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An Inscription of Dyme in Achaia

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CONJOINT SUMMATION IN CICERO.

	Pres. Subj.	Auxil.	Perf. Subj.	Noli.
I. Rhetorical Treatises	0	3	0	7
II. Orations	7	12	0	69
III. Epistles (1) . . .	6	8	5	10
„ (2)	4	1	3	4
„ (3)	10	4	9	14
IV. Philosophical Works	6	4	7	13
Total	33	32	24	117

The preponderance of the polite Noli is notable throughout.

The general result seems clear. After the exercise of the largest deductions and notwithstanding the fullest scope for varying subjective estimates of individual instances as well as the accidents of vacillating readings, there remains a sufficient body of evidence to explode the canon of Madvig in its absolute rigidity, and therefore it must cease to be imposed as a canon in classical prose in the Latin tongue.

AN INSCRIPTION OF DYME IN ACHAIA.

THE letter of Quintus Fabius Maximus to the people of Dyme in Achaia, inscribed on a marble slab, now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, has been repeatedly published: v. Dobree, *Classical Journal*, xxx. p. 127; Boeckh, *C.I.G.* 1543; Rose, *Inscr. graecae*, p. 393, 405; Hicks, *Manual of Greek Hist. Inscr.* 302; Viereck, *Sermo graecus*, No. 4. Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*² 316 (= *S.I.G.*¹ 242).

The last editor who actually collated the stone seems to have been Hicks, and a fresh collation made last year, when I was enabled by the kindness of Mr. White to take two

impressions, confirms Hicks' readings for the most part. I have, however, discovered traces of letters hitherto overlooked, traces confirmed by the impressions, which refute the restorations proposed for certain passages, and enable me to propose others.

For convenience of reference I give the text as published by Hicks, leaving blank the passages affected by the new collation. For the commentary which follows, I am largely indebted to a lecture delivered by M. Foucart at the Collège de France, of which I have his permission to avail myself.

Ἐπὶ θεοκόλου Λέωνος, γραμματέ-
ος τοῦ συνεδρίου Στρατοκλέος.

- Κοῖντος Φάβιος Κοῖντον Μάξιμος, ἀνθύπατος Ῥωμαίων Δυνμαίων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ συνέδροις καὶ τῇ πόλει χαίρειν τῶν περὶ
- 5 Κιλλανίων συνεδρῶν ἐμφανισάντων μοι περὶ τῶν συντελεσθέντων παρ' ὑμῖν ἀδικημάτων, λέγω δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμπρήσεως καὶ φθορᾶς τῶν ἀρχ(εῖ)ων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων ὧν ἐγγόνοι ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ὅλης συγχύσεως Σῶσος Ταυρομένεος ὁ καὶ τοὺς νόμους γράψας ὑπεναντίους τῇ ἀποδοθείσῃ τοῖς
- 10 Ἀ]χαίοις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πολι[εῖαι], περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος διη[λ]θομεν ἐν [II]άτραις μετὰ τοῦ πα[ρ]όν[το]ς συμβουλίου· ἐπεὶ οὖν οἱ διαπραξάμενοι ταῦτα ἐφαίνοντό μοι τῆς χειρίστης κ[α]τασ[τά]σεως κα[ὶ] παραχῆς κα[τά]πειραν ποιούμενο[ι]]εν οὐ μόνον . . .] τῆς προ[ο]ς ἀλλήλου[ς] αἰσυναλλα[. . .]ς καὶ χρε[.]
- 15 . . .] ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀποδοδομένης κατὰ [κ]οινὸν τοῖς Ἑλλη[σιν] ἐλευθερίας ἀλλοτρία καὶ τῇ[ς] ἡμετέ[ρα]ς προαιρέσεως· ἐγ[ώ] παρασχόμενων τῶν κατηγορῶν ἀληθινὰς ἀποδείξεις, Σῶσον μὲν τὸν γεγονότα ἀρχηγὸν [τ]ῶν πραχθέντων καὶ νομογραφῆσαντα ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς ἀποδοθείσης πολιτεί-
- 20 α]ς κρίνας ἔνοχον εἶναι, θανάτῳ πα[ρ]εχώρ(η)σα, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Φορ]μίσκον Ἐχέσθeneος, τῶν δαμοργῶν τὸν συμπράξαντα τοῖς ἐμπρήσασιν τὰ ἀρχαῖα καὶ τὰ δημόσια γράμματα, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμολόγησεν· Τιμόθεον δὲ Νικία τὸμ μετὰ τοῦ Σῶσου

γεγονότα νομογράφον, ἐπεὶ ἔλασσον ἐφαίνετο ἡδικηκῶς ἐ-
 25 κέλευσα] προάγειν εἰς Ῥώμην, ὀρκίσας ἐφ' ᾧ] τῇ νομηνίᾳ τοῦ ἐν-
] εἴστα[ι] ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἐμφανίσας τ[ῶι ἐ]πὶ τῶν ξένων στρατη-
 γῶι, ὅπω[ς] ἂν [μὴ π]ρότερον ἐπά[ν]εισ[ι] πρὸς οἶκον ἐὰν μὴ αὐ . .

The letter deals with the destruction of the archives of Dyme by incendiaries. The crime formed part of a revolutionary attempt directed against the timocracy established by Rome (*Paus.* vii. 16, 6). The leader in the affair, a certain Sosos was condemned to death together with one of his fellow conspirators Phormiskos (?). A third conspirator, Timotheos, is sent to Rome.¹

1. 1-2. These lines are engraved in characters much larger than those in the body of the text. The stone-cutter had, however, begun with a small E which is still visible before ΕΠΙ.

θεοκόλου: an ecclesiastical title. Cf. *B.C.H.* ii. (1878) p. 41 ἐπὶ θεοκόλου—: *ibid.*, p. 98. So again *ibid.*, p. 96 we find

ἐπὶ τὰν Δυναίαν ἐπὶ τὰν θεομ[]. . .

. . .]νεοντω θεοκολίαν ἂν ἃ πόλις καθίσταται εἰ.

These inscriptions were all found on what their editors consider to have been the site of Olenos. For the migration of the people of Olenos to Dyme v. *Polyb.* ii. 41.

Γραμματέος τοῦ συνεδρίου; cf. *γραμματεὺς τῶν συνεδρῶν* at Andania. *Ditt. S.I.G.*¹ 388 = Lebas-Foucart ii. 326^a, *comm.* p. 166.

The συνέδριον was that of Dyme and not that of the Achaean league, of which league Dyme was one of the original members. For the secretary of the Achaean league we find

ἐπὶ γραμμ[ατέος τοῖς Αχαίοις Σπράτωνος
 Lebas-Foucart, ii. No. 16; cf. *ibid.*, No. 12.

3. Who is this Quintus Fabius Maximus?

He is obviously proconsul of Macedonia, as Achaia was not constituted a separate province till 27 B.C. (v. Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Achaia) and it is evident that its subjugation is comparatively recent.

There are four persons to choose from:—

Q. F. M. Aemilianus cos. 145 B.C.

„ „ „ Servilianus „ 142 B.C.

„ „ „ Allobrogicus „ 121 B.C.

„ „ „ Eburnus „ 116 B.C.

Of these the first is improbable, as it is hardly likely that the league was restored so soon as 144 when he would have been proconsul. That it was already restored at the time of this rescript is evident from

¹ For a parallel to this affair, v. *Polyb.* 38, 3 the insurrection of Critolaus, and for the past relations of Dyme to Rome v. especially *Liv.* xxxii. ch. 21-22.

line 21, since there is no reason for assuming, as Hicks does, that the δαμοργοι referred to are the δαμοργοί of the late Achaean league. On the other hand 115 B.C. seems rather late in view of the apparently recent reduction of Achaia. On the whole it is most probable that the proconsul is Servilianus.

4. οἱ ἄρχοντες are mentioned with the σύνεδροι, in the mystery inscription of Andania, as responsible for the passing of a financial provision (Lebas-Foucart ii. 326^a, l. 56-7). Foucart (*Comm.* p. 166) identifies them with the συναρχαί which we find at Aegosthena in a federal decree of the Achaean league (*ibid.* No. 12 = *C.I.G.S.* i. 223, v. *Comment.* p. 7) and at Megara (*ibid.* No. 35^a = *C.I.G.S.* i. 15), and supposes that they acted as a sort of probouleutic college.

The σύνεδροι are found in the Peloponnese at Megalopolis and at Mantinea (Lebas-Foucart, ii. No. 332 and 352^g), at Thuria (*ibid.* 303^a) and at Andania (*ibid.* 326^a).

5. Κυλλάνιον is a person and not the town of Cyllene, as Boeckh and Hicks interpret it. Cf. the ordinary phrase οἱ περὶ τὸν δαίνα. οἱ περὶ K. σύνεδροι means either 'the senators under the presidency of K,' or 'the senators of the party of K,' that is to say of the party that profited by the new timocratic constitution and the privileges it conferred.

6. ΥΠΕΡ should be read, and not ΠΕΡΙ, though Dittenberger retains the latter in his second edition.

7. ἄρχων for ἀρχείων (v. l. 22): a slip of the stone-cutter, cf. l. 1. The ἀρχεῖα were what are elsewhere called τὰ χρεωφυλάκια, i.e. bureaux for the registration and preservation of private contracts. The δημόσια γράμματα were e.g. the registers of the tribute imposed, and of the census. The revolution was consequently not only political, but social as well, an institution of novae tabulae practically.

11. Συμβουλίων and not συνβουλίου should be read. This is the council of the general who organizes a province.

12-16. These lines have exercised the ingenuity of all the editors with varying results.

Hicks' restoration, which is largely based on that of Dobree, is ἐφαίνοντό μοι τῆς χειρίσ-
 της καταστάσεως καὶ ταραχῆς κατὰπειραν ποιού-
 μενοι, ἢ κολαστέα ἐστίν, οὐ μόνον ἄτε τῆς πρὸς
 M 2

ἀλλήλους οὐσα συναλλαγῆς καὶ χρείας τῆς κατ' ἰδίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ κ.τ.λ.

Dittenberger reads l. 14 τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους <α> συναλλαγῆς but does not attempt to complete the restoration. Viereck suggests καταβόλην ποιούμενοι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν πᾶσιν οὐ μόνον γὰρ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους <α> συναλλαγῆς καὶ χρείας τῆς κατ' ἰδίαν.

None of these restorations is possible in its entirety. In the first place I read without hesitation at l. 14 ΤΗΣΠΡ... ΛΗΛΑΟΥ. ΑΣΥΝΑΛΛ... ΚΑΙ. The horizontal bar after συναλλ. does not appear to be broken, so that it is not part of a Γ. Moreover the letters ΗΣ would not fill the following blank, so that συναλλαγῆς becomes impossible. I suggest ἀσυναλλαξίας: the word is found in Stob. *Ecl.* ii. p. 320.

In the second place I clearly distinguish \. before ἀλλὰ (l. 15) which can only be the remains of an Α, and would supply οἰκεία or some such word. Finally, adopting (l. 14) a suggestion of M. Foucart χρεωκοπία, I would read the whole as follows: ἐπεὶ... ἐφαίνοντό μοι τῆς χαρίστης καταστάσεως καὶ παραχῆς κατασκευὴν ποιούμενοι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν πᾶσιν οὐ μόνον γὰρ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀσυναλλαξίας καὶ χρεωκοπίας οἰκεία, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀποδοδομένης κατὰ κοῖνον τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐλευθερίας ἀλλοτρία.

16. ΕΓ[Ω must be read. There is no trace of the second vertical bar of the Π, though there is room.

21. τῶν δαμιοργῶν refers probably to the

demiurgi of the Achaean league. Cf. *C.I.G.* 1542, l. 13, where a federal decree is dated ἐπὶ δαμιοργῶν—. Cf. Lebas-Foucart ii. 12 = *C.I.G.S.* i. 223.

It is not impossible that they may have been city magistrates of Dyme itself, as distinct from the demiurgi of the league, but in that case we should have expected τοῖς δαμιοργοῖς at l. 4 instead of τοῖς ἀρχουσι, and it is probable that, even had there ever been such magistrates at Dyme, they disappeared with the democracy.

25-6. ἐν[εστώτῳ]ς is impossible as Dittenberger has shown. The word could only refer to the current month, and the phrase τῇ νομηνίᾳ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος in the present context would have no meaning. We must restore τοῦ ἐν[άτου μηνός]ς. This method of dating is found in other inscriptions of cities of the Achaean league, e.g. Lebas-Foucart, ii. No. 12, μηνὸς τρίτου (a federal decree). Cf. *Inscr. recueillies à Delphes*, No. 109.

τῶι ἐπὶ τῶν ξένων στρατηγῶι, the official rendering of praetor peregrinus.

27. Hicks restores ὁπως ἂν which Viereck, on grammatical grounds, replaces by τὸ δόξ[αν]. The line is too mutilated to decide whether we have the remains of a Σ or of a Ξ.

There is, however, no doubt that Hicks is right in reading Α` and not Α! at the end of the line.

T. W. BEASLEY.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

REMINISCENCES OF LUCAN IN ST. AUGUSTINE.

II. 271 nubes excedit Olympus.

The following passage of Augustine is derived from this, *Genesis contra Manich.* i. 24m mons.. *Olympus*...tantae altitudinis esse dicitur, ut in eius cacumine nec ventus sentiatur, nec nubes se colligant, quia excedit altitudine sua totum istum aerem huminum cet.

II. 273—pacem magna tenent is quoted by Aug. *gen. ad litt.* iii. 2.

The list of 'Testimonia' in Hosius (and Francken), though very full, is thus incomplete.

II. 331-333.

(Marcia) alios fecunda penates
inpletura datur geminas et sanguine matris
permixtura domos,

suggested Aug. *bon. coniug.* 21 ex. quod Cato dicitur fecisse Romanus, ut traderet viui uxorem etiam alterius domum filiis impleturam.

A. SOUTER.

* * *

AP. RHOD. III. 161-163.

δοιῶ δὲ πόλοι ἀνέχοντι κάρηνα
οὐρέων ἡλιβάτων, κορυφαὶ χθονός, ἥχι τ' ἀερθεῖς
ἥλιος πρώτησιν ἐρεῦθεται¹ ἀκτίνεσσιν.

I should like to invite the attention of readers of the *Classical Review* to the above lines. They have been explained in various ways, more or less unsatisfactory.

R. C. S.

* * *

CONFUSION OF *solus* AND *totus* IN LATIN MSS.

I should be very grateful for certain examples of the above confusion, especially from MSS. of prose writers.

J. P. P.

¹ v.l. ἐρεῦγεται; Merkel has ἐρεῖδεται.