CE.

Timothy who authored the *Miracula S. Menae*) inherited the title of Archbishop of Alexandria:

> *eo anno Petrus episcopus Alexandrinus obiit in Alexandria et sedit pro eo Timotheus frater eius annos V, Mechir vicensimo*
>
> (*Excerpta ex Barbaro Scaligeri* Frick nr. 313 [MGH IX, AA: 297])

According to the *Barbarus Scaligeri* or *Excerpta Latina Barbari* then, in the period between 14-15 February and 9 August 378 (the day of the battle of Adrianople in which the eastern Emperor Valens was killed), Timothy was patriarch in Alexandria, Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus was for the last time *Praefectus Augustalis*, Valens was still Emperor in the East and Basil of Caesarea could have already written his homily[194] on Gordius (370-378 CE: he is believed to have been died either in September 378 CE[195] or on 1 January 379 CE[196]). Meanwhile, Palladas, if he is the author of *AP* 11.292, an epigram responding to a speech by Themistius of 384 CE, only six years thereafter, could have been already alive and active. The conclusion is that it was Timothy the Archbishop who sent the *passio* to Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, the same Eutolmius Scholasticus Illustris who authored the subsequent epigram, *AP* 6.86, or at least that Timothy was the patriarch of Alexandria at the moment of the consecration of the crypt and could have been the author of the written version of the *passio*, which had however already been proclaimed by Tatian.

Now, it should be noted that the chronicle known as *Barbarus Scaligeri* or *Excerpta Latina Barbari* is not a late medieval or humanistic chronicle: it is the Latin translation, executed in *ca.* 700 CE and preserved in a single manuscript (Paris B. N. lat. 4884), of a now lost Greek original[197] written in Alexandria (!)[198] in the fifth-sixth century CE. The *terminus post quem* for this chronicle is the year 412 (the end of the patriarchate of Theophilus of Alexandria is the last event mentioned in it). A parchment leaf of the early fifth century CE or of the late fifth-early sixth century CE (*P. Berol.* 13296) contains a fragment of the original Greek text of this chronicle. This very important find surely confers even more value on the testimony of the so-called *Barbarus Scaligeri*, whose original source was written in the same city in which Palladas, Timothy and the *praefectus Aegypti* Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus in 378 CE lived. The *Barbarus Scaligeri* is thus for us a very important source. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the date of Peter II's death given by the *Barbarus Scaligeri* (14 February 378) would be fully compatible not only with the epigram of Palladas (Pallad. *AP* 6.85) discussed here (Palladas was an eyewitness, since he lived in Alexandria in the same months), but also, if we accept the connection between Pallad. *AP* 6.85 and the passage quoted above from the Coptic encomium to St. Menas by John III or IV of Alexandria[199], with the Coptic encomium and its Greek sources from the Patriarchate of Alexandria. Palladas's epigram seems therefore to confirm the oldest witnesses at our disposal.

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194 Nr. 18 in *PG* 31: 489-508 (*CPG* 2862).
195 *Cf.* Pouchet 1992 and Maraval 2004.
196 *Cf.* a long series of scholars: for example, Barnes 1997: 6-13.
197 *Cf.* Burgess 2013: 3ff.
198 *Cf.* Burgess 2013: 3-4,
199 *Apud* Drescher 1946: 67, 145.

Moreover, the reconstruction here proposed is strongly supported by an Ethiopic composition on the Saint published by Budge[200]. In this hybrid text (part martyrdom, part encomium) one finds the following paragraph on the history of the cult of St Menas between the end of the fourth and the end of the fifth century CE (I give the translation only of the parts on the beginning of the building programme of Athanasius and Jovian, the foundation and consecration of the crypt and the construction and consecration of the church under Theodosius):

እሰ፡ ህየ፡ ሀሰዉ፡[1] ዘቦ፡ ደዌ፡ አው፡ ጋኔንሂ፡[2] ወየሐውሩ፡ ወይትፈወሱ፡[3]
ወየሐይዉ፡፡ ወአሚሃ፡ ኀዘዱ፡ ኀበ፡ መቃብሪሁ፡[4] ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡[5] ከመ፡
(fol. 78 a 2) ዘኃይመት፡[6] ወሰቀሱ፡ ውስቴቶ፡ ማኅተት፡ በአምሳለ፡|
ዘርእዩ፡፡ ወይእቲ፡ ፃዜ፡ ይነድድ፡ መዐልት፡[7] ወሌሊት፡ በቅብእ፡ ጥዑም፡፡
ወሰሱ፡ ዘይነሥእ፡[8] እምቅብእ፡ ማኅተት፡[9] ወወሰደ፡ ርኑቅ፡[10] ወቀብእ፡
ድውየ፡ ይትፈወሱ፡[11] እምዘኮነ፡ ደዌ፡፡ ወተኀንጸት፡[12] ህየ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡
በስሙ፡ ቅዱስ፡፡[13] በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ሰቅዱስ፡ አትናስዮስ፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ዘአሰ፡
እስክንድርያ፡ በርድእቱ፡ ሰታእስ፡ ንጉሥ፡ መፍቀሬ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ከመ፡
ይትጋብኡ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ሃቤሁ፡[14] ወይግብሩ፡ በዓሰ፡ በውስቴታ፡፡ ወሶበ፡ ተፈጸመት፡
አስተጋብኦሙ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ሰኤጲስ፡ ቆጶሳት፡ ወሰካህናት፡[15]
ወ|ወደዩ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ሰሚናስ፡ ሰማዕት፡ ው|ስቴታ፡ ወቀደሱ፡ በመዋዕሊሆሙ፡
ሰታዶስዮስ፡[16] ቅዱስ፡ ንጉሥ፡[17] ወአቡ፡ ቴዎፍሎስ፡[18] ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ተሐንጸት፡[19]
ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዐበይ፡ ቤተ፡[17] በሰማ፡ ሰማርያም፡፡[20] በእንተ፡ ብዙኃ፡[21]
ሕዝብ፡ እሰ፡ ይትጋብኡ፡ ኀበ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡[22] ዘቅዱስ፡ ሚናስ፡፡
ወበመዋዕሊሁ፡ ሰዜናን፡[23] ንጉሥ፡ መጽአ፡ ኀቤሃ፡ ወኀነጸ፡ ሎቱ፡ በህየ፡
አብያተ፡ ወአዘዘሙ፡ ሰትዕይንት፡ ይሕነጹ፡ አብያቲሆሙ፡ በህየ፡ ወማኅደረ፡፡
(fol. 78 b 1) ወዐበይተ፡ ብሔረ፡ ግብጽ፡ ኀነጹ፡ በህየ፡[24] ማኅድሪሆሙ፡
ሰሱ፡[25] ፃዜ፡ በእንተ፡ ብዝኃ፡ ተአምር፡ ዘደስተርአ፡ በመዋዕሊ|ሁ፡
ሰጢሞቴዎስ፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ተፈጸመ፡ በህየ፡ ወዐባይ፡[26] ሀገረ፡ ሠናይት፡
ወስመደ፡ ዜናን፡[27] ንጉሥ፡ ወኀደሩ፡ ህየ፡ ብዙኃ፡ ሰብእ፡ ፈድፋደ፡፡

«and a church was built in that place in the name of the saint in the days of Saint Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, by the help of Taôs, the God-loving King, so that the people might gather together to him, and celebrate festivals therein. And when it was finished, Saint … the Archbishop gathered together Bishops and priests, and they placed the body of Mînâs the martyr in it, and they consecrated it in the days of the holy Emperor Theodosius and Abbâ Theophilus the Archbishop. And there was built there a great church to the name of Mary, for the [use of the] multitudes of people who gathered together to the church of Saint Mînâs»[201].

Taken together, the Ethiopic and Coptic passages cited above provide confirmation of my reconstruction: three Archbishops of Alexandria are mentioned in the Ethiopic passage, but the one responsible for the consecration of the church was neither Athanasius († 373 CE) (the first to be mentioned in the passage, responsible for the beginning

[200] Budge 1909: see pages 44-58 for the English translation and 62-73 for the Ethiopic text.
[201] Translation by Budge 1909: 57.

of the construction of the church) nor Theophilus (385-412 CE) (the third to be mentioned, responsible for the construction of the second and larger church)[202], but one of the two patriarchs (Peter II [373-378/380/381 CE] and Timothy I [378/380/381-385 CE]), who were active in the years between the patriarchates of Athanasius and Theophilus.

Now, the name of the patriarch Timothy I (378/380/381-385 CE) does not occur in the testimonies quoted so far. However, there are four important arguments in favour of a consecration of the crypt by Timothy I (378/380/381-385 CE), as well as for the burial of St Menas and the proclamation of the text of the original *passio* under the same patriarch. The first is the attribution of the Miracles of the Saint (*Miracula S. Menae*) to a patriarch of Alexandria named Timothy (Διήγησις Τιμοθέου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας περὶ τῶν θαυμάτων τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μάρτυρος Μηνᾶ). As we have seen, the Greek text at our disposal is maybe a later version of the *Miracula S. Menae*, but the idea that our text could contain older elements and could derive from an older version, plausibly penned by Timothy I himself, is supported by the above-mentioned passage from the Coptic encomium of St Menas on the foundation of the church in the time of Tatianus: «and countless, great wonders and miracles were wrought through the saint and people were coming from every place, bringing gifts to his shrine because of the healing favours which God granted him»[203] refers to the period immediately following the consecration of the first church, before the patriarchate of Theophilus (and thefore under Timothy). The second strong argument is that Timothy's brother Peter II (373-378/380/381 CE) spent most of his patriarchate in Rome, at the court of Pope Damasus: he fled to Rome immediately after the death of Athanasius on the 2-3 May 373 (according to Theodoretus 4.22.27, the Deacon of Damasus, who was tasked with giving Peter II the traditional κοινωνικὰ γράμματα, that is the answer to the Alexandrian's message concerning his enthronement, was still in Alexandria after Peter's allies among the city's clerics had already been sent into exile)[204], and he died almost immediately after his return to Alexandria, according to the oldest sources (*cf.* Soc. 4.37.1-3 [ed. Hansen, *GCS*]): he thefore had no time to consecrate the new church. The third argument in favour of a consecration of the church by Timothy I (378/380/381-385 CE) derives from a comparison of the historical data on Tatianus and Timothy I contained in the Coptic text, the Ethiopic Encomium and the so-called *Barbarus Scaligeri*: the data in all these sources is confirmed by the fact that in the year 378 CE, Tatianus was still *praefectus Augustalis* (for the last time), and after 14 February 378 Timothy was, according to a number of important sources, already patriarch in Alexandria. The fourth argument comes not from historiographical works or chronicles, but directly from the crypt itself: as we have seen, it is possible to conclude that it was Timothy I (378/380/381-385 CE) who consecrated the church and translated the body of St Menas to the crypt. The archaeologist C.M. Kaufmann found near the crypt the following inscription with the name "Timothy"[205]:

///////κ Τιμοθέου////////
////////εὐλογοῦντες/////
///////εὐξάμενοι//////

[202] *Cf.* Budge 1909: 35.
[203] *Apud* Drescher 1946: 145.
[204] For an account of the facts, see Lenski 2002: 255-256; Martin 1996b: 789-797; Barnes 1993: 180-182.
[205] *Cf.* Kaufmann 1907: 22; Kaufmann 1908a: 89-90. *Cf.* Leclercq 1933: 356.

According to Kaufmann, the inscription was gravened in the sixth century[206], but he had to admit that an exact date for it was impossible to ascertain (even a fifth-century dating would be possible and was considered by him to be plausible, albeit unlikely[207]). It could also have been added after the consecration, even many decades later. The inscription could have been added at any time before the Arab conquest in the first half of the seventh century CE, simply in memory of Timothy's first consecration (εὐλογέω can also mean 'to consecrate' or 'to begin a ceremony'[208]): since no present tense of the inscription is transmitted, one should also consider this possibility. The text would entirely fit with this interpretation: «the bishops and priests of Egypt, gathered by the Archbishop Timothy I (ἐ]κ Τιμοθέου, l. 1), in the occasion of consecrating the church (εὐλογοῦντες, l. 2), after having prayed (εὐξάμενοι, l. 3), deposited the body of the holy Saint Menas in this crypt (or here)». Concerning the identity of the Timothy of the inscription, there is of course no certainty[209], but the only known Timothy who could have been connected with the crypt is the first, *i.e.* the Timothy who lived at the end of the fourth century and was perhaps mentioned by Palladas in his epigram (*AP* 6.85.2). Timothy II (457-477 CE), considered by Kaufmann for the identification of the person of the inscription[210], is not in fact mentioned in connection with the crypt, but only with the third expansion and completion of the complex of churches and the creation of the city (Martyroupolis) around the monastery[211]. It is therefore possible that the inscription was added either under Timothy II (457-477 CE) or, more plausibly, in the fifth or sixth century, under Anastasius I (491-518 CE) or Justinian (527-565 CE), when a Praetorian Prefect (Philoxenus?)[212] was responsible for the final construction and expansion of the so-called *Menasstadt*, with the addition of markets, hospices, rest-houses, depositories, porticoes, watering places and a long path or even road leading directly from the see to the city and of course to the church and the crypt[213].

If all of this is correct, then we can even determine the day of the consecration of the first church of St Menas –25 June 378 CE– and identify more precisely the period in which the original *passio* S. Menae was published: between 14 February and 25 June 378 CE. Basil's homily on St Gordius (nr. 18) would therefore have been written before 14 February 378 CE and could have been written around 370-377 CE. Palladas' epigram *AP* 6.85 could therefore have been written after 14 February 378 and perhaps in the period of the consecration of the first church of St Menas (25 June 378 CE) (the *passio* was probably proclaimed for the first time on the occasion of the consecration of the church). The entire *stemma* of the tradition of the *passiones* of the Egyptian saint St Menas could be thefore rewritten in the following way:

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206 *Cf.* Kaufmann 1907: 22; Kaufmann 1908a: 92. *Cf.* Leclercq 1933: 356.

207 Cf. Kaufmann 1907: 22; Kaufmann 1908a: 92. *Cf.* Leclercq 1933: 356.

208 *Cf.* Sophocles 1914: 538 *s.v.*; Lampe 1961: 567-569.

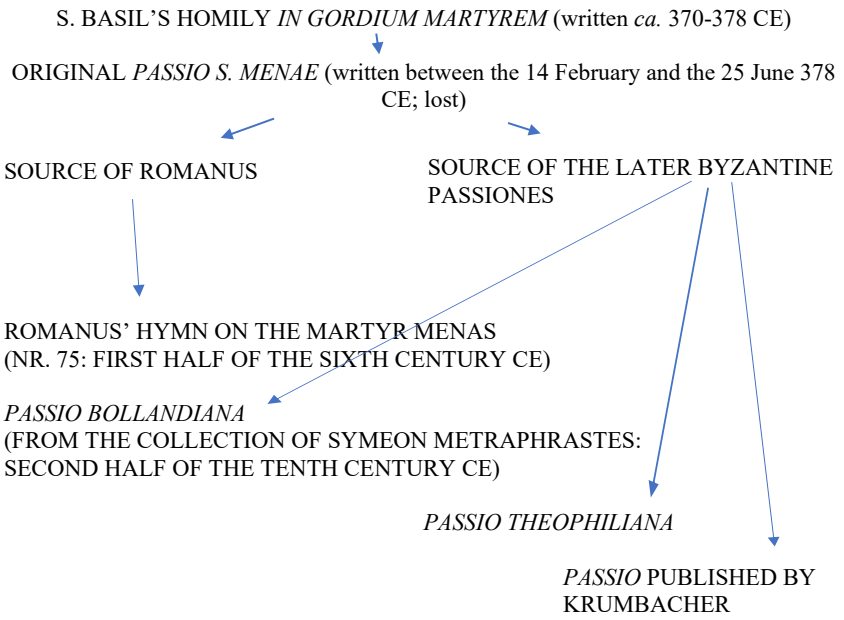
209 According to Kaufmann 1907: 22 (*cf.* Kaufmann 1908a: 92), the poor quality of the inscription speaks against identification with Timothy II (457-477 CE). He proposed to interpret the inscription as an *ex-voto* of humble pilgrims, but this reconstruction is unlikely: what humble pilgrim or soldier would receive authorization to publish an inscription in the crypt of the church dedicated to one of the most important Coptic Christian national saints?

210 Kaufmann 1907: 22; Kaufmann 1908a: 92. *Cf.* Leclercq 1933: 356

211 *Cf.* Krause 1978: 1130; Drescher 1946: 69-70, 146-147; Budge 1909: 36.

212 *Cf.* Drescher 1946: 148 n. 1.

213 *Cf.* Krause 1978: 1130-31; Drescher 1946: 70-71, 147-148.



The last point to be faced in relation to the chronology is how to explain the divergence between the date of Peter II's death offered by the *Barbarus Scaligeri* or *Excerpta Latina Barbari* –apparently fully compatible with Palladas' epigram (*AP* 6.85)– and the date offered by the other ancient sources. In reality, in all the debate about the date of Peter II's death, one point seems to be certain: that he died on 14 February. All the ancient sources that provide a date for Peter II's death, including the *Barbarus Scaligeri* or *Excerpta Latina Barbari*, the Arabic *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria* published by Evetts and the *Arabic-jacobite Synaxarion of the Coptic Church* published by Basset, date this event to 14 February[214]. However, only the so-called *Barbarus Scaligeri* or *Excerpta Latina Barbari* also gives the year: 378 CE. All the other sources limit themselves to the day and the month, not the year. *Sic rebus stantibus*, modern scholars have debated the exact year. A number of them have dated the death of Peter II to the year 380: that is, to 14 February 380 CE[215]. However, the famous Edict of Thessalonica of 27 February 380 CE (*CTh* 16.1.2), proclaimed only thirteen days thereafter, seems to imply that Peter on the day of the edict was still alive:

> IMPPP. GR(ATI)IANUS, VAL(ENTINI)ANUS ET THE(O)D(OSIUS) AAA. EDICTUM AD POPULUM VRB(IS) CONSTANTINOP(OLITANAE). Cunctos populos, quos clementiae nostrae regit temperamentum, in tali volumus religione versari, quam divinum Petrum apostolum tradidisse Romanis religio usque ad nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat quamque pontificem Damasum sequi claret et Petrum Aleksandriae episcopum virum apostolicae sanctitatis, hoc est, ut se-

[214] *Cf. Excerpta ex Barbaro Scaligeri* Frick nr. 313 (*MGH* IX, AA: 297), above; Evetts 1907: 424 (with Bagnall & Worp 2004[2]: 161); Basset 1915: 835.

[215] See for example Pietri, Pietri & Di Berardino 2000: 926: «Pietro II 373-380».

> cundum apostolicam disciplinam evangelicamque doctrinam patris et filii et spiritus sancti unam deitatem sub pari maiestate et sub pia trinitate credamus. Hanc legem sequentes Christianorum catholicorum nomen iubemus amplecti, reliquos vero dementes vesanosque iudicantes haeretici dogmatis infamiam sustinere 'nec conciliabula eorum ecclesiarum nomen accipere', divina primum vindicta, post etiam motus nostri, quem ex caelesti arbitro sumpserimus, ultione plectendos. DAT. III Kal. Mar. THESSAL(ONICAE) GR(ATI)ANO A. V ET THEOD(OSIO) A. I CONSS.
>
> «Emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius Augustuses: An Edict to the People of the City of Constantinople. It is Our will that all the peoples who are ruled by the administration of Our Clemency shall practice that religion which the divine Peter the Apostle transmitted to the Romans, as the religion which he introduced makes clear even unto this day. It is evident that this is the religion that is followed by the Pontiff Damasus and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic sanctity; that is, according to the apostolic discipline and the evangelic doctrine, we shall believe in the single Deity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, under the concept of equal majesty and of the Holy Trinity. We command that those persons who follow this rule shall embrace the name of Catholic Christians. The rest, however, whom We adjudge demented and insane, shall sustain the infamy of heretical dogmas, their meeting places shall not receive the name of churches, and they shall be smitten first by divine vengeance and secondly by the retribution of Our own initiative, which We shall assume in accordance with the divine judgement. Given on the third day before the kalends of March at Thessalonica in the year of the fifth consulship of Gratian Augustus and the first consulship of Theodosius Augustus. – 28 February 380 CE»[216].

In agreement with the text of the Edict of Thessalonica –despite the incorrect interpretation of the passage given by Fatti[217]– is Socrates Scholasticus. On the transition from Peter II to Timothy I of Alexandria, Socrates (*HE* 4.37.1-3; ed. Hansen, *GCS*) states the following:

> Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον τοῦ βασιλέως Οὐάλεντος ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἀναχωρήσαντος ἀνερρώννυντο οἱ πανταχοῦ ἐλαυνόμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, Πέτρου {τε} ἐπανελθόντος ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης μετὰ γραμμάτων Δαμάσου τοῦ Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπου βεβαιούντων τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου πίστιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πέτρου κατάστασιν. ἀναθαρρήσας ὁ λαὸς τὸν μὲν Λούκιον ἐξελαύνουσιν, ἀντεισάγουσι δὲ τὸν Πέτρον. Ἀλλὰ Λούκιος μὲν ὡς εἶχεν ἐπὶ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἔπλεεν, Πέτρος δὲ ὀλίγον ἐπιβιοὺς χρόνον τελευτᾷ, διάδοχον καταλιπὼν Τιμόθεον ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτοῦ.
>
> «as soon as the Emperor Valens left Antioch, all those who had anywhere been suffering persecution, began again to take courage, and especially the Alexandrians, having Peter returned to that city from Rome, with letters from Damasus the Roman bishop, in which he confirmed the Homoousian faith, and sanctioned Peter's

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216 English translation by Pharr 1952: 440.

217 Fatti 2009: 341 n. 2.

> ordination. The people therefore, resuming confidence, expelled Lucius, who immediately embarked for Constantinople, but Peter survived his re-establishment a very short time, and at his death appointed his brother Timothy to succeed him»[218].

According to Socrates, Archbishop Peter II of Alexandria died after his return to Alexandria, and in any case after –not before, as incorrectly interpreted by Fatti[219]– Valens' departure from Antioch. Since Valens left Antioch in late April or early May 378 CE[220], it follows that Peter II was still alive after April 378 CE.

This information is fully compatible with the history of the relations between Gregory Nazianzen and Maximus the Cynic, which unfolded as follows. Around the time of the crowning of Theodosius I (19 January 379 CE)[221], Gregory Nazianzen tried to obtain the see of Constantinople[222] and he was therefore obliged to move to the city, where he definitely remained until 31 May 381 CE (the date of the drawing up of his *Will*)[223]. He might even have stayed until the end of June 381, since he is known to have taken part in the assembly at the First Council of Constantinople (May-July 381 CE), although he decided to leave prior to its end (9 July 381 CE), later returning to Arianzum[224]. Gregory obtained the see of Constantinople three days (27 November 380 CE) after the arrival of Theodosius I in the Eastern Capital (24 November 380 CE)[225]: determined to eliminate Arianism, the emperor expelled Bishop Demophilus (26 November 380 CE[226]). Gregory was subsequently enthroned as bishop of Constantinople at the Basilica of the Apostles (*cf.* Greg. Naz. *carm*. II,1,11 *De vita sua*, vv. 1278-80 and 1305-95 Jungck), replacing Demophilus, who had already refused to accept the Nicene Creed[227]. However, Demophilus was not the only one to be disappointed by the outcome of the competition for imperial favor. Another person for whom the defeat was no less scorching was Maximus the Cynic. The date of the arrival of Maximus in Constantinople is unknown, but it is sure that he arrived in Constantinople before Theodosius, that is prior to 24 November 380 CE. This must be true, since, when Maximus later tried to obtain the help of Theodosius, he was obliged to go to Thessalonica to speak with him, since Theodosius was still a long way from the Eastern Capital. Initially, Maximus offered his support to Gregory, but subsequently he succeeded in obtaining the see of Constantinople for himself with the help of a group of Egyptian bishops sent by Peter II of Alexandria (*cf.* Greg. Naz. *carm*. II,1,11 *De vita sua*, vv. 844-847.851.858.887-895). Attacked by the followers of both Nazianzen and Demophilus following his consecration, Maximus found life in the capital extremely difficult, and he was soon forced to leave. At this point, he tried to obtain the support of Theodosius himself: he decided to go to the Emperor in Thessalonica, «in order to secure for himself the chair with an imperial decree» (Greg. Naz. *carm*. II,1,11 *De vita sua*, vv. 1007-8 ὡς τὴν καθέδραν βασιλικῷ προστάγματι / πήξων ἑαυτῷ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ προστρέχει).

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218 The English translation is based on that of Walford & de Valois 1853: 258, with some important modifications.
219 Fatti 2009: 341 n. 2.
220 *Cf.* Barnes 1997: 4-5; Lenski 2002: 261 n. 294.
221 *Cf.* Leppin 2008: 47-48.
222 *Cf.* Gallay 1943: 133-136.
223 *Cf.* Gallay 1943: 136 n. 2 and 205 n. 1; see also more recently Beaucamp 1998: 77-80.
224 *Cf.* Gallay 1943: 211 n. 4.
225 For the exact date, see Errington 1996b: 16 n. 90. *Cf.* Errington 1997: 67.
226 *Cf.* Leppin 2008: 88.
227 *Cf.* Soc. 5.6.4-7 (ed. Hansen, *GCS*).

Having failed in this attempt, he then resolved to go back to where it all began, seeking satisfaction from the person who Nazianzen considered to be the real director of the whole operation, namely the bishop of Alexandria, Peter II (Greg. Naz. *carm*. II,1,11 *De vita sua*, vv. 1009-24 κἀκεῖθεν αὖθις ὡς κύων ἀπορριφείς / ὀργῇ τε πολλῇ χὠρκίοις φρικώδεσιν – /οὔπω γὰρ ἦν τὰ ὦτα διατεθεὶς κακῶς / οὐδεὶς καθ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἔτ' εἶχον ὑγιῶς – / εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν αὖθις φθείρεται, / ὀρθῶς γε ποιῶν τοῦτο καὶ μόνον σοφῶς. / Πέτρῳ γάρ, ᾧ δίσχιστος ἡ γραφίς ποτ' ἦν / πάντα γράφοντι ῥᾳδίως τἀναντία, / μισθοφορικόν τι τῶν ἀνεστίων ἔχων / ἐπιφύεται καὶ τὸν γέροντ' ἀποστενοῖ, / ἢ τοῦτον αἰτῶν, ὅνπερ ἤλπισε, θρόνον / ἢ τοῦ παρόντος μὴ μεθήσεσθαι λέγων, / ἕως ὑπάρχου τὴν κινουμένην φλόγα, / μὴ ταῖς παλαιαῖς προστεθῇ τι συμφοραῖς, / ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν δείσαντος ἔξω πέμπεται; *cf.* also Ambr. *Ep. Extra coll.* 9 [ed. Zelzer; 13 Maur.], 3). Now, if Maximus went back to Alexandria in order to meet Peter again after having spoken to the Emperor, then it follows that Peter II died after Maximus' visit to Theodosius I in Thessalonica. After his crowing (19 January 379 CE), Theodosius I is attested in Thessalonica in the following periods: 17 June – 6 July 379, 15 January – 14 July 380 and 20 September – 16 November 380 CE[228]. Maximus, therefore, could have met Theodosius either in 379 CE, between 17 June and 6 July, or in 380 CE, between 15 January and 14 July or between 20 September and 16 November.

According to Fatti, the most likely course of events would have been that Maximus met Theodosius I in Thessalonica in the year 380, and one should therefore assume that Peter II did not die on 14 February 378 CE, as stated in the the *Barbarus Scaligeri*, but on 14 February 381 CE. It would in fact have been extremely unlikely that Maximus had an opportunity to meet Thedosius I in Thessalonica between 17 June and 6 July 379[229], only a few months after the Emperor was crowned (19 January 379 CE). According to Fatti, Maximus tried to meet Theodosius I in Thessalonica shortly after the Edict of Thessalonica (27-28 February 380 CE: *CTh* 16.1.2), that is, either between 15 January and 14 July 380 CE or, more plausibly[230], between 20 September and 16 November 380 CE. Maximus therefore sought to take advantage of the Edict of Thessalonica in order to secure for himself the see of Constantinople in agreement with (and for the benefit) of Peter II of Alexandria, recognized by the Edict itself as the second most important figure to be followed by the Christian believers of the Empire after Pope Damasus himself[231]. Fatti offered further arguments for his reconstruction: according to Sozomenus, when Timothy I opened the First Council of Constantinople (May-July 381 CE), his brother Peter had recently died (οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τετελευτηκότα Πέτρον). This claim is fully consistent with the idea of Peter II, the brother of Timothy I, dying on 14 February 381 CE, only three months before the opening of the Council of Constantinople (May-July 381)[232]. Fatti's last argument comes from the text of the *Barbarus Scaligeri*: those who claim Peter II of Alexandria died in 380 CE cite the passage in the *Barbarus Scaligeri* that says that Peter II of Alexandria *sedit ... annos VII*. Athanasius, his predecessor, died on 2 May 373 CE, five days after the ordination of Peter II (28 April 373 CE), and Peter II died and his episcopate ended on an unspecified day in the year 380 CE, after

228 *Cf.* Seeck 1919: 251, 253, 255.
229 Fatti 2009: 343.
230 Fatti 2009: 344.
231 *Cf.* Fatti 2009: 343.
232 Fatti 2009: 344.

six years, four months and two days of episcopate. Although one could consider such a length of time as corresponding to the seven years calculated by the compiler of the *Excerpta Latina Barbari*, the duration of the episcopate in Fatti's reconstruction (six years, ten months and two days, with his ordination on Sunday, 28 April 373 and his death on Sunday, 14 February 381) would be an even closer fit[233]. Fatti's conclusion is that Peter II died on 14 February 381 and that until that day, throughout the period 378-381, Peter II was still the patriarch of Alexandria.

Fatti's reconstruction seems to be incompatible with Palladas' epigram (*AP* 6.85), the most important source: it seems to mention a Timothy as patriarch of Alexandria. How to reconcile all these testimonies? I argue that the most likely solution is the following: Tatianus proclaimed, on the order of Valens, that St Menas was a martyr in the year 378, shortly before the battle of Adrianople, during his final period as *praefectus Augustalis*, but he did not publish the text of the *passio* immediately; the consecration of the crypt, the proclamation of the text of the *passio* and the *Miracula*, very likely by Timothy I himself, occurred only later, after the death of Peter II and under Timothy, and thus in the years 381-385 CE. In the meantime, the first church and the crypt were brought to completion «in all beauty». This gives us a *terminus post quem* for Palladas' epigram *AP* 6.85: the year 378 CE. Palladas was therefore still alive after 378 CE.

Some problems remain to be explained in relation to the text of the two epigrams: 1) how to interpret –πριλάριος in this broader but more precise new context? 2) assuming the correctness of the preceding determinations, how to interpret the subsequent epigram (*AP* 6.86), by Eutolmius Scholasticus or Tatianus himself; 3) who is Ῥοῦφος Μεμμιάδης Γέλλιος? Lastly, what is the correct interpretation of the words in the first line of the Palladan epigram *AP* 6.85?

Let us start with the first of the remaining questions. Despite Cameron's scepticism («no doubt much of the point is concealed in the surely corrupt Γορδιοπριλάριος, for which I am afraid I have no new solution. […] I think we should probably forget about the *primipilaris*, together with the early date he is allged to imply»)[234], I argue that Wilkinson[235] and Jacobs[236] were right: –πριλάριος is surely a contraction of πρι(μιπι)λάριος; Γορδιοπριλάριος is therefore 'Gordius (that is: the Gordius of Basil's homily nr. 18[237]), the *primipilaris*'[238]. This new identification helps to solve the problems highlighted by Wilkinson. Basil's Gordius lived at the beginning of the

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233 Fatti 2009: 344-345.

234 Cameron 2016b: 51.

235 Wilkinson 2015: 69.

236 Jacobs 1798-1814, 2.3: 244.

237 *PG* 31: 489-508 (*CPG* 2862).

238 Neither the Latin *prīmĭpīlaris* (on *prīmĭ–*, see for example Lucr. 2.1106 *prīmĭgenum*, etc.) nor the Greek πρῖμῐπῖλάριος (from the equally attested Latin form *prīmĭpīlarius*: *cf. ThLL* X², 2, 1248) fit, of course, in the metric structure of a *hemiepes* (– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –). This could have been the reason for which Palladas invented the strange compound Γορδιοπριλάριος, the only means at his disposal to make the sequence Γόρδιος πριμιπιλάριος fit with the metre. I thank Prof. Luca Mondin (Venice) for this observation. In contrast, according to Wilkinson 2015, –πριλάριος was invented by Palladas on the basis of already existing military or administrative abbreviations of the word *primipilaris*. However, as rightly noticed by Cameron 2016b, no attested abbreviation of *primipilaris* speaks in favour of Wilkinson's interpretation: the only attested abbreviations are *prim pilar* (*CIL* 4.3992), *primipilar* (*CIL* 3.8754 [third century CE]), Greek πρ πιλαρ (*Inscr. Graec. Rom.* Cagnat 3.1372), *p. p.* (*CIL* 11.6225, first century CE), *prim* (*CIL* 4.3985), *pr. p.* (*CIL* 8.12579, end of the second century CE?), *p. pi.* (*CIL* 12.2210). Cf. *ThLL* X², 2, 1248-1249.

fourth century CE and he may have suffered martyrdom under Licinius (308-324 CE)[239], many decades before the year 370, while the Egyptian saint Menas was martyred in the year 296 CE (this date is given in the tradition of the *passiones* and other ancient texts linked to the Egyptian Saint), nearly a century before Palladas' epigram. There is therefore no compelling reason to date Palladas to an earlier period, since in epigram *AP* 6.85, he was referring to a man, Gordius, supposedly alive ca. a century before, *i.e.* in the period when the last "military" *primipilares* are reliably attested. As for –πριλάριος in itself, it is fully compatible with what we know about St Gordius of Caesarea, for Gordius was, in fact, a *centurio* (*cf.* Basil. *hom. in Gordium martyrem* [nr. 18 in *PG* 31: 489-508 (*CPG* 2862)], 493, 30ff. ἐγκατειλεγμένος δὲ στρατείᾳ ἐπιφανεῖ, ὡς ἑκατὸν στρατιωτῶν ἀρχὴν πιστευθῆναι; etc.)[240]. A passage of the homily seems to imply that he was not simply a centurion, but after having been one, he had taken up a civilian career as a *praefectus* or even better a *procurator* (at the end of their *Laufbahn*, the *primipilares* had the possibility of becoming *praefecti ciuitatium*[241] or *procuratores*[242]). Basil seems to imply that when Gordius abandoned the city in order to become a hermit, he had to renounce a possible civilian or political career (Basil. *hom. in Gordium martyrem* [nr. 18], in *PG* 31: 496.17-20 τότε ὁ γενναῖος οὗτος προλαβὼν τὴν ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἀνάγκην, ῥίψας τὴν ζώνην, ὑπερόριος ἦν, ὑπεριδὼν δυναστείας, ὑπεριδὼν δόξης, πλούτου παντοδαποῦ and 36ff. τοιοῦτος οὖν ἦν καὶ ὁ Γόρδιος, ἀποφυγὼν θορύβους πολιτικοὺς, ὄχλον ἀγοραῖον, ἀρχοντικοὺς τύφους, τὰ δικαστήρια, …), as well as a very large sum of money (Basil. *hom. in Gordium martyrem* [nr. 18], in *PG* 31: 496.17-20 ὑπεριδὼν … πλούτου παντοδαποῦ). On becoming a *primipilaris*, the *primuspilus* received a cash payout (ca. 600,000 sesterces)[243], which was sufficient for entrance to the equestrian class. Gordius must thus have been not a simple centurion, but a *primipilaris*: *Gordius primipilaris* in Latin, Γόρδιος πριμιπιλάριος in Greek (contracted to Γορδιοπριλάριος by Palladas). Thus, there is no longer any problem with the interpretation of the ending –πριλάριος: it is fully compatible with the sources at our disposal.

The next question concerns the interpretation of *AP* 6.86, the epigram by Eutolmius Scholasticus Illustris or Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus. From the point of view of the text itself and its merely "textual" interpretation, this is a traditional pagan anathematic epigram, with a man (*Rufus Gellius*, son of *Memmius*), possibly a soldier but in any case associated with the army, dedicating his weapons to the goddess of military life: Athena. Many similar epigrams can be found in the sixth book of the *Palatine Anthology*, dedicated mainly to anathematic epigrams: for example [Simonid.] *AP* 6.2 (the weapons are already in the temple of Athena); Mnasalc. *AP* 6.9 (Promachos dedicates his weapons to Apollo Phoibos); [Simonid.] *AP* 6.52 (the ashen spear is dedicated to Zeus Panomphaios); Paul. Sil. *AP* 6.81 (Lysimachos dedicates his weapons to Ares); Paul. Sil. *AP* 6.84 (Nicagoras dedicates his weapons to Zeus); Antiphil. Byz. *AP* 6.97 (Alexander the Great dedicates his spear to Artemis); etc. The "pagan" nature of *AP* 6.86 fits very well with the personality of our Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, since he, as previously noted, was surely a pagan. There is no need here to recall the passages that confirm this, but there *is* a need to

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239 *Cf.* Girardi 1999: 13.
240 *Cf.* Girardi 1999: 13; 79 and n. 18.
241 *Cf.* Dobson 1978: 9, 13, 66, 88, 92.
242 *Cf.* Dobson 1978: 92-114.
243 *Cf.* Dobson 1978: 116.

explain the connection between *AP* 6.85 and *AP* 6.86: what we have said until this point, although interesting and –I hope– convincing, does not explain everything. The points that remain to be clarified concern the circumstances under which the two epigrams, by Eutolmius (*AP* 6.86) and Palladas (*AP* 6.85), were written, and how they could have been placed together one after the other in the anthology. Neither of these can be known with certainty. However, we can surmise that Eutolmius' epigram (*AP* 6.86; *cf.* above) was composed as an answer to the epigram by Palladas, or even as an attempt by Tatianus to correct the epigram by Palladas.

It would be possible to say something more about the context of the two epigrams (*AP* 6.85-6.86) if we knew about the Rufus Gellius, son of Memmius, of *AP* 6.86. The problem is that we have no source on this personage. The name Rufus is quite frequent in this period[244], but the combination Rufus Gellius or, more correctly, Gellius Rufus[245] has no parallel in the *PLRE*. Rufus is the *cognomen*[246], while Gellius may be either a *nomen (gentilicium)* (that is: the name of the family)[247] or even a *praenomen*[248]. Haverkamp and Morell sought to identify our character with a Gellius Rufus mentioned on a coin as *proconsul Bithyniae* in Nicaea (ΓΕΛΛΙΟϹ ΡΟΥΦΟϹ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟϹ. ΝΕΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ)[249]. However, they did not consider the patronymic Μεμβιάδης / Μεμμιάδης. Memmius can only be a *nomen gentilicium*, more precisely that of the *gens* of the *Memmii*, an important late-republican Roman family, who boasted of their descendance from both Mnestheus, a friend of Aeneas (*cf.* Verg. *Aen.* 5.117 *mox Italus Mnestheus, genus a quo nomine Memmi*)[250], and Menestheus, the captain of the Athenian army at Troy, described by Homer as the most capable in setting an army in array (*Il.* 3.551-554 κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν· / τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευ' υἱὸς Πετεῶο Μενεσθεύς. / τῷ δ' οὔ πώ τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένετ' ἀνὴρ / κοσμῆσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας·)[251]. Since Memmius or Μεμμιάδης (the patronymic had been invented by Lucretius [1.26], who used it for C. Memmius[252], and later re-used by Tatianus, thus further emphasising the "Homeric" form of the epigram and the importance of the family's "Homeric" ancestors) can only be a *nomen gentilicium*, Gellius is a *praenomen*[253]. The name of this character mentioned by Eutolmius Scholasticus / Tatianus was therefore, in its entirety and in the correct, "official" order, *Gellius Memmius Rufus*. The name *Memmius Rufus* is quite common, and it is therefore probable that many other characters with the same

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244 *Cf. PLRE* 1: 784-785 and 2: 958-959.

245 This is the order adopted in *PIR*² G 134.

246 *Cf.* P–W 1A.1: 1203 "Rufus" (F. Münzer & O. Stein).

247 *Cf.* P–W 7.1: 991 "Gellius" (F. Münzer).

248 *Cf.* P–W 7.1: 991 "Gellius" (F. Münzer); P–W 5.2: 1994 nr. 9 "Gellius Egnatius" (F. Münzer); Mommsen 1850: 253; Schulze 1904: 519; Salomies 1987: 104.

249 Haverkamp & Morell 1734: 192.

250 *Cf.* Paratore-Canali 1978-1983, 3: 146.

251 On Mnestheus and Menestheus and the origin of the family of the Memmii, see Cantarelli 1974: 459ff. On the transformation of Menestheus into a friend of Aeneas, see Cantarelli 1974: 500 n. 118.

252 *Cf.* Bailey 1947, 2: 597-599. See also the cases of the Latin forms *Scipiadas* (Lucil. 11.394 Marx; Lucr. 3.1034; Verg. *Georg.* 2.170) and *Romulidarum* (Lucr. 4.683; Sulpic. *Ep. Bob.* 37.57 Speyer).

253 On Gellius as a *praenomen*, see again *NP* 4: 895 "Gellius" (K.-L. Elvers); P–W 7.1: 991 "Gellius" (F. Münzer); P–W 5.2: 1994 nr. 9 "Gellius Egnatius" (F. Münzer); Mommsen 1850: 253; Schulze 1904: 519; Salomies 1987: 104. See also the cases of *Gellius Egnatius Samnitium Imperator* (Liv. 10.18, 10.21, 10.29) and especially *IG* 2-3².3.1, 4183.3 = *CIA* 3.606 and 871 [Attica, post-Augustan Age] [Γ]έλλιον Ῥοτίλιον [Λ]οῦπον (see P–W 1A.1: 1263 *"[G]ellius Rutilius Lupus"* [A. Nagl] on the problem of the *praenomen* Gellius and of the date: the supplement is clearly correct).

name, albeit unattested, existed in Roman Antiquity. Those persons named *Memmius Rufus* for whom we have reliable data are listed below:

- a Memmius Rufus mentioned in an inscription from the Monumentum Marcellae in Rome, together with his slave or libertus Eros: CIL 6.4792 (Eros Memmi Rufi);
- an Isidorus Memmius Rufus (IG 12.5.738 [Cyclades, Andros, beginning of the second century CE]) mentioned as being responsible for the construction of a temple;
- two persons named T. Memmius Rufus, father and son, mentioned in an inscription from Tarracina, now Terracina, in Latium (Latium et Campania, Regio I), engraved between 98 and 138 CE (CIL 10.6329);
- a Memmius Rufus (PIR^2 M 471) mentioned on a fistula plumbea acquaria dated to 102-114 CE in the city of Rome (CIL 15.7302) with the formula sub cura Sili Deciani et Memni (sic) Rufi, together with Silius Decianus and another Memmius or Memnius Rufus; «presumably these senators held official positions in the city of Rome with the duty of constructing buildings and installing the required water pipes»[254], «aut adiutor preaetorius sub curatore aquarum, aut procurator aquarum aut munere extraordinario fungens, quod mihi probabilius uidetur,[255] uir ordinis senatorii aut equestris. Fortasse idem idem qui sequitur» (PIR^2 M 471)[256];
- a L. Memmius Rufus (PIR^2 M 472), dominus praediorum, mentioned in CIL 15.1298 and 1155 ex pr(aedis) L. Memmi Rufi or Rufini (the inscription is believed to have been written between 115 and 120 CE);
- a C. Memmius Rufus mentioned in an inscription (CIL 2.1460) from Alameda, Urgapa (Prouincia Baetica), as the heres of a C. Memmius Optati filius, responsible for the construction of a statue;
- a Q. Memmius Rufus (PIR^2 M 473), egregius uir, possibly flamen perpetuus in the city of Thamalla (?) in the Mauritania Sitifensis, buried together with his wife (Cilonia Saturnina) and son (Q. Me[mmius …; Q. M]emmio Floro [PIR^2 M 463]); his daughter was Memmia Processina (PIR^2 M 488)[257];
- a Q. Memmius Rufus Fortunatianus, possibly sacerdos publicus, mentioned in an inscription from Thignica (Africa proconsularis), now Ain Tounga, in connection with the construction, at the expense of the city of Thignica, of a triumphal arch together with eight marble columns and six marble statues and of a statue in the public square of the town in honour of Memmius Rufus, brother of Q. Memmius Rufus Fortunatianus and Sex. Memmius Felix Sabinianus, and of their mother Caecilia;
- a Memmius Rufus (PIR^2 M 470), uir perfectissimus rationalis Aegypti et Lybiae (catholicus), mentioned in P. Oxy. 2717 (tax-receipt for ἐπικεφάλαιον) at l. 9 and maybe also in P. Oxy. 1410 at l. 1 (Μαγ[νί]ο[υ] ed. princ.[258]) (PIR^2 M 470; Martindale[259] accepted the reading Memmius from the P. Oxy. 2717

[254] *BNP* 8: 650 "Memmius Rufus" (W. Eck).
[255] *Cf.* Eck 1974: 208-209.
[256] *Cf.* Eck 1993: 387ff.
[257] *Cf. AE* 1937.57.
[258] *Cf. PLRE* 1: 785.
[259] *PLRE* 1: 785 "Rufus 8" and Martindale 1974: 250.

and dates the office of Memmius Rufus in Egypt to 293-294 CE [«before 308» CE was the dating proposed in the PLRE[260]; he lived in Alexandria in Egypt, in the same period to which St Basil dates the life of Gordius; and Menas is known to have died in 296 CE]).

None of the reliably attested persons named Memmius Rufus listed above seem to be compatible with the dates of Palladas or Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, all of them having lived in earlier periods, many of them far away from Egypt.

A clue to the interpretation of *AP* 6.85 and *AP* 6.86 might be found if we consider Tatianus' role as a *comes sacrarum largitionum*. The *comes sacrarum largitionum* was responsible for the management of state factories in which arms and armour were decorated with precious metals[261], for paying the periodic bonuses in gold and silver to the troops[262] and also probably the cash *stipendia* of soldiers and officials[263] and, most interesting of all, for clothing the court and especially the army and the civil service[264] and for the distribution of uniforms or uniform allowances for the troops[265]. It was from the *comes sacrarum largitionum* that *Gellius Memmius Rufus* supposedly received his weapons, clothing and armour, and Gellius could also be a hitherto unattested person from the end of the fourth century (that is, not the Memmius Rufus active in the late third-early fourth century CE, cited at the end of the list above) who had received his weapons, his clothing and his armour directly from …. Tatianus, the *comes sacrarum largitionum* in the years 374-380, precisely the period of the publication of the *passio* and the consecration of the first church of St Menas. The latter observation helps us, I hope, to interpret the connection between Pall. *AP* 6.85 and Eutolm. Schol. Ill. *AP* 6.86. In fact, if we compare what is transmitted by the Coptic encomium of John of Alexandria about Tatianus' role as the "proclaimer" of the original *Passio S. Menae* of the late fourth century CE with a series of decrees of Valens in the *CTh* addressed to Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus as a *comes sacrarum largitionum*[266], it will immediately appear that Palladas, well aware of Tatianus' duties concerning the provision of with arms and clothing to the army, made humourous comments on the different kinds of "soldiers" (*Gellius Memmius Rufus* in 6.86 and Saint Gordius in 6.85) who were clothed and armed by Tatianus by order of the Emperor Valens[267]. However, there was

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260 *PLRE* 1: 785 "Rufus 8".

261 *Cf.* Jones 1964, 1: 427.

262 *Cf.* Jones 1964, 1: 427.

263 *Cf.* Jones 1964, 1: 427.

264 *Cf.* Jones 1964, 1: 433.

265 *Cf.* Jones 1964, 1: 433-435.

266 *Cf.* the following decree of the *CTh*, addressed specifically to Tatianus, concerning the production of helmets (*cf.* κρᾶ in Pall. *AP* 6.85.1) for the army: *CTh* 10.22.1 (11 March 374 CE) «Imppp. Valentinianus, Valens et Gratianus AAA. Tatiano comiti sacrarum largitionum. cum senae per tricenos dies ex aere tam aput Antiochiam quam aput Constantinopolim a singulis barbaricariis cassides, sed et bucculae tegerentur, octo vero aput Antiochiam cassidas totidemque bucculas per dies triginta et tegerent argento et deaurarent, aput Constantinopolim autem tres solas, statuimus, ut Constantinopoli quoque non octonas singuli cassidas per tricenos dies, sed senas sic pari numero buccularum auro argentoque condecorent. dat. v Id. Mart. Antiochiae Gratiano a. iii et Equitio conss. (374 mart. 11)».

267 In the case of *AP* 6.85-86, we have no decree from the *CTh* that might support my hypothesis. However, on the basis of the comparison with *CTh* 10.22.1 (11 March 374 CE), there can be no doubt that the right interpretation of the Coptic text of the encomium of John of Alexandria (ⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲡⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲕⲁ̄ⲓⲟⲥ Ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ Ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⲛⲉϣⲛⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ Ⲓⲟⲩⲃⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ̄ ⲁⲩⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲁⲩⲟⲩⲥⲧⲁⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ Ⲧ[ⲁⲁⲓ] ⲁⲛⲟⲥ, that is: «in the days of the just kings, Valens and Valentinus [*scil.* Valentinianus], his brother, the sons of

a big difference between the cases of the two soldiers: while Gellius Memmius Rufus dedicated the weapons he had presumably received from Tatianus to Athena, a traditional addressee of pagan anathematic epigrams, Gordioprilarios (that is, St Basil's Gordius, the martyr Gordius of *hom.* 18 [*PG* 31: 489-508; *CPG* 2862]), also provided with arms by Tatianus (who first published Menas' *passio*, by order of Valens or was at least the first to proclaim Menas a martyr), dedicated his arms (that is: himself) to … Timothy, the Alexandrian patriarch who consecrated the first church of St Menas and very probably assembled the first collection of miracles attributed to the Egyptian Saint (he may also have been the author of the original *passio*). It was Gordius, the Saint from Caesarea, the man who gave his arms to the patriarch Timothy. In my view, this is an interesting interpretation of the pair of epigrams *AP* 6.85 and *AP* 6.86. However, it should be noted that, as we have seen, the lemma dates *AP* 6.86, Tatianus' epigram, after the one by Palladas (*AP* 6.85), which would thus make this interpretation apparently impossible. That lemma thus seems to support considering Tatianus' epigram (*AP* 6.86) as a correction of Palladas' (*AP* 6.85).

4. Monosyllables, truncated words and the Greek and Latin grammatical, epigrammatic and poetic tradition

Another problem is how to interpret the words in the first line of Palladas' epigram *AP* 6.85: θῶ … κνῆ … κρᾶ. The first possibility is to accept Cameron's interpretation: instead of mocking an illiterate, perhaps barbarian soldier[268], they are clearly modelled on the Homeric forms δῶ = δῶμα (*cf. Il.* 21.438, *Od.* 1.392, etc.), κρῖ = κριθή (*cf. Il.* 5.196, 8.564, *Od.* 4.41, etc.), wrongly considered abbreviations by the ancients[269], and are, therefore, hyper-epic forms[270], or a sort of «Verulkung der archaisierenden Grammatiker-Sprache»[271]. I will not revisit here the passages presented by Cameron[272]. It will suffice to say that the joke assumed by Cameron finds parallels not only in Palladas (*cf.* Pallad. *AP* 11.383.5-6 τλῆθι φέρειν λοιπόν, κανθήλιε· γραμματικοῖς γὰρ / οὐδὲ τέλος κριθῇ, κρῖ δὲ μόνον λέγεται, the final couplet from an epigram about a donkey once owned by the Alabarch, an Alexandrian customs official[273], but now grown old and passed down to a humble grammaticus[274]; *cf.* also Pallad. *AP* 11.351.3 ὡς δ' ἔλεγον "Σὺ τίς εἶ; πόθεν ἤλυθες ἡμέτερον δῶ; [δῶ instead of δῶμα]). It also fits very well and explains the relationship with *AP* 6.86: Palladas

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the king Jovian of happy memory, they wrote to the *augustal* of Alexandria, Tatian») is that Valens addressed a decree to the *comes sacrarum largitionum* Tatianus ordering him to publish the *passio*.

268 *Cf.* Wilkinson 2015: 68-69. *Cf.* the earlier Jacobs 1798-1814, 2.3: 243; Dübner 1864: 231; Paton 1915-1918, 1: 344-345; Zerwes 1956: 331; Cameron 1965a: 217.

269 *Cf.* Skutsch 1985: 727; Beekes 2010, 1: 362.

270 Cameron 2016b: 50-51, quoting Pall. *AP* 11.383.5-6 γραμματικοῖς γὰρ / οὐδὲ τέλος κριθῇ, κρῖ δὲ μόνον λέγεται.

271 *Cf.* Luck 1958b: 274 (reviewing Beckby). *Cf.* Ebeling 1880-1885, 1: *s.vv.*; Eberhard 1869: 8f.

272 Cameron 2016b: 49-51, especially 50: «There are a number of epigrams in the Anthology and elsewhere on such pedants, called γωνιοβόμβυκες (buzzers in corners?) by Herodicus the Cratetean, pedants οἷσι μέμηλε / τὸ σφὶν καὶ σφῶιν καὶ τὸ μὶν ἠδὲ τὸ νίν (Herod. 1.3-4 *FGE* = 494.3-4 *SH* = ap. Athen. 5.222A). They are called Ζηνοδότου σκύλακες by Philip of Thessalonica (*AP* 11.321.2) and Ἀριστάρχου γραμματολικριφίδες (sideways pedants?) by Lucillius (*AP* 11.140.2)». All these passages are discussed in detail by Düring 1941: 6-9. On γραμματολικριφίδες, see Ebeling 1880-1885, 1: *s.v.*

273 *Cf.* Schürer 1986: 136-137.

274 «But, donkey, bear your new fate patiently: a grammarian's half loaf is better than none», in Harold Antony Lloyd's (2013) recent translation.

appears to be competing with Eutolmius Scholasticus Illustris (or simply Tatianus) and to be responding to him by way of an alluding joke along the lines of «I am more able than you to write "Homeric" epigrams and poems, using, for example, numerous Homeric "forms" and idioms, even in the same verse, and even inventing new ones». As we have seen, Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus or Eutolmius Scholascticus was highly praised for his "Homeric" *centones*.

In *AP* 6.85 therefore, Palladas seems to show his intention as a (humble) Alexandrian γραμματικός (*cf. AP* 9.168.4, 9.169.2, 9.169.4, 9.174.12, 9.175, 9.489.1, etc.) and poet, highly interested in Homer and trained to teach Homer to his students[275], to compete with another contemporaneous poet from Alexandria, even more famous and richer than him (his competitor was also, as already seen, a very important politician of his time, especially in Egypt) and whose "Homeric" or even "Iliadic" poems were even read in schools (perhaps also by Palladas' students): Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus. This is the first possible interpretation for the words in the first line of Palladas' epigram *AP* 6.85.

However, this reconstruction does not explain the entire epigram, especially since the abbreviated words in v. 2 of *AP* 6.85 do not find parallels in Homer and are different from the case of δῶ = δῶμα (*cf. Il.* 21.438, *Od.* 1.392, etc.) and κρῖ = κριθή (*cf. Il.* 5.196, 8.564, *Od.* 4.41, etc.), the latter two being merely examples of a substantive derived directly from the radical, with no modification and no addition of any suffix[276], while θῶ and κνῆ are extremely shortened or truncated forms of θώρακα and κνημῖδας. It is therefore necessary to extend our research on this epigram, also encompassing Latin literature. The starting point can only be the epigram by Herodicus the Cratetean indirectly quoted by Cameron (Herodic. Babyl. 494 *SH*)[277]:

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275 *Cf.* especially Pall. *AP* 9.173, parodying and commenting on the *incipit* of the Ilias (1.1-5: a κατάρα, a "curse" for grammarians, according to him):

Ἀρχὴ γραμματικῆς πεντάστιχός ἐστι κατάρα·
πρῶτος "μῆνιν" ἔχει, δεύτερος "οὐλομένην", 2
καὶ μετὰ δ' "οὐλομένην" Δαναῶν πάλιν "ἄλγεα" πολλά·
ὁ τρίτατος "ψυχὰς εἰς Ἀίδην" κατάγει· 4
τοῦ δὲ τεταρταίου τὰ "ἑλώρια" καὶ "κύνες" ἀργοί,
πέμπτου δ' "οἰωνοὶ" καὶ "χόλος" ἐστὶ "Διός". 6
πῶς οὖν γραμματικὸς δύναται μετὰ πέντε κατάρας
καὶ πέντε πτώσεις μὴ μέγα πένθος ἔχειν; 8

«The beginning of grammar is a curse of five lines. The first has the word "wrath", the second "pernicious", and after that "many woes" of the Greeks; the third "leads down souls to Hades"; to the fourth belong "spoil" and "dogs"; to the fifth "birds" of ill-omen and the "anger of Zeus". How, then, can a grammarian avoid having many sorrows after five curses and five cases (falls)?» (English translation by Paton 1915-1918, 3: 91)
On Homer in Palladas, see also *AP* 6.61.5, 9.165.7, 9.166.1, 10.50.1, etc.

276 According to Beekes 2010: 779, κρῖ in fact derives from an original root noun *krīt^h, while κριθή derives from *krīt^h + –ή. The case of δῶ and δῶμα is more complex. δῶμα seems to derive from δῶ (< **dōm*) + –μα, –μα being the suffix of the neutral form. On δῶ < *δῶμ < **dōm*, see Bartholomae 1895: 214; Schmidt 1889: 222ff.; Schwyzer 1939: 569; Chantraine 1942: 230. However, a different etymology of the form δῶ was offered by Fick 1874-1876, 1: 458, Brugmann & Delbrück 1897-1916, 1: 136 and Risch 1937: 359f., who proposed to consider δῶ as a local particle (directive) (adverb): **dō*, meaning 'to(wards)' (*cf.* OS *tō*, OHG *zuo*, Latin *en-do*).

277 *Cf.* Cameron 2016b: 50.

⊗? φεύγετ', Ἀριστάρχειοι, ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάττης
Ἑλλάδα, τῆς ξουθῆς δειλότεροι κεμάδος, 2
γωνιοβόμβυκες, μονοσύλλαβοι, οἷσι μέμηλε
τὸ σφὶν καὶ σφῶϊν καὶ τὸ μὶν ἠδὲ τὸ νίν. 4
τοῦθ' ὑμῖν εἴη, δυσπέμφελοι· Ἡροδίκῳ δὲ
Ἑλλὰς ἀεὶ μίμνοι καὶ θεόπαις Βαβυλών. * 6

«fly, sons of Aristarchus, fly from Hellas over the broad back of the ocean, more craven than the tawny lechive antelope, buzzing in corners, mumbling monosyllables, whose sole businness is the difference between "ye" and "you", and "it" and "hit"; may your journey be rough through these waters, but as for Herodicus, long live Hellas and Babylon, child of the gods»[278].

Herodicus' epigram departed from an existing epigrammatic tradition satirizing the grammarians of Alexandria[279] and is comparable with other epigrams from the Greek Anthology of the same kind and in the same style[280]. However, the most important comparison is possibly with an epigram attributed to Virgil (*Catalept.* 2):

Corinthiorum amator iste uerborum,
iste, iste rhetor, †namque quatenus† totus
Thucydides, tyrannus Atticae febris,
tau Gallicum, min et sphin ut male illisit,
ita omnia ista uerba miscuit fratri.

«that lover of Corinthian words, that sorry rhetorician (for, perfect Thucydides that he is, he is lord of the Attic fever), his Gallic *tau*, his *min* and *sphin* and – be hanged to him, of all these, these words he mixed a potion for his brother»[281].

Since Quintilian himself vouches for the authenticity of the poem, there is no reason to doubt that it was written by Virgil[282]. It is addressed, according to the ancient accounts, to a rhetor called C. or T. Annius Cimbrus, a friend of Antony (Cic. *Phil.* 11.14; 13.26; Quintil. *Inst. Or.* 8.3.28; Suet. *Aug.* 86), who was accused of having killed his brother; it is referenced by Quintilian in the following passage (Quintil. *Inst. Or.* 8.3.27ff.):

Quaedam tamen adhuc uetera uetustate ipsa gratius nitent, quaedam et necessario interim sumuntur, ut "nuncupare" et "fari": multa alia etiam audentius inseri possunt, sed ita demum si non appareat adfectatio, in quam mirifice Vergilius: […] Cimber hic fuit a quo fratrem necatum hoc Ciceronis dicto notatum est: "Germanum Cimber occidit".

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278 English translation by Gulick 1927-1941, 2: 505.

279 *Cf.* Timon Phl. 786 *SH* πολλοὶ μὲν βόσκονται ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολυφύλῳ / βιβλιακοὶ χαρακῖται ἀπείριτα δηριόωντες / Μουσέων ἐν ταλάρῳ.

280 Antip. Thess. *AP* 11.20 (especially v.1); Phil. Thess. *AP* 11.321; Antiph. *AP* 11.322; Phil. Thess. *AP* 11.347. *Cf.* Düring 1941: 7-8.

281 English translation by Westendorp Boerma 1949-1963, 1: 18.

282 *Cf.* Frank 1935: 254 n. 1.

> «But there are still some old words that are endeared to us by their antique sheen, while there are others that we cannot avoid using occasionally, such, for example, as *nuncupare* and *fari*: there are yet others which it requires some daring to use, but which may still be employed so long as we avoid all appearance of that affectation which Virgil has derided so cleverly: […] This was a certain Cimber who killed his brother, a fact which Cicero recorded in the words "Cimber has killed his brother German"».

The content of the epigram is summarized by Frank with the following words: «Cimber's father, according to Cicero, was Lysidicus, apparently a Greek freedman, but Cimber seems to have spoken with a Celtic accent, and claimed descent from some Celtic chieftain[283]. […] it is also clear that as a teacher of rhetoric he belonged to the school of Atticists that pretended to use Thucydides as a model (see Cic. *Brutus* 287). Finally, since it was rumored that Cimer had poisoned his brother, this epigram suggests that the poison used was a mixture of the Gallic brogue and the non –Attic forms»[284].

Scholars's main interest has been the interpretation of v.4: *tau Gallicum, min et sphin* (or *psin*) *ut male illisit*. Franz Bücheler was the first to recognize that the *tau Gallicum* of the epigram should be identified with a letter used in ancient Gaulish inscriptions written in either the Latin (đ, Đ) or the Greek (Θ, θ) alphabet[285]. Thereafter, the Belgian Latinist Léon Herrmann was able to identify the poison in I.4 with what is called in Greek ψίμυθος or ψιμύθιον («*white lead*, used as a pigment, especially to whiten the skin of the face», explains the *LSJ*)[286]: Cimber offered to his brother the ψίμυθος; and thereafter he died.

[Vergil.] *Catalept.* 2 is directly mentioned in Ausonius' *Grammaticomastix* (the "scourge for grammarians": Auson. *Technopaegn.* 14 White = 15 Green), with the addition of even stranger monosyllables, comparable with those in Pallad. *AP* 6.85[287]:

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[283] *Cf.* Frank 1935: 254.

[284] Frank 1935: 254.

[285] Bücheler 1883: 508 (*cf.* Bücheler 1878: 272). *Cf.* also Pedersen 1909-1913, 1: 78, 532; Herrmann 1927: 155; Mathieu 1928: 102; Frank 1935: 255; Eska 1998: 115-116; Eska 2004: 860, 863.

[286] Herrmann 1927: 155. On this word, see for example *AP* 11.408; 11.374; etc.; Marcell. *Med.* 30; etc. On this problem, see also Mathieu 1928: 101-106 and Granucci 1986-1987: 129-132. White lead powder was formerly used as an ingredient for lead paint and a cosmetic called Venetian ceruse, because of its opacity and the satiny smooth mixture it made with dryable oils (*cf. e.g.* Gettens, Kühn & Chase 1993: 67-81); however, it tended to cause lead poisoning, and its use has been banned in most countries. On lead poisoning in a historical perspective *cf.* Hernberg 2000: 244-254. The properties attributed to *psimythium* (or cerussa) in antiquity, as well as the information provided on its manufacture by Theophrastus (*De lapidibus* 56-57 = fr. 2 Wimmer [1862]), Dioscorides (*De materia medica* 1.105.3, 2.126.3, 2.132.2, 3.63.1, 4.70.2, 4.85.2, 5.81.2, 5.82, 5.84.2, 5.88.1-6, 5.152.1; Euporista 1.100.1, 1.110.1, 1.119.1, 1.139.2, 1.152.1, 1.160, 1.170.1; etc), Vitruvius (7.12.1-2; 8.3.19, 8.6.10), Pliny the Elder (*NH* 1.34a; 20.63, 141, 223; 22.42, 112; 23.80, 125, 128, 34.175) and Scribonius Largus (*Comp.* 32-33, 184 Sconocchia [1983]), do not make it possible to determine exactly whether it is lead white or a mixture in which lead white is the main ingredient: *cf.* Stevenson 1955: 109-111. On the ψιμύθιον –a sort of white lead powder– as a substance in Greek papyri and medicine *cf.* also Andorlini 1981: 31-81.

[287] For the text and translation, I follow White 1919-1921[1], 1: 306-309.

Et logodaedalia? stride modo, qui nimium frivola condemnas: nequam quoque cum pretio est Ennius ut memorat, repleat te laetificum livida mens hominum concretum felle coquat dic, quid significent Catalepta Maronis in his Celtarum posuit; sequitur non lucidius estne peregrini vox nominis an Latii et quod germano mixtum male letiferum imperium, litem, venerem, cur una notat lintribus in geminis constratus ponto sit an Bucolico saepes dixit Maro, cur Cicero vox solita et cunctis notissima, si memores, cur condemnatur, ratios magis ut faciat an Libyae ferale malum sit Romula vox si bonus est insons contrarius et reus, est dives opum cur nomen habet Iove de stygio unde Rudinus ait "divum domus altisonum et cuius de more, quod addidit, "endo suam aut, de fronde loquens, cur dicit "populea sed quo progredior? Quae finis, quis modus et indulge, Pacate bonus, doctus, facilis totum opus hoc sparsum, crinis uelut Antiphilae:	*trux* *mers!* *gau.* *pus.* *al* *tau:* *sil?* *min.* *res?* *pons?* *saeps?* *lac* *lact?* *seps?* *sons?* *dis?* *cael"?* *do"?* *fros"?* *calx?* *uir;* *pax.*	5 6 8 9 7 10 15 20	And what results from preciosity? Now raise a howl you who, too *sour*, condemn trifling: there is a price even for shoddy *wares*! As Ennius says, "may you be filled with joy-causing *pleas'"*. Let men's envious hearts distill gall-curdled *pus*. Pray what does Virgil's "Catalepta" mean? There he has put in Celtic *al*, and follows it up with a word no whit more clear, *tau*. Does this sound like a foreign or a Latin word – *sil*? Or that which is so deadly when confused with its next cousin – *min*? State, law-proceedings, love, why are they all denoted by one word, *res*? That which is laid on boats ranged side by side, is it a brig pleas'" or *bridge*? In one of his Bucolics Virgil wrote *"hedge"*, why did Cicero write *"hedgpleas'"*? A common word and one well-known to all, if you mention it, is *lac* (milk); why then is it condemned that pedantry may prefer the form *lact*? Has it a Latin name, that deadly pest of Libya, the *seps*? If a good man is sinless and, notwithstanding, guilty, is he a man of *sin?* Why is a rich man called after Stygian Jove, *dis* (wealthy)? How comes the bard of Rudiae to say "the deep-echoing home of gods, *Heav*'"? And what precedent has he for the phrase "into his own *hou"*"? Or in speaking of a leaf, why does he say "a popular *le'f*"? But how far am I going? What end is there, what limit, or what *goal*? Pardon me, Pacatus, good, learned, kindly *Sir*. Here is the whole work spread out – like Antiphila's hair: *peace!*

In Auson *technopaegn.* 15 Green, a series of very strange abbreviated forms are used[288]: *gau* (v.3), not a substantive derived directly from the stem, but a heavily abbreviated or truncated word, is used instead of *gaudium*, having already occurred according to Ausonius (*Ennius ut memorat …*), in Ennius (fr. 585 Skutsch [1985])[289]; *al* (v.5) was interpreted by Scaliger as an abbreviated form of *allium*[290], an apocope of a Gaulish word[291] or a marginal gloss explaining a Celtic word[292], but in any case it remains unclear; *tau* (v. 6) in the text of Ausonius was interpreted by Scaliger (1575-1588) as an abbreviation of *taurus*, but the text of *Catalept.* 2 speaks of *tau Gallicum* (an allusion to the Gaulish letter written, in the Greek alphabet, as θ, see above)[293]; *min* (v.7) could have been used instead of *minium*; *cael* (v.17) instead of

288 On the *Grammaticomastix* (Auson. *Technopaegn.* 15 Green) and the rare monosyllables used in it, see Granucci 1986-1987: 124-151.

289 Skutsch 1985. *Cf.* Granucci 1986-1987: 128; Catone 1964: 71; Timpanaro 1947: 194.

290 *Cf.* Pastorino 1971: 648 n. 5.

291 *Cf.* Granucci 1986-1987: 140-142.

292 *Cf.* Green 1991: 595; Westendorp Boerma 1949-1963, 1: 22.

293 *Cf.* Bücheler 1883: 508 (*cf.* Bücheler 1878: 272); Pedersen 1909-1913, 1: 78, 532; Herrmann 1927: 155; Mathieu 1928: 102; Frank 1935: 255; Eska 1998: 115-116; Eska 2004: 860, 863.

caelum can be interpreted as a case of hypermetric elision[294], as imitating Hellenistic wordplay such as ἦλ for ἥλιος (*cf.* Euphor. fr. 152 van Groningen *ap.* Strab. 8.5.3 Εὐφορίων δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον λέγει ἦλ)[295] or as a Sabine form like *famul* and *debil*[296]; and *do* (v.18) instead of *domus* is surely derived from the Homeric form δῶ = δῶμα (*cf. Il.* 21.438, *Od.* 1.392, etc.)[297]. Both *cael* and *do* had already occurred in Ennius and the *Grammaticomastix* (*technopaegn.* 15 Green) and are quoted in the *Annales* (fr. 586-587 Skutsch [1985]). Ennius –known to have also been a grammarian– was therefore it seems credited with having created or used a series of truncated monosyllabic forms instead of the complete substantives from which they derive, a practice very likely modelled on the Greek poetic tradition, especially of the Hellenistic age[298], known for its taste for playing with language[299]. As we have seen, the forms δῶ = δῶμα (*cf. Il.* 21.438, *Od.* 1.392, etc.) and κρῖ = κριθή (*cf. Il.* 5.196, 8.564, *Od.* 4.41, etc.), wrongly considered abbreviations[300], are already Homeric[301], and in the Archaic and Classical age forms such as ἄλφι for ἄλφιτον ([Hom.] *Hymn. Cer.* 208), βρῖ for βριαρόν or βριθύ (Hesiod. fr. 329 M.-W.) and ὄψ for ὄψις (Emped. 31 B 88 D.-K.) are also attested. From the Hellenistic period we have even more examples: Antim. fr. 145 Matthews ἄλφι; Antim. fr. 79 Matthews ὄψ; Philet. 21 K. = fr. 19 Pow. ἔρι for ἔριον; Euphor. fr. 152 van Groningen *ap.* Strab. 8.5.3 ἦλ for ἥλιος (or ἦλος); ἔται in Ap. Rhod. 1.305 has been interpreted by some scholiasts (*Schol. in* Ap. Rhod. 305 <ἔται> δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἑταῖροι. [οὐκ] ἔστι δὲ συνώνυμος ἡ λέξις, κατὰ ἀποκοπὴν δὲ ἐξενήνεκται) as a shortened form of ἑταῖροι[302]. A passage by Strabo (8.5.3f., 364C.) offers even more examples of such truncated forms: ῥᾶ instead of ῥάδιον (Alcm. fr. 104 PMGF; Soph. fr. 1086 R.; Ion TrGF 19 F 66); λῖ instead of λίαν (Epicharm. fr. 113.132 K.-A.); Συρακὼ instead of Συρακούσσας (Epicharm. fr. 231 K.-A.); τὰ πηδά instead of τὰ πηδάλια in Arat. *Phaen.* 155 (*cf.* Schol. in Arat. Phaen. 155 Martin <τὰ πηδά>: πηδὰ δὲ τὰ πηδάλια κατὰ ἀποκοπήν); etc. Palladas is therefore only the latest representative of a very long tradition, strongly connected with Archaic and Hellenistic epic (or at least hexametric poetry); and he also seems to be connected with the Latin epigrammatic tradition[303]. The most likely interpretation of the monosyllables

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294 *Cf.* Leo 1913: 184 n. 6.

295 *Cf.* Skutsch 1985: 727.

296 *Cf.* Timpanaro 1947: 194 and Granucci 1986-1987: 128.

297 *Cf.* Granucci 1986-1987: 128.

298 *Cf.* Skutsch 1985: 727.

299 *Cf.* Skutsch 1985: 727.

300 *Cf.* Skutsch 1985: 727.

301 For other examples of alleged *apokope* in the Iliad and for the homeric use of it *cf.* Graziosi & Haubold 2015: 15-16 and n. 56.

302 *Cf.* Fränkel 1968: 63.

303 A comparison with the most similar passages from this tradition could shed some light, I hope, on the interpretation of Palladas' first monosyllabic substantive. As soon as I read Herrmann's paper on *Catalept.* 2 (Herrmann 1927), I had the impression of having found the so-called *tau Gallicum* in Palladas' epigram. Herrmann 1927: 103 proposed to consider the *tau Gallicum* as a syllable corrisponding to θω (or θο), or in any case written with those characters in the Greek alphabet. And in l.1 of Pallad. *AP* 6.85 we read precisely θῶ (Τὸν θῶ καὶ τὰς κνῆ τάν τ' ἀσπίδα καὶ δόρυ καὶ κρᾶ). Moreover, in both the *Catalept.* 2 and Pallad. *AP* 6.85, we have three monosyllabic words, the first in both passages being the *tau Gallicum*, in the initial position: ***tau Gallicum, min et sphin*** (or ***psin***) *ut male illisit* (*Catalept.* 2.4) and Τὸν **θῶ** καὶ τὰς **κνῆ** τάν τ' ἀσπίδα καὶ δόρυ καὶ **κρᾶ** (Pallad. *AP* 6.85.1). The *tau* is a very significant Christian symbol, recalling the Cross and hence crucifixion, one of the most common forms of martyrdom in Christian Antiquity). For an analysis of the attestations of the use of the Tau as a symbol of the Cross in early Christian Greek literature, see Schmidt 1995 and especially [Barnab.] *Ep.* 9.8 Ὅτι δὲ ὁ σταυρὸς ἐν τῷ Τ ἤμελλεν ἔχειν τὴν χάριν. On the use of the Tau in Gaul as a Christian symbol,

in l.1 of Pallad. *AP* 6.85 is therefore that they are the joke of a grammarian, a joke invented by Palladas, who is simply trying to allude to the fact that Gordioprilarios, instead of dedicating himself to Christ, ended up by dedicating some pieces, some little words and some broken sequences of words from Basil's homily on himself to … Timothy!

5. Conclusions

After seeking to reconstruct the entire complex context and texture of *AP* 6.85 and 6.86, we can now reach a conclusion about the date of *AP* 6.85 and of Palladas more generally: since no Gordius is reliably attested prior to 370 CE; since this figure was invented by St Basil in the years 370-378 CE; since *AP* 6.85 is the response to the publication or proclamation by Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus of a Christian *Passio S. Menae* written after Basil's homily on Gordius and deriving much of its text from it (nr. 18: *ca.* 370-378 CE), perhaps around 378 and certainly between 370 and 385 CE; and, last but not least, since the *AP* poet Eutolmius Scholasticus Illustris is Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, it is now certain that Palladas was still alive after 370 CE, possibly even after 378 CE, and it is not therefore possible to date the author to an earlier period.

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called Tau or Thau by the Gaulish people in Late Antiquity, see Greg. Turon. 4.5 *tunc etiam in subita contemplatione parietes uel domorum uel ecclesiarum signari uidebantur, unde a rusticis hic scriptos Thau uocabatur* (*cf.* Ezech. 9.4-6 *Et dixit Dominus ad eum: "Transi per mediam ciuitatem, in medio Ierusalem et signa thau super fontes uirorum gementium … omnem autem, super quem uideritis thau, ne occidatis"*). Kaibel 1889: 316 had previously sought to associate the *tau Gallicum* with the *staurosis*. Moreover, the connection between the letter tau and the crucifixion is attested in pagan authors such as Lucian: *lis cons.* (= *iud. uoc.*) 12 τῷ γὰρ τούτου σώματί φασι τοὺς τυράννους ἀκολουθήσαντας καὶ μιμησαμένους αὐτοῦ τὸ πλάσμα ἔπειτα σχήματι τοιούτῳ ξύλα τεκτήναντας ἀνθρώπους ἀνασκολοπίζειν ἐπ' αὐτά· It should also be pointed out that the Latin expression for ταῦ cταυρωτικόν («the *tau* of the Cross, the tau meaning the Crucifixion») was *tau gabalicum* – *gabalus* meaning 'cross, crucifixion, gallows, gibbet' (*cf.* OIr. *gabul*, AS. *gafeluc*, *gafol*, OHG *gabala*; *cf.* Varr. *Men.* 24 *nos barbari quod innocentes in gabalum suffigimus homines; uos non barbari qui noxios obicitis bestiis*) – and the *Gabali* or *Gabales* were Gauls! On crucifixion as a traditional punishment used by the Gauls, see Diod. Sic. 5.32 τοὺς γὰρ κακούργους κατὰ πενταετηρίδα φυλάξαντες ἀνασκολοπίζουσι (*scil.* the Gauls) τοῖς θεοῖς. In accordance with this last possible interpretation, what Gordioprilarios dedicated to Timothy was his martyrdom by crucifixion, that is: his *passio*, or in any case some words from it.

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