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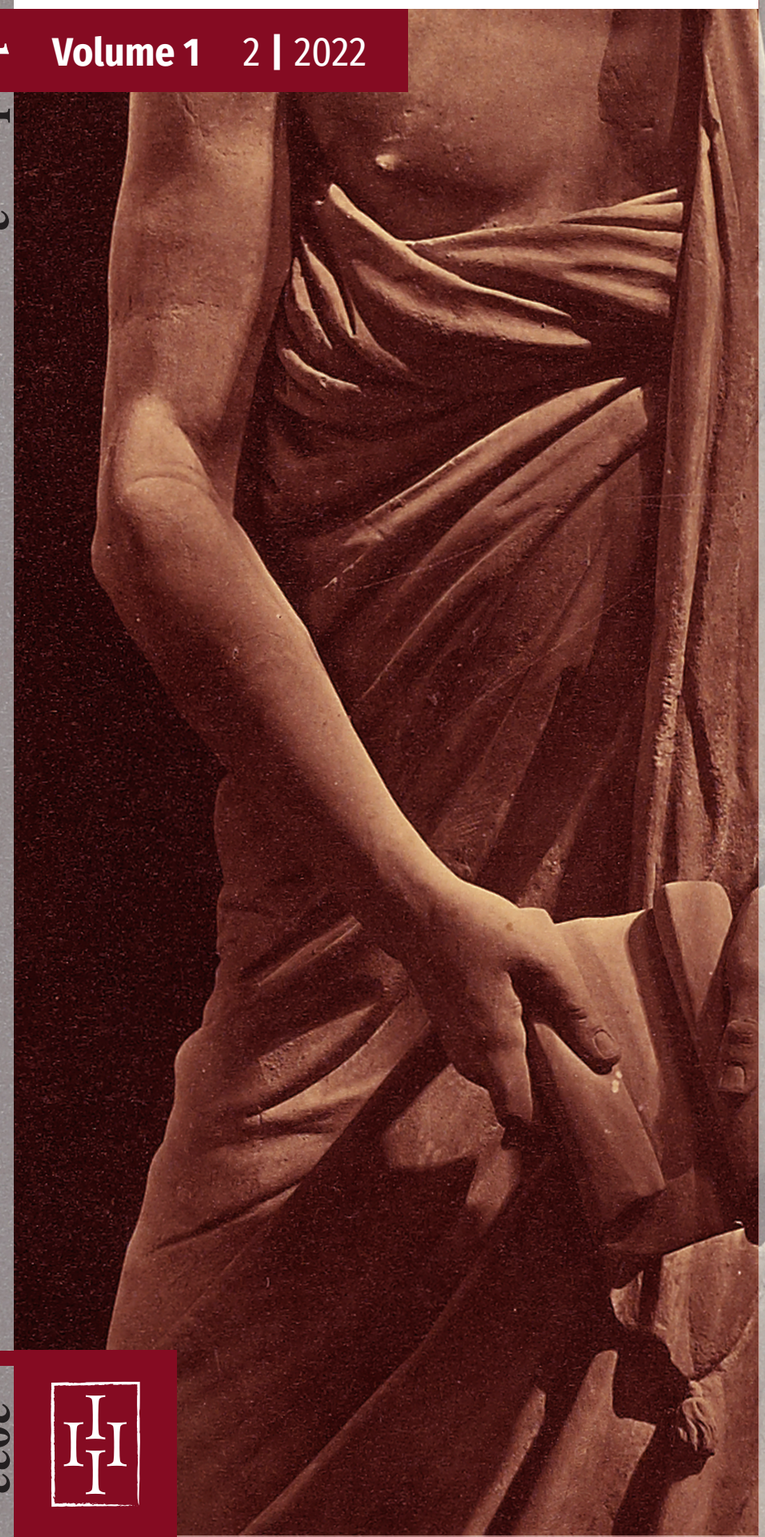

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Attic Deme Harbours, the Rural Economy, and State Oversight of Maritime Trade: The Incident at Φωρῶν Λιμήν ([Dem.] 35.28-29)

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Abstract

Ancient Greek coastal cities imposed stringent rules on maritime traders arriving from other states, requiring them to sail to the official *emporion* alone, abide by their laws when in their territory, use local coinage, and pay the relevant taxes. Yet the territories of these cities often contained other *limenes* (a word that encompasses both artificial harbours and natural moorages) that its legal residents used for fishing and local coastal trade. This article explores the strengths and weaknesses of state oversight of maritime trade by investigating a case study ([Dem.] 35.28-29) where Phaselite merchants allegedly crossed the divide between interstate *emporion*-trade and intra-state coastal trade, avoiding the *emporion* at Piraeus and mooring at a local harbour named Phōrōn Limēn (Thieves' Harbour) yet making use of the market at Piraeus nonetheless. It argues that traditional interpretations of this harbour's function in terms of smuggling are improbable and that the Phaselites used it instead to conceal important knowledge from their creditors whilst accessing the *emporion* on foot. This case study also underscores the important economic function of minor relay ports, particularly in terms of the agricultural economy, since these moorages facilitated essential transport links between the countryside and city markets.

Keywords

Smuggling; piracy; maritime trade; harbours; emporion; agriculture; transport

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Introduction

In studies of ancient seaborne trade, the model of widespread tramping outlined in Horden and Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea* (2000), derived from studies of Medieval Mediterranean trading patterns and retrojected into antiquity, has proven popular among historians of ancient economy and society.[1] This model likens the majority of seaborne merchants to roving peddlers, tramping from one place to the next trying to sell their wares; Horden and Purcell characterise this activity as 'Brownian motion' and 'background noise', even extending it beyond local horizons to long-distance trade.[2] However, Alain Bresson and Pascal Arnaud have argued that maritime trade was less random than the 'Brownian motion' model suggests, and they propose a firmer distinction between how inter-state and intra-state maritime trade functioned in the Classical Greek world. This approach holds that seaborne traders operating between different states were required to sail to and from *emporia* – that is, ports legally designated for this purpose by the state in question and monitored by magistrates of several sorts.[3] There is little room in this model for building up and subsequently selling a cargo piecemeal by tramping speculatively along the coastline from port to port. However, the model does admit that interstate journeys could be segmented, a mixture of short hops between *escales techniques* (that is, navigational landings) and longer open-sea passages.[4] Nevertheless, this model does not reduce all maritime trade to inter-state *emporion*-trade, for it freely admits the existence of much low-level, intra-state relay trade conducted via minor ports and moorages, of a sort that can resemble the *cabotage* model of Horden and Purcell in the sense of short-range coasting, though the degree to which this equates to tramping is up for debate.[5] Such low-level intra-state trade and the minor regional moorages and harbours that served it were the preserve of the legal residents of the region in question: the state excluded foreign merchants from this activity, whose business lay solely with the *emporion*. Of course, adverse weather might force foreign sailors to seek shelter in a minor regional moorage, but the conduct of trade there was not permitted.[6] Yet, the model of Bresson and Arnaud accepts that not everyone followed the rules and that some degree of smuggling should be acknowledged.[7]

[1] Horden and Purcell, 2000: 137-152. For the influence of this model, Constantakopoulou, 2007 *passim*; Bang, 2008: 141-142; Mazurek, 2016; Kowalzig, 2018. Horden and Purcell (2000: 40) label tramping *cabotage*, but the French term refers to coastal navigation, not to tramping as a form of commerce; cf. Arnaud, 2011: 60; Wilson, 2011: 53-54. On Medieval seafaring, note that the *cabotage* model has attracted robust criticism, e.g., Gluzman, 2010.

[2] 'Brownian motion' (i.e., the random motion of particles suspended in a medium): Horden and Purcell, 2000: 142-143; 'background noise': Horden and Purcell, 2000: 150. See especially Horden and Purcell (2000: 149), where the authors subsume under the term *cabotage* the trade between Phaselis and Egypt mentioned in the famous Aramaic customs scroll of 475 BCE (*TAD* C.3.7).

[3] Bresson, 1993: 165-171; 2007; 2016: 286-317; Arnaud, 2005: 107-126 (= *idem* 2020: 121-140); *idem* 2011: 61-66; Descat, 2007. The debate over *emporia* is admirably summarised in Demetriou, 2011: 255-262.

[4] Arnaud, 2005: 112 (= *idem* 2020: 126) and *passim.* Open-sea navigation techniques: Davis, 2009.

[5] Nieto, 1997; Arnaud, 2005: 107-126 (= *idem* 2020: 121-140); *idem* 2011: 59, 64; Wilson, 2011: 53-54; Bresson, 2016: 364-368; and for the integration of local relay ports with the central *emporion*, 311-313. For archaeological case studies, Leidwanger, 2013; 2020: 166-193.

[6] A good illustration of this can be found in Antiphon's speech *On the Murder of Herodes.* Here, we learn that an undecked vessel bound from Mytilene on Lesbos for Ainos in Thrace was forced by stormy weather to put in at a moorage in the territory of Methymna, and that various other vessels were moored there too (Ant. 5.20-21). This moorage is referred to both as a *chorion* (Ant. 5.21-22) and as a *limēn* (Ant. 5.26-28), but was clearly not an *emporion*. Interestingly for our purposes, the speaker is eager to point out (5.22) that his exit from his own vessel and subsequent boarding of a decked vessel was not part of some ruse or plot, but was simply due to the need to shelter from the storm in its hold – this protestation makes sense in terms of the rules discussed in Bresson, 2007.

[7] Arnaud, 2011: 63; Bresson, 2007: 58; 2016: 182, 288, 306-307.

The present article investigates the practical problems posed by the co-existence of these two tiers of trading activity and their oversight by ancient Greek states by exploring a case study where the division between these tiers becomes blurred. The events in question are described in the speech *Against Lacritus*, attributed (rightly or wrongly) to the orator Demosthenes ([Dem.] 35, *c.* 350 BCE).[8] The speaker[9] relates how he and his partner loaned 3,000 dr to two Phaselites – Artemon and Apollodoros – to finance a trading voyage from Piraeus to the Black Sea in a ship skippered by a man named Hyblesios; the terms were written up in a contract that Artemon's elder brother Lakritos, a Phaselite residing at Athens, helped to broker. According to the speaker, the borrowers did not abide by the terms of the contract and, among other underhand deeds, behaved as follows on their return to Attica:

> ὃ δὲ πάντων δεινότατον διεπράξατο Λάκριτος οὑτοσί, δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἀκοῦσαι· οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πάντα ταῦτα διοικῶν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀφίκοντο δεῦρο, εἰς μὲν τὸ ὑμέτερον ἐμπόριον οὐ καταπλέουσιν, εἰς φωρῶν δὲ λιμένα ὁρμίζονται, ὅς ἐστιν ἔξω τῶν σημείων τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἐμπορίου, καὶ ἔστιν ὅμοιον εἰς φωρῶν λιμένα ὁρμίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις εἰς Αἴγιναν ἢ εἰς Μέγαρα ὁρμίσαιτο· ἔξεστι γὰρ ἀποπλεῖν ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος τούτου ὅποι ἄν τις βούληται καὶ ὁπηνίκ' ἂν δοκῇ αὐτῷ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλοῖον ὥρμει ἐνταῦθα πλείους ἢ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας, οὗτοι δὲ περιεπάτουν ἐν τῷ δείγματι τῷ ἡμετέρῳ, καὶ ἡμεῖς προσιόντες διελεγόμεθα, καὶ ἐκελεύομεν τούτους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως ἂν ὡς τάχιστα ἀπολάβωμεν τὰ χρήματα. οὗτοι δὲ ὡμολόγουν τε καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι αὐτὰ ταῦτα περαίνοιεν. καὶ ἡμεῖς τούτοις προσῆμεν, καὶ ἅμα ἐπεσκοποῦμεν εἴ τι ἐξαιροῦνταί ποθεν ἐκ πλοίου ἢ πεντηκοστεύονται.
>
> [Dem.] 35.28-29

> You must now hear the most dreadful thing of all which this man Lakritos has done, since it was this man who oversaw the whole affair. For when they arrived here, they did not sail into your port, but moored in Thieves' Harbour (*Phōrōn Limēn*), which is outside of the signs designating your port; and it is the same thing to moor in Thieves' Harbour as it is if someone were to moor in Aigina or Megara, for anyone can sail out from that harbour to wherever he wishes and at any time he deems fit. And their ship was moored there for more than twenty-five days, whilst these men strolled about in our sample-market (*deigma*); and we approached and spoke with them, urging them to see to it that we should receive the money as quickly as possible. And they were in agreement and kept saying that they wished to bring about that very end. At the same time as we were with them, we were keeping an eye open to see if they were unloading anything from a ship anywhere or paying the two-per cent tax.

After stringing the speaker along with excuses, a startling fact eventually came to light. Lakritos admitted that Hyblesios' ship had sunk off the Crimean coast – and since the contract was null and void in the event of a shipwreck, the borrowers did not have to repay the loan ([Dem.] 35.30-31; *cf.* 56.22). The ship on which the Phaselites had subsequently sailed, and which later moored at Thieves' Harbour, was skippered by another Phaselite, whose name is not given ([Dem.] 35.52-55) – and none of these details was apparently disclosed to the speaker straight away.

[8] For the date, MacDowell, 2009: 262; for an overview of the legal arguments, Harris, 2015: 24-27. This speech may or may not be a genuine work of Demosthenes, and the issue is at any rate immaterial for my argument; I square-bracket the authorship out of convention.

[9] Named as Androkles of Sphettos in the *hypothesis* and non-stichometric inserted documents at §§10 and 14, but not in the main text of the speech itself.

The significance of this passage for the debate over the division between interstate and intrastate maritime trade has often been misconstrued by modern scholars due to the common belief that Thieves' Harbour was a smuggler's cove (or, according to one hypothesis, a pirate's port) and that the speaker was, in a roundabout manner, implying that the Phaselites were smuggling goods. In this article, I argue that the imputation of smuggling is far from certain. Instead, it is more likely that the Phaselites were trying to make use of the facilities at Piraeus for their regular trading activity whilst delaying news of their return from reaching the ears of their creditors. Above all, they moored at Thieves' Harbour – a moorage used for local coastal trade – in order to keep from one very important fact from their creditors for as long as possible: that the ship carrying the cash loan and cargo had sunk and that the Phaselites had returned to Attica on board a different vessel. Our exploration of this episode will require an in-depth look at the location of Thieves' Harbour (§I), the practicalities of local coastal trade in Attica (§II), and certain weaknesses in the Athenian state's oversight of maritime trade – weaknesses that cunning and unscrupulous merchants knew how to exploit (§III).[10]

I. Thieves' Harbour: Its Location and Traditional Interpretations of its Function

The description of the behaviour of the Phaselites on their return to Attica, quoted above, suggests that Thieves' Harbour lay within walking distance of Piraeus. Strabo provides a more explicit statement of its location, listing toponyms along the approach to Piraeus from the west:

> ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἀκτῆς ταύτης ὄρος ἐστὶν ὃ καλεῖται Κορυδαλλός, καὶ ὁ δῆμος οἱ Κορυδαλλεῖς· εἶθ᾽ ὁ Φώρων λιμὴν καὶ ἡ Ψυττάλεια, νησίον ἔρημον πετρῶδες ὅ τινες εἶπον λήμην τοῦ Πειραιῶς· πλησίον δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀταλάντη ὁμώνυμος τῇ περὶ Εὔβοιαν καὶ Λοκρούς, καὶ ἄλλο νησίον ὅμοιον τῇ Ψυτταλείᾳ καὶ τοῦτο· εἶθ᾽ ὁ Πειραιεὺς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς δήμοις ταττόμενος καὶ ἡ Μουνυχία.
>
> Strab. 9.1.14

> Above this shore is a mountain which is called Korydallos, and also the deme Korydalleis; next one comes to the Thieves' Harbour (*Phōrōn Limēn*), and to Psyttaleia, a deserted, rocky islet which some have called the eyesore of Piraeus. And also close by is Atalantē, homonymous with the island near Euboea and the Locrians, and this is another islet like Psyttaleia. Next is the Piraeus, which also is numbered among the demes, and Mounychia.[11]

Thieves' Harbour was therefore located on the coast to the west of Piraeus, somewhere between modern Keratsini and Perama; it still existed when Dodwell visited the area in the early nineteenth century. Travelling from Eleusis to Piraeus, the same route as Strabo's itinerary, he wrote:

> As we approached the Piraeus, Port Phōrōn became visible, at the foot of Aigaleos. The port is at present known by the name of Κλεφθο-λιμανη, 'The Thieves' Port;' and the same sense was designated by its ancient appellation. A neighbouring tower is

[10] For the broader range of tricks used by unscrupulous merchants, Leese, 2021: 136-177.
[11] A useful dissection of the evidence for toponyms in the straits can be found in Wallace (1969), whose interpretation of Strabo's Greek is followed here. Atalante is modern Talandonisi.

> called Κλεφθο-πυργος, the Thieves' Tower, and here are some traces of antiquity; the remains, probably, of a small fort.[12]

The exact location now lies under the heavy industrial development of this stretch of coastline, but a good candidate for Dodwell's Κλεφθο-πυργος (*sic.*) is marked on Curtius' and Kaupert's *Karten von Attika* as the 'Venetianischer Thurm' ('Venetian Tower', *Karten von Attika* Bl. III). Another nineteenth-century traveller, W. M. Leake, wrote that the eastern entrance to the strait of Salamis was demarcated by the western cape of Port Phōrōn on the mainland and the cape of Agia Varvara on Salamis (the easternmost extremity of the island, close to Psyttaleia).[13] Leake placed Phōrōn Limēn at Keratsini, the bay to the east of this tower, and not at the bay of Trapezona (mod. Drapetsona), which he thought was too close to Piraeus.[14] Curtius and Kaupert were inclined to agree with him.[15]

Map I: Karten von Attika Bl. III. (1) foothills of Mt. Aigaleo; (2) the 'Venetianischer Thurm'; (3) Keratsini; (4) Trapezona; (5) Leipsokoutala, ancient Psyttaleia. Modern Perama lies beyond the boundaries of this map, extending to the left of (1) and (2).

[12] Dodwell, 1819: 587.
[13] Leake, 1841: 171.
[14] Leake, 1841: 273. Leake (1841: 33) identifies Phōrōn Limēn with the harbour of the deme of Thymaitadai, where according to a myth reported by Plutarch (*Theseus* 19.5) Theseus secretly built ships. Thymaitadai was at Keratsini (Traill, 1975: 52). Mauro (2019: 97) also locates Phōrōn Limēn at Keratsini.
[15] Curtius and Kaupert, 1883: 8: 'Die Bucht von Trapezona bildet an sich zwar einen vorzüglichen Schlupfwinkel, liegt aber meines Erachtens der Peiraieuseinfahrt zu nahe, um leicht unbeachtet erreicht zu werden; auch bot die rasch ansteigende Höhe dem Landtransport der defraudirten Waaren grössere Schwierigkeiten und geringere Sicherheit vor Entdeckung, als das westlichere Gebiet, wo die Vorhügel des Gebirges bequeme Schleichwege eröffneten'. ['The Bay of Trapezona, while in itself an excellent hideout, is, in my opinion, too close to the entrance of Peiraieus to be easily reached without noticing; also, the rapidly increasing altitude offered greater difficulties to the land transportation of defrauded goods, and less security against discovery than the western region, where the foothills of the mountains opened up convenient secret routes'].

Even though the approximate location of Thieves' Harbour somewhere between modern Perama and Keratsini is clear, its function is rather less so. Many scholars, on the basis of nothing more than the passages from [Demosthenes] and Strabo quoted above – but above all the striking name *Phōrōn Limēn* – have concluded that a smuggler's cove existed virtually round the corner from Piraeus where cargoes were surreptitiously unloaded away from the prying eyes of the *pentēkostologoi* – the officials tasked with exacting a 2% tax on imports and exports in Piraeus.[16] Isager and Hansen, alternatively, translate Phōrōn Limēn as 'Pirates' Harbour', and write: 'Presumably, the pirates' harbour originally served as a refuge for those pirates who carried their booty to Attica'.[17] It is important to look more closely at this issue, for as we shall see, the association with smuggling (or piracy) is far from certain and does not make good sense of what is described in the *Against Lacritus*.

The least likely of the hypotheses canvassed above is that to do with piracy. Objections can be levelled on linguistic and historical grounds. Isager and Hansen translate *phōr* as pirate because the word is glossed as *leistēs* by the *Suda* and the *Lexica Segueriana*.[18] The term *leistēs*, as de Souza has noted, can apply both to the terrestrial and maritime sphere, and therefore can mean either 'bandit' or 'pirate'.[19] Presumably, the maritime context and pairing of the word with limēn, 'harbour', led Isager and Hansen to choose 'pirate' from these two options. Much better than relying on late lexica, however, is a contextual analysis of the semantic range of the term *phōr* in contemporary Greek texts, which reveals that the word is far less specific: it is a general term for thief and a synonym of the much more common word *kleptēs*. For instance, Herodotos repeatedly uses *phōr* in his tale of Pharaoh Rhampsinitos and the thief (Hdt. 2.121) to label the men who burgle the Pharaoh's treasure chamber (he also uses the word *kleptēs* at 2.121β as a synonym; *cf.* 2.174). Plato uses the word in the same way in the *Laws* (874b-c; 954 b-c) in reference to housebreakers. All other contemporary attestations of the word lack maritime connotations and are just general references to theft and thieves.[20] The translation

[16] E.g., LSJ s.v. φώρ III: 'φωρῶν λιμήν, a harbour near Athens, a little westward of the Piraeus, used by smugglers'; Leake, 1841: 33: 'the small circular harbour at the entrance of the Strait of Salamis, which bordered on the demus of Corydalus, and which received the name of Phōrōn from the frauds there committed against the Athenian revenue'; *cf.* Curtius and Kaupert, 1883, in n. 15, *supra*. A. T. Murray's Loeb of 1939 comments (ad loc.): 'Some small inlet, which cannot be identified with certainty, used by thieves and smugglers'; Gernet, 1954: 189 n. 4: 'un rendez-vous (…) de détrousseurs'; Garland, 1987: 95: 'The commonest violation is likely to have been non-payment of harbour dues and the failure to unload two-thirds of grain cargo. Such are the allegations against a Phaselian *nauklēros* made in one of the private speeches of Demosthenes…'; Casson, 1991: 99, 'There was a way to avoid both tolls and dues if one wanted to run the risk: to the west of the port and outside its jurisdiction was a quiet cove so well known as a mooring point for smugglers that it was called "Thieves' Harbor"'; van Nijf and Meier, 1992: 182: 'Smugglers could use a little bay east (sic.) of Piraeus, known as the Thieves' Harbour'; Descat, 2007: 615: 'à Athènes, par exemple, l'*emporion* est au Pirée et, dans la crique très proche de Phalère (sic.), il y a une *rade des voleurs* qui, comme son surnom l'indique, est fréquentée par ceux qui auraient la tentation de frauder, ou au moins qui ne veulent pas s'engager trop pour la vente dans une cité (mais éventuellement repartir pour vendre ailleurs, là où les prix seraient plus intéressants)'; MacDowell, 2009: 263: 'It was used by traders who wanted to evade the customs duties or harbour dues at Piraeus'; Leese, 2021: 161: 'the point of the speaker's description is to show that the defendants were avoiding harbor officials and duties'. Cf. also de Ste. Croix, 1972: 286; Leidwanger, 2020: 205 with n. 28.

[17] Isager and Hansen, 1975: 171.

[18] Isager and Hansen, 1975: 171; *Lex.Seg.* 315,14; *Suda* s.v. φῶρας. In fact, Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* I 315.14-15, is even more explicit: ὁ φωρῶν λιμήν ἐστιν ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἔνθα οἱ λῃσταὶ καὶ κακοῦργοι ὁρμίζονται ('the harbour of thieves is on the boundary of Attica, where the pirates and wrongdoers moor').

[19] de Souza, 1999: 2-9.

[20] S. *TrGF* fr. 853; Sophr. fr. 1 K-A; Ar. fr. 60 K-A; Pl. *Resp.* 334a5; Arist. *EE* 1235a9; *HA* 553b; 624b-625a; Hyp. *Against Athenogenes II* fr. 1 Kenyon *ap.* Harp. s.v. τὰ τῶν φωρῶν κρείττω; Alex. Aet. fr. 5 Powell *ap.* Ath. *Deip.* 699c; [Hp.] *Ep.* 17 Littré, line 224. We may compare the phrase ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ, used in relation to several species of thief caught red handed, including *andrapodistai* (people-stealers) and *lōpodytai* (clothes-stealers): the phrase has a broad rather than a narrow meaning; see Harris, 2006: 373-390.

'Thieves' Harbour', therefore, more accurately captures the semantics of the locution in Classical Greek – there are no linguistic grounds for translating Phōrōn Limēn narrowly as 'Pirates' Harbour'.

Isager and Hansen rightly note that Phōrōn Limēn cannot have been used by pirates by the fourth century and suggest that it got its name during the archaic period.[21] However, one ought not to view piracy in archaic Attica as an illicit activity conducted by outcasts who required some secret bolthole but as an integral feature of archaic society practised openly that gradually faded over time. Small raiding crafts such as pentekonters and triakonters, belonging to local members of the elite and presumably used for plundering voyages, were still to be seen on the coast near Vouliagmeni later in the sixth century.[22] In the fifth century, Athens' maritime empire endured partly because it kept the seas clear of piracy and protected merchants, supporting economic growth among its subject cities.[23] Privately owned warships became a thing of the past after the Persian Wars, and the idea of acquiring one could engender heated debate in the Assembly.[24] In short, an explanation to do with piracy makes no sense because in the archaic period, there was no need for a secluded refuge, and later on, it would have been strategically suicidal to practise piracy next to the home port of the largest fleet in the Aegean, whose duties included suppressing piracy.

Nor is the interpretation of Phōrōn Limēn as a smuggler's cove without problems. Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoē* presents a revealing vignette of opportunistic smuggling, where the pirate Theron and his crew ponder where to offload and sell Callirhoē:

> Ὥρμίσαντο δὴ καταντικρὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑπό τινα χηλήν· πηγὴ δ' ἦν αὐτόθι πολλοῦ καὶ καθαροῦ νάματος καὶ λειμὼν εὐφυής. Ἔνθα τὴν Καλλιρρόην προαγαγόντες φαιδρύνεσθαι καὶ ἀναπαύσασθαι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἠξίωσαν, διασώζειν θέλοντες αὐτῆς τὸ κάλλος· μόνοι δὲ ἐβουλεύοντο ὅποι χρὴ τὸν στόλον ποιεῖσθαι. καί τις εἶπεν Ἀθῆναι πλησίον, μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων πόλις. Ἐκεῖ πλῆθος μὲν ἐμπόρων εὑρήσομεν, πλῆθος δὲ πλουσίων. Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν εὑρήσομεν, πλῆθος δὲ πλουσίων. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ἀγορᾷ τοὺς ἄνδρας οὕτως ἐν Ἀθήναις τὰς πόλεις ἔστιν ἰδεῖν.' ἐδόκει δὴ πᾶσι καταπλεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας, οὐκ ἤρεσκε δὲ Θήρωνι τῆς πόλεως ἡ περιεργία· 'μόνοι γὰρ ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἀκούετε τὴν πολυπραγμοσύνην τῶν Ἀθηναίων; δῆμός ἐστι λάλος καὶ φιλόδικος, ἐν δὲ τῷ λιμένι μυρίοι συκοφάνται πεύσονται τίνες ἐσμὲν καὶ πόθεν ταῦτα φέρομεν τὰ φορτία. ὑποψία καταλήψεται πονηρὰ τοὺς κακοήθεις. Ἄρειος πάγος εὐθὺς ἐκεῖ καὶ ἄρχοντες τυράννων βαρύτεροι. μᾶλλον Συρακουσίων Ἀθηναίους φοβηθῶμεν. χωρίον ἡμῖν ἐπιτήδειόν ἐστιν Ἰωνία, καὶ γὰρ πλοῦτος ἐκεῖ βασιλικὸς ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης Ἀσίας ἄνωθεν ἐπιρρέων καὶ ἄνθρωποι τρυφῶντες καὶ ἀπράγμονες· ἐλπίζω δέ τινας αὐτόθεν εὑρήσειν καὶ γνωρίμους.' ὑδρευσάμενοι δὴ καὶ λαβόντες ἀπὸ τῶν παρουσῶν ὁλκάδων ἐπισιτισμὸν ἔπλεον εὐθὺ Μιλήτου, τριταῖοι δὲ κατήχθησαν εἰς ὅρμον ἀπέχοντα τῆς πόλεως σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα, εὐφυέστατον εἰς ὑποδοχήν. Ἔνθα δὴ Θήρων κώπας ἐκέλευσεν ἐκφέρειν καὶ μονὴν ποιεῖν τῇ Καλλιρόῃ καὶ πάντα παρέχειν εἰς τρυφήν. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐκ φιλανθρωπίας ἔπραττεν ἀλλ' ἐκ φιλοκερδίας, ὡς ἔμπορος μᾶλλον ἢ λῃστής. αὐτὸς δὲ διέδραμεν εἰς ἄστυ παραλαβὼν δύο τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. εἶτα φανερῶς μὲν οὐκ ἐβουλεύετο ζητεῖν τὸν ὠνητὴν οὐδὲ περιβόητον τὸ πρᾶγμα ποιεῖν, κρύφα δὲ καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔσπευδε τὴν πρᾶσιν.
>
> Ch. 1.11–12

[21] Isager and Hansen, 1975: 171.
[22] Van de Moortel and Langdon, 2017. On archaic raiding and state formation, Gabrielsen, 2013; van Wees, 2013.
[23] Bresson, 2016: 303-305; Gabrielsen, 2018: 25-32.
[24] Is. 11.48-49 with Casson, 1995b.

> Presently they anchored in the shelter of a headland across from Attica, where there was an ample spring of pure water and a pleasant meadow. Taking Callirhoē ashore, they told her to wash and to get a little rest from the voyage, wishing to preserve her beauty. When they were alone, they discussed where they should make for. One said, 'Athens is nearby, a great and prosperous city. There we shall find lots of dealers and lots of the wealthy. In Athens, you can see as many communities as you can men in a marketplace.' Sailing to Athens appealed to them all. But Theron did not like the inquisitive nature of the city. 'Are you the only ones,' he asked, 'who have not heard what busybodies the Athenians are? They are a talkative lot and fond of litigation, and in the harbour, scores of troublemakers will ask who we are and where we got this cargo. The worst suspicions will fill their evil minds. The Areopagus is near at hand and their officials are sterner than tyrants. We should fear the Athenians more than the Syracusans. The proper place for us is Ionia, where royal riches flow in from all over Asia and people love luxury and ask no questions. Besides, I expect to find there some people I know.' So, after taking on water and procuring provisions from merchant ships nearby, they sailed straight for Miletus and two days later moored in an anchorage seventy stades from the city, a perfect natural harbour. Theron then gave orders to stow the oars, to construct a shelter for Callirhoē, and provide everything for her comfort. This he did not out of compassion but from a desire for gain, more as a merchant than a pirate. He himself hurried to the town with two of his companions. Then, having no intention of seeking a buyer openly or of making his business the talk of the town, he tried to make a quick sale privately without intermediaries.
>
> (Trans. by Goold, adapted.)

Although this novel is set in the Classical period, it is, a product of the Roman Imperial era. Yet as Bresson notes, the passage underscores some practical points that ought to be valid for Lakritos' day.[25] For one thing, Theron moors his galley (*kelēs*) seventy stades (about eight miles) from Miletos to avoid unwanted official attention; evidently, mooring close to Miletos would be to invite trouble, despite the fact that its officials tended not to ask awkward questions.[26] Secondly, he avoids Attica altogether because of the Athenian reputation for nosiness and litigiousness, something corroborated by (and probably derived from) classical-era sources: Aristophanes jokes about this very reputation (*Pax* 505; *Vesp.* 764-1008; *Nub.* 207-208), and the Old Oligarch grouses about the reputation that the Athenians have among the elites of their empire for harassing them with lawsuits and for requiring allies to come to Athens and be judged by the *demos* ([Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1.14; 1.16-18; *cf.* Thuc. 1.77). We must also consider the state power of Athens. Recent research into the state capacity of ancient polities and empires has considered in detail how they projected power and imposed law and order within their borders.[27] Athens' fourth-century democracy would seem feeble indeed if an out-and-out smuggler's cove existed within walking distance of Piraeus, its second-largest city. Thieves' Harbour may have lain outside the boundaries of Piraeus and thus beyond the jurisdiction of its officials, but it did come under the purview of the local demarch. Besides, Athens yearly empanelled ten generals, one of whom was the 'general for the countryside', and they also appointed a *peripolarchos* whose duties included

[25] Bresson, 2016: 306-307.
[26] The *kelēs* was a kind of merchant galley, much like the *eikosoros* of Hyblesios in [Dem.] 35. On pirate galleys, Lewis, 2019, with references to specialist studies.
[27] E.g., Morris and Scheidel, 2009; Ando and Richardson, 2017.

manning the various border forts and protecting the coastline against enemies.[28] Since Athens was a direct democracy whose citizenry suffered financially if cargo ships skipped Piraeus and its customs officials and unloaded their cargoes tax-free a few miles along the coast, it would appear strange that, having the resources at hand, the Athenians did not stamp out this practice in short order.

One might also question the economics of smuggling from a would-be smuggler's perspective. Smuggling goods into a specific area makes economic sense when certain items are unobtainable on the legal market or where the duty on imports is high. Evan Jones' study of smuggling in sixteenth-century Bristol has shown how, rather than just being the habitual activity of a specific class of individuals, smuggling could also constitute a technique used by merchants to manage volatile market conditions and that under certain conditions legal trade might be more profitable. He notes, in particular, 'specific' taxes, *viz.* set taxes per commodity unit that were not calibrated to reflect a percentage of the commodity's market value. Looking at Medieval wool price schedules, he notes that 'at a given time, the price of English wool could range from £13 per sack (364 lbs) for the best 'March' wools to £2, 10s. per sack for the cheapest Sussex wools. This is important because it meant that the 'specific' duties on wool, typically £2 per sack, would have amounted to a 15 per cent tax on the most expensive wools but an 80 per cent tax on the cheapest varieties'.[29] The situation seems to have been very different in Classical Attica, for we know of no imports that were explicitly banned by the state, and one wonders why anyone would take the risk of being caught simply to avoid the *pentēkostē* (2% *ad valorem* tax), especially when the pool of potential buyers (and thus the competition for the commodity in question and the attendant higher sale price) would be so much smaller than that at the legal market.[30] In other words, any money saved by dodging the 2% tax could be lost in fencing the cargo illegally. The Athenians were less worried about smuggling *into* Attica than the opposite – the smuggling of critical commodities, above all, grain, *out of* Attica (Dem. 34.37; 35.50; 58.8-9). It does not mean that smuggling did not often occur, especially in out-of-the-way places, but the proximity of Thieves' Harbour to Piraeus (and thus to busybodies, officials, and the navy) makes it an unlikely candidate as a smuggler's cove.[31]

Above all, the idea of smuggling sits uncomfortably with what is described in the *Against Lacritus*. The fact that the speaker assumes that his audience has heard of Thieves' Harbour shows that this was not some secret cove known just to smugglers but that everyone knew about it. Furthermore, his main point at §28 is that merchants can sail from this harbour to any destination at any time without officials noticing. Still, he says nothing about smuggling and does not claim that the Phaselites were trying to land cargo at Thieves' Harbour. According to the actions that he describes, the Phaselites openly moored at Thieves' Harbour for nearly a month; if Thieves' Harbour were solely a smuggler's cove, this behaviour would have been extremely risky. Instead, the Phaselites spent their time walking around (περιεπάτουν: [Dem.] 35.29) in the *deigma* (sample market), where merchants would mill about offering samples of their cargo to be tested for quality by prospective buyers, and purchases would be agreed for bulk sales based on the sample.[32] Bresson notes an anecdote in Plutarch's *Life of Demosthenes* (23.4) where grain merchants at the *deigma* carry around (περιφέρωσι) samples of their produce in a bowl; the verb περιεπάτουν at [Dem.] 35.29 could therefore potentially refer either to

[28] Harris, 2013: 21-59, esp. 34-37.
[29] Jones, 2012: 18-19.
[30] *Cf.* Jones, 2012: 17-36.
[31] As Alain Bresson points out to me, merchants still wanted to avoid the 2% tax (and other harbour fees) if possible, which is why *ateleia* was a coveted privilege. On *ateleia* and the merchant's profit margins, Gabrielsen, 2007.
[32] Bresson, 2016: 309-313.

the Phaselites looking to sell or buy a cargo.[33] It is perhaps too easily assumed that the Phaselites must have been looking to sell a cargo; but they could as easily have arrived under ballast with money to buy a cargo (cf. [Dem.] 35.25) – we simply do not know, and both possibilities should remain open. It is crucial to note that the speaker states explicitly that the Phaselites did not unload a cargo ([Dem.] 35.29-30); if by this statement he meant only 'at the *emporion*', it is strange that he makes no rhetorical capital about the possibility of smuggling. Nor should we suppose that clinching a deal at the *deigma* must necessarily have led to cargo being loaded or unloaded at Thieves' Harbour. That is, of course, possible (Theron-style). But the Phaselites may have wished to keep their vessel out of sight for as long as possible. On this scenario, once they had struck a deal (either to buy or to sell a cargo) in the *deigma*, they could have entered Piraeus at dawn, concluded their business, and sailed away.

This explanation has the advantage of avoiding the awkward argument that the Phaselites were smugglers moored next to a huge centre of naval power for nearly a month. It also addresses an obvious difficulty that the Phaselites faced: they returned to Attica principally to do business in the *deigma* – Piraeus was, after all, the largest *emporion* in the Eastern Mediterranean. However, if they moored openly in Piraeus, news about their return on a different vessel than that on which they had departed would quickly have reached their creditor's ears, and they would have instantly faced the headache of having to convince them that the shipwreck off Crimea was a valid reason for not repaying the loan.[34] The prospect of a lengthy lawsuit was the last thing a merchant wanted, and it is exactly what the Phaselites got in the end (including Artemon's brother Lakritos being dragged into the business and having to lodge a *paragraphē* against the indictment). Their behaviour, as described in the speech, fits far better the role of nervous debtors who are eager to do business at Piraeus but want to avoid a messy and potentially expensive lawsuit. They may well have lacked confidence that their case could be proven in court. Instead of assuming that the Phaselites had moored at Thieves' Harbour to conduct some kind of smuggling side-hustle, it makes better sense to see this action as an attempt to keep the news of the shipwreck away from their creditors long enough to conclude their business in Piraeus before they found out and lodged an indictment.[35]

To explore further this possibility – and the vulnerabilities in Athens' formal oversight of maritime trade – we must examine the role of intra-regional maritime trade along the Attic coastline. As we shall see, the Phaselites were in a good position to attempt such a ruse.

II. Attica's Regional Harbours

In enumerating Attica's resources, Xenophon wrote that 'just like the land, so too is the sea surrounding the countryside extremely productive' (*Vect.* 1.3). Apart from the significance of fish to the Athenian diet, the role of local fishermen in meeting this demand, and the possibility of low-level shipbuilding

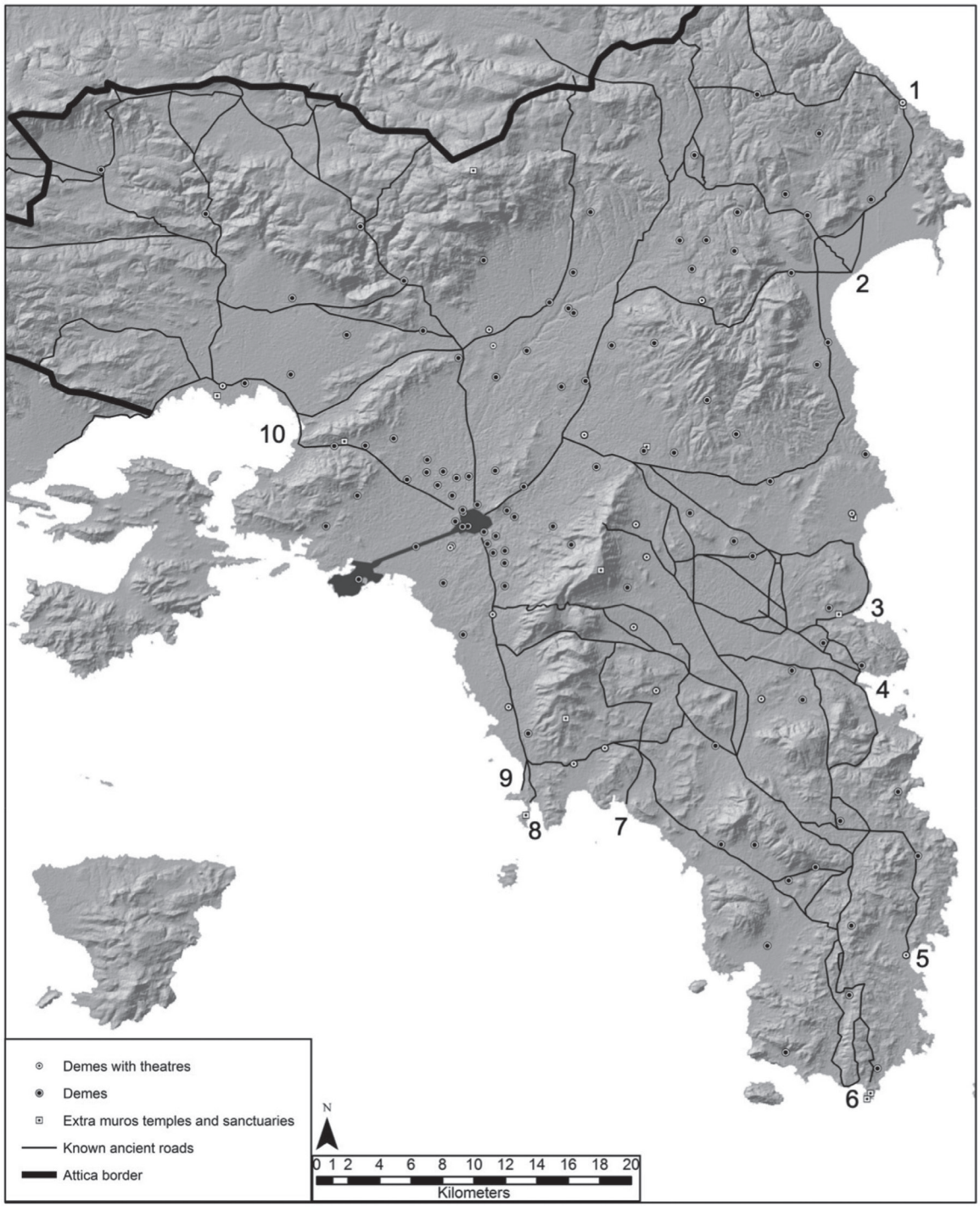
[33] Bresson, 2016: 309.

[34] Note also that the contract ([Dem.] 35.24-25) gave the creditors control of whatever cargo the Phaselites brought back to Athens until the loan had been repaid, and mandated full repayment within twenty days. As Edward Harris points out to me, this clause is omitted from the inserted document at §§10-13 which purports to be the original contract; its absence is an argument against the authenticity of the document.

[35] [Dem.] 35.28-29, therefore presents a comparable argument to that used at Lyc. *Leocr.* 17 and 55, where Leokrates allegedly fled Piraeus at dusk through a postern gate, using a tender moored at the beach to reach his ship which was itself riding at anchor offshore – the characterisation of Leokrates by Lykourgos underscores the furtive actions of a crook, for an honest merchant would depart from the port in daytime with his friends seeing him off.

industry and ferrying in certain demes,[36] we must also consider the integration of agriculture and seafaring. As early as *c.* 700 BCE, Hesiod assumed that a prosperous farmer living close to the sea would own a boat and he advised his brother about how to ship off his agricultural surplus for sale (*Op.* 43-46; 622-632; 643-645; 671-672; 689-693; 805-809; 814-818).[37] For Hesiod, overloading a boat is like overloading a cart; the parallelism gives equal weight to the two main technologies for transporting produce in bulk (*Op.* 689-693). Around the same time, Homer could imagine Odysseus' holdings sprawling beyond Ithaca, with herds pastured on the adjacent mainland whose herders would transport fattened cows across to Ithaca by boat (*Od.* 20.185-190). There is no reason to suppose that a similar integration of agriculture and seafaring did not occur in Greece three or four centuries later. Indeed, Leidwanger has shown that this was true of the Roman Eastern Mediterranean.[38] By the time of the Peloponnesian War, even the rugged interior of the Peloponnese was well integrated with maritime trade and the coastal economy through networks of roads and harbours (Thuc. 1.120.2). We know of specific cases of retailers who loaded baskets of fish onto shoulder-yokes at coastal locations like Epidauros and Argos and proceeded on foot towards markets in Arcadia (Arist. *Rhet.* 1365a26; *SEG* 42.293).[39] *A fortiori*, this was all the more true of Attica, whose topography presented fewer logistical problems and whose coastline was dotted with several perfectly legitimate minor harbours used for intra-regional coastal trade, which included the relaying on of local Attic cargoes (esp. silver from the mines at Laurion, but also fish and agricultural products) to Piraeus and, conversely, the redistribution of goods either manufactured in the urban centre or imported into Piraeus via long-distance trade to consumers in the various Attic demes.[40] It is also possible that this infrastructure facilitated the delivery of Attica's products to merchants operating out of the *emporion* who had made bulk purchases based on samples tried at the *deigma*.[41] A glance at a recent map (see Map II below) plotting known wagon roads in classical Attica shows that a number of these touched at or terminated in bays along the Attic coast, strong circumstantial evidence for the integration of agriculture and coastal trade.[42] Looking clockwise, wagon roads link to: (1) Rhamnous, (2), Marathon Bay, (3) Brauron, (4) Porto Rafti,[43] (5) Thorikos, (6) Sounion, (7) Agia Marina, (8) Vouliagmeni Bay, (9) Kavouri Bay, and (10) Eleusis Bay (including Skaramangas).

[36] McArthur (2021: 500) notes a shipbuilder from the coastal deme Steiria at *IG* I^3 1032.291. Could this man have learned his trade at Steiria? For low-level shipbuilding, Herakleides Kritikos' description of Anthedon in Boiotia (*FGrHist* 369A F1, §§23-24) provides an interesting parallel; on this passage, Bresson, 2015; on the harbours of Boiotia, Kontaxi and Memos, 2006. On ferrying, Barnes, 2006; Constantakopoulou, 2007: 222-226. Alain Bresson suggests to me that small-scale shipbuilding of the sort depicted in Alciphron 1.1 could have taken place in numerous locations around the Attic coastline.
[37] van Wees, 2009: 445-452.
[38] Leidwanger, 2020. For so-called *transhumance maritime* in the Classical and Hellenistic Aegean, Chandezon, 2003: 142, 149, 285, 302-304, 333.
[39] On the roads and harbours of the northern Peloponnese, Bonnier, 2016. Fine Attic illustrations of fish-carriers can be seen in a red-figure *kylix* by Onesimos (Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen, inv. H605 = *ARV*^{2} 329.131) and a red-figure *pelikē* by the Pan Painter (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 3727 = *ARV*^{2} 555.88).
[40] For the economic activities of Rhamnous, Oliver, 2001, and on its harbours, Blackman, Pakkanen and Bouras, 2021; for Aixone, Ackermann, 2018: 177-268; for fishing out of Eleusis, *IG* I^3 994 with Oranges, 2017; Lytle, 2007 (Imperial period). See also Whitehead, 1986: 331 and 339, for demes named in Attic comedy as sources of this or that kind of fish.
[41] Bresson, 2016: 311-313. *Cf. Syll.*^{3} 344 §11 (Teos, *c.* 303 BCE; my thanks to Moritz Hinsch for the reference).
[42] McHugh, 2019: 217, reproduced here with kind permission of the author. Note that what follows is intended only to serve the immediate argument, and makes no pretence at being a comprehensive study of deme harbours or the integration of Attic farming and maritime trade, a subject that requires a lengthy dedicated study by a suitably qualified archaeologist.
[43] An outlet for the rich Mesogaia district that avoided crossing or skirting the Hymettos range by road; Murray et al., 2020.



Map II: The road network of Attica. Image courtesy of Maeve McHugh.

Literary sources provide key evidence too. Pseudo-Scylax (*Periplous* §57) mentions no fewer than seven Attic harbours: one at Salamis, three at Piraeus, one at Anaphlystos, and two at Thorikos; and he also mentions that 'there are many other harbours in Attica'. As Graham Shipley has pointed out, Pseudo-Scylax overlooks the harbour at Sounion and the double harbour at Rhamnous, though he mentions the forts at both these locations.[44] We might also note the busy harbour at Oropos, a

[44] Shipley, 2010: 108-110; cf. Blackman, Pakkanen and Bouras, 2021: 185. Mauro, 2019 notes several other anchorages in Attica: see her Appendix (pp. 81-101) nos. 6 (Dipsa); 27, 84, and 164 (all three on Salamis); 137 (Pasa Limani); 142 (Phaleron). On harbour facilities on Salamis, Lolos and Simossi, 2020.

settlement that at times lay within, at other times outwith, Athenian control.[45] It is worth noting that these local moorages or harbours were generally natural features: the Greek word *limēn* is not limited to artificial harbours in the modern sense; and these deme harbours will, of course, have been used in accordance with the rhythms of the wind and seasons.[46]

This ought not to be surprising, for local moorages and small wooden vessels played an important role in the movement of agricultural produce to market in many coastal parts of Greece until quite recently, though the post-WWII improvement of Greece's road network and the increasing use of trucks significantly reduced the volume of such trade. Philip Betancourt's ethnographical study of coastal trade around the Gulf of Mirabello in Eastern Crete has shown how Mochlos acted as the hub port for the gulf through which longer-distance traffic passed, whilst local fishermen and residents of the coast used smaller moorages to integrate their activities with such larger coastal towns.[47] He notes that 'the Union of Greek Shipowners recorded over 15,000 small sailing boats involved in coastal shipping in 1938, carrying over a million tons of goods annually (…) Because the official figure represents only the recorded cargo, one must assume it is very conservative'.[48] Similarly, Leidwanger and Knappett note the resistance of Cypriot coastal traders, particularly carob traders, to British attempts to centralise the nodes of maritime distribution, preferring long-established patterns of trade that made use of numerous coastal bays.[49] Even during the 1970s and into the 1980s, along the eastern shore of the Pagasitikos Gulf, smaller loads of agricultural produce were still sent from villages like Afisos and Lefokastro to the regional hub of Volos by boat, despite the region possessing a road network fit for truck transport (which dealt with bulkier loads).[50] While the volume of trade in twentieth-century Greece and Cyprus obviously exceeded that of antiquity, the infrastructural patterns of trade show certain similarities.

What can we say about coastal traffic around ancient Attica? Already in the sixth century BCE, shepherds in the Vouliagmeni area were scratching onto the bare rock depictions of the ships of merchants plying the Attic coastline – local men whose names they knew, e.g., 'the *holkas* of Egertios and Chariades', and 'the *holkas* of Diphilos'.[51] We do not know where these vessels were constructed, but a century or more later, there was a flourishing shipbuilding industry in the vicinity of Piraeus.[52] A passage from Xenophon's *Hellenica* (5.1.23) provides a glimpse of the quotidian bustle of Attica's

[45] Busy harbour with greedy officials: *FGrHist* 369a F1 §§6-7.
[46] US Hydrographic Office, *Mediterranean Pilot* vol. IV (Washington, 1916): 116-124, describes anchorages around Attica, some of which are unusable in winter. For the near equivalence of ancient and modern winds, Murray, 1987. We must also consider the agricultural year; the grain harvest fortuitously coincided with the early summer, a good time for seafaring. The use of deme moorages for transporting agricultural goods to market may then have had its peak not long after the harvest. (Fishing boats, on the other hand, could be launched year-round, weather permitting; in this respect, Ephraim Lytle has pointed me to Dio Chrys., *Euboecus* 7.2-3; Oppian, *Halieutica* 19-20.) For unloading vessels in natural bays using lighters rather than beaching, Votruba, 2017 and Nakas, 2019. For ships' tenders (*lemboi*), which could be used as lighters for loading and unloading, Dem. 32.6-7 (*Against Zenothemis*); 34.10 (*Against Phormio*); Anaxandrides fr. 34.7 K-A, and esp. Lyc. *Leocr.* 17. Merchant galleys (on which, see below) will have been less constrained by contrary winds and calms than sail-driven *holkades.* Note how sea transport around Attica might under some conditions prove more arduous than transport by land: Thuc. 7.28.1.
[47] Betancourt, 2004.
[48] Betancourt, 2004: 92.
[49] Leidwanger and Knappett, 2018: 11.
[50] Natasha Terlexi, *per litteras* (31 May 2022), based on memories from her youth and conversations with her grandmother, Kyria Katina.
[51] Van de Moortel and Langdon, 2017.
[52] McArthur, 2021, esp. p. 495 on [Dem.] 17.27 (*On the Accession of Alexander*), which describes an attempt to build small commercial craft at Piraeus.

coastal economy in the fourth century and the mixture of local coastal trade and longer-range external trade. When the Spartan commander Teleutias raided Piraeus in 388 BCE, he first captured the large merchant ships; then he cruised southwards to snap up the smaller fry plying the western Attic coastline: 'he captured many fishing boats and ferryboats sailing in from the islands; and having come to Sounion he captured merchant ships, some full of grain, others of merchandise'.[53] More can be said about Sounion, for an inscription dating to *c.* 460-450 BCE mentions the tolls paid by merchants using this harbour: if they carry a cargo weighing up to 1,000 talents (around 26 tonnes), they must pay a fee of seven obols; if they carry over 1,000 talents, they are to be charged a further seven obols per thousand talents (*IG* I^3 8).[54] These fees seem to have accrued to the cult of Poseidon at Sounion.[55] Of course, Sounion could act both as a harbour for local intra-state trade and as a stop-off point for inter-state traders on the way from Piraeus to other more distant destinations or vice versa.

This overview of Attic coastal trade has a significant bearing on our interpretation of Thieves' Harbour and the description of its use in [Dem.] 35.28-29. First, Thieves' Harbour should be understood not as an isolated example of a non-*emporion* harbour in Attica, but as one of a string of local moorages that dotted the Attic coastline. Secondly, we must reckon with a general background of more-or-less constant coastal trade and fishing, differing in intensity throughout the year. In other words, the mooring of a small merchant vessel there need not have aroused any suspicions. This is key contextual information in understanding why the Phaselites moored there without official interference for nearly a month. But above all, the location of Thieves' Harbour adjacent to Piraeus is crucial for understanding why it, and not some other coastal moorage, was the destination of the Phaselite merchants.

III. Vulnerabilities in Athens' Oversight of Maritime Trade

We noted earlier that the Athenian state aimed to reap the benefits of foreign maritime trade, both in terms of its general economic benefits accrued to the citizenry, and the specific tax income levied at Piraeus. At the same time, the state did not wish to deprive its citizens of the infrastructural benefits of local coastal trade. Accordingly, it aimed at keeping the practitioners of these two tiers of trade separate. But this system was vulnerable to exploitation for two reasons.

First was the comparative lack – or in some cases complete absence – of state regulation of these local harbours and moorages, some of which, as we have already noted, were only used seasonally. Even a modern state, with all its sophisticated surveillance apparatus, cannot police all transactions in its territory; plenty of trade goes on under the radar, and this must have been all

[53] Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.23: ἅτε ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος πλέων, πολλὰ καὶ ἁλιευτικὰ ἔλαβε καὶ πορθμεῖα ἀνθρώπων μεστά, καταπλέοντα ἀπὸ νήσων. ἐπὶ δὲ Σούνιον ἐλθὼν καὶ ὁλκάδας γεμούσας τὰς μέν τινας σίτου, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἐμπολῆς, ἔλαβε.
[54] *IG* I^3 8, ll. 20-22: [ἐὰν μέχρι χ]ιλίον ταλάντον ἄγε[ι], hεπτὰ | [ὀβολός, hόσα] δὲ hυπὲρ χίλια, hεπτ' ὀβο[λ]ὸς | [κατὰ τὰ χίλι]α·.
[55] *IG* I^3 8, line 6. If the term [ἐπιβατ]ικὸν is correctly restored at lines 6-7, this makes most sense as a fee for travellers hitching a ride up or down the coast in addition to the *naulon* or ferry-charge they would have to pay (Ar. *Ran.* 270; Xen. *Anab.* 5.1.12, Din. 1.56, etc.). It is possible that the tolls in this inscription only applied during the *trieteris* festival of Poseidon, see line 18 with Vélissaropoulos, 1980: 221. As an example of ships below the 1,000-talent threshold, we may consider the Ma'agan Mikhael ship, able to carry 15.9 tonnes, or the Kyrenia ship, able to carry 23.3 tonnes; Nantet, 2016: 314-318 (Ma'agan Mikhael), 323-326 (Kyrenia). As Bresson (2016: 86) points out regarding the Kyrenia ship, such vessels 'were best suited for the needs of a redistributive trade in a short- and medium-distance horizon'.

the truer of ancient states.[56] Travelling peddlers traversing the Attic countryside like the Boiotian in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (860-958) had to pay a fee to enter foreign territory, but they did not have to worry about roaming *agoranomoi* when they tramped from farm to farm or village to village hawking their wares.[57] Nor did fish-sellers who loaded their yoke-baskets with fish caught by fishermen from Attica's coastal demes and proceeded inland to sell their wares to farmers (Antiphanes frr. 69 & 127 K-A; *cf.* Alciphron 1.1) have to worry about the intervention of the state. The Athenian state took a pragmatic approach, concentrating its regulatory oversight on the main nodes of market exchange, *viz.* Piraeus and the city *agora*, which were, at any rate, the best places to do business since they brought together many buyers, sellers, and a vast range of commodities.[58] And indeed, this system was to no small degree a self-regulating one because of the basic incentives that foreign merchants faced. For a small 2% tax *ad valorem*, the merchant entering Piraeus could access the greatest number of potential buyers of his cargo in a tightly regulated environment whose institutions were designed to protect both buyers and sellers from fraud. As for coastal moorages beyond the *emporion*, regulation was less elaborate. We do know of some taxes (and exemptions from the same) imposed by the demes.[59] Rhamnous is of particular interest: Bresson notes a tax raised from activity in the *agora* of Rhamnous (*SEG* 41.75),[60] and we also know of one Athenian citizen who was granted *ateleia tou plou* by the Rhamnousians in relation to their harbours during the third century BCE (*SEG* 15.112). Blackman suggests an exemption from a local harbour tax,[61] and the small docking fee known from Sounion (*IG* I^3 8) provides a parallel. But in general, it is safer to assume uneven official oversight, which is precisely what the speaker says in the *Against Lacritus* (§28): 'it is the same thing to moor in Thieves' Harbour as it is if someone were to moor in Aegina or Megara, for anyone can sail out from that harbour to wherever he wishes and at any time he deems fit'.[62] The point here is not that Aigina and Megara lack officials in their ports but that Thieves' Harbour, like the ports of Aigina and Megara, was not policed at all by Athenian officials.[63] For the Phaselites, Thieves' Harbour presented several advantages over Piraeus. First, official oversight was much weaker. Secondly, as long as they did not try to unload cargo, they could moor there without interference indefinitely. But thirdly (and most importantly), Thieves' Harbour was within reasonable walking distance of Piraeus, allowing the Phaselites to enjoy the best of both worlds: access to the biggest *emporion* of the Eastern Mediterranean, at whose *deigma* they could broker a deal (either as buyers, or sellers with a small portable sample), but also the advantage of maintaining a low profile and keeping their creditors in the dark for as long as possible.

[56] *Cf.* Lytle, 2016: 111-112: 'Of course, the ancient definition of a harbour could itself be ambiguous. There is no expectation that a harbour necessarily required infrastructure. Any bay suitable for sheltering or offloading vessels could suffice. And not all such harbours would have been subject to supervision, which would have imposed an impossible regulatory burden on cities with long coastlines and limited resources.'
[57] Bresson, 2016: 287-288, 295-297.
[58] Bresson, 2016: 294.
[59] Whitehead, 1986: 150-152.
[60] Bresson, 2016: 237. On deme *agorai,* Jones, 2004: 86; Kakavogianni and Anetakis, 2012; Harris and Lewis, 2016: 13.
[61] Blackman, Pakkanen and Bouras, 2021: 188-191; Osborne, 1990: esp. 292-293, where he provides a translation of *SEG* 25.112.
[62] [Dem.] 35.28: καὶ ἔστιν ὅμοιον εἰς φωρῶν λιμένα ὁρμίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις εἰς Αἴγιναν ἢ εἰς Μέγαρα ὁρμίσαιτο· ἔξεστι γὰρ ἀποπλεῖν ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος τούτου ὅποι ἄν τις βούληται καὶ ὁπηνίκ' ἂν δοκῇ αὐτῷ.
[63] *Cf.* Osborne, 2018: 291: 'When Demosthenes glosses 'Thieves' cove' (35.28), it is to make the technical point that because it is outside the formally constituted port it might as well be Aegina or Megara as far as formal controls are concerned.'

A further vulnerability of this two-tier system of maritime trade was that there were not two distinct classes of vessels, one used for foreign trade, the other for local coastal trade. It would, of course, have been rather fishy if one of the larger merchantmen active in long-distance bulk trade (often large enough to carry cargoes of around 100-200 tons; some were even larger) sailed past Piraeus and anchored at Thieves' Harbour – this could hardly have had an innocent explanation.[64] But the situation was rather murkier for smaller vessels that might engage alternatively in interstate or intra-state trade. The speaker describes the crooked Phaselite merchants as using just such a vessel on their outbound voyage to the Crimea: this ship, skippered by Hyblesios, was an *eikosoros*, a twenty-oared merchant galley – an intermediary type between the sail-dependant 'round ships' used for trade and the oar-dependant 'long ships' used for military purposes ([Dem.] 35.18).[65] This particular ship was large enough to be used for long-distance trade.[66] Yet it could equally be pressed into service for intra-regional coastal trade, which is what the speaker claims that the ship was doing along the Crimean coast when it sank; at [Dem.] 35.31-32, he relates that the *eikosoros* was carrying salt fish and eighty amphoras of low-quality Coan wine for a farmer travelling in the boat from Pantikapaion to Theodosia, for the use of his farm labourers.[67] This, we may note, was not illegal activity for a foreign trader, since Theodosia had been made an *emporion* by King Leukon.[68] We do not know what sort of vessel the Phaselites were travelling aboard when they anchored at Thieves' Harbour, but we do know that it was skippered by another Phaselite, and if it were of a similar class, then it might have as easily passed as a local coastal merchant as it could an interstate trader.[69] And we might further note the speaker's claim that Lakritos – who was a pupil of Isocrates and ran his own educational establishment at Athens ([Dem.] 35.15, 40-41) – had schooled his brothers there ([Dem.] 35.42). Artemon probably spoke Attic Greek like a local. In other words, the Phaselites moored at Thieves' Harbour were well-equipped to fit in and maintain a low profile, all the while visiting the *deigma* for business and keeping the news of the shipwreck from the ears of their creditors.

[64] On the size of ships, Nantet, 2016.

[65] On merchant galleys, Casson, 1995a: 157-168. At p. 169 n. 5 Casson argues (against Morrison in Morrison and Williams, 1968: 245) that the term *eikosoros* in [Dem.] 35.18 is just a generic term for sailing ships and that the size of this particular ship makes it unlikely that it was a merchant galley. But as Davis (2009: 53 n. 6) shrewdly notices, just a few pages earlier Casson writes of various much larger merchant galleys, which would appear to negate his objection. Furthermore, *pace* Casson, in none of the occurrences of this term in Classical and Hellenistic literature (a brief list: Nicostratos fr. 9 K-A; *Anth. Pal.* 5.161 and 6.222; Teles, *On Exile* p. 27) is there any reason to think that 'merchant galley' is not the intended meaning. Casson writes that the term was applied to Hiero II's super-freighter, but the text (Athen. *Deip.* 5.207c) does not *describe* this ship as an *eikosoros*; it says: ἦν δὲ ἡ ναῦς τῇ μὲν κατασκευῇ εἰκόσορος, τριπάροδος δέ, which Casson (1995a: 195-196) rightly translates as 'The vessel, *though built after the model of a twenty-er*, had three levels of gangways' (my italics). In sum, there is no good reason to follow Casson's claim that the term *eikosoros* was used 'indiscriminately' of all merchant ships.

[66] According to the contract paraphrased at [Dem.] 35.18, Hyblesios had to take on a cargo of 3,000 *keramia*, which Nantet reckons at around 78-108 tons (Nantet, 2016: 548). However, the detail about these jars being Mendaean (on which Nantet's calculation is based) is found only in the document at [Dem.] 35.10-13 and in the testimony at [Dem.] 35.20, which may be later forgeries and at any rate lie outside the stichometry of the speech (as Mirko Canevaro points out to me).

[67] For an image found in Athens of a merchant galley that was probably involved in the Piraeus–Black Sea trade, Scholl, 1993. The wreck of such a vessel has recently been found in deep water in the Black Sea: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-45951132 (accessed 30/12/2021).

[68] Dem. 20.31-33 (*Against Leptines*). See further Canevaro, 2016: 254-255.

[69] Indeed, the merchant galley type that Greek sources call *phasēlos*, and Latin sources *phaselus*, more probably derived its name from the city of Phaselis (as argued by J. S. Morrison in Morrison with Coates, 1996: 262) than from the Greek word for a bean (the view followed by Casson, 1995a: 167-168). In other words, this kind of merchant galley may have been a local Phaselite invention and commonly used by its sailors.

Conclusion

It seems that the picaresque name of Thieves' Harbour – whose origin may have any number of explanations and is at any rate unknowable today – has boxed-in modern scholars' interpretation of [Dem.] 35.28-29 from the start, priming them to interpret the passage and the location itself in terms of smuggling. However, we have seen both how the sources provide no clear evidence of smuggling or piracy there, and that there are good practical reasons for explaining the actions of the Phaselites differently. The passage should therefore be read on its own terms without assuming smuggling (or piracy) based on the name Phōrōn Limēn. When we do so, what emerges is rather significant; for not only can we make better sense of the speech itself – the episode also sheds light both on chinks in the armour of Athens' institutional oversight of maritime trade and on an underappreciated element of Attica's economic infrastructure: its string of coastal moorages, whose role in the practical operation of the economy (particularly the agricultural economy) provides further evidence against the primitivist view that Attica's farmers were isolated from markets.[70]

[70] E.g., Gallant, 1991: 101. *Cf.* Lewis, 2018: 181-193, with reference to the broader debate and specialist studies.

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The Migration of Free Roman Citizens and a Barbarian King to Histria: Origins, Status, Rights, and Professions

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Abstract

This paper examines the migration and origins of Roman citizens in Histria based mainly on epigraphical sources. It focuses on the origins and identity of the newcomers who settled permanently in the region during the entire Imperial period. It looks into free individuals who migrated voluntarily in search of a better life and trade earnings, and others who settled as veterans or found refuge in Histria from troubles in their homeland. The legal status of settlers, visitors, and immigrants was resolved by special decisions, as evidenced by the inscription on the use of thermal baths near Buje, which records the decurions' permission to the colonists, *incolae*, and foreigners to bathe. Inscriptions confirm various types of migration in Histria, seasonal, temporary, and permanent. Members of the municipal aristocracy and Augustals retained their status after the relocation. Several veterans, mostly born in Italy, settled permanently in Histria. Particularly interesting is the case of Rasparaganus, King of the Sarmatian tribe of Roxolani, who died and was buried with his family on the small island of Pola. Among migrants without ties to the military or the administration but who came to Histria because of their profession or in search of higher earnings, clothing merchants stand out. Temporary visitors were registered in important religious and health centres. Finally, the paper examines city patrons coming from another city to establish whether they can be considered migrants.

Keywords

Roman Histria; migration; *incolae*; Latin inscriptions; merchants; city patrons; Rasparaganus; veterans

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Introduction

General issues of mobility in Roman times to the east coast of the Adriatic have only recently attracted greater scholarly interest.[1] The paper examines the identity of the people who settled permanently in Histria during the Imperial Period, their origins, what prompted them to move, and how they fared after settling, and traces the existence of seasonal, temporary migrants (Map 1).[2] The Roman colonisation of Histria began with the foundation of Roman colonies Pola, Tergeste and Parentium, from Caesar's to Tiberius' period. During the Imperial Period, a significant number of migrants settled in various parts of Histria, in cities, in villas, in colonial *agri*, and in the territories of indigenous communities. Most immigrants were slaves who did not come of their own free will but as movable property and an object of trade. For the purpose of this paper, slaves are excluded and the focus rests on tracing through the epigraphic record free individuals, both freeborn and freedmen, who migrated voluntarily in search of a better life and trade earnings, veterans, or others who found refuge in Histria from troubles in their homeland. I say 'voluntarily' even for *curatores* and active soldiers. They were free individuals who came to Histria under orders; their duty was a result of their free will and choice, unlike the slaves.

The study spans the Roman Imperial Period, from Augustus' rise in 27 BCE till the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 CE; the epigraphic record from the first and second century CE is much richer and, consequently, over-represented in this study. The granting of Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants of the Roman Empire (*Constitutio Antoniniana*, 212 CE)[3] may have mitigated some reasons for resettlement, but it did not stop migration. Indeed, of all the inscriptions examined in the study, only one sarcophagus lid bearing a Greek inscription (*EDR* 142385) is dated safely after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. This rarity could be interpreted as an indication of less frequent migration to Histria after 212, but caution is advised because the overall number of stone inscriptions in Histria sharply decreases from the beginning of the third century.[4] Thenceforth, inscriptions are almost exclusively preserved on sarcophagi, which only the wealthiest could afford. Therefore, the absence of data on migrants after 212 CE is not a clear indication of a real decrease in their number.

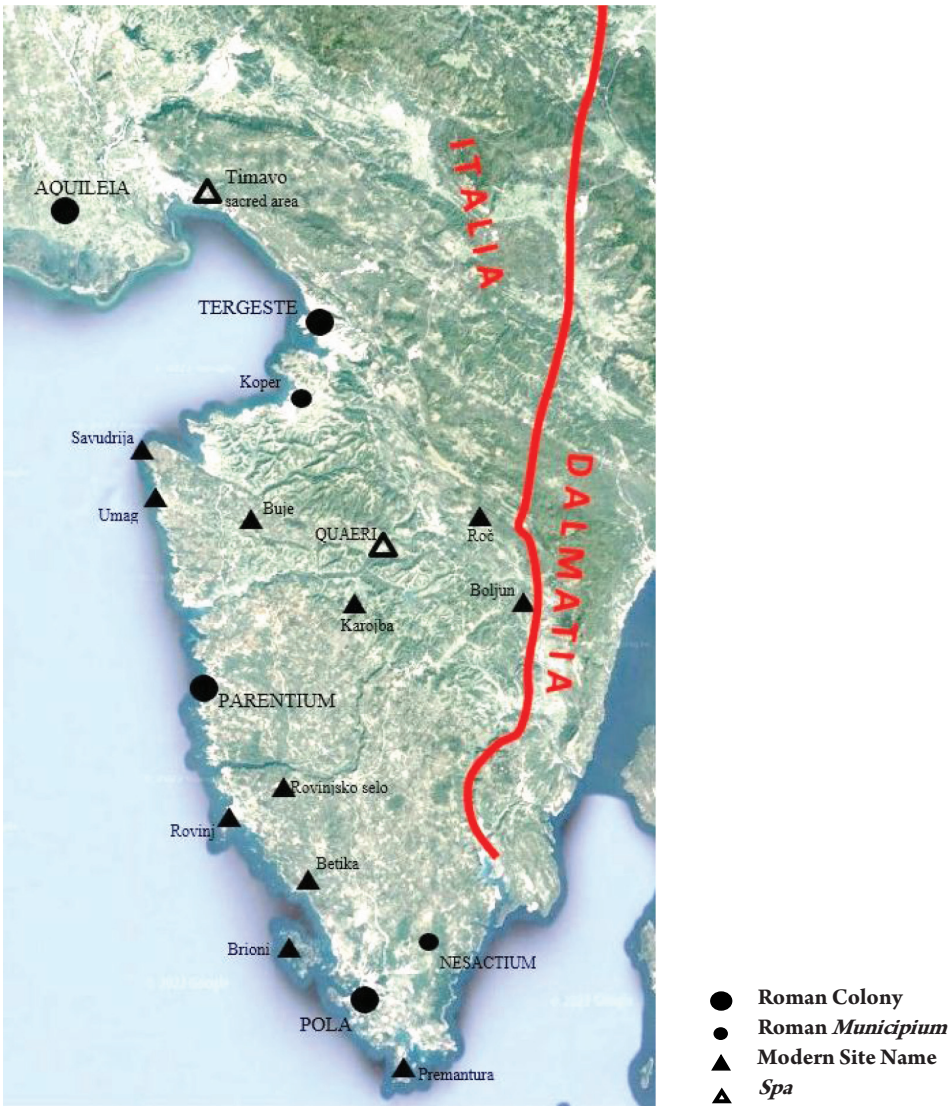
Inscriptions attest to various types of migration in Histria: seasonal, temporary, and permanent. Different kinds of foreigners to the land are attested: municipal aristocracy, magistrates, city patrons, Augustals, soldiers, praetorians, veterans, high-ranking military commanders, merchants, pilgrims, even a deposed barbarian king with his family. Their motives for coming to Histria were very different: some came of their own free will; others were descendants of slaves; some officials came to fulfill their administrative duties; veterans and a deposed barbarian king were settled in Histria by the decision of the

[1] Sanader, Vukov and Bužanić, 2020: 105.

[2] Ancient and modern regions rarely, if ever, fully overlap, therefore it is necessary to distinguish between the geographical and administrative concepts of Istria and Histria. The peninsula was named after its pre-Roman inhabitants, the tribe of Histri. The territory of the Roman region of Histria included the Roman colonies of Pola, Parentium, and Tergeste, the Roman municipium of Nesactium, and territories populated by indigenous communities in the north, subordinated to the colony of Tergeste. Together with the neighbouring region of Veneto in northeastern Italy, Histria became part of the Augustan Regio X. The Raša river was the eastern boundary of Histria, separating the tribe of Histri from the tribe of Liburni. After the inclusion of Histria in Italy during the reign of Augustus, the Raša river became the eastern border of Italy (Plin. *HN* 3.127; Starac, 1999: 57-59). Modern Istria no longer refers to the area of Trieste (Tergeste), but extends to the east of the Raša river, including with the town of Labin and Mt Učka, which in Roman times belonged to the province of Dalmatia.

[3] Cass. Dio 78.9.5; Dig. 1.5.17; Sherwin-White, 1996: 380-386, on the issue were the dediticii peregrini capable of acquiring Roman citizenship; Held and Orešković, 2021: 613-615, on the reasons why Roman citizenship was attractive to peregrini.

[4] Starac, 2010: 125.



Map 1: Histria and nearby areas. Base map sourced from Google Maps; graphics created by the author.

authorities. Some died during a temporary stay in Histria, away from home. Many settled permanently or came seasonally for work, trade, earnings, to harvest the income of estates distant from their permanent residence and enjoy leisure, while others came with a specific purpose motivated by personal or religious reasons, to visit the shrine at the source of the Timavo river or receive treatment at the local *spa*.

Migration to Histria was purely individual. For the purpose of this paper, the migration of the individuals whose names appear on stone is considered as individual migration, as opposed to group migration. That is with the understanding that those private individuals may have been accompanied by family members, whose presence we cannot detect in the epigraphic record. Historical sources record the looting of the Pannonians and Noricans during the reign of Augustus, but this episode left no archaeological traces of a permanent settlement in Histria.[5] Group immigration is not attested in historical sources before the fall of the Roman Empire and the ensuing great migration of the Ostrogoths, which left a clear archaeological trace in Histria.[6]

[5] Cass. Dio 54.20, 16 BCE; Alföldy, 2014: 53-54.
[6] MacGeorge, 2002: 176-177, 290; Halsall, 2008: 280-282, 287; Bratož, 2014: 217-240, 371-383.

Table 1: Greek Inscriptions from Histria Bearing Names of Roman Citizens

No	Publication	Names Inscribed	Origin	Type of Monument	Material	Site	Date
1	*IIt* X/1 212 = *EDR* 136480	Αὐρήλιος Πρόκλος Ληουίτου	Eastern Mediterranean, Syrian provinces?	Sarcophagus	Unknown	Pola	161-300 CE
2	*IIt* X/1 26 = *EDR* 135210	Κλαυδία Καλλικράτεια, Κορνήλιος Διαδούμενος	Eastern Mediterranean	Votive altar	Limestone	Pola	100-200 CE
3	*IIt* X/1 588 = *EDR* 138888	Ρουφία Χρυσόπολις	Eastern Mediterranean	Funerary altar	Marble	Pola, Premantura	100-200 CE
4	*IIt* X/1 166 = *EDR* 136263	Εὐσέβιος, Εὐσεβία	Eastern Mediterranean	Sarcophagus, bilingual (Greek inscription added at a later date)	Unknown	Pola	?
5	Šašel, Marušić 1984, 313, no. 40 = *EDR* 142385	[---]νος	Eastern Mediterranean	Sarcophagus lid	Limestone	Brioni	300-500 CE

Epigraphic Data on Migrants to Histria

Greek inscriptions in Histria are overwhelmingly outnumbered by Latin ones, yet it is impossible to ascertain, based on the existing epigraphic evidence, whether the descendants of the migrants in Histria spoke and wrote Greek. Quite characteristically, every Greek inscription preserved is linked to a migrant from the Eastern provinces. Together, they provide valuable information about the free Greeks settlers in Histria (Table 1).[7] Most, but not all, had a Greek cognomen, as expected. The name Ληουίτος (**n. 1**) is of Jewish origin.[8] Other Greek inscriptions from Histria were paid and erected by slaves: Γλύκερα,[9] Σιλουέστερ,[10] Σιλβάνη,[11] and the couple Θησεύς Ὀνησίμου and Ἀρτεμις Ποσιδωνιου.[12] The funerary monument of Ἀμμώνιος from Alexandria[13] and the inscription of spouses Ὀρκηβία Πῶλα Ποπλίου and Γαϊος Τορπιλιος from Rome were bought at antiques markets;[14] their uncertain provenance cannot safely place them in the colony of Tergeste as proposed in the corpus *IIt* X/4. While persons for whom both family and personal names are scribed were free citizens who migrated to *Histria* of their own free will, those attested with only their personal name were, in most cases, slaves forcibly brought to the region,[15] except Εὐσέβιος and Εὐσεβία (**n. 4**):[16] their names were probably added to an older sarcophagus in Late Antiquity, when the family name had lost its significance as an indicator of citizenship and much of the citizens came to have one, personal name.[17] Latin inscriptions indicating the place of origin or foreign tribe of a person are, as expected, much more numerous than Greek ones (Table 2).

[7] Matijašić, 2001: 347.
[8] Ilan, 2002: 183; Honigman, 2004: 288.
[9] *IIt* X/1 279 = *EDCS*-04200254, Pola.
[10] *SEG* 50:1047/552 = *EDCS*-64900538, Nesactium, Golubinčina cave near Rakalj, 1-200 CE; Matijašić, 2001: 344-347.
[11] *IIt* X/4 388 = *EDR* 007617, Tergeste, Roiano, Via Flavia, 1-100 CE; Zaccaria, 1992: 239, n. 388.
[12] *IIt* X/4 336 = *EDR* 007604, Tergeste, Brestovizza, Grotta di Mosci cave, 100-200 CE; Zaccaria, 1992: 234-235, n. 336.
[13] *IIt* X/4 394; Zaccaria, 1992: 240, no. 394.
[14] *IIt* X/4 389; Zaccaria, 1992: 239, no. 389.
[15] Wilson, 1998: 25-26, shows that slaves had only one name. He also notes (p. 44) that a single name could be suggestive of a peregrine, a free individual without Roman citizenship, as in case of Rasparaganus, father of P. Aelius Peregrinus (**n. 8**).
[16] *IIt* X/1 166 = *EDR* 136263, Pola.
[17] Wilson, 1998: 47-50.

Table 2: Latin Inscriptions Bearing Names of Resettled Citizens and their Descendants in Histria

No	Publication	Inscribed Names	Origin	Type of Monument	Material	Site	Date
6	*IIt* X/1 78 = *EDCS*-04200051	P. Aelius P. f. Camil. Octavus aed. IIvir i. d. Polae	Ravenna? Italy Regio VIII	Sarcophagus	Limestone	Pola	170-200 CE
7	*IIt* X/1 153 = *EDCS*-04200032	P. Aelius Rasparag[a]nus, rex Roxo[la]noru[m]	Sarmatian Barbaricum	Uncertain (possibly sarcophagus)	Limestone	Pola, Uljanik island	120-160 CE
8	*IIt* X/1 154 = *EDCS*-04200033	P. Aelius Peregrinus, reg[is] Sarmatarum Rasparagani f.	Sarmatian Barbaricum	Uncertain type of funerary monument	Limestone	Pola, Uljanik island	140-180 CE
9	*IIt* X/1 199 = *EDCS*-04300083	C. Antonius Zosimianus signo Dalmatius	Dalmatia	Stele	Limestone	Pola	100-300 CE
10	*IIt* X/1 105 = *EDCS*-04200066	Sex. Apuleius Sex. liber. Apollonius VIvir aug. Terg(este) et Pol(ae)	Tergeste or Pola? Italy Regio X	Unknown	Unknown	Pola	70-200 CE
11	*IIt* X/1 80 = *EDCS*-04200053	M. Aurelius Felix d[ec(urio)] Cremonensium, qua[e]stor pecuniae publicae, aedilis P[o]l(ae), [I]Ivir iure di[c. q]q.	Cremona, Italy Regio X	Unknown	Unknown	Pola	150-250 CE
12	*IIt* X/1 244 = *EDCS*-04200229	Calvius Fidentinus	Fidentia, Italy Regio VIII	Tombstone	Limestone	Pola	150-300 CE
13	*IIt* X/1 163 = *EDCS*-04300072	Q. Catusius Sever[ianus, civis] Gallus, negotiator [vestiarius]	Alpine region	Sarcophagus	Limestone	Pola	170-200 CE
14	*IIt* X/1 74 = *EDCS*-04300023	Sex. Caulinius Syrus, father of the veteran of coh. VIIII pr.	Syria	Funerary altar	Limestone	Pola	40-70 CE
15	*IIt* X/1 83 = *EDCS*-04200055	Iulia Fortunata, honoured by ordo Aquilensium	Aquileia or Pola? Italy Regio X	Unknown	Unknown	Pola	100-300 CE?
16	*IIt* X/1 171 = *EDCS*-04200181	M. Postumius L. f. Pub(lilia) Postumus Veronensis	Verona, Italy Regio X	Stele	Limestone	Pola	1-100 CE
17	*IIt* X/1 66 = *EDCS*-04200035	C. Precius Felix Neapolitanus	Neapolis, Italy Regio I	Statue base	Unknown	Pola	50-75 CE
18	*IIt* X/1 119 = *EDCS*-04200070	L. Satonius Trophimus, VIvir Aquileiae	Aquileia, Italy Regio X	Funerary altar	Limestone	Pola	1-100 CE

(Continues)

19	*IIt* X/1 67 = *EDCS*-04300021	C. Set[tidius] C. f. Pup(inia) Fir[mus], praef. coho[r.] IIII Thrac. Sy[r.], trib. mil. leg. V Maced., q. urb.	Tergeste (?), Italy Regio X	Statue base?	Limestone	Pola	1-100 CE
20	*AÉ* 1984 426 = *EDCS*-08400258	[T. Settidius C. f. P]upin(ia) Firm[us ---cianus], cos., [praef. a]liment., curat. [viae, leg. leg. VI Fer]ratae et VII CPF, [leg. prov. Cappadociae Galatiae Lyc]aoniae, le[g. prov. ---]	Pola, Italy Regio X	Tombstone	Limestone	Pola, Betika	115-150 CE
21	*IIt* X/1 167 = *EDCS*-04200178	[---]us Dosae fil. ex Syria Palaestina (domo) Neapoli	Neapolis, Syria Palaestina	Sarcophagus	Limestone	Pola	150-230 CE
22	*IIt* X/1 111 = *EDCS*-04300038	[---] L. l. Fabr[us sevir a]ug. Te[rgeste et Polae?]	Tergeste or Pola? Italy Regio X	Tombstone	Limestone	Pola	1-100 CE
23	*IIt* X/1 28 = *EDCS*-04300011 = *EDR135217*	[--- a]b Efeso natus	Ephesus, Asia	Tombstone	Limestone	Pola	1-100 CE
24	*IIt* X/1 176 = *EDCS*-04200186	[---] Tergeste	Tergeste, Italy Regio X	Tombstone	Unknown	Pola	
25	*IIt* X/1 644 = *EDCS*-05401423	L. Campanius L. f. Pol(lia) Verecundus, [ve]teran. leg. IIII Scy[th(icae) si]gnifer, (centurio) c(o)ho. [C]isipadensium	Italy Regio VIII	Stele	Limestone	Pola, Karojba near Rovinj	1-100 CE
26	CIL V 8667 = *EDCS*-05401465	Q. Decius Q. f. Cl(audia) Mettius Sabinianus, curat(or) r(ei) p(ublicae) Polens(ium)	Concordia, Italy Regio X	Statue base	Limestone	Concordia	130-170 CE
27	*IIt* X/1 675 = *EDCS*-04200004	C. Furius C. f. Arn(ensis) Gemellus, mil. coh. IIII pr(aetoriae)	Italy, Regiones IV, VI-VIII?	Architectural stele with pilasters and gable	Limestone	Nesactium, Valtura	1-50 CE
28	*IIt* X/2 253 = *EDCS*-04400182	P. [Te]dius P. f. Pup(inia) Valens (domo) Terg(este), signifer leg. IIII F(laviae) F(elicis)	Tergeste, Italy Regio X	Architectural stele with gable	Limestone	Parentium, Karojba	75-100 CE

(Continues)

29	*IIt* X/3 31 = *EDCS*-04200572	C. Titius C. f. Volt(ilia) (domo) Vienna, veteranus leg. XV Apol(linaris)	Vienna, Gallia Narbonensis	Tombstone	Limestone	Koper, Pomjan	15 BCE - 15 CE
30	*IIt* X/3 42 = *EDCS*-04200565	Q. Ragonius L. f. Rom(ilia), L. Ragonius L. f. Rom(ilia), brothers	Italy Regiones I-III, X?	Tombstone	Limestone	Savudrija, Frančeskija	1-50 CE
31	*IIt* X/3 46 = *EDCS*-12300338	L. Vespennius L. fil. Pol(lia) Proculus (domo) Faventia, coh. X urb.	Faventia, Italy Regio VIII	Military diploma	Bronze	Umag, Ježi	194 CE
32	*IIt* X/3 200 = *EDCS*-04200411	C. Valerius Priscus, vestiarius Aquileiensis	Aquileia, Italy Regio X	Funerary altar	Limestone	Boljun	75-125 CE
33	*IIt* X/4 49 = *EDCS*-04200630	P. C[lodi] us Quirinalis, miles leg. XV Apol(linaris), father of P. Palpellius P. f. Maec(ia) Clodius Quirinalis	Neapolis, Italy Regio I	Stele	Limestone	Tergeste	25-50 CE
34	*IIt* X/4 52 = *EDCS*-04200631	T. Dom[i]tius Gracilis, nat(ione) Ditio, miles	Ditiones, Dalmatia	Stele	Limestone	Tergeste	50-75 CE
35	*IIt* X/4 80 = *EDCS*-04200646	P. M[---] Pollio, [de]cur(io) Polae	Pola, Italy Regio X	Unknown	Unknown	Tergeste	1-200 CE
36	*IIt* X/4 139 = *EDCS*-04200654	L. Mussius Sal(vi) f. Pol(lia), Fano Fort(unae) natus	Fanum Fortunae, Italy Regio VI	Tombstone	Limestone	Tergeste	25 BCE - 25 CE
37	*IIt* X/4 32 = *EDCS*-04200622	P. Palpellius P. f. Maec(ia) Clodius Quirinalis, p(rimus) p(ilus) leg. XX, trib. milit. leg. VII CPF, proc. Aug., praef. Classis	Neapolis, Italy Regio I	Architrave	Limestone	Tergeste	50-56 CE
38	*AÉ* 1977 314 = *EDCS*-10900079	C. Velitius M. f. Lemo(nia) (domo) Bononia, miles leg. XX	Bononia, Italy Regio VIII	Stele	Limestone	Tergeste	15 BCE - 10 CE
39	*IIt* X/4 322 = *EDCS*-04600144	C. Curius Quintinianus Opiterginus	Opitergium, Italy Regio X	Votive altar	Limestone	Sacred area of the sources of the Timavo river	100-200 CE
40	*IIt* X/4 325 = *EDCS*-04200800	[T.] Auconius Optatus, eq(ues) R(omanus), dec(urio) et IIvir Cl(audiae) Ag(uonti)	Aguntum, Noricum	Votive altar	Limestone	Sacred area of the sources of the Timavo river	150-200 CE

Map 2: Origins of private migrants to Histria from Italy, Gaul, Noricum, and Dalmatia. Source map: http://www.vidiani.com/maps/maps_of_europe/large_detailed_satellite_map_of_europe.jpg (CC-BY SA 3.0); graphics drawn by the author.

A large database comprising 1942 Latin and 10 Greek inscriptions from Histria provides information on 48 Roman citizens who were or could have been migrants from other parts of the Roman Empire (not counting patrons). As far as any fragmentary epigraphic record can be trusted to reflect general trends, it follows that migrant Roman citizens appear on 2.45% of inscriptions from the region. The analysis of inscriptions shows that the number of migrants was at least as high or higher in the colonies of Pola and Tergeste than in other parts of Histria: the percentages of inscriptions mentioning migrant Roman citizens in those two parts are 2.8% and 1.9%, respectively. Apparently, in relation to the total population, the number of migrants was quite small,[18] yet even smaller number of migrants are documented in the rural hinterland, where they resided because of their occupation or settled as veterans. Still, the percentage of inscriptions of migrant Roman citizens in inner northern Histria (2.7%) corresponds to that in Pola. In certain cases, it is possible to distinguish permanently settled migrants from temporary visitors to Histria. Temporary visitors include at least pilgrims and guests of important religious and health centres, such as the *spa* and sacred sources of the river Timavo between Tergeste and Aquileia (Map 1). Earlier research placed the source of the river in the area of Tergeste,[19] but now scholars agree that it was located in the territory of Aquileia, as Pliny notes.[20] As a frontier area of special religious significance, it is included in this analysis of migrations in Roman Histria and Tergeste. Visitors from Opitergium in Veneto (**n. 39**) and Aguntum in Noricum (**n. 40**) left votive altars there (Map 2).

[18] Tassaux, 1992: 141.
[19] *IIt* X/4 317-331, T. II; Cuscito, 1976: 47.
[20] Plin. *HN* 2.225; Bandelli, 1984: 204-205; Zaccaria, 1992: 163-164.

Magistrates, Decurions, and Augustals

Among the resettled individuals were members of the senatorial and equestrian orders and the municipal aristocracy. T. Settidius C. f. Pupin(ia) Firmus (**n. 20**), probably *consul suffectus* in 112 CE, was a member of an important senatorial family that originated in Tergeste and settled in Pola in the first century CE.[21] They held estates in Betika and Stancija Durin near Muntić, close to Nesactium. C. Settidius C. f. Pup. Firmus (**n. 19**), *quaestor urbanus* honoured with a statue base in Pola, was one of his ancestors, probably his father.[22] Senators who acquired the property in the territory of another municipality could transfer their registration from the old tribe to their new one.[23] The Settidii had the legal right to change from their original Pupinia tribe belonging to the colony of Tergeste to the Velina tribe, the official tribe of the colony of Pola, but they did not do so for generations. Although assigned to a foreign tribe, members of the Settidii family after the *quaestor urbanus* were not newcomers, but permanent citizens of Pola.

Chief municipal magistrates originally from Rome are attested in *Histria* already at the end of the Republic; L. Cassius C f. Longinus, brother of Caesar's murderer, and L. Calpurnius L. f. Piso, consul in 58 BCE and father-in-law of Julius Caesar, were appointed as the first *duumvirs* of the newly founded Roman colony of Pola as *adsignatores*, special trusted commissioners sent by the supreme founder (*constitutor*) Julius Caesar.[24] They probably visited Pola occasionally to fulfill their administrative duties, but did not stay permanently. Permanently settled magistrates of foreign origin appear later in the epigraphic record, in the Imperial Period. Two magistrates of foreign origin held the highest administrative positions in Pola; one (P. Aelius P. f. Camil. Octavus) is revealed by his tribe, the other (M. Aurelius Felix) states in his funerary monument that before coming to Pola he was a member of the Cremona city council. P. Aelius P. f. Camil. Octavus (**n. 6**), *aedilis* and *duovir* of Pola, was buried in a sarcophagus dated to the last third of the second century CE.[25] Of the possible settlements in northeastern Italy that could have been his hometown, Camilia was the tribe of Atria in Regio X and of Ravenna in Regio VIII.[26] Aelii are not epigraphically attested in Atria, but in Ravenna, they appear in fifteen inscriptions. Therefore, Aelius Octavus probably came from Ravenna to Pola. M. Aurelius Felix (**n. 11**) began his career in Cremona as a decurion, then moved to Pola, became *quaestor*, *aedilis* and finally *duovir* in the second half of the second or first half of the third century CE.[27] Cremona was assigned to the Aniensis tribe.[28] Both magistrates bear the imperial personal and family name, which may indicate that they are descendants of slaves and freedmen in the imperial service.[29]

Other decurions migrating in the region are recorded in the inscriptions. P. M[---] Pollio (**n. 35**), decurion of Pola, appears in a fragmentary inscription from Tergeste. The stone records a relocation of a decurion within Roman Histria, one who did not necessarily enjoy a successful career in Tergeste. Auconius Optatus (**n. 40**), an equestrian and probably a wealthy merchant, served as

[21] Marušić and Šašel, 1986: 331-332, n. 4, 5, fig. 21; Šašel, 1992: 191-197; Zaccaria, 2014: 303; 2015: 287.
[22] Alföldy, 1984: 79, n. 10; Zaccaria, 1992: 166; 2014: 302; Zaninović, 1995: 148; Tassaux, 2005: 143.
[23] Taylor, 2013: 280.
[24] *IIt* X/1 81 = *EDCS*-04200054, Pola; Fraschetti, 1983: 99; Tassaux, 1984: 201; Starac, 1999: 134-135.
[25] Tassaux, 1990: 71; Starac, 2006: 173-174, n. 164.
[26] Taylor, 2013: 163-164.
[27] Tassaux, 1990: 71.
[28] Taylor, 2013: 164.
[29] Tassaux, 1990: 76.

a decurion and *duovir* in Aguntum in the province of Noricum.[30] He briefly visited the sacred area of the source of the river Timavo with *spa* and dedicated an altar to Spes Augusta for the health of his son.

P. Palpellius P. f. Maec(ia) Clodius Quirinalis (**n. 37**) is one of the most famous migrants in Histria who did have a successful career thanks to the senatorial family of the Palpellii from Pola - one member of the family (unknown to us) adopted him and offered ample financial support.[31] His tribe, Maecia, to which the cities of Lanuvium, Neapolis, Brundisium, Paestum, Rhegium, Hatria, and Libarna were assigned, was particularly common in the central and southern Italy.[32] Neapolis in Campania is assumed as his city of origin, i.e. the city of his father, P. Clodius Quirinalis (**n. 33**), soldier of the Legion XV Apollinaris, buried in Tergeste.[33] Palpellius Clodius Quirinalis gained wealth as the owner of a ceramic workshop.[34] Another Neapolitan, C. Precius Felix (**n. 17**), came from Neapolis to Pola following his benefactor, senator Sex. Palpellius Hister.[35] It seems that the wealthy senatorial family of the Palpellii attracted a number of Neapolitans from Campania to Histria and supported their careers.

For wealthy freedmen, the path to social prestige led through the college of the *seviri Augustales*, which administered the imperial cult. Migrants also entered this social group, positioned according to the relative importance between city officials and citizens. L. Satonius Trophimus (**n. 18**), *sevir* of Aquileia in the first century CE, erected a funerary monument to his prematurely deceased slave in Pola.[36] This shows that after the end of the service, he moved from Aquileia to Pola. Sex. Apuleius Sex. liber. Apollonius (**n. 10**) and a certain Fabrus, freedman of Lucius (**n. 22**), were *seviri Augustales* in two Histrian cities a little more than 100 kilometres apart, Tergeste and Pola, in the first and second centuries CE, but it is impossible to determine from which of the two cities each one came from.[37] Wealthy individuals, freeborn and freedmen, owned lands and properties in more than one place, but it is impossible to tell whether this was a direct outcome of their holding offices in more than one place, or of simple purchases in their new residence.

Ethnic Appellations and Identifications; Craftsmen and Traders

Certain citizens proudly declared their origin or ethnicity in inscriptions, like an individual (the name is not preserved) born in Ephesus (**n. 23**); Precius Felix (**n. 17**), from Neapolis in Campania; Catusius Severianus (**n. 13**), a Gaul; a son of Dosa (**n. 21**; his name is not preserved), from Neapolis in Syria Palaestina; Postumius Postumus (**n. 16**), from Verona; Calvius (**n. 12**), from Fidentia; Valerius Priscus (**n. 32**), from Aquileia; soldier Domitius Gracilis (**n. 34**), a Ditio;[38] Mussius of the Pollia tribe (**n. 36**), born in Fanum Fortunae;[39] Curius Quintinianus (**n. 39**), from Opitergium;[40] and an unnamed person from Tergeste buried in Pola (**n. 24**).[41] Some citizens are recognisable as migrants or descendants of

[30] Zaccaria, 1992: 234, n. 325; Alföldy, 2014: 188, 270, 275.
[31] Zaccaria, 1988: 78; 1992: 216, no. 32; Tassaux, 2005: 143, nt. 28.
[32] Taylor, 2013: 110, 160-161.
[33] Zaccaria, 1988: 78; 1992: 219, n. 49; Mosser, 2003: 202-203, n. 78.
[34] Zaccaria and Župančič, 1993: 141, n. 14; 165, the stamp P. C(lodi) QVIR(inalis).
[35] Bruun, 1986: 9; Zaninovič, 1991: 78; Alföldy, 1999: 283; Tassaux, 2005: 143.
[36] Tassaux, 1990: 78.
[37] Tassaux, 1990: 79-80; Zaccaria, 2015: 285, 298, nos. 2-3.
[38] Zaccaria, 1992: 220, n. 52; Grbić, 2012: 119, n. 46.
[39] Zaccaria, 1992: 227, n. 139.
[40] Zaccaria, 1992: 234, n. 322.
[41] Zaccaria, 2015: 285-286, 298, n. 4.

Table 3: Inscriptions of Free-Born Citizens with a Foreign Ethnic or Regional Name

No	Publication	Inscribed Names	Origin	Type of Monument	Material	Site	Date
41	*IIt* X/1 651 = *EDCS*-04300314	Maxuma Umbria	Italy Regio VI	Votive altar	Limestone	Pola, Rovinjsko Selo	50 BCE - 20 CE
42	*IIt* X/3 20 = *EDCS*-04200587	C. Lorentius Tesifon	Ctesiphon, Mesopotamia	Sarcophagus	Limestone	Koper	200-300 CE
43	*IIt* X/3 49 = *EDCS*-04200562	L. Plexina Etruscus	Italy Regio VII	Stele	Sandstone	Umag, Šeget	50-100 CE
44	*IIt* X/3 124 = *EDCS*-04200517	L. Gallius Silvester, mil(es) c(o)hort(is) II praet(oriae)	Northern Italy, Alpine region?	Funerary altar	Limestone	Roč, St. Maur	75-100 CE
45	*IIt* X/4 95 = *EDCS*-04200667	L. Gallius Felix, L. Lopsius Clymenus, L. Lopsius Aprio, collegium members	Northern Italy, Alpine region? Lopsica, Dalmatia?	Tombstone of association members	Limestone	Tergeste	1-50 CE
46	*IIt* X/4 156 = *EDCS*-04200731	P. [Trosius] Peregrinus, son of P. Trosius Severus	-	Funerary altar	Limestone	Tergeste	1-75 CE
47	*IIt* X/4 170 = *EDCS*-04200736	C. Voltidius Gazaeus	Judaea?	Portrait stele	Limestone	Tergeste	1-50 CE

migrants by their family name of ethnic or geographic origin (Table 3). In cases where the family name appears to be derived from the name of a remote region or people, there is a serious possibility that they were not first-generation migrants. These are the cases of Maxuma Umbria (**n. 41**),[42] Praetorian Gallius Silvester (**n. 44**), and collegium members Gallius Felix, Lopsius Clymenus, and Lopsius Aprio (**n. 45**).[43] The name of the family of Lopsii name may have been derived from Lopsica, a Liburnian *municipium* with Italian right (*ius Italicum*).[44] The cognomen as a personal name indicates a newcomer much more clearly when it emphasises origins from distant lands, as in the cases of Caulinius Syrus (**n. 14**), Lorentius Tesifon (**n. 42**), Plexina Etruscus (**n. 43**),[45] and Voltidius Gazaeus (**n. 47**).[46] In the case of Dalmatius (**n. 9**), a nickname (*signum*) could indicate geographical or ethnic origin.[47]

Among migrants without ties to the administration or the military, clothing merchants stand out and are, in fact, the only attested profession relating to crafts and trade. The monument of Valerius Priscus (**n. 32**), *vestiarius Aquileiensis*, was found in Boljun, the hilly hinterland of northern Istria with vast pastures and animal husbandry.[48] In his case, migration from Aquileia (where a strong association

[42] Zaninovič, 1991: 78; Starac, 2001: 22.
[43] Zaccaria, 1992: 224, n. 95.
[44] Plin. *HN* 3.139; Zaccaria, 1992: 224, n. 95.
[45] Zaninovič, 1991: 77; Zaccaria, 1992: 196, n. 49.
[46] Zaccaria, 1992: 228, n. 170.
[47] Starac, 2000b: 66.
[48] Zaninović, 1991: 76; Zaccaria, 1992: 208, n. 200; Matijašić, 1998: 407-408, 438-439.

of clothing merchants is attested)[49] via Tergeste to the Učka mountain pastures was seasonal, motivated by the purchase of sheep wool during the shearing season.

A migration flow existed between the cities or commercial farms and mountain regions across Italy, causing an annual cycle of population expansion and contraction.[50] Q. Catusius Severianus (**n. 13**), a Gaul, earned his living as a clothing merchant in Pola.[51] His sarcophagus of extremely simplified architectonic type belongs to a subgroup of sarcophagi designed and manufactured initially of red Valpolicella limestone in the vicinity of Verona, during the second half of the second century CE.[52] It follows that Catusius Severianus, possibly born in Gaul, moved with his family to Pola from Verona, where he kept trade ties and acquired a taste for this particular subtype of sarcophagus. Since his sarcophagus is made of white Istrian and not red Valpolicella limestone, it can be assumed that there was an interconnected group of settlers from Verona in Pola that included stonemasons.

The family of the Ragonii (**n. 30**) from Savudrija was assigned to the Romilia tribe, the oldest among the rural tribes, particularly widespread in Latium, the surroundings of Rome, and the city of Sora,[53] with a presence also in southern Italy, Apulia, and Lucania.[54] Judging by the territorial concentration of the name Ragonii, it can be concluded that they originated from Ostia.[55] Ateste in northern Italy was also assigned to the Romilia tribe, but no presence of the Ragonii is attested there.[56] The family may have been involved in the production of ceramic building materials, if they were the owners of the brick stamp Q. RIINI Λ, attested in northwestern Istria only.[57]

The funerary monument of Calvius Fidentinus (**n. 12**) can be dated to the second half of the second or third century CE, as the wording of the inscription suggests. Fidentia, the city of his origin, was located between Parma and Placentia in Aemilia, in the Augustan Regio VIII (Map 2).[58]

A Palestinian from Neapolis, mod. Nablus (Map 3), the son of a certain Dosa (**n. 21**), came to Pola from Syria Palaestina in the late second century CE, as evidenced by the fragmentary inscription found in second use, and thought to have been a sarcophagus pedestal initially.[59] Dosis is a Jewish name recorded in Palestine.[60] The use of the name Syria Palaestina, attested between 135 and 194 CE,[61]

[49] *IEAquil* 284 = *EDCS*-36700034, *Lo[c(us) m(onumenti)] / vestiari/orum in fr(onte) p(edes) L / in agr(o) p(edes) LXIV*; Buonopane, 2003: 304-306; Zaccaria, 2009: 287.
[50] Erdkamp, 2016: 34.
[51] Zaninović, 1991: 76; Tassaux, 1992: 141.
[52] Rebecchi, 1978: 206-209, figs. 1-2; Starac, 2006: 172-173, n. 163.
[53] Taylor, 2013: 161, 366-368.
[54] Taylor, 2013: 161, 377.
[55] Salomies, 2002. Inscriptions of the Ragonii from Ostia: *CIL* 14.138 = *EDCS*-05700138; *CIL* 14.139 = *EDCS*-05700139; *CIL* 14.173 = *EDCS*-0570072; *CIL* 14.264 = *EDCS*-05700263; *CIL* 14.1536 = *EDCS*-05701556; *CIL* 14.1537 = *EDCS*-0570557; *CIL* 14.1538 = *EDCS*-05701558; *CIL* 14.1539 = *EDCS*-05701559; *CIL* 14.1540 = *EDCS*-05701560; *CIL* 14.1541 = *EDCS*-05701561; *CIL* 14.1638 = *EDCS*-05701658; *CIL* 14.4569 = *EDCS*-53700520; *CIL* 14.4699 = *EDCS*-11900476; *CIL* 14.4716 = *EDCS*-11900492; *CIL* 14.4717 = *EDCS*-62101251; *CIL* 14.4718 = *EDCS*-11900494; *CIL* 14.4790 = *EDCS*-11900566; *CIL* 14.4808 = *EDCS*-11900584; *CIL* 14.5090 = *EDCS*-11900866; *CIL* 14.5091 = *EDCS*-11900867; *CIL* 14.5092 = *EDCS*-24600776; *CIL* 14.5123 = *EDCS*-11900899; *CIL* 14.5371 = *EDCS*-12000363; *EpOst* 846 = *EDCS*-73100315; *EpOst* 847 = *EDCS*-73100316; *EpOst* 848 = *EDCS*-73100317; *EpOst* 849 = *EDCS*-73100318; *EpOst-P* 63 = *EDCS*-73100892; *NSA* 1938, 56, n. 17d = *EDCS*-57200063; *NSA* 1953, 247, no. 13 = *EDCS*-57100006.
[56] Taylor, 2013: 371.
[57] *CIL* 5.8110, 202 = *EDCS*-32000754, Katoro; Zaccaria, 1992: 195, n. 42; Zaccaria and Župančič, 1993: 152, n. 95; 163.
[58] Zaninović, 1991: 76.
[59] *IIt* X/1 167; Tassaux, 1992: 141.
[60] Ilan, 2002: 317.
[61] On the change of the name of Judaea to Syria Palaestina after the Bar Kochba rebellion in 132-135 CE: Feldman, 1990: 15-16; Eck, 1999: 88. On the division of Syria Palaestina: Tertullian *Adv. Jud.* 619B; Harrer, 1932: 287; Gilliam, 1958: 225.

Map 3: Origins of private migrants to Istria from the East. Base map by Flappiefh, Wikimedia Commons (CC-BY SA 4.0); graphics drawn by the author.

dates Dosa's son's residency in Pola back to that period or immediately afterwards. The city of Neapolis was founded in Judaea near the Samaritan religious centre of Sichem by Vespasian in 72 CE, and was populated probably, at least at first, by Samaritans.[62] Ancient historians note a severe punishment that befell the city for supporting a defeated contender to the imperial throne. The citizens of Neapolis were deprived of all civic rights by the imperial decree of Septimius Severus in 194 CE, for their long-standing armed support for his rival, Pescennius Niger; many were ruthlessly executed.[63] This event might have instigated an en-masse exodus from Neapolis. Dosa's son probably arrived in Pola in 194 CE, immediately after the defeat of Niger and while Syria was not yet divided into two provinces, Syria Coele and Syria Phoenice. Even if he had died later, in the third century, he could have kept in the funerary inscription the name of the province in which he was born and raised, not the one created after his departure and which was current at the time of his death. Septimius Severus revoked the punishment imposed upon the people of Palestine in 203-204 CE,[64] but his brutal treatment of the people of Neapolis left a long-lasting mark on the survivors and forced them to leave their homes, never to return.

A certain individual, whose name is not preserved (**n. 23**), was born in Ephesus and died in Pola probably in the first century CE, possibly in the period of Augustus. The fragmentary condition of the inscription does not allow us to decipher the abbreviation S.V.T.P. conclusively. It could mean *s(oluto) v(oto) t(itulum) p(osuit)*, as proposed in the Inscriptiones Italiae X/1, but it could be also read as a funerary formula *s(ibi) v(ivus) t(itulum) p(osuit)*. The shape of the partially preserved monument fits a tombstone better than a votive altar. It is worth mentioning that Ephesus was the recruiting base of

[62] Plin. *HN* 5.14; Jones, 1931: 82; Sartre, 2007: 650.
[63] SHA *Sev.* 9.5.
[64] SHA *Sev.* 14. 6-7.

the fleet of Mark Antony, whose many sailors, after the defeat at Actium, switched their allegiance to Augustus.[65]

C. Lorentius Tesifon (**n. 42**) bears a cognomen derived from Ctesiphon on the Tigris (Map 3). He arrived at Aegida, mod. Koper, in northwestern Histria, where he died and was buried in the third century CE.[66] The status of Ctesiphon changed many times during the second and third centuries CE, from the western Parthian capital to a city in the Roman province of Mesopotamia, and vice versa. Ctesiphon was captured and unmercifully sacked by Roman armies several times during the second century CE, in the years of Trajan, Verus, and Septimius Severus.[67] During the reign of Severus Alexander in the early third century, Ctesiphon became the capital of the newly established Sasanian empire.[68] After several unsuccessful expeditions, the Romans recaptured Ctesiphon in 283 CE and kept it until the second half of the fourth century.[69] Lorentius Tesifon probably arrived in Histria during the period when Mesopotamia was under Roman rule. His sarcophagus displays his good fortune, which indicates that he probably arrived in Italy as a free man.

Military Personnel

Determining the origins of veterans can be a daunting challenge. Some were undoubtedly natives of Histrian origin who returned to their homeland after completing their military service; the Moranus family from the vicinity of Motovun is a fine example of an autochthonous Histrian family whose members returned home after military service.[70] Others were descendants of Italian colonists or their freedmen, permanently settled in Histria.[71] Several veterans born elsewhere settled permanently in Histria. Some remained near the last place of military service, and others moved elsewhere to places of their choice, sometimes perhaps in the birthplaces of their wives. During the rule of the Julio-Claudian emperors, Italy was the most important source of recruits, but from the rule of Nero onwards, the number of Italians in the legions declined sharply.[72] The descendants of Italians who settled in provincial colonies gradually replaced Italians in the legions after the middle of the first century CE.[73] In fact, the most significant number of soldiers and veterans resettled in Histria originated in Italy. A few were stationed in Rome during active service.

Three Praetorians from the second, fourth, and ninth Cohorts buried in Histria belonged to the elite unit of the emperor's bodyguards.[74] Praetorian of the second Cohort L. Gallius Silvester (**n. 44**), probably of Gaul origins from northern Italy,[75] was buried in Roč in the last quarter of the first century CE.[76] Praetorian C. Furius C. f. Gemellus (**n. 27**) served in the fourth Praetorian Cohort. None of the

[65] Zaninović, 1991: 72.
[66] *IIt* X/3 20 = *EDCS*-04200587, Koper; Zaninović, 1991: 78; Zaccaria, 1992: 193, n. 20.
[67] Cass. Dio 68.28.2-3; 71.2.3; 76.9.4; SHA *Sev*. 16.1; Herodian 3.9.9-11; Yarshater, 2006: 89-94.
[68] Yarshater, 2006: 120; 2008: 1062.
[69] Yarshater, 2006: 128, 138.
[70] *IIt* X/2 252 = *EDCS*-04400181, Parentium, Karojba; Starac, 2001: 14-15.
[71] *IIt* X/1 76 = *EDCS*-04200048, Pola; *IIt* X/1 675 = *EDCS*-04200004, Nesactium (**n. 27**).
[72] Keppie, 2005: 152; Roselaar, 2016: 140.
[73] Roselaar, 2016: 140-142.
[74] Those Praetorian Cohorts were formed by Augustus (Passerini, 1969: 47; Bingham, 1997: 26; Keppie, 2005: 132, 158), and praetorians were initially recruited among free Roman citizens. Augustus recruited them in central Italy, Tiberius started to recruit praetorians in northern Italy, and gradually the scope expanded beyond the borders of Italy to Gallia Narbonensis, Spain, and Macedonia (Bingham, 1997: 28-29).
[75] Redaelli, 2013-2014: 129.
[76] Zaccaria, 1992: 202-203, n. 124; Zaninović, 1995: 150.

cities of Regio X belonged to Furius Gemellus' tribe, Arnensis. Since the Aemilian town of Brixellum, the Etrurian towns of Blera, Clusium, and Forum Clodi, the Umbrian town of Ocriculum, to Marrucini and Frentani in Regio IV belonged to this tribe, Furius Gemellus could have been born in central Italy, or, less likely, in a city outside Italy.[77] His architectural stele with pilasters and gable dates to the first half of the first century CE.[78] He may have come to Nesactium as a member of the entourage of the imperial family, which owned numerous estates in Histria since the era of Augustus.[79] A veteran of the ninth Praetorian Cohort, C. Caulinius Sex. f. Maximus (**n. 14**) was the son of a newcomer from Syria who lived in the first half of the first century CE.[80] Since it was not customary to admit newcomers from the remote Eastern provinces among the Praetorians, it may be presumed that his father came to Pola from Syria as a slave or as a free man before the beginning of his son's Praetorian service. It is assumed that Caulinius Syrus was a freedman involved in trade.[81] His son, Caulinius Maximus, certainly was domiciled in Pola, but it is uncertain whether he acquired this status by birth or upon registration in the census after relocation. His wife was a *liberta* of the powerful Palpellii family who, in Pola, rose through the ranks of the municipal aristocracy to the senatorial class.[82]

The military diploma of L. Vespennius L. f. Proculus (**n. 31**), miles of the Cohors X Urbana, found in Ježi near Umag, is dated to 194 CE. His *tribus* was Pollia and his city of origin was Faventia in Aemilia.[83] The reason for his choice of settlement in northwestern Histria probably relates to the area's flourishing economy.[84] Like the praetorians, soldiers of the urban cohorts that maintained order in the city of Rome were recruited primarily among Roman citizens in Italy.[85]

Other soldiers with an attested presence in Histria served in military units stationed outside Italy. L. Campanius L. f. Pol(lia) Verecundus (**n. 25**) veteran of the fourth Scythian Legion and standard bearer, came to the Rovinj hinterland in the first century CE.[86] As he was a centurion of the Cispadan Cohort, he came from a settlement on the south side of the Po river in Regio Aemilia. The Aemilian cities of Claterna, Faventia, Forum Corneli, Parma, Mutina, and Regium Lepidum, belonged to the *tribus* Pollia;[87] any of them could have been his hometown. Similarly, C. Velitius M. f. (**n. 38**), a soldier of the Legio XX, was a native of Bononia in Aemilia assigned to Lemonia tribe.[88] C. Titius C. f. Volt(ilia) (**n. 29**), a veteran of the Legio XV Apollinaris, died in Pomjan near Koper in the late first century BCE or early first century CE.[89] The city of his origin was Vienna in Gallia Narbonensis (Map 2). From Augustus to Caligula, most of the provincials in the army came from Gallia Narbonensis (about 23%).[90] The stele of [Te]dius Valens (**n. 28**), found in Karojba on the northeastern edge of the ager of Parentium, dates to the last quarter of the first century CE.[91] Tedius Valens was born in Tergeste in

[77] Zaninović, 1995: 149; Taylor, 2013: 162-163.
[78] Starac, 2000b: 74, n. 48.
[79] Redaelli, 2016: 126.
[80] Tassaux, 1992: 139; Boussier, 2004: 266-269; Starac, 2006: 110-112, n. 71.
[81] Redaelli, 2017: 80.
[82] Tassaux, 1984: 209; Bruun, 1986; Zaninović, 1995: 148; Starac, 2000a: 237-238, n. 4; Boussier, 2004: 267; Redaelli, 2017: 80-81.
[83] Zaccaria, 1992: 195, n. 46; Zaninović, 1995: 150; Taylor, 2013: 163.
[84] Redaelli, 2013-2014: 130.
[85] Keppie, 2005: 133, 153, 159; Ricci, 2011: 486-492.
[86] Todisco, 1999: 136-137; Starac, 2000b: 68.
[87] Zaninović, 1991: 80; Taylor, 2013: 163.
[88] Zaccaria, 1992: 249-250, n. 8; Todisco, 1999: 136; Taylor, 2013: 110.
[89] Zaccaria, 1992: 193-194, n. 31; Zaninović, 1995: 149; Todisco, 1999: 135; Mosser, 2003: 233, n. 129.
[90] Roselaar, 2016: 141-142.
[91] Starac, 2000b: 67.

Roman Histria and assigned to the Pupinia tribe, served as *signifer* of the Legion IIII Flavia Felix and received military marks of honour.[92]

Soldier Domitius Gracilis Ditio (**n. 34**)[93] came to Tergeste from the inland of the province of Dalmatia, from the area between the source of the Krka and Zrmanja rivers to the Unac river area and between the rivers Una and Vrbas in modern-day western Bosnia and Herzegovina (Map 2).[94] Inscriptions of the Ditiones are concentrated in the area of Vrtoče and Krnjeuša, not far from Bosanski Petrovac. Strabo lists Ditiones (Διτίωνες) among the Pannonian tribes in Illyricum that rebelled against Roman rule during Bato's uprising.[95] Pliny states that Salona, the capital of the province of Dalmatia, was the centre of jurisdiction for 239 *decuriae* of Ditiones.[96] Such a large number indicates that decuria was a group of 10 family communities, comprising an average of 25 members. The average number of members of a *decuria* is estimated at about 250 people, so the tribe of the Ditiones may have included as many as about 60,000 people living in an area of approximately 5,000 square kilometres.[97] Little is known about the Ditiones; they are thinly represented in the archaeological record and some autochthonous names (Bato, Dasas, Ditus, Tata, [V]elosu[nus]) have been preserved.[98] For the most part, the Ditiones remained of peregrine status until the *constitutio Antoniniana*, hence military service was a way to gain Roman citizenship. Except for C. Titius from the provincial colony of Vienna and Domitius Gracilis from the province of Dalmatia, all other soldiers and veterans attested in the inscriptions from Histria were from northern Italy.

The inscription of Iulius Felix, assigned to the Arnensis tribe, soldier of the same Legion IIII Flavia Felix, is included in the corpus of the inscriptions of Tergeste. However, its original location was the Burnum military camp in Dalmatia, from where it was moved to Trieste in the early nineteenth century. Hence, it does not constitute testimony of a migrant to Histria and is not considered as such in this study.[99]

Were Migrants among the City Patrons?

City patrons were most often chosen among prominent local citizens, less frequently among the citizens of nearby towns in the region, and only exceptionally among high-ranking foreigners.[100] City patrons coming from another city and those assigned to foreign tribes are listed apart as they stand out by their social status and by the nature of their connection with the municipality (Table 4).

A patron from another city cannot automatically be considered a migrant, as he had no obligation to attend in person or even make a short visit to the municipality that declared him their protector, let alone settle permanently. City patrons of senatorial or equestrian rank, regardless of their actual residence, were included by cooptation among citizens of the municipality in question and were under

[92] Tassaux, 1986: 173; Zaninović, 1995: 149.
[93] Zaccaria, 1992: 220, n. 52; Grbić, 2012: 119, n. 46.
[94] Ptol. *Geog.* 2.16; Bojanovski, 1988: 262-265; Domić Kunić, 2006: 81-82, 98, fig. 5; Wilkes, 2008: 577; Mesihović, 2011: 61; Grbić, 2012: 115-116.
[95] Strab. 7.5.3; Džino, 2006: 147, 152; Domić Kunić, 2006: 112-113, fig. 8; Grbić, 2012: 114-115.
[96] Plin. *HN* 3.22.141; Čače, 2010: 59-61, Map 1.
[97] Čače, 1995: 88; Mesihović, 2011: 66-69.
[98] *CIL* 3.13988 = *EDCS*-31900002; *CIL* 13.7508 = *EDCS*-11001619; *AÉ* 1934 203 = *EDCS*-10100769; *ILJug* 1664 = *EDCS*-10100643; Alföldy, 1969: 350-357; Grbić, 2012: 117.
[99] *IIt* X/4 47 = *EDCS*-04600017; Zaccaria, 1992: 219, n. 47; Cesarik, 2016: 231.
[100] Panciera, 1987: 81.

Table 4: Inscriptions of Patrons from Different Cities or Assigned to a Foreign Tribe

No	Publication	Inscribed Names	Origin	Type of Monument	Material	Site	Date
48	*AÉ* 2005 542 = *EDCS*-35500651	T. Prifernius Paetus C. f. Settidianus Firmus, patron of Nesactium	Pola or Nesactium, Italy Regio X	Statue base	Limestone	Nesactium	110-130 CE
49	*IIt* X/2 8 = *EDCS*-04200418	C. Praecellius C. f. Pap(iria) Augurinus Vettius Festus Crispinianus Vibius Verus Cassianus, patron of Aquileia, Parentium, Opitergium and Hemona	Italy Regio X	Statue base	Limestone	Parentium	175-200 CE
50	*IIt* X/4 30 = *EDCS*-04200620	[C.] Calpe[tanus] Ran[tius] Quirinal[is Va] lerius P. f. Pomp(tina) F[estus], patron of Tergeste	Arretium, Italy Regio VII	Statue base	Limestone	Tergeste	80-85 CE
51	*AÉ* 1888 132 = *EDCS*-10701347	M. Carminius M. f. Pap(iria) Pudens, patron of Tergeste	Bellunum, Italy Regio X	Statue base	Limestone	Bellunum	200-300 CE
52	*AÉ* 1976 252a = *EDCS*-10701348	M. Carminius M. f . Pap(iria) Pudens, patron of Tergeste	Bellunum, Italy Regio X	Statue base	Limestone	Bellunum	200-300 CE

no obligation to establish a presence.[101] If the patron visited personally, it was only for a short time, unless he had property or other private interests therein. Accordingly, many patrons from other cities should be regarded as temporary or seasonal migrants, not permanent settlers.

The situation may be different for patrons who changed their domicile by adoption or for those from families who have resettled but retained their original tribe.[102] In this sense, the example of T. Prifernius Paetus C. f. Settidianus Firmus, consul and patron of Nesactium in the second century (**n. 48**), is indicative. He probably served as *consul suffectus* in the period between 106 and 108 CE and provincial *legatus* of Moesia Superior in 112.[103] He was born C. Settidius C. f. Firmus and adopted by T. Prifernius Paetus, consul in 96 CE and *homo novus* from an equestrian family, who adopted at least two more sons.[104] One of these adoptive sons was born in the powerful Histrian senatorial family of Laecanii Bassi, which convincingly links the Prifernii with southern Histria. Prifernius Paetus

[101] Panciera, 1987: 79; Salway, 2000: 133, 140-141; Nicols, 2014: 224-228.
[102] Licandro, 2004: 269; 2019: 101.
[103] Rodà, 2005: 269-270; Zaccaria, 2014: 301.
[104] Tassaux, 2005: 144; Salomies, 2014: 527; Zaccaria, 2014: 302-304.

Settidianus Firmus probably was a son (or grandson) of the *quaestor urbanus* C. Settidius Firmus (**n. 19**) and an older brother of the *consul suffectus* in 112 T. Settidius Firmus (**n. 20**), both known from inscriptions from Pola. The senatorial family of the Settidii owned estates near the Nesactium.[105] The family of his adoptive father, Prifernius Paetus, originated in central Italy. The epigraphic testimonies show the presence and possessions of his adoptive father in the territory of Trebula Mutuesca, in Samnium.[106] Construction material signed *T. Priferni Paeti* from Castrimoenium in Latium marks the possessions of Prifernii Paeti.[107] T. Prifernius Paetus Settidianus Firmus (**n. 48**) is an example of a citizen who migrated from Histria to central Italy. The Nesactium inscription does not provide his tribe, but it is reasonable to assume that it was either the Pupinia tribe (of his biological father) or the Quirina tribe (his adoptive father's, from Trebula Mutuesca).[108] The change of tribe was possible in the case of adoption, but not mandatory. In the Republican period, initially, the rule was that an adoptive son should take the tribe of his adoptive father, but the adoptive sons could be left in their old tribes, which allowed them the possibility of belonging to two tribes. An adopted son could keep the tribe of his origin and pass it on to his descendants. The possibility to choose between tribes came to the fore in the period of adoptive emperors.[109] T. Prifernius Paetus Settidianus Firmus set aside in his will the sum of 100,000 sesterces for the erection of his statue with a pedestal on the occasion of the award of patronage by the municipium of Nesactium, which was confirmed and approved by the *ordo decurionum*. Before the statue was placed, one-twentieth of the state inheritance tax, i.e. 5,000 sesterces, was deducted from the sum.

C. Praecellius C. f. Pap(iria) Augurinus Vettius Festus Crispinianus Vibius Verus Cassianus (**n. 49**) was very young (*clarissimus iuvenis*) when he was honoured with a statue in Parentium and had already been the patron of Aquileia, Parentium, Opitergium, and Hemona (Emona). As the patron of four cities, he had to be received formally by the citizens of each one of them. His origin is not entirely clear. The Praecellii were widespread in Bellunum, and the Papiria tribe belongs to Bellunum and Opitergium as well. It is generally considered he was adopted by a family from Bellunum, yet some uncertainty remains as to whether he retained the hometown *tribus* or changed it after adoption, as the Vettii were attested in Bellunum, Opitergium, and Aquileia.[110]

Calpetanus Rantius Quirinalis Valerius Pomp(tina) Festus, consul in 71 CE and patron of Tergeste (**n. 50**), is the last known member of the senatorial family of Calpetani.[111] He was born in the Arretine family of the Valerii Festi assigned to the Pomptina tribe and adopted by senator C. Calpetanus C. f. Rantius Sedatus Petronius.[112] The Pomptina tribe was the official tribe of Arretium.[113] The list of patrons of Tergeste was updated with the name of *eques* M. Carminius M. f. Pap(iria) Pudens (**nos. 51-52**), who was, among other offices, patron of the *plebs urbana*, i.e. the poorest class of the population of

[105] *IIt* X/1 663 = *EDCS*-04300321, Stancija Durin near Muntić, *[Sil]vano / Aug(usto) / Settidi / Euheme[rus] / et Eutych[us] / v(otum) s(olverunt)*; Zaccaria, 2014: 305.
[106] Zaccaria, 2014: 304.
[107] *CIL* 14.2434 = *CIL* 15.7846 = *EDCS*-05800401, lead water pipe; Aglietti, 2011: 146, second century CE.
[108] Taylor, 2013: 162, 377.
[109] Gell. *Noct. Att.* 5.19.16; Taylor, 2013: 280-281; Licandro, 2004: 45.
[110] Alföldy, 1984: 81-82, n. 20; 1999: 291, Bellunum n. 1; Panciera, 1987: 85, 91, n. 6; Tassaux, 2005: 149.
[111] *PIR* 2 C 184; Helen, 1975: 29; Alföldy, 1984: 84, n. 29; 1999: 94; Duthoy, 1986: 140, n. 88; Zaccaria, 1992: 214-215, n. 30; Mainardis and Zaccaria, 2005: 215; Tassaux, 2005: 144.
[112] Tassaux, 2005: 144, n. 48, C. Calpetanus C. f. Statius Rufus, Augustan senator (*PIR* 2 C 236), probably was a father of C. Calpetanus C. f. Rantius Sedatus Petronius, consul in 47 CE, governor of Dalmatia and an adoptive father of Calpetanus Rantius Quirinalis Valerius Festus (*PIR* 2 C 135); Salomies, 2005: 109, n. 20; 130, n. 95; 2014: 513, 516.
[113] Taylor, 2013: 163.

Rome, patron of the Catubrini, and curator of Mantua and Vicetia. Two bases of his statues were found in Bellunum.[114] Bellunum gave two known patrons of Histrian cities, Praecellius Augurinus (**n. 49**) and Carminius Pudens (**nos. 51-52**), both assigned to the Papiria tribe belonging to Bellunum.[115] P. Septimius P. f. [---], *eques Romanus* and patron of Tergeste, may conditionally join the list, as it is not possible to determine whether he was a native of Tergeste or another city.[116] Not counting Septimius, whose *origo* remains unknown, and Carminius Pudens (of equestrian rank), all other patrons of Histrian cities elected among the citizens of other cities were of senatorial rank with successful careers who entered senatorial families by adoption. They adopted a polyonymous nomenclature comprising both old and new names.[117]

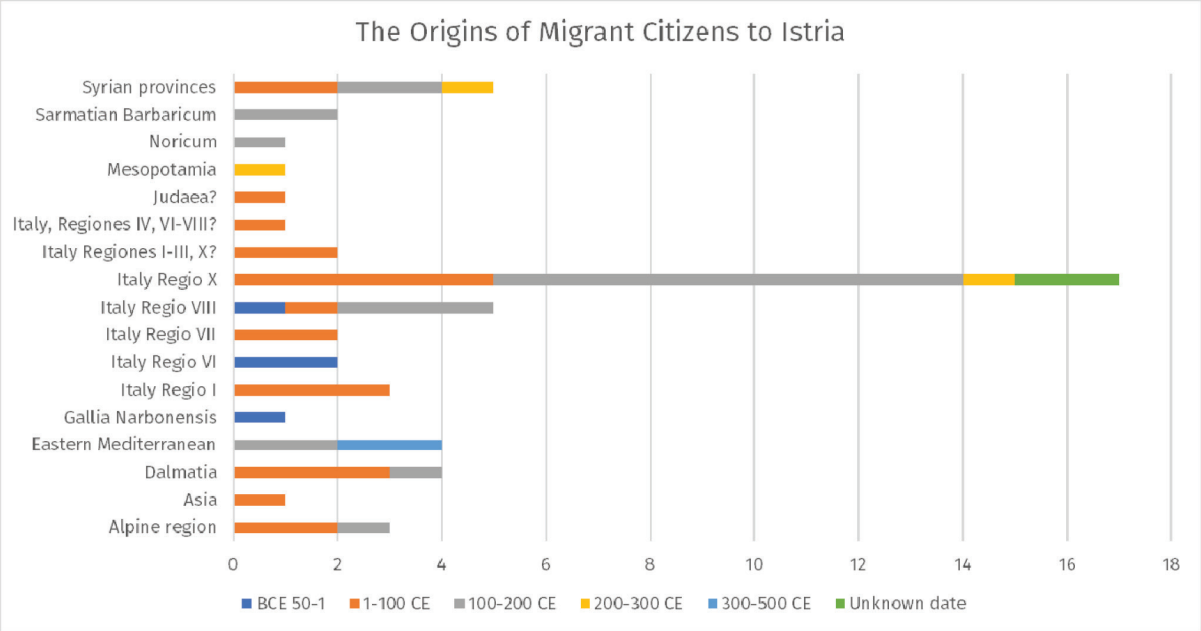
The process of determining if some patrons can be considered migrants returns an interesting result. Prifernius Paetus Settidianus Firmus (**n. 48**) was a native citizen of Pola or neighbouring *municipium* Nesactium, from a family that maintained its affiliation to the tribe of Tergeste for generations despite its relocation. A successful career took him from southern Histria to distant parts of the Roman Empire, but he maintained a connection with his homeland, to which he bequeathed a donation for the erection of his statue on the Nesactium forum. Despite his tribe being foreign to Pola and Nesactium, he actually migrated from Histria rather than to it. Among citizens who temporarily left Histria to build a career, some were assigned to a tribe foreign to their hometown: T. Settidius C. f. Pupin(ia) Firmus (**n. 20**), and possibly his ancestor C. Settidius C. f. Pup(inia) Firmus (**n. 19**), P. Palpellius P. f. Maec(ia) Clodius Quirinalis (**n. 37**), and T. Prifernius Paetus Settidianus Firmus (**n. 48**).

Praecellius Augurinus Vettius Festus (**n. 49**) was proclaimed patron of Parentium and three other cities in northeastern Italy at a young age, and there is no indication that he established any connection with Parentium or ever visited it. Calpetanus Rantius Quirinalis Valerius Festus (**n. 50**) retained the tribe of his hometown after his adoption. Both he and his adoptive father were from central Italy. It is assumed that his land holdings or other economic interests in Tergeste were the reason for his appointment as patron of the colony.[118] That would imply at least occasional visits to Tergeste. No other evidence of his connection with Tergeste is preserved, as is the case with Carminius Pudens from Belluno (**nos. 51-52**). Senatorial and equestrian patrons from other cities declared patrons in Histrian cities came from central and northeastern Italy. If economic interest connected them with Histria, they could be categorised as temporary or seasonal migrants.

Unlike patrons, curators of municipalities (*curatores rei publicae*) were obliged to live in the municipality whose finances were entrusted to them. This renders them temporary migrants. *Curatores* were regularly selected from another, not too remote, municipality. Decius Mettius Sabinianus (**n. 26**), curator of Pola, was a native of Concordia, where the grateful colony of Pola erected a monument in his honour.[119] Still, Papirius Secundinus from Pola was appointed curator of Flanona, a *municipium* in the

[114] Alföldy, 1984: 116-117, nos. 152-153; Lazzaro, 1988: 327-330, nos. 8-9; Mainardis and Zaccaria, 2005: 215.
[115] Taylor, 2013: 129, 164.
[116] *IIt* X/4 153 = *EDCS*-04200725, Tergeste; Mainardis and Zaccaria, 2005: 211-214.
[117] Salomies, 2005: 104; 2014: 513-516.
[118] Tassaux, 2005: 144.
[119] *CIL* 5.8667 = *EDCS*-05401465, Concordia, *Q(uinto) Dec(io) Q(uinti) f(ilio) Cl(audia) / Mett(io) Sabinia/no eq(uo) public(o) / Laur(enti) Lav(inati) q(uaestori) aed(ili) / IIvir(o) iter(um) patr(ono) / coll(egiorum) fab(rum) et cent(onariorum) / praef(ecto) coll(egi) fab(rum) / curat(ori) r(ei) p(ublicae) Polens(ium) / ordo Polens(ium) / iustissimo / innocentissimoq(ue) / l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*; Camodeca, 1980: 520; Jacques, 1983: 309-310; Alföldy, 1984: 112, n. 136; 1999: 113-114; Starac, 1999: 166, 130-170 CE.

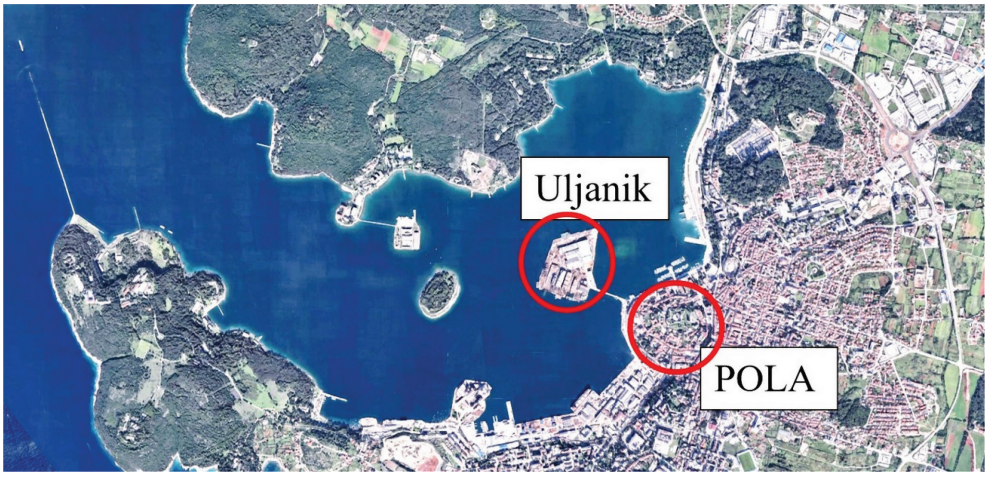
Table 5: The Origins of Migrant Citizens to Histria



Istrian part of the province of Dalmatia but endowed with Italian rights (*ius Italicum*), which obliged him to leave Pola occasionally.[120]

Overall, the list of migrants among Roman citizens in Histria reveals some general flows of migration and their course over the centuries (Table 5). By far, the largest number of migrants to Histria came from neighbouring northeastern Italy (Regio X) in the first three centuries CE (Map 2). Looking only at Italy, they are followed by two equally large categories. One came from the undefined, somewhat more remote regions of northern Italy and the region south of the Po river (Regio VIII), between 15 BCE and 300 CE. Another category, chronologically the earliest, came from the Central Italian regions and Campania (Regio I, VI, VII) in the period between 50 BCE and 100 CE. The influence of powerful senators on migration is noticeable. All three attested newcomers from Neapolis in Campania (**nos. 17, 33, and 37**) were related to the Histrian senatorial family of Palpellii, who prospered in the first half and the middle of the first century CE. Inscriptions of soldiers and veterans settled in Histria date mostly to the period between 15 BCE and 100 CE, except a military diploma dated to the end of the second century CE (**n. 31**). All soldiers and veterans were Italians, except one from the province of Gallia Narbonensis (**n. 29**) and another from the inland of the province of Dalmatia (**n. 34**). Most were born in the region of Aemilia. One praetorian was the son of a Syrian, domiciled in Pola (**n. 14**). After Italy, Eastern Mediterranean provinces were the main source of settlers throughout the entire Imperial period (Map 3). Inscriptions confirm that Histria attracted newcomers endowed with civil rights, merchants from Asia Minor and more remote Middle East regions (the latter more prominently). Migrants from the Western provinces were very rare, except Dalmatia, which shows the strongest connection with Histria.

[120] Plin. *HN* 3.139, *Ius Italicum habent ex eo conventu Alutae, Flanates, a quibus sinus nominatur…* ; *IIt* X/1 88 8667 = *EDCS*-04200060, Pola, *Cn(aeo) P[a]pirio / Cn(aei) [f(ilio) V]el(ina) / Sec[un]din(o) / IIvir(o) [II]vir(o) q(uin)q(uennali) / patro[no e]t praef(ecto) / coll(egii) [fab]ror(um) Pol(ensium) / cura[tor]i rei p(ublicae) Fla[nati]um / M(arcus) Helv[ius He]rmias / amic[o dig]niss(imo?) / l(ocus) d(atus) [d(ecreto)] d(ecurionum)*; Jacques, 1983: 331-332; Alföldy, 1984: 80, n. 13; Starac, 1999: 164-166, 130-220 CE.



Map 4: Aerial photograph of Pola and its harbour. Source: Google Maps; graphics drawn by the author.

The Deposed Roxolanian King Rasparaganus: *Amicus Populi Romani* or *Relegatus*?

The case of Rasparaganus has instigated considerable debate. King of the Sarmatian tribe of the Roxolani, Rasparaganus, died and was buried with his family on the small island of Uljanik in Pola harbour, on which the shipyard is located today (Map 4).[121] Two funerary inscriptions, both mentioning Rasparaganus, were found on Uljanik. The inscription of P. Aelius Rasparaganus, king of the Roxolani (**n. 7**), was set by his unnamed wife: *Aelio Rasparag[a]no / regi Roxo[la]noru[m] / [u(xor)] v(iva) [f(ecit)]*.[122] The second inscription marked the burial place of P. Aelius Peregrinus (**n. 8**), son of the Sarmatian king Rasparaganus, his wife Attia Q. f. Procilla, and all family freedmen: *P(ublius) Aelius Peregrinus reg[is] / Sarmatarum Rasparagani / f(ilius) v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et Attiae Q(uinti) f(iliae) Procillae lib(ertis) l[iber]/tabusq(ue) posterisq(ue) eorum*.[123]

Both inscriptions traditionally were interpreted as sarcophagi fragments.[124] This is not entirely certain due to their fragmentary condition. The lack of figural decoration on both sides of the inscription field on both monuments does not correspond to the sarcophagi typology known from Istria and northern Italy. Neither of the inscriptions was placed initially on the sarcophagus lid. While the monument of Rasparaganus shows the profiled lath above the framed inscription field, which allows us to assume it was part of a sarcophagus, the inscription of his son, P. Aelius Peregrinus, within an unframed inscription field bears no lath on the upper edge or recesses for receiving the lid. It is more likely that the inscription of Aelius Peregrinus and his family was built into a mausoleum, a large square masonry monument, possibly in the form of a temple and possibly with sculpture.

The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* record minimal historical notes on the king of the Roxolani. The book on Hadrian briefly outlines historical events with which the persons buried on the island in the port of Pola can be associated, but not the king's name: *Audito dein tumultu Sarmatarum et Roxolanorum*

[121] The island is situated 230 metres off the coast. Uljanik was somewhat smaller in antiquity, as its current area (250 x 400 metres cca) includes the modern docks built for the needs of the shipyard.
[122] *IIt* X/1 153 = *EDCS*-04200032; Pola, Uljanik: ' For Publius Aelius Rasparaganus, king of the Roxolani, his surviving wife had it made [i.e., this tombstone]'.
[123] *IIt* X/1 154 = *EDCS*-04200033; Pola, Uljanik: 'Publius Aelius Peregrinus, son of the Sarmatian king Rasparaganus, had this (tombstone) made while he was alive for himself and Attia Procilla the daughter of Quintus, and freedmen, freedwomen and their offspring'.
[124] *IIt* X/1 153 = *EDCS*-04200032, Pola, Uljanik; *IIt* X/1 154 = *EDCS*-04200033; Pola, Uljanik. Cf. Matijašić, 2021: 179.

praemissis exercitibus Moesiam petiit... Cum rege Roxolanorum, qui de inminutis stipendiis querebatur, cognito negotio pacem composuit.[125] We read that the Roxolanian king was displeased and complained because of the diminution of the subsidy (*stipendium*) paid by the Romans. Hadrian investigated his case and made peace with him. Army deployment and imperial investigation recorded in this passage is literally all the textual evidence we have about this episode. Hadrian's conflict with the Roxolani dates to the end of 117 or to the spring of 118 CE. The reasons and manner of Rasparaganus' arrival in Pola have been interpreted differently, yet two main interpretations of historical and archaeological sources stand out: either Rasparaganus was imprisoned for life by Hadrian on the island, or he voluntarily relocated with his family to a small island in the port of Pola.[126] The first ambiguity concerns the *stipendium* and to whom it was actually paid. The generally accepted interpretation is that Rome has been paying a subsidy to the Roxolani since the era of Trajan, thus buying peace and their neutrality.[127] Hence, some scholars argue, historical sources do not support or dismiss in any way that a conciliation took place between Hadrian and Rasparaganus, wherein the king was made a Roman citizen and Hadrian elevated him to the status of a friend of the Roman people (*amicus populi Romani*). Rasparaganus and his son were afterwards exiled from their homeland by a rival anti-Roman group among the Roxolani and the Iazyges, possibly early in the reign of Antonius Pius.[128] This interpretation does not consider the reasons why a king of the Roxolani, with his whole family and a potential heir, remained isolated for life on the rocky islet in the port of Pola, especially if he owned land elsewhere in the Pola area, nor how he was isolated for life without land holdings that could provide for a dignified life.

According to a more straightforward interpretation, Hadrian removed the Roxolanian king, placed him in lifelong exile on the island, and installed a new puppet ruler in his place.[129] Certainly, being far from his homeland (Map 3), Rasparaganus could not force the Roman emperor to pay his people compensation as a guarantee of peace and non-aggression. There is also a possibility that this episode should be understood differently, literally as it is written: the king of the Roxolani complained of a reduction in the amount of support for him personally and his family, not the amount paid to his people. Strong Roman criminal law arguments and archaeological ones support the theory that the Roxolanian king with his entire family was sentenced to life in solitary confinement on the islet of Uljanik by Hadrian.[130] The king and his son were granted Roman citizenship and all the conditions for a comfortable life as a result of Hadrian's reconsideration of the case. The sheer size of the funerary monuments on the islet testifies to the reputation and wealth of Rasparaganus' family members. Apparently, Hadrian made peace with Rasparaganus by forcing him and his son into lifelong exile, in the form of captivity reserved for the highest social layers, *relegatio ad insulam*,[131] and paying him a generous sum to secure a dignified life. The payment had a purpose since the deposed Roxolanian king had no civil rights, possessions, or freedom of movement outside the islet. In any case, the granting of Roman citizenship was a prerequisite for *relegatio ad insulam*.

[125] SHA *Hadr*. 6.6-8: 'Then, on hearing of the incursions of the Sarmatians and Roxolani, he sent the troops ahead and set out for Moesia. … When the king of the Roxolani complained of the diminution of his subsidy, he investigated his case and made peace with him.' (Trans. by D. Magie, 1921[2022]: 21)
[126] Vaday, 1978: 30-31; Zaninović, 1991: 85; Tassaux, 1992: 141; Starac, 1999: 64-65; Alemany, 2000: 75; Mócsy, 2014: 100; Jaramaz Reskušić and Milotić, 2019: 162-172; Matijašić, 2021: 187-189.
[127] Vaday, 1978: 30-31; Wilkes, 2007: 583; Bârcă, 2006: 19; 2013: 117-118; 2014: 183-184; Mócsy, 2014: 100.
[128] Bârcă, 2006: 19; 2013: 117-118; 2014: 183-184; Matijašić, 2021: 185-186.
[129] Mócsy, 2014: 100.
[130] Starac, 1999: 64-65; Jaramaz Reskušić amd Milotić, 2019: 162-172.
[131] Dig. 48.19.28.13; 48.22.1; 48.22.4; 48.22.7; 48.22.14; Starac, 1999: 65; Jaramaz Reskušić amd Milotić, 2019: 162-167.

Another episode from Hadrian's life can be associated with the rebellion of the Roxolani and peace with Rasparaganus. In 121-123 CE, Hadrian built a tomb for his favourite horse, Borysthenes, in Gallia Narbonensis. The funerary inscription from Apt, Vaucluse, terms the fast horse Borysthenes as *Alanus, Caesareus veredus*, and clarifies that it died young and unharmed.[132] Borysthenes, named after the ancient name of the river Dnieper (Map 3),[133] was bred in the land of nomadic Alans north of the Black Sea. Sarmatian Roxolani were one of the Early Alanic tribes, contemporary and closely associated with the first Alans, who in the time of Hadrian lived east of the Danube delta.[134] Medieval sources remember the Roxolani as a prominent tribe from which the kings of Alans were chosen.[135] Their Indoeuropean name was explained as *Rhox- or *Ruxs- Alans, meaning luminous or shining Alans.[136] Hadrian probably obtained Borysthenes in early 118 CE following the rebellion of the Roxolani, possibly as a ruler's gift of reconciliation. In 121-123 CE Borysthenes would be at his best, young and strong, just as described in the epitaph. It remains uncertain whether Borysthenes was a gift from Rasparaganus.

The Legal Status of Migrants: Were Migrants Allowed Entry to the Public Baths?

Free persons who resettled and changed their domicile were termed *incolae*.[137] The term includes members of municipalities with Roman or Latin rights, or indigenous communities without them. The issues of the legal status of settlers were generally regulated by city law or imperial edict. The legal status of *incolae* and the framework of the term developed in the last centuries of the Republic and in the Early Imperial period in parallel with other legal categories of the organisation of territorial communities, such as attribution and contribution.[138] Certain problematic aspects were resolved by special decisions at the local level, as evidenced by the inscription found near Buje in northern Istria, which records the decurions' permission to the colonists, settlers (*incolae*), and foreigners (*peregrini*) to bathe in the *thermae* free of charge (Map 1).[139] Free entrance is one of the most frequently attested types of benefaction in connection with public baths.[140] Relevant inscriptions regularly list various legal categories of users, even slaves. The choice of categories depended on the local situation and needs, and the inscription from Buje is the only one that contains the combination *colonis, incolis, peregrinis* in the context of bathing. An epigraphic quasi-formula containing citizens, *incolae*, and peregrines is attested in only a few different administrative decisions and cannot be regarded as a formula per se.[141]

[132] Cass. Dio 69.10.2; *CIL* 12.1122 = *EDCS*-08500803, Apt, *Borysthenes Alanus / Caesareus veredus / per aequor et paludes / et tumulos Etruscos / volare qui solebat / Pannonicos in apros / nec ullus insequentem / dent[e aper albicanti / ausus fuit nocere / vel extimam saliva / sparsit ab ore caudam / ut solet evenire. / Sed integer iuventa / inviolatus artus / die sua peremptus / ho]c situs est in agro*; Gascou and Janon, 2000: 61-63; Disdero, 2019: 2-3.
[133] Hdt. 4.53; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.5.
[134] Ptol. *Geog.* 3.5.19.24-25; Tabula Peutingeriana 8.5, *Roxulani Sarmate*; Vernadsky, 1959: 23, 63-64; Alemany, 2000: 7-8; Bârcă, 2013: 110, 116-119; 2014: 182-184; Matijašić, 2021: 185.
[135] Ibn Rustah 6.15.1 (fl. in tenth-century Persia); Alemany, 2000: 8.
[136] Vernadsky, 1959: 33; Alemany, 2000: 8.
[137] Dig. 50.16.239.2; Hoyos, 1975: 249-253; Margetić, 1980: 97-98; Sherwin-White, 1996: 34; Starac, 1999: 29; Broadhead (2001: 89) argues there was no special right of migration (so-called *ius migrandi*) in Republican Rome; Gagliardi, 2006: 1-5; 2011: 66-68; Moatti, 2013: 80; Benoist, 2017: 214-219; Jewell, 2019: 4.
[138] Hermon, 2007: 40.
[139] *IIt* X/3 71 = *EDCS*-04200462: *Decuriones / colonis incolis peregrinis / lavandis gratis / de pecunia publica / dederunt.*
[140] Fagan, 1999: 160-161; 300-305, cat. nos. 197-213; 300, n. 199, the inscription *IIt* X/3 71 = *EDCS*-04200462 from Buje listed among inscriptions allowing free admission to the baths.
[141] *CIL* 12.94 = *EDCS*-08400669, Besançon; *CIL* 5.4842 = *EDCS*-49400003, Venafro; *AÉ* 2005 1183 = *EDCS*-30101114, Pljevlja, Komini; Loma, 2002: 146-148; Le Roux, 2005: 261-265.

The very fact that the inscription was put in place indicates that the decision was preceded by a debate and different views on who has the right to use the *thermae*. The process and public announcement of the decision in a visible location, probably along Via Flavia that connected the Histrian colonies, was intended to resolve any doubts over the right to free use of the public baths.

The decurions mentioned in the inscription could only refer to the colony of Tergeste. The baths can be identified with Quaeri, marked on the Tabula Peutingeriana with the symbol for thermal baths.[142] The nearest thermal baths are Istarske Toplice, 25 kilometres away from Buje (Map 1).[143] There are no thermal springs close to the river Rižana (Formio in antiquity), about 40 kilometres from Buje, so Istarske Toplice remains the most likely option. If Quaeri can be identified with Istarske Toplice, it can be assumed that the autochthonous Histrian communities used the thermal spring free of charge by customary law, and after the extension of the jurisdiction of the colony of Tergeste to northern Histria, this right was simply extended to all inhabitants of the colony, but also to newcomers and travellers. The colonists who came to the *thermae* in northern *Histria* can be described as temporary migrants, as they arrived from the urban centre to a remote place assigned to the territory of the colony of Tergeste in the Augustan period by some kind of legal procedure (attribution, contribution, or full inclusion).[144] *Incolae*, on the other hand, represented a heterogeneous group including permanently or at least seasonal migrants, as well as permanently settled members of native Histrian communities. *Incolae* of Roman citizenship were new domiciled citizens or citizens without legal domicile in the territory under the administration of the colony of Tergeste, who engaged in economic activities yet were nevertheless obliged to fulfill duties to the colony.[145] Citizens changed their domicile by simply registering in the census in their new municipality.[146] In order to prevent evasion of registration in the new place of residence and avoidance of ensuing obligations, the retention of a double domicile was permitted. At the latest since the rule of Hadrian, *incolae* were required to meet requested obligations both in their host community and their place of origin.[147] The exceptions were veterans who enjoyed the privilege of immunity, even if they accepted to pursue a municipal career.[148] Valerius Priscus, a clothing merchant from Aquileia who came to northern Histria seasonally for the purchase of wool, was one of those *incolae* – Roman citizens.

In the extraordinary case of the inscription from Buje, the *incolae* were not only newly settled Roman citizens but also members of the indigenous *peregrine* or Latin communities in the interior of northern Histria and in the south eastern Alps.[149] The native inhabitants of peregrine status whose territories fell under the jurisdiction of the colony were also termed *incolae*.[150] Autochthonous *peregrines* in Histria were certainly not immigrants, but as they changed domicile by administrative change without leaving their homes, they entered the category of *incolae*. Therefore, the term *incolae* on the inscription from Buje referred to migrant Roman citizens as well as members of the indigenous peregrine communities of northern Histria. The third category included in the quasi-formula, peregrines, were foreigners, free people without Roman citizenship but on friendly terms with the Roman state. Since the term

[142] Zaccaria, 1992: 160, according to philological analysis, the name Quaeri could be derived from the name *Aquae Risani*.
[143] Zaccaria, 1992: 155-156, 197-198, n. 71; Starac, 1999: 115.
[144] Margetić, 1980: 89; Zaccaria, 1992: 155-156; Starac, 1999: 114.
[145] Dig. 50.1.5; 50.1.20; 50.4.18.22.
[146] Licandro, 2019: 52-55.
[147] Dig. 50.1.29; Cod. Iust. 10.40.1-7; de Ligt, 2019: 247.
[148] Dig. 49.18.2.
[149] Margetić, 1980: 97; Zaccaria, 1992: 155-156, 163; Starac, 1999: 115-119.
[150] Margetić, 1980: 97-98; Gagliardi, 2006; 2011: 65; Russo et al., 2019: 20.

incolae on the inscription from Buje embraces the entire permanently settled, indigenous Histrian population regardless of citizenship, peregrines were foreign passers-by, i.e. temporary immigrants.[151] The distinction between citizens and peregrines disappeared after the *constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 CE. In some cases, individuals of foreign descent bear the personal name (*cognomen*) Peregrinus, which is indicative of immigrant status. The funerary altar of Trosius Peregrinus (**n. 46**), son of Trosius Severus, dates to the first century CE and shows that the family moved to Tergeste.[152] The case of the Trosii is comparable to Aelius Peregrinus, son of the king of the Sarmatian Roxolani Aelius Rasparaganus, discussed above.

Conclusion

Private migration to Histria occurred for different reasons: to seek economic prosperity and a better life; to escort a family member; to trade or engage in business of an occasional or seasonal nature; to visit religious sites and *thermae*; or to settle permanently. The official reasons for migration were equally varied: to perform administrative and religious municipal duties; to escort a military commander, senator or member of the Imperial family; even forced relocation by the emperor's decision. The number of migrants who came to Histria of their own free will is relatively small and concentrated in the colonies of Pola and Tergeste. They are recognisable by the language of the inscription (especially if written in Greek) and their origin or topophoric names inscribed on stone. The municipal functions in a foreign city are indicators of a possible newly settled citizen. Being enlisted in a foreign tribe is a reliable indicator of foreign origin only in the case of soldiers and veterans. In the case of high-ranking commanders and magistrates, it could have been the result of adoption or resettlement that took place several generations ago.

Settlers brought with them their customs and beliefs, sometimes a local tradition, which are embedded in the design of funerary monuments, recognisable in the style of Catusius' sarcophagus from Pola, for instance (**n. 13**). Inscriptions confirm various types of migration in Histria, seasonal, temporary, and permanent. Valerius Priscus (**n. 32**), a trader of woollen garments from Aquileia, visited seasonally to procure wool at the foot of the Učka mountain in northern Histria, where he died. Temporary visitors were clearly registered in important religious and spas away from urban, such as the *spa* and the sacred source of the river Timavo between Tergeste and Aquileia, or the *spa* at Quaeri. People from the neighbouring regions of Venetia and Noricum visited sacred healing springs to find cured and comfort from illness.

Most migrants settled permanently in Histria. Members of the municipal aristocracy retained their status after relocation, moving from one city council to another, much like the Augustals. For patrons from another city, there is no evidence that they had ever visited the Histrian town that elected them as patrons, and their categorisation as occasional or seasonal migrants remains questionable. The curators, however, were obliged to visit occasionally the city whose finances they supervised; for example, Decius Mettius Sabinianus from Concordia (**n. 26**) can be considered a temporary migrant in Pola. Most migrants came from neighbouring regions in northern Italy, indicating that the main direction of migration was from the centre to the extremities of Italy, from west to east. The presence of the Imperial family through Histrian estates run by imperial slaves and freedmen starting with Augustus, and senatorial families in *Histria*, proved to be a decisive factor in attracting migrants from

[151] Margetić, 1980: 97; Gagliardi, 2006: 107-108; Reali, 2020: 93.
[152] *IIt* X/4 156 = *EDCS*-04200731; Zaccaria, 1992: 227, n. 156; Dexheimer, 1998: 83-84, n. 28.

Italy. Second in number were migrant citizens from the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, probably merchants.

The paper focused in a single Roman region, perhaps inevitably. A study of a larger area (the entire Regio X for example) would require much more space, whereas narrowing down the scope to a smaller area could only mean discussing a municipality. The latter is too small and locally oriented, to the effect that it would have deterred wider applications of the findings, and their contextualisation into wider debates over migration. Despite its potential uses for researchers interested in migration, a wider discussion of migration patterns in the Roman Empire, or other aspects of migration in Histria, are subjects for other studies, which the paper aspires to inform.

Abbreviations

AÉ	*L'Année Épigraphique, Revue des publications épigraphiques*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. Available at: *https://www.jstor.org/journal/anneepig*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin: Berlin-Bradenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Available at : *https://cil.bbaw.de/*
EDCS	*Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss*. Slaby, Universität Zürich – Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt. Available at: *https://www.manfredclauss.de/*
EDR	*Epigraphic Database Roma*, EAGLE Electronic Archive of Greek and Latin Epigraphy. Available at: *https://www.edr-edr.it/default/index.php*
EpOst	Caldelli, M. L., Cébeillac-Gervasoni, M., Laubry, N., Manzini, I., Marchesini, R., Marini Recchia, F. and Zevi, F. 2018. *Epigrafia Ostiense dopo il CIL. 2000 iscrizioni funerarie*, Storia ed epigrafia 5, Antichistica 15. Venezia: Università Ca' Foscari.
IEAquil	Lettich, G. 2003. *Itinerari epigrafici Aquileiesi. Guida alle iscrizioni esposte nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Aquileia*, Centro di Antichità Altoadriatiche. Trieste: Editreg.
IIt X/1	Forlati Tamaro, B. 1947. *Inscriptiones Italiae Academiae Italicae consociatae ediderunt X/1; Regio X: Pola et Nesactium*. Roma: La Libreria dello Stato.
IIt X/2	Degrassi, A. 1934. *Inscriptiones Italiae Academiae Italicae consociatae ediderunt X/2; Regio X: Parentium*. Roma: La Libreria dello Stato.
IIt X/3	Degrassi, A. 1936. *Inscriptiones Italiae Academiae Italicae consociatae ediderunt X/3; Regio X: Histria Septemtrionalis*. Roma: La Libreria dello Stato.
IIt X/4	Sticotti, P. 1951. *Inscriptiones Italiae Academiae Italicae consociatae ediderunt X/4; Regio X: Tergeste*. Roma: La Libreria dello Stato.
ILJug	Šašel, A. and Šašel, J. 1986. *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt*, Situla 25. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej v Ljubljani.
NSA	*Notizie degli scavi di antichità*. Roma: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei.
PIR	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, Berlin: Berlin-Bradenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden: Brill. Available at: *https://scholarlyeditions.brill.com/sego/*

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Abstract (Croatian) | Sažetak

Migracije slobodnih rimskih građana i barbarskog kralja u Histriju: podrijetla, status, građanska prava i zanimanja

Tema članka su migracije rimskih građana u Histriju i njihovo podrijetlo. Studija se temelji prvenstveno na epigrafskim izvorima i obuhvaća cijelo razdoblje Rimskog Carstva. Fokusira se na identitet i podrijetlo slobodnih pojedinaca koji su svojom voljom došli u rimsku regiju Histriju u potrazi za boljim životom i trgovačkom zaradom te ostalih koji su se naselili kao veterani, ili pronašli zaklon u Histriji bježeći od nemira u vlastitoj zemlji. Ispituju se razlozi koji su ih potaknuli na dolazak, kako su se snašli po dolasku u Histriju te da li su se preselili trajno, da li su dolazili povremeno ili su došli samo u jednokratni posjet. Ustanovljeni su različiti motivi dolaska: pojedinci su došli vlastitom voljom, a drugi su bili potomci doseljenih robova. Grčki natpisi pružaju vrijedne informacije o doseljenim slobodnim građanima iz istočnih provincija. Znatno su brojniji latinski natpisi koji donose podatak o gradu ili regiji podrijetla sadržan u stranom tribusu, u nomenu, kognomenu, nadimku ili u opisu kojim doseljeni pojedinac ponosno ističe svoju domovinu. Visoki dužnosnici, pretorijanci i vojnici dolazili su ispuniti svoju administrativnu ili vojnu dužnost, a veterani i svrgnuti barbarski kralj naseljeni su odlukom vlasti. Pripadnici senatorskog i viteškog staleža povremeno su dolazili u posjet svojim histarskim posjedima zbog odmora i ubiranja prihoda. Pojedinci su nenadano umrli za privremenog boravka u Histriji, daleko od doma. Naseljavanja većih grupa doseljenika ili čitavih plemenskih zajednica nisu zabilježena prije pada Zapadnog Rimskog Carstva.

Najveći broj migranata zabilježen je u velikim kolonijama Pola i Tergeste, no u odnosu na ukupan broj stanovnika broj doseljenih slobodnih rimskih građana razmjerno je malen. Još je manji njihov broj u ruralnoj unutrašnjosti Histrije, gdje su dolazili poslom ili su naseljeni kao veterani. Grupiranje natpisa došljaka u Histriju pokazalo je odnos između pojedinih regija njihova podrijetla i kronologije dolazaka. Daleko najveći broj migranata u Histriju kroz prva tri stoljeća pos. Kr. potječe iz sjeveroistočne Italije (*Regio X*). Druga područja Italije koja slijede po brojnosti došljaka u Histriju udaljeni su dijelovi sjeverne Italije i Emilija južno od rijeke Po, odakle migracije počinju već od srednjeg razdoblja Augustove vladavine. Kronološki je najstarija grupa došljaka iz srednje Italije i Kampanije, koja datira od sredine 1. st. pr. Kr. do kraja 1. st. pos. Kr. Nakon Italije, istočnomediteranske provincije bile su glavno polazište doseljenika u Histriju za čitavog trajanja Rimskog Carstva. Migranti iz zapadnih provincija vrlo su rijetki, osim iz susjedne provincije Dalmacije.

Natpisi svjedoče o postojanju raznih vrsta migracija u Histriju, sezonskih, povremenih i trajnih. Članovi municipalne aristokracije i augustali zadržali su svoj povlašten status nakon preseljenja. Nekoliko veterana, pretežno rođenih u Italiji, trajno su se naselili u Histriji. Osim veterana, doseljavali su aktivni vojnici, pretorijanci, pripadnici urbanih kohorti i visoki vojni zapovjednici. Pretorijanci i vojnici urbanih kohorti stacioniranih u Rimu potjecali su iz srednje i sjeverne Italije, a vjerojatno su došli prateći članove carske obitelji na njihovim putovanjima u Histriju gdje su se nalazili brojni carski posjedi. Pretorijanski veteran Gaj Kaulinije Maksim izdvaja se od ostalih pretorijanaca po tome što je bio sin došljaka iz Sirije, a oženio se oslobođenicom moćne senatorske obitelji Palpeliji iz Pole. Vojnik Tit Domicije Gracil ponosno je istaknuo na svom nadgrobnom spomeniku u koloniji Tergeste da pripada narodu Dicija iz unutrašnjosti provincije Dalmacije.

Među običnim doseljenicima koji nisu imali veze s vojskom, nisu obavljali nikakve administrativne službe niti su pripadali municipalnoj aristokraciji, ističu se trgovci vunom i odjećom koji su došli u Histriju zbog posla i zarade. Oni su sezonski migrirali između gradova u kojima su prodavali robu i planinskih pašnjaka, kamo su dolazili zbog nabave vune. Povremeni posjetitelji zabilježeni su u značajnim vjerskim i lječilišnim centrima, poput svetog područja rijeke Timav s toplicama. Područje Timava pripadalo je Akvileji i nalazilo se izvan rimske Histrije, ali uključeno je u studiju jer se nalazi uz samu sjeverozapadnu granicu Histrije i pruža vrijedne podatke o povremenim migracijama zbog liječenja ili posjete vjerskom središtu.

Setidiji su primjer obitelji koja je doselila iz jednog grada Histrije u drugi, iz Tergeste u Polu, i postigla senatorski stalež. Unatoč promjeni domicila, zadržali su generacijama tergestinski tribus Pupinija. Dok se za republike u Histriji javljaju pripadnici senatorskog staleža iz Rima Lucije Kasije Longin i Lucije Kalpurnije Pizon koji su došli kratkotrajno obaviti svoje administrativne dužnosti kao prvci duumviri novoosnovane rimske kolonije Pole, u carsko doba javljaju se trajno doseljeni magistrati: Publije Elije Oktav doselio je vjerojatno iz Ravene sudeći prema tribusu Kamilija, a Marko Aurelije Feliks počeo je municipalnu karijeru u Kremoni kao dekurion, potom je preselio u Polu gdje je postigao najviše općinske magistrature. Obojica nose carski prenomen i nomen, što može značiti da su ostvarili privilegirane karijere kao potomci carskih oslobođenika. Senatorska obitelj Palpeliji iz Pole poduprli su adopcijom i dobročinstvima karijere više došljaka iz Neapolisa u Kampaniji, među kojima se ističu rimski vitez Publije Palpelije Klodije Kvirinal i Gaj Precije Feliks. Augustali su također migrirali iz jednog grada u drugi, pri čemu su mogli obnašati augustalske službe u oba grada, poput Seksta Apuleja Apolonija i izvjesnog Fabra koji su bili augustali u dva grada Histrije, Tergeste i Pola.

Pojedinci su doselili u Histriju iz udaljenih istočnih provincija, poput sina izvjesnog Dose koji je došao iz Neapolisa u Siriji Palestini. Njegov rodni grad Septimije Sever teško je kaznio brojnim smaknućima i oduzimanjem svih građanskih prava, zbog potpore koju su stanovnici Neapolisa pružili njegovom rivalu Pesceniju Nigeru. Te su okolnosti mogle uvjetovati masovni egzodus iz Neapolisa. Septimije Sever povukao je deset godina kasnije izrečene kaznene mjere, ali mnogi su već odselili nepovratno, među njima Dosin sin. Najudaljenija istočna provincija iz koje je došao rimski građan bila je Mezopotamija. Gaj Lorencije Tezifon došao je iz Ktezifona, grada na istočnoj obali Tigrisa koji je tijekom 2. i 3. stoljeća mnogo puta mijenjao status od partske prijestolnice do rimskog grada u provinciji Mezopotamiji, i obratno. Sahranjen je u sarkofagu koji govori o njegovom dobrom imovinskom stanju.

Ispitani su slučajevi gradskih patrona podrijetlom iz drugog grada, kako bi se ustanovilo mogu li se oni smatrati migrantima. Patroni su se najčešće birali među lokalnim istaknutim građanima, rjeđe među građanima obližnjih gradova iste regije, a samo izuzetno među visoko rangiranim dužnosnicima koji su živjeli daleko. Patroni viteškog ili senatorskog staleža iz drugog grada nisu bili obavezni niti posjetiti grad koji ih je izabrao, a pogotovo nisu bili obavezni preseliti. Pri izboru su jednostavno uključeni kooptacijom među građane grada koji ih je izabrao, bez obaveze nazočnosti. Zbog toga se patroni iz drugih gradova i regija ne mogu automatski smatrati migrantima ni doseljenicima. Dolazili su ako su imali zemljoposjede ili neki drugi interes, ili u kratku posjetu. Njihova je migracija bila sezonskog ili povremenog karaktera. Neki su patroni promijenili domicil adopcijom, a neki su pripadali obiteljima koje su preselile ali zadržale izvorni tribus, poput Tita Prifernija Peta Setidijana Firma, rimskog konzula i patrona Nezakcija. Rođen je u obitelji Setidija koja je iz Tergeste doselila u Polu, stekla posjede u blizini Nezakcija i drugdje

u južnoj Istri, ali je zadržala izvorni tergestinski tribus. Uspješna karijera odvela ga je daleko od Histrije, ali zadržao je trajnu vezu sa zavičajem kojeg je vjerojatno često posjećivao.

Osobito je zanimljiv slučaj Rasparagana, kralja sarmatskog plemena Roksolana, koji je umro i pokopan zajedno s članovima svoje obitelji na malom otočiću Uljanik u pulskoj luci. Povijesni izvori bilježe sukobe sa sarmatskim Roksolanima, čiji se kralj žalio Hadrijanu na smanjenje novčane potpore koju je isplaćivalo Rimsko Carstvo. Hadrijan je proučio njegov slučaj i sklopio mir s njime. Rasparaganov dolazak u koloniju Polu i doživotni boravak na malom otoku različito je tumačen, kao dobrovoljno preseljenje u svojstvu prijatelja rimskog naroda kojeg su kasnije svrgnuli i protjerali unutrašnji neprijatelji, ili kao prisilna osuda na doživotnu izolaciju koju je roksolanskom kralju, njegovoj obitelji i njegovom sinu, nesuđenom nasljedniku, nametnuo Hadrijan. Činjenica da su Rasparagan i njegov sin primili od Hadrijana rimsko građansko pravo, kao i činjenica da su svi članovi Rasparaganove obitelji i obitelji njegova sina živjeli i pokopani na malom otoku Uljaniku, ide u prilog tezi o prisilnom doživotnom izgnanstvu na otok (*relegatio ad insulam*) koje se moglo izreći samo rimskim građanima. Izvan otoka, izgnanici nisu imali rimsko građansko pravo niti ikakvu imovinu, stoga je Hadrijan Rasparaganu dodijelio pristojnu novčanu pomoć kako bi mu osigurao dostojan život. Još jedna epizoda iz Hadrijanova života može se povezati s Roksolanima. Hadrijanov omiljeni lovački konj Boristen uzgojen je u zemlji Alana, čijoj su skupini pripadali Roksolani, i mogao je biti poklon caru upravo od Rasparagana.

Prisutnost carskih i senatorskih posjeda te stalni boravak članova proširene carske obitelji u Histriji odigrali su značajnu ulogu u privlačenju doseljenika iz Italije. Pravni status doseljenika i posjetitelja bio je reguliran posebnim odlukama, poput natpisa o besplatnom korištenju kupališta nedaleko Buja koji govori o odluci dekuriona kojom se dopušta slobodno kupanje kolonistima, naseljenicima (*incolae*) i strancima bez rimskog građanskog prava.

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Plato's Allegory of the Cave and the Early Christian Concept of 'True Light' in the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* (138.9-23) of Apollinaris of Laodicea

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Abstract

This paper explores the connection and renegotiation of Plato's allegorical simile of the cave and the spiritual exodus from darkness towards 'true light' in Apollinaris' *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* 138.9-23. First, to inform non-specialists, I outline scholarly views and debates on Plato's allegory of the cave and the concept of True light. Second, I compare the fourth-century metaphrase to the Septuagint text and interpret stylistic embellishments in the former as influences of a long tradition of conceptualising light allegorically, together with explorations over the knowability of the divine. Apollinaris' use of the light imagery is, paradoxically, connected with the concept of God as the one who makes darkness bright. Finally, I present Origen and Gregory of Nyssa as pivotal sources to our understanding of the mystical colouring of darkness in the *Metaphrasis* and the enigmatic verse 12 of the Septuagint's *Psalm* 138.

Keywords

Plato; allegory; early-Christian theology; Apollinaris; Origen; true light; late-antiquity paraphrase; knowability of God

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Introduction[1]

Over the past few decades, there has been a growing interest in early Christian interpretations of Scripture, directed not only towards the understanding of patristic hermeneutics in its own right but also towards a more integrated understanding of each author's views.[2] The discussion has especially turned to the pivotal and unifying role hermeneutics played in Platonic philosophical thought.[3] In addition, scholars have demonstrated a keenness to see *exegetai* of patristic hermeneutics as writers whose beliefs and spirituality were not only interconnected, but virtually indistinguishable, and who perceived scripture and philosophy as complementary and overlapping means of expressing and grounding their theological beliefs.

In this paper, I focus on two influencing factors: Plato's well-known allegory of the cave and the imagery of light; and the interpretations of Scripture and mysticism, which is one of the most critical features in explaining and understanding the context of Scripture. First, I consider allegory in connection with mysticism to suggest a long tradition and intertexts behind word choices and theological tenets in a fourth-century rendition of Psalm 138. Second, I explore how the spiritual itinerary from darkness to 'true light', an expression attested in Plato's allegorical image of the cave and the perception of the Good (*Resp.* 514a-520a), influenced the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* 138.9-23, a fourth-century CE epic metaphrase of the biblical Psalms by Apollinaris of Laodicea. Third, I investigate how the cave allegory and Early Christian philosophical interpretations of the Scripture correspond to the theological context of this 'Homeric' Psalter, particularly the allusions to its classical Greek and biblical intertexts and, of course, to the Septuagint's Psalter. In this paper, I acknowledge the variety and ambivalence (to the point of being polemical) of the approaches of early Christian thinkers to the classical tradition.[4] However, I analyse Apollinaris' metaphrase of Psalm 138 and explore similarities and differences in his approach to philosophical accounts of the divine and the Good. I suggest that Apollinaris did not necessarily distance himself from Platonic philosophy; instead, I observe that the metaphrast engaged in dialogue and negotiated the boundaries and connections between classical and Christian philosophy.

Allegory can be a dogmatic interpretation of Scripture because it relies on interpretations and decipherments of sacred texts without substantial requirements of proof or logic. As a means to interpret Scripture, it depends upon the elucidation of symbols therein. Allegory creates new narratives, interpretations, and intertextuality that challenge the intended meaning and literal content of the original text.[5] Theologians and ancient scholars of biblical interpretation have long acknowledged allegorical reading as a means of determining deeper spiritual meanings and, by contrasting it with typology, repudiated it because it sought to replace scriptural with non-scriptural interpretations. However, they often agree that allegorical reading can displace the text from the centre of focus in favour of more important, in terms of spirituality and symbolism, elements.[6] For example, allegorical

[1] For the patristic texts cited in the text, I use the following editions: Migne, J.-P. and Cavallera, F. 1857-1912. *Patrologiae Cursus Completus : Series Graeca*, 167 vols. Paris: J. P. Migne; Fratres Garnier. Pitra, J. B. *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi Parata*, Volumes 2 and 3: Patres Antenicaeni, Paris: Tusculum. Rahlfs, A. and Hanhart R. (eds.) 1979. *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.

[2] O'Keefe and Reno, 2005; van 't Spijker, 2009; Edwards, 2011; Martens, 2012, on early Christian exegesis of Scripture.

[3] Gersh and Kannengiesser, 1992; O' Meara, 2003; Heath, 2009; Hoffmann, 2009, on Platonic exegetical role.

[4] Karamanolis, 2021: 1-7, on early Christian thinkers and the rational/philosophical foundations of concepts such as the immortality of the soul and the creation of the world by a divine intellect, which are of Platonic origin and influenced Middle- and Neo-Platonists.

[5] Cf. Dawson, 2000: 90-95.

[6] Auerbach, 1984: 11-71, for this sort of allegorical typology and contrast.

interpretations of Scripture are particularly influenced by Platonic doctrine and Origenian philosophy, as far as the conceptualisation of true light is concerned, and this sort of typology is the one in which Neoplatonic mystical teaching usually is couched.[7] Contrary to the platonic conceptualisation that the Good is by definition the only true light, Christian authors re-contextualised and re-narrativised the Platonic original and, as we shall examine below, suggested that darkness is not necessarily the malevolent counterpart of light. With these in mind, this paper explores how the itinerary from darkness to the 'true light', attested in Plato's allegorical image of the cave (*Resp.* 514a-520a), influenced the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* 138.9-23, a fourth-century CE epic metaphrase of the biblical Psalms by Apollinaris of Laodicea.

The paraphrase of Scripture is a well-documented tool for biblical interpretation in early Christian literature. The paraphrastic technique as a rhetorical exercise in the *Progymnasmata* from the second to the fourth centuries CE entailed the transformation of an abstruse poetic text into a prose text intelligible to a broader audience, or vice versa, the transliteration of prosaic text into refined poetic text; in any case, the implicit aim was not to alter the meaning of the original.[8] As I argue below, early Christian paraphrase has a strong exegetical purpose. In light of this, my discussion invites the reader to consider the allegorical image of Plato's cave as means to interpret a puzzling passage in Apollinaris' *Metaphrasis* of the *Psalms* about the omnipresence of divine light in the *cosmos* and in every stage of the psalmist's quest to exit darkness and head towards the light (*Met. Ps.* 138.9-23). The hexametric *Metaphrasis* of the Septuagint's Psalms conveys some typical elements of Christian poetry in the fourth and fifth centuries CE: intertextuality, refined language, and rhetorical *topoi*. It stands as a contribution to the composition of lofty poetry within a Christian context, which adopts the Homeric metre (hexameters) and engages with Homeric language and poetry, as shown by the use of formulaic phrases, literary *topoi*, and *hapax legomena*. Indeed, Apollinaris of Laodicea paraphrases the *Psalms* employing an unmistakably epic language.[9]

A discussion of early Christian philosophy helps us understand Apollinaris' influence or deviation from the Platonic intertext. Christian thinkers, such as Justin, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebios of Caesarea, and Gregory of Nyssa, argued that Christianity is a philosophy, in fact the only 'true philosophy', and considered themselves exponents of this philosophical doctrine.[10] On the contrary, classical philosophers, such as Galen, Lucian, Celsus, and Porphyry, disputed the philosophical qualities of Christian thinkers or that Christianity possessed a philosophy worthy of study. More specifically, Celsus argued that Christianity lacked a rational basis and Christian thinkers did not critically examine their views but instead were entrusted to faith (πίστις).[11]

In this paper, I take a different approach to the Christian philosophers' views on the knowability of God, one which, I hope, will shed more light on the issue than would a straightforward enumeration and evaluation of the relevant theological and allegorical exegetical passages of the epic metaphrase of the Psalms. This particular angle focuses on the concept of 'intellectual (true) light'. I consider in some

[7] Ramelli, 2011: 335-371; Fowler, 2014; Martens, 2015: 594-620, on the platonic influence upon Origen. For Origen's deviation from platonic philosophy, Edwards, 2017. See also Armstrong and Markus, 1960: 11, who note that the Good and the divine 'is form and definition, light and clarity, as opposed to vague formless darkness'.
[8] Lausberg, 1998; Miguélez-Cavero, 2008: 264-370; Faulkner, 2019: 210, on the rhetorical exercises in the *progymnasmata*.
[9] Faulkner, 2020: 30-32.
[10] Clem. *Strom.* I.9.52.2, II.11.48.1, II.131.2, VI.8.67.1; Greg. Nys. *De inst. Chr.* 48.13; Eus. Caes. D.E. I.6.56, P.E. XIV.22.7; Basil *Letter* 8 (p. 48 Deferrari); Greg. Nys. *Vit. Mos.* 305B; Malingrey 1961, for the concept of 'true philosophy' and its connection with ascetic life as a means for the faithful to see the real nature of things in the light of Christian revelation.
[11] Or. *Cont. Cels.* 1.9.

detail the significance of the imagery of light used in the Platonic works, mainly the *Republic*, which was subsequently developed by early Christian and Middle- and Neo-Platonism in further connection with the knowledge of God, or the *Logos*. This aspect helps us discern platonic views on the notion of the Good, or interpretations and renegotiations of platonic views, in the spiritual quest and logical question over the ability of mortals to know God, the Father.

Plato's Allegory of the Cave and 'True Light'

In this section, the discussion is arranged thematically rather than chronologically and informs non-expert readers on the Platonic conceptualisation of true light and its later treatment by Christian thinkers. I outline the main trains of thought on this topic from the valuable works of van Kooten and Dillon and I explore the Neoplatonic interpretation of *Resp*. VI (the passage on the concept of Good). According to Neoplatonists, Plato intends to speak of the Good, which is unknowable and describable by apophatic means. Yet, contrary to Neoplatonists, Plato argues that Good must be regarded as knowable (γνωστὸν). First, I discuss the connection of Good with light, since both are omnipresent and lifegiving. Second, I present an educational aspect observed in the pair of true light and natural light, where the exodus from ignorance to knowledge develops into a different path, that is knowing Good. Third, I observe that light becomes essential in the Christian conceptualisation of Good, as we shall examine in Origen's passage and the idea described in John's Gospel that God is light.

In works of the early Christian and Neo-Platonic tradition, we read the development of the concept of 'true light' (ἀληθινὸν φῶς), attested first in Pl. *Phd.* 109e7, to 'intellectual light' (νοερὸν φῶς),[12] 'mental light' (νοητὸν φῶς),[13] the light which falls in the province of the mind (νοῦς),[14] as opposed to the visible and perceptible light. A distinction was drawn between an ὑπερκόσμιον φῶς (supramundane light) and νοητικὸν φῶς (intellectual light)[15] similar to a well-known, stark dichotomy between the perceivable world and the world of forms, prevalent in Platonic ontology.[16] First, it is pivotal to discuss the Platonic passage of Phaedo (109e7) briefly, given its analogy with the allegory of the cave in *Resp*. 514a-520a. Socrates argues that we dwell in a hollow of the earth (similar to the Platonic cave), which we think is the upper layer of its surface (οἰκοῦντας γὰρ ἔν τινι κοίλῳ τῆς γῆς οἴεσθαι ἐπάνω αὐτῆς οἰκεῖν) and that the air is the heaven where the stars move (καὶ τὸν ἀέρα οὐρανὸν καλεῖν, ὡς διὰ τούτου οὐρανοῦ ὄντος τὰ ἄστρα χωροῦντα). However, due to feebleness, humans are unable to reach the upper surface of the air and gaze upon the upper world (or exit the cave in the *Republic*). If our nature were strong (as the prisoner-philosopher's), we could bear the sight of this upper world that is the real heaven, the true light (οὕτως ἄν τινα καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ κατιδεῖν, καὶ εἰ ἡ φύσις ἱκανὴ εἴη ἀνασχέσθαι θεωροῦσα, γνῶναι ἂν ὅτι ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθῶς οὐρανὸς καὶ τὸ ἀληθινὸν φῶς). The concept of 'true light', as we shall explore in the following section, is also crucial to our understanding of the *Metaphrasis*, mainly because of its semantic relation with the faithful's effort to acknowledge God's presence in his lifetime. In the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*, God is presented as the only source of

[12] Eus. *Dem. Ev*. 9.1.14.3; Bas. Caes. *Hom. in hex*. 1.2.47; Procl. *Theol. Plat*. 4.72.23, 6.61.15.
[13] Cf. Greg. Nys. *Contr. Eun*. 3.7.57.8, *De virg*. 5.1.6; Eus. *Praep ev*. 8.14.19.2; Bas. Caes. *Hom. sup. Ps*. 29.424.52.
[14] Did. Caec. *Fram. In Ps*. 132.4; Cyr. Alex. *De ador. Et. Cult. In spir. Et verit*. 68.785.34, *Coll. dict. Vet. Test*. 77.1233.8.
[15] Herm. *In Plat. Phd. Sch*. 152; Dam. *De Princ*. 1.81. For a distinction between these two forms of light, Ps.-Caes. *Ques. Et Resp*. 128.61.
[16] van Kooten, 2005: 152-153; Tieleman, 2005: 139-140, for a Platonic distinction between the imperceptible and the visible cosmos.

'true light' (e.g., *Met. Ps.* 3.16 σεῖο φάος, βασιλεῦ); He is the one who provides the psalmist with His knowledge and wisdom (e.g., *Met. Ps.* 12.8 δὸς φάος).[17]

The dichotomy and connection between the divine and light is attested in *Timaeus* (28c-29d), where the visible κόσμος is discerned from the invisible paradigm after which God, as a craftsman or *dēmiourgos*, constructed it. Plato does not elaborate on 'true light' in *Timaeus*, but makes passing references to the fire that God lit, that is, the sun in the sky (*Ti.* 39b), to the created animals nourished under this light (*Ti.* 91d), and the interaction between the light in the sky and the light within the human eye that enables humans to see (*Ti.* 45b-c, 46c).[18] This universal and infinite radius of the noetic light which shines everywhere is frequently attested in ancient philosophy. Epiktetos describes God as the great illuminator of all that is true and the one who imparted true knowledge to all humanity. Moreover, he warns that it is shameful to honour Triptolemos, the one who taught humans the arts of agriculture but tended to be negligent in his service to God, who is 'the true light' (*Disc.* 1.4.31). Iamblichos (*Myst.* 1.9; 31.11–14) stresses that the one and indivisible light of the gods (τὸ ἓν καὶ ἀμέριστον τῶν θεῶν φῶς) is omnipresent.[19]

It is in his *Republic* that Plato outlines the qualities of 'true light'. The verb φωτίζω (to illuminate) bears a deep spiritual meaning, according to Alcinous, who argues that God is the primary intellect who provides intellection and intelligibility to His creation.[20] However, its function manifests in *Resp.* 515c-d, where we learn about the crucial role of philosophy in releasing the prisoners from the cave with its shadows cast from the light of a fire by enabling them to ascend to the true light outside the cave.[21] However, this passage is better understood in the light of the two similes in the sixth book of the *Republic*, namely that of the sun and the light (505a-509d) and that of the bisected line segment (509d-511e). Socrates, being urged by Glaucon to define Good, draws an analogy and talks about 'the child of good' (ἔκγονός τε τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ), which, he argues, is the sun and suggests that the sun illuminates, thus bestowing the ability to see and be seen by the eye. In the same way, the idea of Good illumines, with truth, what is intelligible. Plato uses the simile of the sun to define the true meaning of the Good. The Good illuminates knowledge so that our minds can see what is true. Without the Good, we would only be able to see with our physical eyes, not the mind's eye. The sun bestows its light so that we may see the world around us; without it, we could not understand the true realities that surround us.[22] Ultimately, in the simile of the cave, true philosophy helps the prisoner to see the true nature of things and cast away the shadows surrounding him. As we shall see below, this task of true philosophy was later adopted by early Christian thinkers and Neoplatonists, such as Clement and Plotinos, respectively.[23] Clement defines his readers as the sons of true light (οἱ τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ υἱοὶ) and advises them not to shut the door against this light, but to turn in on themselves, illuminate the eyes of the hidden man (the infidel), and gaze at the truth itself.[24] Plotinos similarly encourages his readers to look into their inner selves and discusses the virtuous' goal of unifying humans with the intellectual light.[25] By 'virtuous' (ἄνδρες … ἀγαθοί), Plotinos

[17] On other occurrences of light imagery, cf. *Met. Ps.* 26.22, 29.11, 36.86, 39.32, 45.1, 59.38, 70.35, 79.42, 84.20, 87.28, 107.29, 122.3, 131.34, 143.26, 145.8.
[18] Gill, 1987: 34-53; Hunt, 1998: 69-80.
[19] Cf. van Kooten, 2005: 158.
[20] Alcinous *Handbook on Platonism* 27.3; 180.22-28, with Dillon, 1993.
[21] Pappas, 2004; Taylor, 2014.
[22] Marmysz, 2012: 49.
[23] Malingrey, 1961.
[24] Cf. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 2.9.80.
[25] Plot. *Enn.* 1.6.9.

refers to the purified soul that has become aware of itself as part of the Intellect and thus becomes 'true light' (φῶς ἀληθινὸν, I.6.9.18). These philosophers bestowed upon the Platonic concept of 'true light' a clear educational purpose aiming at the edification of the soul. This concept is also found in Apollinaris' metaphrase of the *Psalms*, probably derived by Philo, who, in his *On Drunkenness* (§44), says that in the visible *cosmos* the purpose of human beings is to find his way back to the 'true light', the rays of which are visible only to those who are 'pure from all defiling mixture and piercing to the furthest distance, flashing upon the eyes of the soul'.[26] Thus, Plato presents a philosophical idea that provided the foundations of Christian philosophy and the Neoplatonic tradition of Late Antiquity: the concept of 'Good as the cause for all things, of all that is right and beautiful, giving birth in the visible world to light and the sun ('and its Lord'), and [having] its own power in the intelligible world producing truth and reason'.[27]

Whereas Plato talks about true light and the possibility that the prisoner can see the good and acknowledge the true nature of things, the doctrine of the imperceptibility of Good can be traced back to the second century CE and Noumenios' *On the Good* (fr. 2 Des Places). He links human cognition of material objects to a comparison between objects of a similar nature, although, in the case of Good, no object either present or sensible can advance human understanding of the nature of Good. Noumenios provides us with a lively description of the mystical vision of Good, and, as Dillon notices, the most important aspect to acknowledge is the negative effect of the Sun simile, since Socrates emphasises at the outset that he cannot give an account of Good, but only a series of images (*Resp*. 506c-e).[28] For Plato, the Good is the ultimate cause of everything, the embodiment of all Forms. It is worth noting here that Socrates calls the Sun a god (*Resp*. 508a) and argues that the Form of the Good 'lies beyond' (*Resp*. 509b), thus, insinuating a mystic colouring in his account of the conceptualization of the Good. Pappas argues that 'the traits of the Form of the Good make it not a divinity but a Form of Form-ness, a next level up from the Forms in abstraction and reality and a capstone to Platonic metaphysics'.[29] In other words, the Good is the formalisation of the form-ness, which enables us to understand the true nature of things. The Platonic concept of true light is pivotal to our understanding of a superior knowledge only God can have. In the works of Plato, one does come eventually to the vision of the Good, while in early Christian philosophy, knowledge of the Good is imperceptible for mortals.[30] The conceptualisation of divinity became more complex, as did the perennial question of the mortal's ability to truly know God. This complexity was precipitated by the Middle Platonists' tendency (and of Philo of Alexandria) to identify the Supreme Good with the *Dēmiourgos* (or the Λόγος).[31] It grew even more complicated with Origen's views on divine knowledge and his metaphorical use of the

[26] Trans. by van Kooten, 2005:160. Bremmer, 1983: 40-41, on the Platonic origins of this tenet. For the concept of the eyes of the soul in Philo, cf. *Mig.* 39 (divine light opens wide the soul's eyes); *On Dreams* 1.113 (the binding of the soul with incorporeal light); *Abr.* 119 (God and divine light surround the soul and cast out its shadows); *Virt.* 164 (God is the spiritual light who disperses the gloomy darkness of passion). Discussion in Bradshaw, 1998: 483-500; Calabi, 2007: 71-109; Katsos, 2019.

[27] Trans. by van Kooten, 2005: 185; Plat. *Resp*. 517c: ὡς ἄρα πᾶσι πάντων αὕτη ὀρθῶν τε καὶ καλῶν αἰτία, ἔν τε ὁρατῷ φῶς καὶ τὸν τούτου κύριον τεκοῦσα, ἔν τε νοητῷ αὐτὴ κυρία ἀλήθειαν καὶ νοῦν παρασχομένη. Cf. Beierwaltes, 1957: 37-57 (esp. 51-52), on the similarity between the idea of Good and the sun; Menn, 1992: 543-73; Desmond, 2007: 73-99; Gerson, 2008: 93-112.

[28] Dillon, 1988: 226.

[29] Pappas, 2015: 102.

[30] Louth, 1981: 80-97; Jugrin, 2016: 71-94, for a discussion of the concept and a comparison between Platonic and early Christian philosophy.

[31] Phil. *De Post. Cain*. 168-9; *Leg. All*. 1.36-38; *Leg. All*. 3.100-102; *Congr*. 103-105; *Praem*. 36-46, for some ideas about Philo's views on the knowledge of God. Philo believed that knowing God's existence (ὑπάρξις) is distinct from knowing God's essence (οὐσία). Cf. Dillon, 1988: 219.

imagery of light in Book One of his *On First Principles*, where he discusses God's nature.[32] Origen's text is vital for connecting the cave allegory, the platonic imagery of light, and Christian conceptualisations of the Good. One example is Origen's conception of God, which could be characterised as apophatic. Similarly to the platonic conception of the Good, Origen argues that God is a perfect, undivided, and incorporeal unity superior to anything material; therefore, He is inconceivable and incomprehensible.[33] He is the One, the 'Idea of the Ideas'. However, it is worth noting that Origen structures his theology on the Scriptures and does not appeal to platonic tenets without supporting first his argument with a scriptural basis.[34] Origen uses the imagery of light precisely because, in Late Platonism, light was unanimously viewed as incorporeal, probably in response to an accusation by a Platonic source that Christianity ascribed a corporeal nature to God:

> Ista nempe lux est, quae inluminat omnem sensum eorum, qui possunt capere veritatem, sicut in tricesimo quinto psalmo dicitur: in lumine tuo videbimus lumen. Quid enim aliud lum dei dicendum est, in quo quis videt lumen, nisi virtus dei, per quam quis inluminatus vel veritatem rerum omnium pervidet vel ipsum deum cognoscit, qui veritas appellatur?
>
> He, indeed, is that light which illumines the whole understanding of those who are capable of receiving truth, as it is said in the Thirty-fifth Psalm, 'In your light shall we see light.' For what other light of God is being spoken of, in which one sees light, except the power of God by which someone, being illumined, either sees clearly the truth of all things or comes to know God himself, who is called the truth?
>
> Orig. *On First Principles* 1.2 (Trans. by J. Behr, 2017: 25)

Origen probably had in mind the Platonic simile of the sun in *Resp*. 507a-509c.[35] In *Contra Celsus* (7.31), Origen explicitly refers to Plato's *Phaedo* (109e) and Celsus' interpretation of true heaven and true light in the platonic passage. More specifically, Origen argues for an arcane knowledge of tenets attested in Plato. Moses and the prophets, he tells us, also knew of the duality between the perceptible world and the world of forms; in the latter, they believed, there exist the true forms of the perceptible 'true light' and heaven, and the perceptible sun is different from the 'sun of righteousness' therein.[36] Yet it is also important to note here that the concept of the incorporeality of light also appears in Aristotle (*De An*. 418b9-10), who states that 'light is the activity of this transparent substance *qua* transparent' (φῶς δὲ ἐστιν ἡ τούτου ἐνέργεια, τοῦ διαφανοῦς ᾗ διαφανές).[37] Aristotle perceives light not as having a substance of any kind but as a condition of a substance. However, for later Platonists and Aristotelians, the incorporeal nature of light was connected with its preeminent role in the function of vision.[38] Vision is the primary among senses in Plato (*Ti*. 45b-d), and was later used by Alexander of Aphrodisias as an analogy for God in the activation of the human intellect (νοῦς) and its cognising of

[32] Steidle, 1942: 236-243; Harl, 1961: 57-67; Crouzel and Simonetti, 1978: 161-186; Behr 2018, on the meaning of the three acknowledged 'first principles' – God, Ideas, and Matter – in Origen's *First Principles*.
[33] On Origen's apophatic conception of God, Stroumsa, 1983: 345-358; Papanikolaou, 2006; Ramelli, 2017: 177-198.
[34] Greggs, 2009: 55-56; Scott, 2012: 58-60, on Origen's keeping faithful to the Scripture.
[35] Contra Edwards 2017: 80 n. 63, who sees reliance on earlier Christian tradition rather than debts to platonic theology.
[36] Chadwick, 1953: 419, for an English translation.
[37] Trans. by Hett, 1936: 105.
[38] Charlton, 2014; De Groot, 2015, on the importance of the incorporeality of light found in Aristotle's on the soul which had a great impact on Neoplatonists, such as Philoponos.

the 'True Entity'.[39] Alexander's perception was also influenced by Plato's simile of the sun, which later informed Plotinos' view on the qualities of light in *Enn.* 1.6.3 (φῶς ἀσώματον καὶ λόγος καὶ εἶδος).[40] Thus, we see that the incorporeal light harks back to the period of Middle Platonism (probably to Noumenios).[41] More specifically, as far as fragments of his *On the Good* preserved in Eusebios allow us to tell, Noumenios of Apamea opines that the existence must itself rather be incorporeal and removed from all mutability (Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 15.17), in eternal presence, without being subject to the variation of time, simple and imperturbable in its nature by its own will as well as by external influence (Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 11.10). True existence is identical with the first God existing in and by itself, that is, with Good, and is defined as spiritual (*νοῦς*; Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 11.18).

To return to Origen, a few sections below his debt to Plato's simile of the sun and the allegory of the cave becomes apparent, as he argues that light leads to divine knowledge:

> Omni igitur sensu, qui corporeum aliquid de deo intellegi suggerit, prout potuimus, confutato, dicimus secundum veritatem quidem deum inconprehensibilem esse atque inaestimabilem. Si quid enim illud est, quod sentire vel intellegere de deo potuerimus, multis longe modis eum meliorem esse ab eo quod sensimus necesse est credi. Sicut enim si videamus aliquem vix posse scintillam luminis aut brevissimae lucernae lumen aspicere et eum, cuius acies oculorum plus luminis capere quam supra diximus non valet, si velimus de claritate ac splendore solis edocere, nonne oportebit no sei dicere quia omni hoc lumine quod vides ineffabiliter et enaestimabiliter melior ac praestantior solis est splendor?
>
> Orig. *On First Principles* 1.1.5

> Having then refuted, to the best of our ability, every interpretation which suggests that we should attribute to God any material characteristics, we assert that he is in truth incomprehensible and immeasurable. For whatever may be the knowledge which we have been able to obtain about God, whether by perception or reflection, we must of necessity believe that he is far and away better than our thoughts about him. For if we see a man who can scarcely look at a glimmer or the light of the smallest lamp, and if we wish to teach such a person, whose eyesight is not strong enough to receive more light than we have said, about the brightness and splendour of the sun, shall we not have to tell him that the splendour of the sun is unspeakably and immeasurably better and more glorious than all this light he can see?
>
> (Trans. by J. Behr, 2017: 29)

In the allegory of the cave, Plato describes how some of the prisoners, after viewing the shadows on the wall, realise that this light is produced by a fire and is not natural light; then, they advance to a vision of the outside world. Viewing the sun and light sources outside the cave implies that knowledge of the intelligible world, and thus of Good, is possible. The simile of the bisected line (*Resp.* 509d-511d), following the simile of the sun, helps us understand the prisoner's path from darkness and the shadows to true light and the true nature of things. Socrates uses the allegory of the bisected line segment to distinguish between different forms of knowledge and truth. Projected on a line segment, the

[39] Alex. Aphrod. *De anim.* 43. Dillon, 1988: 222; Ganson, 2003: 383-93; Hendrix, 2010; Crampton, 2017, on Alexander's perception of vision and light.
[40] Also in Plotinos, *Enn.* 2.1.7, 4.5.6-7 with different wording.
[41] On Plotinos' influence, Armstrong, 1967: 54-57; Schroeder, 1984: 234-245; Todorovska, 2020: 47-60; Domaradzki, 2020: 139-50, on Noumenios' perception of the incorporeal light.

fundamental division is between what is visible and what is intelligible, with the visible portion being smaller than the intelligible one. Socrates asks Glaucon to not only envision this unequally bisected line (γραμμὴ δίχα τετμημένη) but to imagine further dividing each of the two segments. Socrates explains that the four resulting parts represent four separate 'affections' (παθήματα) of the psyche. The lower two sections represent the visible, while the higher two are intelligible. These affections are described in succession as corresponding to increasing levels of reality and truth from conjecture (εἰκασία) to belief (πίστις), contemplation (διάνοια), and finally to comprehension (νόησις). Origen adheres to similar tenets in his doctrine about the knowability of God. He refers to God as being of a nature similar to the human mind, although God's true, pure nature is well beyond the mortal's ability to behold. Dillon notes the same distinction between Plato (*Resp*. 515e-516b) and Origen's *On First Principles* (1.1.6). When brought into the true light, prisoners would be overwhelmed by the sudden exposure to light and unable to tell which things they see are real. Thus, a gradual process of acclimatisation is required. Conversely, Origen claims that one cannot reach the true light, the sun (an allegory for 'true light'), within the timespan of mortal life.[42]

Divine Knowledge and the Imagery of True Light in *Met. Ps.* 138:9-23

Author, Text, and the Imagery of Light

The 'Homeric' Psalter, as Golega very aptly names it, is a fourth- or fifth-century CE hexameter metaphrase of the Septuagint Psalms, to which a *Protheoria* (programmatic prologue) of 110 hexameter lines is attached, probably a later infiltration. Its attribution to Apollinaris of Laodicea (310-390), a Christian bishop and rhetorician whose Christological ideas were anathematised at the Council of Constantinople in 381, has now been convincingly confirmed.[43] Faulkner firmly attributes the work to Apollinaris and notes the significant impact of early Christian *exegesis* on the *Metaphrasis*, drawing on passages from Gregory of Nyssa and his treatise *On the Inscriptions* (i.e., introductory superscriptions) of the Psalms as well as, of course, from Origen.[44] The early Christian *exegesis* and the influence of Origen and Gregory on the *Metaphrasis* presupposes a mystical (spiritual) theology and allegorical *exegesis* of Scripture, and, here, of the Septuagint Psalter. Therefore, it is easy to confuse allegorical and mystical discourse, although, given that allegory explains symbols, it should be possible to distinguish between them.[45] In my interpretation of Apollinaris' metaphrase, I use the allegorical imagery of light as a symbol of truth and God, which subsequently leads to a spiritual knowledge of God's nature. In view of this, I explore the allegorical imagery of light and its spiritual affiliation with the knowability

[42] This difference between Plato and Origen is also reflected in their respective wording. There seems to be an explicit contradiction between *Resp*. 516b: αὐτὸν καθ᾽ αὑτὸν ἐν τῇ αὑτοῦ χώρᾳ **δύναιτ᾽ ἂν κατιδειν,** and *On First Principles* 1.1. 6: *mens nostra ipsum per se ipsum deum* ***sicut est non potest intueri***. Cf. Dillon, 1988: 225.

[43] Apollinaris' authorship is based on references in church historians Socrates and Sozomenos, who list Apollinaris and his father, a priest and a grammarian with the same name, as skilled poets and scholars who paraphrased scripture in classical forms, including hexameter verses (Kaster, 1988: 242-243). For a summary of early doubts over Apollinaris' authorship (starting with Ludwich's retraction after 1912), Faulkner, 2020: 1-31; De Stefani, 2008: 3, n. 12. Persic (1998: 193-217) suggests that fragments of Apollinaris' commentary on the Psalms preserved in *catenae* are not incompatible with the *Metaphrasis*.

[44] E.g., Faulkner, 2020: 8-9, 52-56. Heine (1995: 20-49) surveys potential influences on the form and exegetical method of Gregory's treatise, amongst which Origen and Iamblichus figure prominently. He concludes (28) that Gregory probably had access to Origen's homilies on the Psalms, which included Psalm 42.

[45] Cf. Macleod, 1971: 362-379, who discusses the blended qualities of allegory and mysticism within a definition of allegory as symbolic; the language of mysticism is inherently symbolic.

of God in the *Metaphrasis*. I examine whether these allegories of Plato's, which early Christian thinkers creatively transformed in the light of the Christian understanding of God, are also compatible with the Christian *exegesis* of the metaphrase, as theories inserted into the *Metaphrasis* deviated from its *Vorlage* – mainly in vocabulary and epic language.

It would require a separate study to examine the plethora of views on the genre and context of Psalm 138 in the Septuagint,[46] nor is there enough evidence to determine the occasion or date of composition. It may be that the psalmist had been accused of idolatry or that he avows his loyalty to the Lord to avail himself of divine protection. The theology of the Psalm is often considered too advanced for King David (listed as the composer in the Psalm's superscription). This aspect has led scholars to view it as a post-exilic composition.[47] There is no substantial evidence to suggest the underlying concepts of the Psalm had to be late, mainly because we would simply assume that a psalm from the Davidic collection had been brought down to a later period to address similar circumstances.[48] Regardless of context and date, scholars of the Bible are drawn to this passage when studying the omniscience and omnipresence of God, the creator and redeemer. This section is arranged thematically as the focus progresses from the psalmist's realisation that he cannot fully comprehend the knowledge of God to its comparison with Plato's allegory of the cave and the true light. First, I compare the metaphrase with the Septuagint's text and examine Apollinaris' treatment of true light with the paraphrastic technique of amplification to explain divine omnipresence in the psalmist's life. Second, I compare the *Metaphrasis* to the platonic allegory of the cave and explore similarities and deviations: Plato argues that the philosopher-prisoner can actually view the Good, while in the *metaphrasis* the psalmist cannot fully comprehend divine knowledge.

θαῦμά μ' ἔχει, ὅτε σεῖο περιφράσομαι φρεσὶ μῆτιν
οὐδὲ νόῳ δύναμαι κρατερώτατα πολλὸν ὁρᾶσθαι.
πνεύματος οὐκ ἄρα σεῖο μέγα κράτος ἦεν ἀλύξαι
οὐδὲ τεῆς ἀπάνευθε κατακρύπτεσθαι ὀπωπῆς.
οὐρανὸν αἴ κε μόλοιμι, τεὸς θρόνος οὗτος ἐτύχθη·
ἢν Ἀίδην δ' ἔλθοιμι, καὶ ἐν νεκύεσσιν ἀνάσσεις·
ἢν δὲ καὶ ἰθυπόρους πτέρυγας ἀνέμοισι πετάσσας.
αὐλισθῶ νεάτοισι πολυσμαράγοιο θαλάσσης,
ἔνθά κε σῆς παλάμης δευήσομαι ἡγεμονῆος
καί σεο δεξιτερῆς, ἵνα μοι βίος ἔμπεδος εἴη.
εἶπα δέ· "μὴ τάχα με στείψει φθισίμβροτος ὄρφνη·"
νύκτα δὲ καίνυτο τέρψις, ἀτὰρ κνέφας ἤλασε φέγγος·
ὄρφνην γὰρ δεδάηκε τεὸν φάος ἀμφικαλύπτειν
καὶ νύκτα δνοφερὴν τελέειν φαεσίμβροτον ἦμαρ·
οὔ τις ἀναγνοίη, ποῖον κνέφας ἢ φάος εἴη.

Met. Ps. 138.9-23

[46] There is some agreement over the content of the major sections: verses 1-18 are more hymnic, and verses 19-24 are akin to lament psalms. Allen (1977: 5-23) suggests that the psalm is a fully developed yet individual lament, wherein the entire first part provides the psalmist with relevant support for his prayer. Anderson (1873[1977]: 904) thinks that it is a thanksgiving psalm written after the psalmist was accused and then acquitted of idolatry, thus making verses 19-24 an affirmation of innocence. Eaton (1967: 83-84) argues that the psalm was written for King David who was beset by enemies. Kraus (1988: 511-513) suggests that whereas the psalm draws from the intellectual sphere of wisdom poetry, it is not a wisdom psalm *per se*, and technically not a hymn, but a didactic poem. For an overview of the discussion, Ross, 2016: 816.
[47] Ross, 2016: 816.
[48] The question was raised by Allen, 1977: 327.

> I am amazed when I consider in my heart your wisdom, I am not able to look long upon its great strength. I was not able to escape the great strength of your spirit Nor to hide myself from your face. If I were to go to heaven, this is your throne; If I should go to Hades, you also rule amongst the dead; And if, spreading my straight wings upon the wind, I should dwell at the limit of the loud-roaring sea, There I will have need of your guiding hand And your right hand, that my life should be firm. And I said, 'Perhaps man-destroying darkness will soon trample me.' But joy overcame the night and light drove away the dark; For your light was able to cover the darkness And make the dark night as a shining day; No one would recognise which is darkness or light.
>
> (Trans. by A. F. Faulkner, 2020: 423-425)

6 ἐθαυμαστώθη ἡ γνῶσίς σου ἐξ ἐμοῦ·
ἐκραταιώθη, οὐ μὴ δύνωμαι πρὸς αὐτήν. ποῦ πορευθῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός σου
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου ποῦ φύγω; ἐὰν ἀναβῶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, σὺ εἶ ἐκεῖ·
ἐὰν καταβῶ εἰς τὸν ᾅδην, πάρει· ἐὰν ἀναλάβοιμι τὰς πτέρυγάς μου κατ᾽ ὄρθρον.
10 καὶ κατασκηνώσω εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἡ χείρ σου ὁδηγήσει με,
καὶ καθέξει με ἡ δεξιά σου. καὶ εἶπα Ἄρα σκότος καταπατήσει με,
καὶ νὺξ φωτισμὸς ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ μου· ὅτι σκότος οὐ σκοτισθήσεται ἀπὸ σοῦ,
καὶ νὺξ ὡς ἡμέρα φωτισθήσεται· ὡς τὸ σκότος αὐτῆς, οὕτως καὶ τὸ φῶς αὐτῆς.

Ps. 138.6-12

> Your knowledge was made wonderful from me It became strong. I can never attain to it Where should I go from your spirit? And from your face where should I flee? If I ascend to the sky, you are there; If I descend to Hades, you are present. If I were to take up my wings at dawn and make my covert at the farthest limits of the sea, Indeed, there your hand shall guide me, and your right hand shall hold me fast. And I said, 'So then, darkness shall trample me, And night will be illumination in my delight'. Because darkness will not be made dark due to you, and night will be illumined as day, As its darkness, so also its light.
>
> (Trans. by T. Booij, 2005:18-17, with emendations)

The psalmist acknowledges that the Lord knows every detail of his life in advance. He finds it impossible to hide from that all-seeing presence and duly, yet passionately, affirms his loyalty to God and seeks divine guidance. He concludes that the Lord's infinite knowledge insuperably controls him; his actions are defined and restricted by God, who imposes His will on him.

In this section of the Psalm, the psalmist seems to be making an implicit statement about the ability of human beings to truly know God. At the beginning of a monologue, he admits that his knowledge (γνῶσις) of God 'was made wonderful' to the extent that the psalmist feels trapped and overwhelmed, so much so that he cannot hide from the Lord's presence. The psalmist can only conclude that this kind of knowledge is beyond his ability to understand, let alone control. In what follows, I examine the paraphrast's effort to understand divine light by noting similarities and deviations between Apollinaris' paraphrase and the Septuagint psalter on the subject of the unknowability of God. The differences between the two texts, as I argue below, can be explained twofold: first, Plato's allegorical simile of the cave is examined in connection with light imagery and the tenets of the knowability of God. Second, I observe that Apollinaris takes recourse in Homeric language to replace obscure or uncomfortable meanings in the original Psalm with more comprehensible ones, as well as to embellish his paraphrase.

The psalmist realises that God knows every aspect of his life as His knowledge traverses the *cosmos* and the psalmist himself. In particular, in verses 1-8, the psalmist expresses that God knows his every move and the motivation behind them. God knows every word of the psalmist before he even utters it. This realisation of divine omnipresence is especially stressed in verse 9, where the metaphrast changes the Septuagint's passive voice verb ἐθαυμαστώθη into a more typical Homeric phrase θαῦμά μ' ἔχει (in active voice),[49] suggesting that divine knowledge is beyond reach and understanding. What is more, the metaphrast changes the Septuagint's γνῶσις into the epic phrase φρεσὶ μῆτιν to define the omniscience and wisdom of God for the psalmist.[50] Apollinaris changes the structure of the Septuagint text only to convey the incomplete meaning in *Ps.* 138.6, with a secondary clause indicating time (ὅτε … μῆτιν). The psalmist says that he stands in awe at God's wisdom and omnipresence. Psalm 138 starts with a reference to self-knowledge: in v. 6 of the Psalter, the psalmist/narrator refers to the divine knowledge that, by nature, seeks to be united with the psalmist himself, transcending time and space. God bestowed knowledge upon humans, therefore, self-knowledge comes from God, partakes in His nature, is a medium to know God, and is interpreted by the psalmist as the inescapable divine omnipresence. Thus, the psalmist regards the Self as the medium to understand the Lord, who denotes a kind of self-knowledge which originates in divine presence and strength (Isa. 29.15-16), and this kind of self-knowledge is implied by the Psalm's phrase ἐξ ἐμοῦ (by me). The tendency to replace γνῶσις with φρεσὶ μῆτιν is very well attested in antiquity, not only for deities but also for heroes and poets and is probably connected with divine inspiration.[51] The kind of knowledge he has been describing is supernatural and, as we shall see below, is omnipresent in the psalmist's life and the cosmos.[52] The speaker thus expresses his ardent admiration of God's presence in his life in positive terms, as opposed to the visual and distant experience of Plato's prisoner-philosopher.

Apollinaris deviates from the Septuagint text in the sense that the psalmist cannot fully comprehend the knowledge of the Lord, nor can he withstand His divine light. This is also a significant deviation from the platonic intertext, where the Good can be fully comprehended as γνωστὸν. Thus, the knowability of God is cleverly blended with the true light, and Apollinaris includes the psalmist's inability to face divine knowledge since the psalmist states οὐδὲ νόῳ δύναμαι … ὁρᾶσθαι (v. 10).[53] The poet amplifies the Psalm with the addition of the words οὐδὲ νόῳ δύναμαι … πολλὸν ὁρᾶσθαι ('I cannot fully see .. in my mind', v.10); the psalmist cannot see (ὁρᾶσθαι) the inner light, and νοῦς is probably a metaphor for the divine and spiritual light. Elsewhere in the Septuagint, the phrase οὐ μὴ δύνωμαι πρὸς αὐτήν means to prevail against, to overcome (e.g. *Gen.* 32:26; *Num.* 13:30;

[49] For variations of the phrase θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι in the Homeric epics cf. *Il.* 5.725, 10.439, 20.344; *Od.* 6.306, 8.366, 13.108.
[50] Attested in Hom. *Il.* 9.423 and *Od.* 4.739.
[51] E.g., Hom. *Il.* 9.423, 10.497; *Od.* 3.120, 4.678; Hes. *Theog.* 472, 881 (a personified goddess); *Sc.* 28, fr. 195.28, 343.6; Pi. *Pyth.* 4.262, 9.38; Ap. Rh. 1.423, 463; Opp. *Hal.* 3.168, 4.77; *Cyn.* 1.248, 1.354, 3.415, 459.
[52] To the psalmist's surprise, compare *Od.* 10.326: θαῦμά μ' ἔχει, ὡς οὔ τι πιὼν τάδε φάρμακ' ἐθέλχθης, and Circe's subsequent surprise when her magic fails; cf. also Hes. fr. 278.1; Soph. *Phoen.* 686; Opp. *Hal.* 4.322. Booij (2005: 2-3) assumes that the wonder expressed in v. 6 of the psalm, which is paraphrased in v. 9 (θαῦμα) of the *Metaphrasis* and preserves the same idea expressed in the psalm, stems from a strong and continuous sense of God's proximity and knowledge (*cf. Ps.* 138:14). Mazor (1997: 262) argues that the narrator admires God's control over the lives of humans, the daily activities of the faithful, even their most intimate thoughts.
[53] In light of vv. 5-7 of the Septuagint Psalm, some scholars argue that in the first half of the psalm (or at least in some parts of it), the Lord's proximity is a threatening reality. Voiced, however, by one who knows that God will guide him wherever he ends up (such as at 'the end of the sea', where he is deep in chaos; vv. 9-10. and *Met. Ps.* 138.16), the psalmist can scarcely conceal his apprehension with regard to God's presence. In fact, as we will see below, the opposite is indicated by vv. 11-15. Cf. Baumann, 1951: 187-190 (esp. 188-189); Mazor, 1997: 260-271; Gerstenberger, 2001: 402, for a discussion of positive feelings of the faithful concerning divine omnipresence.

Judg. 16:5), yet it could be that the underlying meaning in Hebrew was to be able to reach or understand. As it would make little sense for the psalmist to say that he is 'no match' for the Lord's knowledge (which is self-evident), we must assume that the missing infinitive in v.6 of the Septuagint Psalm (οὐ μὴ δύνωμαι … [ὁράσθαι] πρὸς αὐτήν) means 'understanding' (cf. the usage in Job 34.35). Hence, Apollinaris supplements the incomplete meaning with the infinitive ὁρᾶσθαι, by explaining in allegorical terms that the psalmist cannot 'see' divine light, and the adverb πολλὸν impresses the inability to understand it fully. Apollinaris cannot cope with God's omniscience and omnipresence, both agonisingly close and inconsolably incomprehensible.[54] The psalmist delights in the formidable, unapproachable knowledge of God. Shaken, he momentarily considers the impossible: to flee from the omnipresent, omniscient God.

Moreover, Apollinaris changes the direct questions of the Septuagint text into indirect speech, conveying the psalmist's surprising declaration that he cannot withstand divine light. Of particular importance are the following wordings in *Met. Ps*. 138.9-12: **θαῦμά μ' ἔχει**, ὅτε σεῖο περιφράσομαι **φρεσὶ μῆτιν | οὐδὲ νόῳ** δύναμαι κρατερώτατα πολλὸν **ὁρᾶσθαι**. | **πνεύματος οὐκ** ἄρα σεῖο μέγα κράτος **ἦεν ἀλύξαι | οὐδὲ τεῆς** ἀπάνευθε **κατακρύπτεσθαι ὀπωπῆς**, as a result of which the psalmist hides himself from divine light. In the metaphrase, we notice a distinction between the boundaries of human intellect and the ability to know God (φρεσὶ μῆτιν), who cannot be fully perceived and understood (πολλὸν ὁρᾶσθαι). Whereas the Septuagint text suggests there is no place the psalmist can seek refuge (*Ps*. 138.7 ποῦ πορευθῶ), the metaphrast alters this inability from emotional to perceptual, an incapacity to see divine wisdom. A clear exegetical distinction arises between the Septuagint's verb of movement and the metaphrase's verb of perception (οὐδὲ νόῳ … ὁρᾶσθαι). Apollinaris chooses to define this biblical term for knowledge with the word μῆτις, which refers to divine wisdom and providence in Greek poetry.[55] Hence, he interprets knowledge (μῆτιν) in the Septuagint text as divine wisdom, whereas the psalmist clearly distinguishes between divine wisdom and human intellect. Consequently, Apollinaris' amplification here explains that the intellectual knowledge, the spiritual, inner understanding of divine light, is unbearable for the psalmist to see.

This is reminiscent of Plato's concept of true light, which Christian philosophers later integrated into a deeper theological context. In Plato (*Resp.* 514a), Socrates recounts that his interlocutors should imagine prisoners in a well-lit cave.[56] A few sections below follows a definition of Good as the source of all Forms: 'the cause for all things of all that is right and beautiful, giving birth in the visible world to light and the sun ('and its lord'), and having its own power in the intelligible world by producing truth and reason' (517b–c).[57] The release of the prisoners is followed by an exodus from the shadows to the images that cast them and therefrom, to the light (532b). Van Kooten explains that this Platonic conversion (περιαγωγή) concerns the soul as it supposedly possesses 'vision but does not rightly direct it and does not look where it should, an art of bringing this about' (518b-d).[58] In other words, this conversion involves redirecting one's eyes and channelling one's power of vision, rather than inserting vision into blind eyes as if vision were not already existent.

Regarding this conversion, Apollinaris evokes the Platonic imagery of prisoners' astonishment at returning to true, natural light. However, unlike the prisoners, the psalmist's soul could not

[54] Cf. *Gen*. 18:14; *Exod*. 34:10; *Josh*. 3:13; *Ps*. 78:11, on the inability of the faithful to understand God.
[55] Detienne and Vernant, 1989; Holmberg, 1997: 1-33; Faraone and Teeter, 2004: 177-208; Bracke, 2019, on *mētis* in Greek poetry.
[56] Cf. Pl. *Resp*. 539e-540a; van Kooten, 2005: 176.
[57] Trans. by G. H. van Kooten, 2005: 166.
[58] van Kooten, 2005: 183.

fully bear and understand the intelligible light (*Met. Ps.* 138.10-11: οὐδὲ νόῳ δύναμαι κρατερώτατα πολλὸν ὁρᾶσθαι. | πνεύματος οὐκ ἄρα σεῖο μέγα κράτος ἦεν ἀλύξαι). The metaphrast here amplifies the Septuagint text (*Ps.* 138.6-7: ἐκραταιώθη, οὐ μὴ δύνωμαι πρὸς αὐτήν) with the addition of νοῦς and the infinitive ὁρᾶσθαι, which strengthen the imagery of noetic light and the psalmist's inability to see. According to John Chrysostom, the psalmist benefited from divine providence and recognised God's omniscience. At this point of his *exegesis*, a resemblance to the paraphrase's πολλὸν (v. 10) appears, but we cannot tell whether John Chrysostom was aware of Apollinaris' metaphrase of the Psalter. A meaning similar to the metaphrast's wording 'οὐδὲ νόῳ δύναμαι κρατερώτατα πολλὸν ὁρᾶσθαι' is traced in Chrysostom's words: Ὅταν δὲ εἴπῃ γνῶσιν, οὐ τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι Ἀγνοῶ τὸν Θεὸν, ἀλλ' ὅτι Παντελῆ καὶ σαφῆ τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ γνῶσιν οὐκ οἶδα. He explains that humans cannot fully grasp divine knowledge and have an incomplete understanding of divine wisdom.[59]

This inability to 'see' is metaphorically conveyed in the *Metaphrasis* and alludes to the shadows and darkness in the Platonic cave (*Resp.* 515c and 516a). Plato argues that when the prisoner 'set himself free of his bonds and look up toward the light, he would be unable to see the things whose shadows he had seen before (ἀδυνατοῖ καθορᾶν ἐκεῖνα ὧν τότε τὰς σκιὰς ἑώρα), because of the flashing lights'. The philosopher then asks whether, upon exiting the cave, the sunlight would cause him to 'be unable to see a single one of the things now said to be truly real.' Plato immediately responds ' No, he would not be able to – at least not right away'.[60] However, the paraphrastic context of this section of the Psalm differs from this Platonic scenery. The psalmist does not inhabit a cave but lives in the physical world, and the images around him are not shadows but the Lord's creation. Consequently, divine knowledge and the true light are for the psalmist akin to the divine miracles around him and the realisation that he is part of this divine world.

This deviation from Plato's imagery of the cave is repeated when the psalmist renounces any hope of escaping the Lord's gaze (v. 12: οὐδὲ τεῆς ἀπάνευθε κατακρύπτεσθαι ὀπωπῆς), whether he flees to heaven, the underworld, or the sea (as he further elaborates, in vv. 13-16). Thus, against this Platonic background of the cave and in the theological context of the omnipresence of God in the paraphrase, we see that the 'true, intellectual light' can at the same time impart physical light to the eyes of the 'blind' and stand as the physical light of this world. This idea was further developed and enhanced in the Christological tenets of John's Gospel and the incarnation of Christ as the true, intellectual light – the Son of God and the Light of the Light.[61] However, the Platonic background of this concept and the view that the original intellectual light belongs to the order of the incorporeal world deviates from the theological view that the true light is also the perceivable light in the physical world.

The Light-Darkness Dichotomy

In this passage of the Psalm, there appears to be an opposition with philosophical connotations between light and darkness. In fact, this polarity of light and darkness seems to have had an intertwined affiliation with the divine creation of the cosmos; an idea first expressed in *Genesis* (1.3b-4, 1.5, 1.9) and further developed in the prologue to John's Gospel (1.5, 1.9) on divine creation. In this section,

[59] Joh. Chrys. *Exp. In Ps.* 55.413.17-31.
[60] ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἔλθοι, αὐγῆς ἂν ἔχοντα τὰ ὄμματα μεστὰ ὁρᾶν οὐδ' ἂν ἓν δύνασθαι τῶν νῦν λεγομένων ἀληθῶν; (transl. by C. D. C. Reeve, 2004).
[61] van Kooten, 2005: 149-94; Bieman, 2016.

I compare the metaphrase with Gregory of Nyssa's writings and his mystical colouring of darkness: his assertion that night can be as bright as day may be the key to interpreting the puzzling verse 12 of the Septuagint's text.

The Lord created light; darkness was there before, and he separated day from night (*Gen.* 1.3b-4). After the light's creation, darkness was unable to seize it (John 1.4-5). John (1.5) seems to be deliberately ambiguous here: the darkness did not grasp it, nor did it lay hold of it or grasp it with the mind; it did not comprehend it.[62] Verse 19 of the *Metaphrasis* preserves the direct speech of the Septuagint's text (εἶπα δὲ/εἶπα). As is the case with the *Metaphrasis*, many authors and translators read *Ps.* 138.11 as a conditional clause. Yet, parallel readings of the Hebrew text suggest that the metaphrase probably follows the Hebrew text and the Septuagint.[63] The metaphrast also follows the Septuagint's conceptualisations in the second half of v. 19 and adds the Homeric epithet φθισίμβροτος (killer of mortals) to qualify the night and its threatening qualities to humans. In Archaic and Hellenistic epic this adjective describes the menace of war.[64] In the *Metaphrasis*, it creates an antithesis between φθισίμβροτος ὄρφνη and φαεσίμβροτον ἦμαρ (v. 22: the day that brings light to men) and conveys the impact of this light-dark dualism to the physical and spiritual world of the faithful. The first compound of the adjective in φθισίμβροτος ὄρφνη ([the] dark that destroys humans) is a derivative of the verb φθί(ν)ω (to decay). In contrast, the first compound of the adjective in φαεσίμβροτον ἦμαρ is the word φάος/φῶς (light), which is etymologically related to the word φώς (man, mortal). According to Plutarch (*Mor.* 1130A–D), the term denotes 'life', in which the soul itself is configured as a kind of spiritual light. In his interpretation of the Psalm (v. 22), Athanasios refers to darkness as a way to cover and hide the psalmist from divine eyes.[65] Origen and John Chrysostom also interpret darkness allegorically as a sadness from which the psalmist cannot escape since he is perpetually entrapped in sorrow and suffering.[66]

However, in vv. 20-23 of the metaphrase, a paradox challenges the adverse effects of darkness on the faithful who live in the Lord's omnipresent light (even in the destructive night). The metaphrast amplifies a strange section of the Psalm (vv. 11-12), an amplification that serves to better ground a potentially bright side of darkness. In the Platonic allegory of the cave, captives are used to 'seeing' shadows cast by the fire inside the cave; they consider these fake images as part of the artificial light of a fire. Plato extols the true form of intellectual light that shall cast away darkness and the shadows of ignorance. The Good produces truth as the Sun produces light. And the intellect renders objects intelligible as light renders possible sense perception.[67] Similarly, Apollinaris writes that divine light shall cast away the darkness, although, in the end, he warns that no one shall be able to distinguish between light and darkness (v. 23: οὔ τις ἀναγνοίη, ποῖον κνέφας ἢ φάος εἴη), since true light shall make

[62] van Kooten, 2005: 149-150.
[63] For the comparison of the Septuagint's text with the Hebrew text, Ross, 2016: 825-826. On the basis of similarities, this interpretation, as ancient as Symmachus *apud* Theod. *Int. in Ps.* 80.1937.18 (ἐὰν εἴπω ...) and Jerome vulg. *Ps.* 138.11 (*si dixero* ...), has found its way to modern times via the well-known Hebrew grammar of Gesenius (1910, par. 111), according to Booij, 2005: 4, n. 10-11.
[64] Hom. *Il.* 13.339 for a battle; in Hom. *Od.* 22.297 to describe the aegis of Athena; in Hellenistic poetry to describe Ares (Ap. Rh. 3.1357), and much later in Quint. Smyrn. 4.433, 8.446, 9.218, Triph. 313, and Ps.-Apoll. *Met. Ps.* 10.14, in various martial contexts.
[65] Ath. *Exp. In Ps.* 27.533.9-11.
[66] Orig. *Fr. in Ps.* 138.11,12.5-7; Jn. Chrys. *Exp. In Ps.* 55.414.39-43.
[67] I thank the anonymous reviewer for drawing my attention to this point.

the dark night like a bright day.[68] Against the Platonic background of this passage, where darkness is set in stark contrast with the intellectual light and the Good, in the paraphrase, we observe that the true light embraces darkness as part of the divine creation and not as something imaginary, fake, or separable from the faithful's life. The joy and happiness of the faithful under the true light of God help the psalmist endure his existence even in darkness, so that darkness is no longer ominous and threatening to him.

Early Christian thinkers offered allegorical interpretations of this strange section of the Psalm. For example, Origen argues that darkness possesses a mysterious power and that the dark night can give birth to something good. As a result, something perceived as painful by one believer can be bright for someone else since the metaphrase says that darkness shall be as bright as day (v. 22: καὶ νύκτα δνοφερὴν τελέειν φαεσίμβροτον ἦμαρ). Divine light, in other words, can transform a dark night into day, which can, in turn, bring light to humans:

> ἄλλως δὲ, σκότος ἐνταῦθα τὴν θλῖψιν καλεῖ, ὑφ' ἧς, φησὶν, οὐ προσεδόκων διαφυγεῖν, καταπατούσης με καὶ νικώσης· ἄθροον δὲ εἰς ἀγαθόν μοι τὰ δεινὰ μετεβλήθη· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ μενόντων, πολλῆς ἀπέλαυσα τῆς χρηστότητος· […] Τὸ δέ· σκότος οὐ σκοτισθήσεται ἀπὸ σοῦ, παρὰ σοῦ, ἐξέδωκεν ἕτερος· πάντα γάρ σοι ῥᾷστα βουλομένῳ μεταποιεῖν, **ὡς τὴν νύκτα μηδὲν διαφέρειν ἡμέρας· μεταφορικῶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων δείκνυσι τὴν ἐν θλίψεσιν ἄνεσιν**, ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀνέσει τυγχάνει ὅμοιον. Ἰωσὴφ γοῦν ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ τιμὴν ἔσχε βασιλικήν. —Ἆρα σκότος ἤτις ἐστὶ, φησὶν, ἐμοὶ δύναμις ἀπόῤῥητος, καὶ αὐτή σοι τῷ Θεῷ φανερὰ τυγχάνει· **καθάπερ ἐμοὶ ζοφώδης ἡ νὺξ, οὕτως ἐστίν σοι φωτεινή**.
>
> Otherwise, he [the psalmist] calls darkness an affliction, from which, he says, he does not expect to escape, 'tramping me down and prevailing over me. Suddenly, my suffering turned into good. And even if suffering persists, I enjoyed goodness [...]'. The phrase 'σκότος οὐ σκοτισθήσεται ἀπὸ σοῦ, παρὰ σοῦ', is interpreted as both. 'Because everything you want to easily alter, that night is not different from the day'; metaphorically, he reveals the remission of sorrow from the elements, as if it happens to be the same in remission. Josef, in his lowliness, acquired royal loftiness. 'As a result, darkness', he says, 'is such to me, a mystical power and shall be revealed to you by God; insofar as the night is gloomy for me, but at the same time, bright to you'.
>
> Orig. *Fr. in Ps*. 138.11, 12. 7-10, 13-24 (author's translation)

Origen, in his interpretation of this passage of the Psalm, argues that darkness is indeed connected with sadness and sorrow. He explains this strange notion that darkness can also be bright by noting that the faithful endure suffering and sorrow day and night. Each person chooses a way to endure and experience suffering. The most optimistic ones view darkness more brightly than others. There, Origen suggests, lies the mystical power of darkness (δύναμις ἀπόῤῥητος), which, ultimately, is part of God's creation too and can be gloomy or bright. This idea further recalls Apollinaris's wording ὄρφνην γὰρ δεδάηκε τεὸν φάος ἀμφικαλύπτειν, which means that divine light does not consume darkness, but embraces it as part of divine creation. John Chrysostom also uses metaphorical language to explain these strange verses and argues that there is a positive side to suffering. Thus, he argues that the psalmist

[68] This positive side of darkness has deep roots in literature, and especially in Plutarch's inquisitive remarks on the Egyptians, who are said to have deified the fieldmouse because of its blindness, since they regarded darkness as superior to light (Plut. *Mor.* 670B). This passage clearly suggests that 'the road to spiritual enlightenment is not chosen automatically' (van Kooten, 2005: 161).

takes some pleasure and courage from his gloomy condition because he perceives these troubles positively. This conception of the sufferings of the faithful indicates that divine intervention helps the righteous embrace sadness; thus, they come to a position of light from a prior state of anguish.[69] Tellingly, Athanasios states that darkness is the result of divine will, and gloomy night can be bright as well.[70]

The last three verses of the *Metaphrasis* (vv. 21-23: ὄρφνην γὰρ δεδάηκε τεὸν φάος ἀμφικαλύπτειν | καὶ νύκτα δνοφερὴν τελέειν φαεσίμβροτον ἦμαρ· | οὔ τις ἀναγνοίη, ποῖον κνέφας ἢ φάος εἴη) contain a vivid imagery of divine light enfolding (ἀμφικαλύπτειν) the night that makes it impossible to discern between the two; these images recall the writings of Gregory of Nyssa, a proponent of the mysticism of darkness.[71] Gregory of Nyssa's flourished in the fourth century CE, yet we do not know if he read Apollinaris' *Metaphrasis* of the Psalter. However, his apophatic conception of God is due to his belief that God was infinite and, thus, incomprehensible to the limited mind of the created beings.[72] Gregory's coherent and well-grounded perception of spiritual experience was probably influenced by Philo of Alexandria.[73] However, in this section, I suggest that Gregory was also aware of the *Metaphrasis*, mainly because of the similarities traced in the Apollinaris' text and Gregory's doctrine that mortals cannot comprehend the superior knowledge that only God could have.[74]

De vita Moysis contains perhaps the clearest example of Gregory's perception of the noetic ascent as a movement from light towards increasing darkness.[75] Gregory reminds us of Moses' encounter with God. First, God appeared to Moses in light (φῶς), then spoke to him in a cloud (νεφέλη), and afterwards, Moses saw God in darkness (γνόφος). Indeed, the ascent begins in light and moves into progressive darkness. Having identified Moses as a great thinker who revealed the master pattern of noetic ascent and knowledge of virtue, Gregory then suggests this path to the faithful (echoing the exodus of the captives from the cave).[76] First, the faithful must withdraw (ἀναχώρησις) from false opinions (ὑπόληψις) about God; this entails a passage from darkness (σκότος) to light (φῶς). Next, the soul moves from misconceptions and superficial knowledge towards fuller appreciation of God's mysterious nature, symbolised by the cloud that overshadows (ἐπισκιάζω) His epiphanies; thus, the soul becomes accustomed to beholding what is hidden. Finally, the soul continues its journey toward loftier things and forsakes (καταλείπω) what can be attained by human nature, everything that can be comprehended (καταλαμβανόμενος); the soul penetrates the impenetrable, enters the sanctuary (ἄδυτον) of divine knowledge (θεογνωσία), and is surrounded by divine darkness (θεῖος γνόφος).[77]

[69] Jn. Chrys. *Exp. In Ps.* 55.414.45-55: Ἐγὼ, φησὶ, ταῦτα μὲν εἶπον, ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεως ἀναλογιζόμενος· ἀθρόον δὲ τὰ δεινὰ εἰς ἀγαθὰ μετεβλήθη· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ τὰ δεινὰ εἰς ἀγαθὰ μετεβλήθη, ἀλλὰ μενόντων τῶν δεινῶν ἐγὼ πολλῆς ἀπέλαυον τῆς χρηστότητος. Οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν, ὅτι Ἡ νὺξ ἠφανίσθη· ἀλλ', ὅτι Ἡ νὺξ φωτεινὴ ἦν· τουτέστι, μένουσα νὺξ ἡ νὺξ, δῆλον δὲ, ὅτι τὰ δεινὰ καὶ αἱ συμφοραὶ (ταῦτα γὰρ τῷ τῆς νυκτὸς ὀνόματι δηλοῖ) οὐκ ἴσχυσάν με καταπατῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ φῶς, τουτέστιν, ἀντίληψις περὶ ἐμέ.

[70] Ath. *Exp. In Ps.* 27.533.11-13: Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο, φησὶ, τὸ σκότος οὕτως ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ σῇ γνώσει, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴη καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς.

[71] Laird (1999: 592) notes that references to mystical darkness abound in Gregory of Nyssa; cf. Puech, 1978: 119-141; LeMaitre, 1868: cols 1868-1872. Divine darkness is a uniquely Judaeo-Christian theme rooted in the Bible (Puech, 1978: 133, 175) and McGinn (1992, 175) notices the absence of any consideration of the mysticism of darkness in the works of pagan Neoplatonists. Divine darkness is also alluded to in Orig. *Contra Celsum* 6.36.

[72] On the apophatic conception in Gregory of Nyssa, Vogel, 2015: 214-230; Poe, 2018: 57-68.

[73] On the influences of Gregory from Philo, Lossky, 1974: 31-43; Daniélou, 1995.

[74] On the interaction of Gregory of Nyssa and Apollinaris' Metaphrasis, Faulkner, 2020: 9, 16, 29, 31, 51-53.

[75] Also Gregory's homily in *Canticum Canticorum*, where he comments on the Sept. *Song of Songs* 5.2-7.

[76] Also Louth, 1981: 80-97, esp. 83-88. For a succinct statement on the relationship between Gregory's divine darkness and the allegory of the cave, Louth, 1986: 161.

[77] *Canticum XI* (*GNO* 6.322.13-32), on the noetic ascent towards divine darkness. Full exegesis in Maspero, 2017: 3-52.

However, it should be stressed that in Gregory's mystic conceptualisation of this swelling darkness, the light becomes part of this growing darkness. It disperses views about God that are false because they rely on the senses. Hence, it retains the same function attested in Apollinaris and Plato: it discloses the path towards knowing God not with our senses but through the soul's ascent to a higher level of cognition. When Gregory alludes to this first epiphany in *De vit. Moys.* II, 162, he connects it once again with the light of knowledge and its didactic value. He says the 'text teaches that religious knowledge is at first light for those who receive it.'[78] This light of knowledge gives way to the darkness of the cloud. Apart from divine light, Gregory claims that the ascent to God is also an ascent to the darkness of the unknown and reveals the farthest reaches of the divine-human encounter (cf. *Exod.* 20.21, on Moses encountering God in darkness). In the metaphrase (v. 9: οὐδὲ νόῳ δύναμαι κρατερώτατα πολλὸν ὁρᾶσθαι, and vv. 21-23), the psalmist's inability to understand God and the consequent blending of light and darkness as an *exegesis* to Psalm 138 allude to Gregory's mystic interpretation of Scripture. The 'apophatic ascent' is the guiding motif and emphasises the mind's inability to grasp God, a failure not so much due to the weakness of the mind as to the intrinsic unknowability of God.[79] Consequently, in the *Metaphrasis*, light does not cast away the darkness but enfolds it as part of the divine creation, where the unknowability of God reveals a part of the divine-human relationship in the *cosmos*.[80]

Thus, the negative effect of the dark night (*Met. Ps.* 138.19: φθισίμβροτος ὄρφνη) is succeeded by a positive impact since God shall allow His divine light to consume darkness (v. 20: νύκτα δὲ καίνυτο τέρψις, ἀτὰρ κνέφας ἤλασε φέγγος). In *Ps.* 138.12, God disperses His divine light around the psalmist by night. In the metaphrase, an *anadiplosis* of the Septuagint's line expresses this positive effect of night and darkness, since the paraphrast repeats the sense of the two hemistiches in the same verse. He also uses the phrase (*Met. Ps.* 138.20) νύκτα καίνυτο τέρψις to express his joy, even when covered by night, and then explains this statement by saying that divine light (φέγγος) shall dismiss darkness. Also expressed is the idea that joy conquers the darkness of the night;[81] subsequently, in the following verse (v. 21), the metaphrast again turns a negative statement in the Septuagint's text (ὅτι σκότος οὐ σκοτισθήσεται ἀπὸ σοῦ) into an affirmative one without altering the original meaning. Apollinaris elucidates the Vorlage and explains that divine light disperses the darkness from around the narrator (*Met. Ps.* 138.22: νύκτα δνοφερὴν τελέειν φαεσίμβροτον ἦμαρ). Darkness thus becomes almost equivalent to daylight. Finally, in v. 23, the narrator declares that the darkness of the night will be as light in the night. The Septuagint's simile, starting with ὡς (*Ps.* 138.12: ὡς τὸ σκότος αὐτῆς, οὕτως καὶ τὸ φῶς αὐτῆς), is replaced in the paraphrase with an indirect rhetorical question (οὔ τις ἀναγνοίη, ποῖον κνέφας ἢ φάος εἴη), which means that no one can discern darkness from light. Thus, his comparison in the previous verse is explicated as a conversion of night and day under divine light.

[78] Greg. Nys. *De vit. Moys.* II, 162.6-8: Διδάσκει γὰρ διὰ τούτων ὁ λόγος ὅτι τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡ γνῶσις φῶς γίνεται παρὰ τὴν πρώτην οἷς ἂν ἐγγένηται.

[79] Laird, 1999: 593 n. 5, on apophaticism in Gregory's analysis of divine darkness.

[80] Laird (1999: 616) pinpoints this special connection between light, darkness, and unknowability of God 'in, and only in, divine-darkness texts' of Gregory. Puech (1978: 119-142) traced long ago the roots of this tradition in Philo and Clement, a tradition to which Origen does not adhere.

[81] On this meaning of καίνυμι as to win or conquer, cf. also Hesychios (κ 254.1 Latte). The verb καίνυμι is a synonym of νικάω (to win) as in Empedocles, fr. 23.11: οὕτω μή σ' ἀπάτη φρένα καινύτω ἄλλοθεν εἶναι | θνητῶν, ὅσσα γε δῆλα γεγάκασιν ἄσπετα, πηγήν, a gnomic statement pleading mortals not to allow fraud to conquer the human mind.

Epilogue

It seems appropriate that a discussion of the metaphrast's use of light imagery in Psalm 138 should end, paradoxically, with a discussion of God as the one who makes darkness bright. I suggest that the theology of the second to the fourth centuries CE, through the judicious use and conceptualisation of the Platonic light imagery, drew creatively on two conflicting tendencies salient to second-century Platonist (and Hermetic) doctrine. First, it is God's knowability and his presentation as a *dēmiourgos* who makes himself known through his handiwork (the *cosmos*). Second, a conception of God as utterly transcendent, 'other' to everything material, who cannot be named, described, or known by anything other than the mind. Christian philosophical exegesis in the *Metaphrasis*, as we saw, presents us with both these aspects of divinity, in God the Father and God the Son, or the Logos. The metaphrase draws elements from the Platonic doctrine of 'light', wherein, when transferred to a theological context, the light of the Good represents the Lord who illuminates the faithful's soul. The main deviation from the Platonic understanding is that, for the psalmist, true light embraces, as we observed in the *Metaphrasis*, the whole of the created world —beyond the platonic dichotomy between sensible and intelligible realms— thanks to the omnipresence of God.

The *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*, thanks to Origen and Gregory's allegorical interpretation of divine light, is a much closer, often line-by-line rendition of its Septuagint original. As Faulkner argues, apart from factors of authorial choice and style, this quality may have something to do with the stichic structure of the Psalms, which could have encouraged close correspondence to the hexameter. Overtly faithful to the Septuagint's text, the *Metaphrasis* has often been judged rather poor literature, allegedly lacking the finer literary and exegetical qualities of Nonnos' paraphrastic techniques. However, in this paper, I note the echoes of Plato (and more specifically of the myth of the cave) in Apollinaris' passage, either directly or via earlier Christian authors who reshaped the Platonic tradition, articulated a new conception of God and approached the controversial question of the knowability of God in different ways. The metaphrast's effort to keep faithful to the original text indicates his intention to assimilate his exegesis and employ stylistic embellishments without altering the text significantly. The *Metaphrasis*, as a poetic paraphrase of the Psalter, has a clear aesthetic purpose: to render Scripture into a pleasing form of poetry (a Christian counterpart to pagan poetry). Yet it may also engage in *exegesis*, most characteristically with allusions and allegorical hints.

To conclude, this paper explores Plato's allegory of the cave as an intertext to an ambiguous passage of Apollinaris' *Met. Ps.* 138.9-23. This paper begins by considering allegory in connection with mysticism to suggest a long tradition and intertexts behind word choices and theological tenets in a fourth-century rendition of Psalm 138. It traces in brushstrokes the Platonic view of 'true light' in Middle and Neo-platonists and early church fathers. Then, I investigate how the cave allegory and Early Christian philosophical interpretations of the Scripture correspond to the theological context of this 'Homeric' Psalter, particularly the allusions to its classical Greek and biblical intertexts and, of course, to the Septuagint's Psalter. The comparison of the *Metaphrasis* with the Septuagint's text shows that Apollinaris slightly deviates from the *Vorlage*. With the paraphrastic technique of amplification and the use of epic language, Apollinaris incorporates the Platonic theory of true light in a theological and spiritual context of the knowability of God. The metaphrast deviates from Plato in suggesting that darkness has a mystical colouring and is part of God's creation. Gregory of Nyssa's mystic conception of divine darkness suggests that darkness can be as bright as day and is an effort to interpret the Septuagint's final verse.

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Abstract (Greek) | Περίληψη

Η παρούσα μελέτη εξετάζει την σχέση ανάμεσα στον αλληγορικό μύθο του σπηλαίου από την Πολιτεία του Πλάτωνα και την πνευματική διαφυγή από το αχανές σκοτάδι στο «αληθινό φως» στην Μετάφραση του Ψαλτήρος από τον Απολλινάριο Λαοδικείας. Σε μία προσπάθεια να εξηγηθεί η «απόδραση» του ψαλμωδού από το σκοτάδι συνοψίζονται οι βασικές τάσεις στη βιβλιογραφία πάνω στην αλληγορία του σπηλαίου και την σύλληψη της ιδέας του αγαθού. Στην Πολιτεία του Πλάτωνα υπογραμμίζεται ο σημαντικός ρόλος της φιλοσοφίας στην απελευθέρωση του δεσμώτη φιλοσόφου από το σπήλαιο και τις σκιές που δημιουργούνται από το τεχνητό φως της φωτιάς. Η φιλοσοφία καθιστά δυνατή την άνοδο του δεσμώτη προς το αληθινό φως και την αληθινή φύση των πραγμάτων έξω από το σπήλαιο. Εν συνεχεία, εξετάζεται η αλληγορία του σπηλαίου σε σχέση με τις αλληγορίες του ήλιου (505a-509d) και της τετμημένης γραμμής (509d-511e) στο έκτο βιβλίο της Πολιτείας. Ο Σωκράτης, παρακινημένος από τον Γλαύκωνα να ορίσει το αγαθό, χρησιμοποιεί την αλληγορική τεχνική και μιλά για το «παιδί του αγαθού» (ἔκγονός τε τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ). Ο Σωκράτης υποστηρίζει ότι αυτό το «παιδί του αγαθού» είναι ο ήλιος και προτείνει ότι ο ήλιος φωτίζει δίνοντας σε εμάς την δυνατότητα να δούμε και να γίνουμε ορατοί με το μάτι. Με τον ίδιο τρόπο, η ιδέα του αγαθού φωτίζει το νου με την αλήθεια. Ο Πλάτωνας χρησιμοποιεί την αλληγορία του ήλιου για να ορίσει την αληθινή σημασία του αγαθού. Το αγαθό φωτίζει την γνώση ώστε ο νους μας να δει την αληθινή πραγματικότητα. Χωρίς το αγαθό, θα μπορούσαμε να δούμε μόνο με τα φυσικά μάτια και όχι με το «μάτι του νου». Ο ήλιος ρίχνει το φως του έτσι ώστε εμείς να μπορούμε να αντιληφθούμε τον κόσμο γύρω μας. Χωρίς την πηγή του φωτός θα βρισκόμασταν στο αχανές σκοτάδι όντας ανίκανοι να κατανοήσουμε την αληθινή φύση των πραγμάτων που μας περιβάλλουν. Ομοίως, στην αλληγορία του σπηλαίου η αληθινή φιλοσοφία ωθεί τον δεσμώτη στην απελευθέρωση και την θέαση της αληθινής φύσης των πραγμάτων και όχι των σκιών που είναι απεικάσματα των ιδεών και αποτέλεσμα του τεχνητού φωτός της φωτιάς.

Η αλληγορία της γραμμής (509d-511d) που ακολουθεί την αλληγορία του ήλιου, μας βοηθά εξίσου να κατανοήσουμε το μονοπάτι του δεσμώτη φιλοσόφου από το σκοτάδι και τις σκιές στο αληθινό φως. Ο Σωκράτης χρησιμοποιεί την αλληγορία της γραμμής για να διακρίνει διαφορετικές μορφές γνώσης και αλήθειας. Η βασική διαίρεση είναι μεταξύ αυτού που είναι ορατό και αυτού που είναι κατανοητό, με το ορατό τμήμα να είναι μικρότερο από το κατανοητό τμήμα. Ο Σωκράτης ζητά από τον Γλαύκωνα όχι μόνο να οραματιστεί αυτήν την άνισα διαιρεμένη γραμμή (γραμμὴ δίχα τετμημένη), αλλά να φανταστεί μία περαιτέρω διαίρεση καθενός από τα δύο μέρη. Ο Σωκράτης εξηγεί ότι τα τέσσερα μέρη που προκύπτουν αντιπροσωπεύουν τέσσερα ξεχωριστά «πάθη» (παθήματα) της ψυχής. Τα δύο κατώτερα τμήματα λέγεται ότι αντιπροσωπεύουν το ορατό ενώ τα δύο υψηλότερα λέγεται ότι αντιπροσωπεύουν το κατανοητό. Αυτά τα πάθη περιγράφονται διαδοχικά ως αντίστοιχα σε αυξανόμενα επίπεδα πραγματικότητας και αλήθειας από την εικασία (εἰκασία) στην πεποίθηση (πίστις), στη σκέψη (διάνοια) και τελικά στην κατανόηση (νόησις). Ο Ωριγένης εμμένει σε παρόμοιες αρχές στη διδασκαλία του σχετικά με τη γνώση του Θεού. Αναφέρεται στον Θεό ως φύση παρόμοια με τον ανθρώπινο νου, αν και η αληθινή, αγνή φύση του Θεού είναι πολύ πέρα από την ικανότητα του θνητού να την αντιληφθεί. Αυτή είναι μία σημαντική διαφορά των Νεοπλατωνιστών και του Πλάτωνα, ο οποίος θεωρεί ότι ο ανθρώπινος νους έχει την δυνατότητα να δει και να κατανοήσει το αγαθό (γνωστόν).

Έπειτα, η εστίαση προχωρά από τη συνειδητοποίηση του ψαλμωδού στην μετάφραση ότι δεν μπορεί να κατανοήσει πλήρως τη γνώση του Θεού στη σύγκρισή της με την αλληγορία του Πλάτωνα για το σπήλαιο και το αληθινό φως. Πρώτα, συγκρίνω τη μετάφραση με το κείμενο των Εβδομήκοντα και εξετάζω την ιδέα του αληθινού φωτός όπως περιγράφεται από τον Απολλινάριο ο οποίος χρησιμοποιεί την παραφραστική τεχνική της amplificatio για να εξηγήσει τη πανταχού θεία παρουσία στη ζωή του ψαλμωδού. Δεύτερον, συγκρίνω τη μετάφραση με την πλατωνική αλληγορία του σπηλαίου και διερευνώ ομοιότητες και αποκλίσεις. Ο Πλάτωνας υποστηρίζει ότι ο δεσμώτης φιλόσοφος μπορεί πραγματικά να δει το Αγαθό, ενώ στη μετάφραση ο ψαλμωδός δηλώνει ότι δεν μπορεί να κατανοήσει πλήρως τη θεία γνώση. Αυτή η αδυναμία «να δει» μεταφέρεται αλληγορικά στη Μετάφραση και παραπέμπει στις σκιές και το σκοτάδι στο πλατωνικό σπήλαιο (*Πολ*. 515c and 516a). Ωστόσο, το παραφραστικό πλαίσιο αυτής της ενότητας του Ψαλμού διαφέρει από αυτό το πλατωνικό χωρίο. Ο ψαλμωδός δεν κατοικεί σε σπήλαιο αλλά ζει στον φυσικό κόσμο και οι εικόνες γύρω του δεν είναι σκιές αλλά δημιούργημα του Κυρίου. Κατά συνέπεια, η θεία γνώση και το αληθινό φως είναι για τον ψαλμωδό παρόμοια με τα θεία θαύματα που τον περιβάλλουν και συνειδητοποιεί ότι αποτελεί μέρος αυτού του θεϊκού κόσμου. Αυτή η απόκλιση από την εικόνα του Σπηλαίου του Πλάτωνα επαναλαμβάνεται όταν ο ψαλμωδός αποκηρύσσει κάθε ελπίδα να ξεφύγει από το βλέμμα του Κυρίου (*Μετ*. στ. 13-16). Έτσι, σε αυτό το πλατωνικό υπόβαθρο του Σπηλαίου και στο θεολογικό πλαίσιο της πανταχού παρουσίας του Θεού στην παράφραση, βλέπουμε ότι το «αληθινό, διανοητικό φως» μπορεί ταυτόχρονα να μεταδώσει φυσικό φως στα μάτια των «τυφλών» και να σταθεί ως φυσικό φως αυτού του κόσμου. Αυτή η ιδέα αναπτύχθηκε περαιτέρω και ενισχύθηκε στις χριστολογικές αρχές του Ευαγγελίου του Ιωάννη και στην ενσάρκωση του Χριστού ως το αληθινό, διανοητικό φως – ο Υιός του Θεού και το Φως του Φωτός. Ωστόσο, το πλατωνικό υπόβαθρο αυτής της έννοιας και η άποψη ότι το αρχικό διανοητικό φως ανήκει στην τάξη του ασώματος κόσμου αποκλίνει από τη θεολογική άποψη ότι το αληθινό φως είναι επίσης το αισθητό φως στον φυσικό κόσμο.

Τέλος, οι τρεις τελευταίοι στίχοι της Μεταφράσεως (στ. 21-23) περιέχουν μια ζωντανή απεικόνιση του θεϊκού φωτός που περικλείει (ἀμφικαλύπτειν) τη νύχτα και καθιστά αδύνατη τη διάκριση μεταξύ των δύο. Αυτές οι εικόνες θυμίζουν τα γραπτά του Γρηγορίου Νύσσης, ενός υπέρμαχου του μυστικισμού του σκότους. Η ακμή του Γρηγόριου Νύσσης τοποθετείται στον τέταρτο αιώνα μ.Χ., όμως δεν γνωρίζουμε αν είχε διαβάσει τη Μετάφραση του Ψαλτηρίου από τον Απολλινάριο. Η αποφατική του αντίληψη για τον Θεό οφείλεται στην πεποίθησή του ότι ο Θεός ήταν άπειρος και, επομένως, ακατανόητος για τον ανθρώπινο νου. Η συνεκτική και καλά θεμελιωμένη θεωρία του Γρηγορίου περί πνευματικής και μυστικιστικής εμπειρίας πιθανότατα επηρεάστηκε από τον Φίλωνα της Αλεξάνδρειας. Ωστόσο, στο άρθρο προτείνω ότι ο Γρηγόριος ίσως γνώριζε επίσης τη Μετάφραση κυρίως λόγω των ομοιοτήτων που εντοπίζονται στο κείμενο του Απολλιναρίου και στην διδασκαλία του Γρηγορίου ότι οι θνητοί δεν μπορούν να κατανοήσουν την ανώτερη γνώση που μόνο ο Θεός θα μπορούσε να έχει. Έτσι, την αρνητική επίδραση της σκοτεινής νύχτας (*Μετ. Ψαλμ*. 138.19: φθισίμβροτος ὄρφνη) διαδέχεται μια θετική επίδραση, αφού ο Θεός θα επιτρέψει στο θεϊκό φως του να καλύψει το σκοτάδι (στ. 20: νύκτα δὲ καίνυτο τέρψις, ἀτὰρ κνέφας ἤλασε φέγγος). Στον ψαλμό 138.12, ο Θεός διασκορπίζει το θείο φως Του γύρω από τον ψαλμωδό τη νύχτα. Στη μετάφραση, η ερμηνεία του στίχου των Εβδομήκοντα εκφράζει την θετική επίδραση της νύχτας και του σκότους, αφού η παράφραση επαναλαμβάνει την έννοια των δύο ημιστιχίων στον ίδιο στίχο. Χρησιμοποιεί

επίσης τη φράση (*Μετ. Ψαλμ.* 138.20) «νύκτα καίνυτο τέρψις» για να εκφράσει τη χαρά του, ακόμη και όταν σκεπάζεται από τη νύχτα, και στη συνέχεια εξηγεί αυτή τη δήλωση λέγοντας ότι το θεϊκό φως (φέγγος) θα διώξει το σκοτάδι. Εκφράζεται επίσης η ιδέα ότι η χαρά υπερνικά το σκοτάδι της νύχτας. Στη συνέχεια, στον επόμενο στίχο (στ. 21), η μετάφραση μετατρέπει και πάλι μια αρνητική δήλωση στο κείμενο των Εβδομήκοντα (ὅτι σκότος οὐ σκοτισθήσεται ἀπὸ σοῦ) σε καταφατική χωρίς να αλλοιώνει την αρχική σημασία. Ο Απολλινάριος διευκρινίζει το κείμενο των Εβδομήκοντα και εξηγεί ότι το θείο φως διασκορπίζει το σκοτάδι γύρω από τον αφηγητή (*Μετ. Ψαλμ.* 138.22: νύκτα δνοφερὴν τελέειν φαεσίμβροτον ἦμαρ). Το σκοτάδι γίνεται έτσι σχεδόν ισοδύναμο με το φως της ημέρας. Τέλος, στον στίχο 23, ο αφηγητής δηλώνει ότι το σκοτάδι της νύχτας θα είναι σαν φως μέσα στη νύχτα. Η παρομοίωση των Εβδομήκοντα, που αρχίζει με το ὡς (*Ψαλμ.* 138.12: ὡς τὸ σκότος αὐτῆς, οὕτως καὶ τὸ φῶς αὐτῆς), αντικαθίσταται στην παράφραση με μια έμμεση ρητορική ερώτηση (οὔ τις ἀναγνοίη, ποῖον κνέφας), που σημαίνει εἴη κνέφας. Μπορεί κανείς να διακρίνει το σκοτάδι από το φως. Η μετάφραση αποκλίνει από τον Πλάτωνα υπονοώντας ότι το σκοτάδι έχει μυστικιστικό χρωματισμό και είναι μέρος της δημιουργίας του Θεού. Η μυστικιστική αντίληψη του Γρηγορίου Νύσσης για το θεϊκό σκοτάδι υποδηλώνει ότι το σκοτάδι μπορεί να είναι τόσο φωτεινό όσο η μέρα και είναι μια προσπάθεια ερμηνείας του τελευταίου στίχου των Εβδομήκοντα.

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Villerías' Latin Translation of Alessandra Scala's Greek Epigram to Poliziano and the Translation Wars in Mexico

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Abstract

The Reserved Collection of the National Library of Mexico holds a previously unpublished manuscript (Ms 1594) that contains the Latin and Greek works of a New Spanish poet, José de Villerías y Roelas (1695-1728). It is undoubtedly the most important document known to us, written in Greek and produced in New Spain during the colonial period. To date, no other New Spanish materials containing original compositions in Greek have been located or studied; nor are we aware of any collection of Greek poems anthologised by a New Spanish Hellenist. Hence the manuscript stands as a kind of *codex unicus* for New Spanish Hellenism. In this paper, I publish and analyse one of the poems, the longest of Villerías' collection of Greek poetry, and his Latin translation. In the manuscript, the epigram in question is attributed to the distinguished and renowned humanist of the Italian Quattrocento, Alessandra Scala, who composed it in response to one of Angelo Poliziano's poems dedicated to her. Before analysing Villerías' text and translation, I trace Poliziano's reception in New Spain and explore Villerías' possible engagement with Poliziano's *Liber Epigrammatum Graecorum*. Finally, I discuss the various approaches to the translation of Greek texts in Mexico from the colonial period to the present day. The aim is to stimulate debates about classical reception in post-colonial and peripheral contexts and to present the politics in which classicism became institutionalised in contemporary Mexico.

Keywords

Villerías; Early Eighteenth-century Mexico; Translation of Greek and Latin; Poliziano; Classical Receptions in Mexico; New Spanish Hellenism; Alessandra Scala

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Introduction

The unpublished Ms 1594, preserved in the Reserved Collection of the National Library of Mexico, contains works composed in Latin and Greek by New Spain poet José de Villerías y Roelas (1695-1728).[1] To date, no other New Spanish materials containing original compositions in Greek have been located or studied; nor are scholars aware of any collection or manuscript of Greek poems anthologised by a Novohispanic Hellenist. Hence, this manuscript is a *codex unicus* of Novohispanic Hellenism and, undoubtedly, the most important extant document written in Greek and produced in New Spain during the colonial period.[2]

Born in Mexico City the year Sor Juana died (1695),[3] a descendant of a poor Spanish family, Villerías studied jurisprudence (not without financial difficulties) at the Royal and Pontifical University, where he graduated in 1724. Two years later, he obtained a position as a lawyer in the Royal Court but died prematurely in 1728 at the age of 33.[4] In his short life, Villerías managed to publish some of his works, such as his *Descripción de la máscara y passeo* (1721),[5] an entire book dedicated to Fray José de las Heras on his election to the chair of theology at the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico.[6] For this commission, Villerías composed two poems, one comprising 300 hexameters in Latin, and another in Spanish, both entitled *Victor*.[7] Also in Spanish, Villerías published *Llanto de las estrellas al ocaso del sol anochechido en el oriente* (The Weeping of the Stars at the Darkened Sunset in the West) to commemorate the death of King Louis I (1725).[8] In 1728,

[1] The only existing monograph on this manuscript and the work of Villerías is Osorio Romero (1991), which contains a chapter on Villerías' Hellenism (pp. 69-80). Before Osorio Romero tasked himself with salvaging Villerías' poetry from oblivion (Osorio Romero, 1983), references to Villerías were reduced to the reproduction of the Spanish version of his poem *Victor* (particularly the section entitled *Máscara* [Mask]) in de la Maza (1968: 153-156); earlier in Beristáin de Souza (1821/1981: 329-331), whereas more appear in eighteenth-century works, among which the most significant is Eguiara y Eguren, 1746; 1755. More discussion in Osorio Romero, 1991: 9-11.

[2] Another important name for eighteenth-century New Spain Hellenism is Don Cayetano de Cabrera y Quintero (1700?-1774). Eguiara y Eguren attributes to him a grammar of Greek and Hebrew, now lost, in which he instructed readers on the alphabets of these two languages in Latin hexameters. Beristáin (1816 [1980]: 232) reports that he wrote a *Liber variorum epigrammatum e Graeco in Latinum translatorum* (now lost too). At the end of his entry on Don Cayetano, Beristáin says that most of his manuscripts were preserved in Eguiara y Eguren's time in the library of the fathers of the Oratorio de México, but that by his time barely half of them had survived. The Carmelite Father Manuel de San Juan Crisóstomo declared in 1842 that Don Cayetano was 'the greatest Hellenist we have ever had' (Osorio Romero, 1991: 81).

[3] Villerías himself dedicated a poem to Sor Juana, number XCI of his collection of original Latin epigrams (Ms 1594, fol. 83v), in which he celebrates her as the 'memorable name of the feminine sex' (*foeminei nomen memorabile sexus*).

[4] Full biographical information gathered in Osorio Romero, 1991: 9-20.

[5] The full title is *Descripcion de la Mascara, y Passeo con que la Real Universidad, Nobleza, y pueblo de esta imperial Corte de México, celebrò la Possession de la Cathedra de Visperas de Theologia que obtuvo el R^mo. P. M. Fr. Joseph de las Heras.*

[6] This type of compositions were part of the festive procedures that followed the official installation of the winner. José de las Heras, a Mercedarian priest and prominent theologian, won the contest in 1721, and he possibly entrusted the 26-year-old Villerías with the composition of this work (Osorio Romero, 1991: 29-44).

[7] According to Villerías (fol. 6r), it was José Diego Medina Picazo, treasurer of the Royal Mint, who asked him to include a Spanish translation of his Latin poem. Two versions of the Latin poem are preserved: the published version printed in this 1721 book, and a corrected version with added notes, preserved in the 1594 manuscript dated October 1723.

[8] This is a historical account of the ceremonies held in Mexico to commemorate the funeral of the king. Villerías collected funerary epigrams written for the deceased king, wherein twenty-eight were composed by Francisco Xavier de Cárdenas. A Latin and Castilian poet trained by the Jesuits, de Cárdenas had been entrusted with composing poems and inscriptions for the funeral pyre, and writing an account of the entire event. For unknown reasons, the latter task was passed to Villerías, who described the ceremonies, commented on the six Latin inscriptions and the twenty emblems on the funeral pyre, included the sermon in Latin by the elected Archbishop of Manila, Carlos Bermúdez de Castro, and the sermon in Castilian by the Archbishop of Mexico, José de Lanciego y Eguiuz, and concluded his account with a Latin elegy (his own composition, also included in Ms 1594) that closes with two elegiac couplets in Greek (Osorio Romero, 1991: 45-68).

a posthumous publication of his *Escudo triunfante del carmelo* appeared, a versification in royal octaves of the homonymous work of the Carmelite friar of Madrid, Fray Gabriel Cerrada.[9] Some Latin compositions by Villerías reached the press, and all of them appear in the manuscript under examination here. But, with the sole exception of the two Greek elegiac couplets with which Villerías culminates his long Latin elegy in honour of Louis I, published in the book *Llanto de las estrellas al ocaso del sol anochecido en el oriente* (1725, 143v),[10] the entire poetic production written in Greek by Villerías and his translations from Greek into Latin are exclusively preserved in Ms 1594.

Ms 1594 preserves a wide range of Latin compositions, a small number of original Greek epigrams, and some Latin translations of Greek poetry and prose. The contents of the manuscript are presented below. The following list is based on an autoptic review of the entire manuscript, not only on Osorio's work.[11] The manuscript contains three different paginations: first, the continuous pagination by the same ink and likely by the same hand that wrote the text put in the upper outer corner of each page (this numbering starts again when a new work begins and it is not very consistent, as many pages are left unnumbered); second, modern pagination by folios in blue ink consigned in the upper right-hand corner that unifies all the contents of the manuscript and only used for pages that contain text (ignoring blank pages); and third, a second modern pagination by folios in red ink at the bottom, which also unifies all the contents of the codex and begins with Arabic numerals on the first folio of the poem *Victor*, with the preceding folios numbered in Roman numerals. I follow this latter pagination as given below:

1. A rendition of the Latin poem *Victor*, with added scholarly notes (*adjectis notis et emendationibus;* fols. 1r-29r).
2. The 1752-verse-long Latin hexametric poem *Guadalupe* (fols. 31v-60r), introduced by a Latin Pindaric *ode* composed of four triads in different metres (fols. 32r-33v).[12]
3. One Latin *epithalamium* of 130 verses composed by Glyconics and Pherecratian strophes entitled *In nuptias serenissimorum Principum Ludovici et Aloysiae* (fols. 62r-63v).
4. A Latin hexametric poem of 50 verses (64r–64v), which is a *gratulatio* in honour of Fray José de Monreal, an Augustinian monk.
5. A 100-verses-long Latin hexametric composition entitled *Pallas* (65r-66v).
6. Three short Latin poems of six, seven, and twelve elegiac couplets, respectively. The first is framed with the title *Aenigma*, the second is dedicated to Francisco Galvez, and the third is a mnemonic game to learn the contractions of Greek vowels (66v-67v).
7. Six Latin hymns in Sapphic and Asclepiadean strophes, iambics and epodic-iambic strophes (67v-70v).
8. Ninety-eight original Latin epigrams, written by Villerías (72r-84v).
9. Nine original Greek epigrams, written by Villerías (86r-86v).[13]

[9] Osorio Romero, 1989: 371.
[10] It is important to note that Greek characters were not printed with movable types but probably by etching of handwritten letters on a plate. We know that Hogal's printing press came to have Greek types (Sarabia Viejo, 2008: 457), but this must have happened after the printing of *Llanto de las estrellas*. The writing of the Greek notoriously matches that of Ms 1594.
[11] Osorio Romero, 1991: 383-407.
[12] The only existing edition of *Guadalupe* is Osorio Romero (1991), which contains a complete study of the poem (chapter VII: 195-257). For a discussion of Villerías' Neo-Latin poem *Guadalupe* for the English-speaking world, Laird (2010). For the history of Mexican literature, this practically unknown and scarcely studied poem is a turning point between the Baroque and Neoclassical periods, and a prelude to the Mexican Jesuit Enlightenment.
[13] Berruecos Frank, 2022, for a critical edition and study of Villerías' epigram dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe and two more of his epigrams.

10. A collection of twenty-two Greek poems with Villerías' Latin translations (87r-90v).
11. Three short Latin prose compositions grouped under the title *Farrago* (93r-100r).[14]
12. A Latin hexametric versification of the *Vulgate's* version of the *Song of Songs* (fols. 105r-113r).
13. A long Latin elegy comprising 123 couplets dedicated to the deceased King Louis I (fols. 113v-117v).[15]
14. A Latin letter to the physician Jacobus Stevenson (fols. 119r-121v).
15. A Latin translation of the treatise *De dialectis linguae Graecae* by Gregory of Corinth (125r-136v).
16. Finally, some reading notes (142r-147v).[16]

From the small section of the manuscript devoted to the collection of twenty-two Greek poems grouped under the title *Graecorum Poetarum Poematia aliquot Latina facta* (fols. 87r-90v), only eight feature in the *Anthologia Planudea*.[17] This indicates that Villerías' selection was not based solely on its editions to which he possibly had access, but rather that he included compositions from other sources.[18] The fourteen poems not featuring in the *Planudea* form a very heterogeneous and eclectic group of texts: an epigram attributed to Lucian (1);[19] two tetrastichs and two couplets by Theognis (2-5); a hexametric hexastich prefixed to the Digest (6);[20] Mimnermos' famous poem to Aphrodite (7);[21] a couplet by

[14] The first one is entitled *Unde, quando et quomodo huiusce Americae incolae propagati fuerint*; the second: *De basilisco*; the third: *De caesura carminis elegiaci.*

[15] Published in *El llanto de las estrellas* (1725).

[16] With the exception of *Guadalupe*, the original Greek epigrams (Rojas, 1983; Berruecos Frank, 2022) and Villerías' Latin translations of the Greek poems (Rojas and Quiñones, 1983), the contents of the manuscript have not been published. Osorio Romero includes some Latin epigrams and some verses of other Latin compositions, but a critical edition remains elusive.

[17] Poem 8 (Pl I^{b} 14.6 = AP 9.437) is composed of two couplets from an eighteen-line epigram attributed to Theocritos (Gow 4). Poem 9 (Pl VII.136 = AP 5.94) is a couplet from an epigram attributed to the epigrammatist Rufinus. Poem 10 (Pl III^{a} 6.23 = AP 7.524) is a couplet from an epigram of Callimachos. Poem 13 (Pl IV^{a} 11.4 [AP 16.155]) is a monostich attributed to Euodos. Poem 15 (Pl III^{a} 22.3 = AP 7.3) is an epitaph of Homer. Poem 16 (Pl IV^{a} 29.10 [AP 16.301]) is a couplet by Antipatros of Sidon dedicated to Homer, as is poem 17 (Pl IV^{a} 29.4 [AP 16.295]) and, finally, poem 22 (Pl I^{a} 13.10 = AP 10.84) is an epigram comprising two couplets by Palladas of Alexandria. Of these eight poems included in the *Anthologia Planudea*, five are also included in the *Anthologia Palatina* (Villerías 8, 9, 10, 15 and 22). The first edition of the *Palatina* by R. F. P. Brunck was not published until 1772-1776 and later by F. Jacobs (1794, 1813-1817).

[18] It is possible that Villerías had access to some editions of the *Anthologia Planudea*. Two copies of the 1606 Greek-Latin bilingual edition printed in Geneva (*ΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΗΡΩΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΩΣ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΙ ΠΟΙΗΤΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ= Poetae graeci veteres carminis heroici scriptores, qui extant omnes*) are preserved, one in the Biblioteca Palafoxiana at Puebla, the other in the Biblioteca Pública Central del Estado de Durango, as well as one more copy of the bilingual edition of 1614 printed in Geneva also in the Palafoxiana (*ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΠΟΙΗΤΑΙ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΙ. ΤΡΑΓΙΚΟΙ. ΚΩΜΙΚΟΙ. ΛΥΡΙΚΟΙ. ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΠΟΙΟΙ= Poetae graeci veteres, tragici, lyrici, comici, epigrammatarii*) which bears the fire mark of the Colegio de San Juan, so it probably belonged to the Jesuits of Puebla since the seventeenth century. I was unable to find any evidence for the existence in New Spain of copies of the anthologies of Greek epigrams by Joannes Soter (1525) and Janus Cornarius (1529), which could well have been models for Villerías, as both contain the authors' Latin translations.

[19] On likely sources available to Villerías for the reproduction of this epigram, Berruecos Frank, 2022: n. 27. This is the only epigram attributed to Lucian that has not been transmitted through either the *Palatina* or the *Planudea* (Baldwin, 1975: 311-335). Villerías could have read this epigram in one of Lucian's editions that arrived in New Spain, many of which had this epigram as a preface to Lucian's dialogues.

[20] A 1562 edition of the Digest published in Paris is preserved in the Palafoxiana library at Puebla bearing the fire mark of the Colegio de San Juan. This edition reproduced this Greek epigram on its first page with a Latin translation in hexameters by Andrea Alciato. It is very likely that Villerías collected this poem from this edition. Its inclusion, along with the epigram by A. Scala, constitutes a further connection to Poliziano's work, because the Tuscan poet had studied the primary manuscript of the Digest (known as the Pisan-Florentine *Pandectas*) in depth and made philological annotations. It should be no coincidence that two of the Greek poems included by Villerías have a connection to the person and philological work of Poliziano (see note 36).

[21] Villerías may have read these verses (*Mimnermi de Venere* = fr. 1.1-2 West) in Plut. *Mor*. 445f, as the text seems to coincide with Plutarch's version.

Simonides (11); the Renaissance epigram by Alessandra Scala (12); a couplet on Homer's homeland transmitted by Cicero and Aulus Gellius (14); an epigram for Hesiod attributed to Pindar (18); two epigrams dedicated to Nonnos of Panopolis (19 and 20: one by Florus and the other by the sixteenth-century Flemish classicist Karel Van Utenhove); and, finally, two anonymous couplets transmitted within Aeschines' *Against Ctesiphon* (21).[22]

In this paper, I present and analyse one of the poems, the longest of Villerías' collection of Greek poetry, and his Latin translation. As briefly discussed above, it has come down to us under the name of a distinguished and renowned humanist of the Italian Quattrocento, the poet Alessandra Scala, who may have composed it in response to one of the epigrams Angelo Poliziano dedicated to her. Before presenting and analysing Villerías' text and translation, I trace Poliziano's presence in New Spain and explore whether and how Villerías had been aware of Poliziano's *Liber Epigrammatum Graecorum*. Finally, I offer some considerations of the translation of classical languages in Mexico and some concluding remarks about the intellectual environment wherein the elaboration of Villerías manuscript took place.

Poliziano in Spain and New Spain

The inclusion of Alessandra Scala's epigram in Villerías' collection of Greek poems is, to the best of my knowledge, the most vital piece of information about the reception of Poliziano's poetry in New Spain. Since the epigram is included in the editions of Poliziano's complete works (in a section entitled *Liber Epigrammatum Graecorum*),[23] knowledge of it must have been mediated by reading his Greek epigrams.[24]

We know that the Neo-Latin Poliziano was read and appreciated in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, clearly evinced by the commentary of Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas (known as the Brocense) on the *Silvae*, published in Salamanca in 1554,[25] and also by his references to the Latin Poliziano in his *Comentarios* to Garcilaso and quotations from the Silva *Rusticus*.[26] It is important to

[22] The handwriting in the penultimate poem of this Greek collection (fol. 91r, epigram XXI) differs considerably from that used in all other poems (cf. Rojas and Quiñones, 1983: 231). Some ligatures appear that are not used in the other folios, yet the Latin handwriting is not significantly different. It seems that it is the same hand but for some reason, the scribe selected a different style for this poem (perhaps influenced by the source from which the text was copied). A 1604 edition of the works of Demosthenes and Aeschines published in Frankfurt (*Demosthenis et Aeschinis Principum graeciae oratorum opera*; previously belonged to the royal colleges of San Pedro and San Juan and now kept at the Palafoxiana Library at Puebla) preserves epigram XXI (p. 459, transmitted in Aeschines' *Contra Ctesiphontem*). The type of writing is very similar to that of the manuscript of Villerías, as if the scribe of Villerías'manuscript had copied it from there.

[23] Poliziano's section of Greek epigrams appears as early as the *Editio Aldina* of 1498. It is the last work in the volume entitled *Omnia Opera Angeli Politiani, et alia quaedam lectu digna*, published in Venice.

[24] The reception of Poliziano in the literature and poetry of New Spain has attracted little scholarly attention. Laird (2003: 170-171 and n. 6) briefly discusses the use of a Polizianic poetic device in F. X. Alegre's *Alexandreid*. Laird argues that in *Alex* 4.574-586, the transition from the mythical past to the poet's present is reminiscent of Poliziano's *Ambra* 590 ff. Furthermore, Laird (2006: 47) highlights the influence of Poliziano's *Rusticus* on Rafael Landívar's *Rusticatio mexicana*. The relationship between Poliziano's denomination of his Latin hexametric compositions as *Silvae* and the genre of the silva cultivated in the Gongorine poetry of New Spain, particularly in Sor Juana's *Primero Sueño*, deserves more attention than has hitherto attracted. Tenorio (2017: 285, n. 643), in a note to verse 627 of the *Primero Sueño* regarding the attestation of Themis, alludes to Poliziano's *Nutricia* as a possible model. Sor Juana, in her *Neptuno Alegórico* (1976: 361), mentions Poliziano and refers to chapter 83 of his *Miscellanea* in relation to the identification of the Egyptian god Harpocrates as the Greek god Sigalion.

[25] *Scholia Francisci Sanctii Brocensis, In Sylvas Angeli Politiani.* See Merino Jerez, 1996.

[26] *Obras del Excelente Poeta Garci Lasso de la Vega. Con anotaciones y enmiendas del Licenciado Francisco Sánchez, cathédratico de rhetorica*. See Ramajo Caño, 1992: 44.

note, as evidence of the interest in Poliziano's Neo-Latin poetry, a Spanish edition of the *Silvae* (most likely published in Alcalá de Henares), currently preserved in the British Library, which was previously believed to have been published in Lyon.[27] Two more editions of the *Silvae* were published in Salamanca in the sixteenth century: by Andrea de Portonariis in 1554 and by Pedro Lasso in 1596.[28]

Several copies of different editions of Poliziano's complete works certainly reached New Spain.[29] Currently, the Palafoxiana Library in Puebla preserves an *incunabulum* of the Aldina edition of 1498, as well as two copies, one dated to 1528 and the other to 1550, of the edition printed in Lyon by Sebastian Gryphius, and another copy of the Basel edition of 1553 printed by Nicolaus Episcopius.[30] Likewise, the Francisco de Burgoa Library in Oaxaca keeps a copy of the 1546 Lyon edition.[31] The Aldine (1498) and Basel editions (1553) print the *Liber Epigrammatum Graecorum* together with the response of Alessandra Scala.[32] It is to be expected that the 1550 edition does not include Volume III, as no copies of this particular edition which includes Volume III, have been found in any library.[33] Finally, the 1546 edition preserved in Oaxaca also contains the *Liber Epigrammatum Graecorum* (see below).

Jacques Toussain was the first to translate Poliziano's Greek epigrams into Latin in the Ascensian edition (Paris, 1519).[34] Toussain, an eminent humanist linked to the circle of Budé and the first professor of Greek at the Royal College of Paris, translated all the Greek passages of Poliziano's work.[35] Villerías himself, in the dedication of his *Descripción de la máscara, y passeo*, mentions Budé along with Andrea Alciato as paradigms of the fecundity that the study of the ancients impart to the field of law. Villerías' training in jurisprudence, which is reflected in the inclusion of the epigram of the Digest in his collection of Greek poems (see n. 20 above), could have led him to study the *Annotationes* Budé made to the Digest, a copy of whose 1534 edition published in Basel is preserved in the Biblioteca

[27] Rhodes, 1989. This is an uncatalogued book held at the British Library containing the four *Silvae* of Poliziano, most likely printed by the famous printer of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, Arnao Guillén de Brocar, and published between 1515 and 1520.

[28] De Portonariis' edition is entitled *Angeli Politiani Syluae: Nutricia, Manto, Rusticus, Ambra: poëma quidem obscurum, sed nouis nunc scholiis illustratum per Franciscum Sanctium Brocensem* (Salamanca, 1554); Lasso's: *Angeli Politiani Silvae. Nutricia, Manto, Rusticus, Ambra. Cum scholiis Francisci Sanctii Brocensis* (Salamanca, 1596). An edition of *De Portonariis*, printed in Salamanca in 1554, entitled *Dialectica Aristotelis*, and preserved in the Armando Olivares Carrillo Library of the University of Guanajuato, contains the *Organon cum argumentiis Politiani*.

[29] Full discussion and compendium of the printed editions of Poliziano that included the entire *Liber epigrammatum graecorum* or some epigrams or groups of epigrams, in Pontani, 2002: lxx-xcii.

[30] The *incunabulum* became part of the collection of the Palafoxiana Library in the eighteenth century, when the bishop of Puebla, Francisco Fabián y Fuero, confiscated the books of the Jesuits after their expulsion from Mexico. Originally, this volume belonged to the Jesuits of Puebla and probably entered New Spain in the seventeenth century. The other three editions of Poliziano in the Palafoxiana, all dated to the sixteenth century, are registered in the manuscript catalogues after the seventeenth century. I am very grateful to Elvia Carreño for her help in these matters and, in particular, for her valuable indications on the fire marks.

[31] This edition, as its fire mark affirms, was part of the second group of works that formed the library of the Convent of Santo Domingo of Oaxaca (seventeenth century).

[32] I was not able to review the 1528 edition in Puebla and establish the inclusion of Greek epigrams. The catalographic information does not indicate if the library holds the first tome only (in which case it cannot contain the Greek epigrams) or the third tome too. As Pontani indicates (2002: lxxiii-lxxiv), Gryphius printed the three volumes of Poliziano's work on several occasions between 1528 and 1550. Still, it seems that he did not always print all three at the same time since only single volumes are known today.

[33] Pontani, 2002: lxxiv.

[34] Pontani, 2002: 254-257. Before Toussain, only two Latin versions of the epigram XXI by Hummelberg in the sixteenth century are known, preserved in the manuscript Mon. Lat. 4007 (Pontani, 2002: 253).

[35] Pontani, 2002: 254.

Palafoxiana at Puebla.[36] The link between Budé and Toussain, coupled with Villerías' admiration for Budé and his penchant for Latin translations of Greek poetry, speaks in favour of Villerías' particular interest in Toussain's translations. These translations feature in the editions printed in Lyon by Gryphius and in the Basel edition of 1553, in the appendix entitled *Latina interpretatio eorum que graece habentur in Angeli Politiani operibus* (pp. 644-665). Toussain's translations, due to their lack of elegance and literalism, are not particularly enjoyable.[37] It is very likely that Villerías consulted these translations and attempted to improve them (and keep the poetic form of the original, contrary to Toussain).

Translations and imitations of Poliziano were scarce in the eighteenth century, a period of drastic decline in readings of his Greek poetry compared to the previous centuries.[38] Hence, a Latin translation composed thousands of miles away in the colonial periphery of New Spain is in itself a remarkable finding for Poliziano studies. It is worth emphasising, however, that Villerías decided to select for his collection not a Greek epigram of Poliziano, but Alessandra Scala's response, thus endowing his collection with a strange, surely little-known element in New Spain.

Villerías modelled his undertaking to anthologise Greek poems with his Latin translations on Renaissance projects of recovering Greek poetic heritage. By selecting and integrating a Greek epigram from one of the *decus Italiae virgines*,[39] Villerías proclaimed his subscription to a movement of revitalisation of Greek that asserted to be analogous to that of Quattrocento Italy across the ocean. Nevertheless, this urgency to revive Greek poetry and composition remained cloistered in a manuscript that never reached the printing press and remained unknown for decades, as if its fate reflected the fate of knowledge and interest in Greek language and literature in New Spain.

Alessandra Scala's Greek Epigram to Poliziano in Villerías' Manuscript (Epigram XII)

Born in 1475, Alessandra Scala was a highly cultivated woman with outstanding knowledge of classical languages.[40] Alessandra studied Greek close to two of the most prestigious Hellenists of the Florentine Quattrocento, Janus Laskaris and Demetrios Chalkokondyles, and she was also a student of Poliziano himself. Unfortunately, only two of her works survive: the Greek epigram to Poliziano and a letter in Latin addressed to Cassandra Fedele, a Venetian learned woman who corresponded with Poliziano and Alessandra's father, Bartolomeo Scala.[41]

[36] *Annotationes in quatuor et viginti pandectarum libros*. The copy bears the fire mark of the Colegio de San Juan, which again suggests it belonged to the Jesuits of Puebla perhaps since the seventeenth century. Villerías probably knew and read this copy.
[37] Pontani, 2002: 256.
[38] Pontani, 2002: 264-267. Only a French translation of an epigram (LIII) by Louis Chavannes de Rancé around 1700, a Latin translation of the same epigram by Anton Maria Salvini in the first half of the century, and a cento combining verses of epigrams III and XXVI by G. C. Astori and published in 1760, are preserved.
[39] Poliziano opens his first letter to Cassandra Fedele with a phrase reminiscent of the words Turnus addresses to Camilla (Vir. *Aen.* 11.508). Cf. Jardine, 1985.
[40] Pesenti (1925) collects all the information we have about Alessandra. Robin, Larsen et al. (2007: 332-333) also contains important information and the most relevant bibliography. Jardine (1985) analyses in depth the life and work of five distinguished intellectual women of the Italian Renaissance of the fifteenth century (I. Nogarola, C. Varano, C. Fedele, L. Cereta, and A. Scala) and, in particular, the way in which specialised studies on Italian humanism have indulgently viewed them as a construct, that of the refined and educated woman, always in the shadow of the male, thus degrading their achievements and contributions to culture and humanism as secondary works of learned women admired and praised by the great male humanists. The much more recent study by Feng (2017) approaches Poliziano's epigrams to Scala and her epigram to him from a feminist perspective and as part of the broader context of humanist Petrarchism. Following Jardine, Feng (2017: 95-96) analyses the mechanisms through which Poliziano depersonalises first Fedele and then Scala by turning them into a kind of archetype of feminine worth.
[41] Pesenti, 1925: 249.

The textual tradition of the epigram is twofold. On the one hand, it is preserved in the Aldina edition of Poliziano's complete works published in 1498 (and in the successive editions dependent on it), whose section containing the *Liber Epigrammatum Graecorum* was edited by Zanobi Acciaiuoli, a Dominican friar and scholar of the Greek language.[42] On the other hand, it is included without indication of authorship or addressee in an autograph manuscript by Janus Lascaris (the Vaticanus Graecus 1412, fol. 62).[43] Some scholars attribute the differences between the Aldina and the Vaticanus to Poliziano, whereas others view them as inevitable corruptions of the manuscript.[44] Perhaps Alessandra recycled this poem, initially dedicated to Poliziano, by re-dedicating it later to Lascaris, but more probably, Lascaris might have helped Alessandra with its composition. Some parallels with Greek epigrams composed by Lascaris seem to support this hypothesis.[45]

The section of the manuscript 1594 entitled *Graecorum Poetarum Poematia aliquot latina facta* consists of six folios (87r-90v) containing twenty-two poems numbered with Roman numerals. The only existing edition of these poems is by Rojas and Quiñones (1983), who, after a brief introduction that does not discuss the sources of Villerías, complement their edition with Spanish translations of both Greek and Latin texts.[46]

Below, I present an edition of epigram XII with minor orthographic corrections, followed by a critical apparatus. In the apparatus, I record some corrections to the text supported by the readings of the Aldina, the other editions of Poliziano that reached New Spain, and the text of the Lascaris manuscript (Vat. Graec.). The latter, which nowadays are preferred by Poliziano's editors, have been included only in the critical apparatus (see above all the variants of verses 4, 12, and 14).[47] Essentially, I publish the text as it is in the manuscript, limiting myself to minor corrections that the reader will be able to corroborate in the apparatus (mainly the placement of accents and breathings).[48] Some spellings and forms in the text are not correct, but it is important to record them in this way in order to give an account of how Greek was written by this author in early eighteenth-century Mexico.

Villerías' Greek compositions, of which we only have 30 verses, contain several spelling mistakes (incorrect placement or omission of breathings and accents, confusion between consonants, e.g., θ for τ, and vowels, e.g., υ for ι) and confusion of the gender of nouns (e.g., *χάον* in his epigram to the Virgin of Guadalupe). Regardless, they show his good knowledge of Greek dialects, which he tries to exhibit, his adequate understanding of prosody (for his hexameters and pentameters are in most cases correctly scanned), and the use of verbal modes, despite the occasional awkward syntax.[49] After long consideration and much deliberation with the reviewers of the paper over the most appropriate way to publish the text, I opted to make some minor spelling corrections and abstain from invasive corrections.

[42] Redigonda, 1960: 93-94.
[43] Pontani, 2002: 143.
[44] Pesenti, 1925: 259; Perosa apud Pontani, 2002: 143.
[45] Pesenti, 1925: 258-259; Pontani, 2002: 143. One of the anonymous reviewers of this paper pointed out to me arguments supporting the view that Lascaris was probably the one who wrote this epigram to mock Poliziano's love for Alessandra.
[46] Rojas and Quiñones, 1983: 229-266.
[47] Pontani, 2002; Knox, 2019.
[48] The apparatus does not include all the errors in Villerías' text, but only a selection of those that were deemed the most significant. The aim was to determine the edition from which Villerías extracted the text (with particular attention to punctuation), and provide insight into the modes of learning, appropriation, and reproduction of Greek in eighteenth-century Mexico.
[49] Berruecos Frank, 2022.

Alexandrae Scalae Poëtriae ad Ang. Politianum
Carmen XII

Οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν αἴνοιο παρ' ἔμφρονος ἀνδρὸς ἄμεινον,
κἀκ σέθεν αἶνος ἔμοι γ' οἷον ἄειρε κλέος.
πολλοὶ τριοβόλοι, παῦροι δέ τε μάντιές εἰσιν,
εὗρες, ἄρ' οὐχ εὗρες οὐδ' ὄναρ ἠνθίασας.

φῆ γὰρ ὁ θεῖος ἀοιδός ἄγει θεὸς ἐς τὸν ὁμοῖον
οὐδὲν ἀλεξάνδρῃ σοῦ δ' ἀνομοιότερον.
ὡς σὺ γ' ὁποῖα δανούβιος ἐκ ζόφου ἐς μέσον ἦμαρ
καῦθις ἐπ' ἀντολίην αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα χέεις.

φωναῖς δ' ἐν πλείσταις σόντοι κλέος ἠέρ' ἐλαστρεῖ
Ἑλλάδι, ῥωμαϊκῇ, ἑβραικῇ, λυδίῃ.
ἄστρα, φύσις, δ' ἀριθμοί, ποιήματα, κύρβις, ἰατροὶ
Ἀλκείδην καλέει σ' ἀντιμεθελκόμενα.

τἀμὰ δὲ παρθενικῆς σπουδάσματα, παίγνιά φασι
Βόκχορις ἐξείποι, ἄνθεα, καὶ δρόσος ὥς.
τοὶ γὰρ μηδ' ἐλέφαντος ἐναντία βόμβον ἀείρω,
αἴλουρον Παλλάς, καὶ σύ γ' ὑπερφρονέεις.

1 ἄρ *correxi* | ανδρὸς *correxi* || **2** κἀκ σέθεν *et Villerías* (*non* κακόηθεν, *ut aiunt Rojas-Quiñones*) | ἔμοι γ' *1546 Lyon, Villerías* : ἔμοιγ' *debuerunt, cf. Vat., Ald., 1553 Bas.* || **3** τριοβόλοι *1546 Lyon, Villerías* (*non* τριόβολοι, *ut aiunt Rojas-Quiñones*) : θριοβόλοι *Vat., Ald., 1553 Bas.* | μάντιες *1546 Lyon, Villerías* || **4** Εὗρες *correxi* | *virgula post* εὗρες *1546 Lyon, 1553 Bas., Villerías*: *sine virgula. Ald.* | *punctum interrogationis post* ἄρ' *Vat.* | οὐχ εὗρες γ' *Vat.* | ὁυδ' *correxi* | ἠντίασας *debuit, cf. Vat., Ald., 1546 Lyon, 1553 Bas.* || **5** ἀοιδὸς *correxi* | ἐς *Ald., 1546 Lyon, 1553 Bas., Villerías* : ὡς *Vat.* || **7** ἦμαρ *debuit, cf. Vat.* : ἤμαρ *Ald., 1546 Lyon* : ἥμαρ *1553 Bas.* || **8** καῦθις *correxi* || **9** σόντοι *1546 Lyon, Villerías* : σόν τοι *debuerunt, cf. Vat., Ald., 1553 Bas.* | κλέοις *correxi cum Vat., Ald., 1553 Bas.* : κλέως *1546 Lyon, Villerías mg.*| ἦερ *correxi* || **10** Ελλαδι *correxi* | λυδίῃ *Ald., 1546 Lyon, 1553 Bas., Villerías* : ἰδίῃ *Vat.* || **11** ασρα *correxi* | φύσις, δ' *1546 Lyon, Villerías* : φύσις δ' (*sine uirgula*) *Vat., Ald., 1553 Bas.* | κύρβις *et Villerías* (*non* κύρβεις, *ut aiunt Rojas-Quiñones*) || **12** Ἀλκείδην καλέει σ' *Ald., 1546 Lyon, 1553 Bas., Villerías* : Ἡρακλῆν καλέουσ' *Vat.* || **13** παίγνια φασὶ *correxi* : παίγνιά τ' αἰνῶς *Vat.* || **14** ἐξείποι *Ald., 1546 Lyon, 1553 Bas., Villerías* : εἰ κρίναις *Vat.* | ὣς *correxi* || **15** *Ald., 1553 Bas.* : τὸι γαρ μηδ' *1546 Lyon, Villerías* : τοιγὰρ μήτ' *Vat.* | *virgula post* ἀείρω *1546 Lyon, 1553 Bas., Villerias* : *sine virgula Vat., Ald.* || **16** αιλουρον παλλὰς *correxi* | *virgula post* Παλλάς *1546 Lyon, 1553 Bas., Villerías* : *sine virgula Vat., Ald.*

Nothing could be better than the praise of a wise man,
and what fame your praise has brought me!
Stone-casters abound, but soothsayers are scarce.
You found [me], but rather you didn't find [me], you didn't even meet with a dream.

For as the divine poet says "the god leads [similar] to the similar"
but nothing is more dissimilar to Alessandra than you.
For, like the Danube, you make high currents flow from the West to the South
and then again to the East.

In many languages, your fame runs through the air
in Greek, in Latin, in Hebrew, in Lydian.
The stars, nature, numbers, poetry, tablets of law and physicians
call you Alcides, pulling you this way and that.

Mine, they say, are more like girlish studies and games,
Bocchoris would call them flowers as if they were dew.
In front of the elephant, I won't even raise a buzz,
but you, certainly, like Pallas, despise a kitten.

Leaving aside for the moment the orthographic errors – almost exclusively missing accents and breathings, erroneous collocation of accents and punctuation, and a couple of *voces nihili* (vv. 3-4), the comparison between the Aldina, the Lyon edition of 1546, and the Basel edition of 1553 suggests that Villerías possibly reproduced the text from the Lyon edition preserved in Oaxaca and consulted the Basel edition at some point. Similarities between Villerías' manuscript and the Lyon and Basel editions include the following:

a) the use of the ligature  for the ending -ος (vv. 1, 2, 7, and 14; not used in the Aldina);
b) the use of ς for the consonant cluster -στ (vv. 9 and 11), which also occurs in the Aldina;
c) the use of the ligature 8 to represent the diphthong -ου (vv. 4, 6, and 13; not used in the last verses nor by the Aldina);
d) in verse 4, they add a comma after the first εὗρες.
e) in verse 15, they place a comma at the end of the line and in line 16, another after Παλλάς (not in the Aldina).

Still, stronger arguments demonstrate the clear dependence of the text of Villerías' manuscript on the Lyon edition:

a) In verse 2, the scribe of our manuscript incorrectly separates the pronoun ἐμοί from the particle γε but retains the accent on the epsilon; precisely the same happens in the Lyon edition.
b) In verse 3, both our manuscript and the Lyon edition read τριοβόλοι, an unattested form of Greek, instead of θριοβόλοι in the Aldina and Basel editions.[50]
c) In verse 9, the copyist tried to make a ligature without much success, and an ink stain remained (it seems to be κλέοις).[51] What is striking is that in the margin, the same hand writes the *vox nihili* κλέως and it is precisely this form that the Lyon edition reads. Moreover, in the same verse, both our manuscript and the Lyon edition read the unattested form σόντοι without separating the two words (but σόν τοι in the Vat. Graec., the Aldina, and the Basel edition).
d) In verse 11, the Aldine and Basel editions read the postpositive particle δ' after φύσις (omitted in the Vat. Graec.) but only Villerías' manuscript and the Lyon edition inexplicably add a comma between the noun and the particle. I think this error, which reveals a lack of knowledge of the postpositive function of the particle δὲ, is a sufficiently significant element to demonstrate, together with other similarities detailed above, the dependence of our manuscript on the Lyon edition.

[50] The neuter form, τριόβολον exists, albeit very rare, and is a form of the more frequent τριώβολον. However, the form copied in the manuscript cannot correspond to a neuter noun. To complicate matters, Quiñones and Rojas (1983: 239) correct the erroneous form of the manuscript with another non-existent form (τριόβολοι). As Stefanos Apostolou suggested in an oral communication, the form τριοβόλοι resembles closely forms of the word in modern Greek, which is interesting because it could reveal a certain interaction between Ancient, Byzantine Greek, and demotic idioms that would be reflected in this particular reading preserved in the Lyon edition.
[51] Rojas and Quiñones, 1983: 252.

As its fire mark indicates, this printed volume of the Lyon edition (1546) was part of the second group of works that comprised the Convent of Santo Domingo library at Oaxaca. Hence, it was already part of the convent's collection, possibly as early as the seventeenth century.

It is difficult to determine whether Ms 1594 is an autograph manuscript. The numerous orthographical errors in Greek, both in the original epigrams and in the collection of poems translated into Latin, indicate that the scribe had inadequate knowledge of Greek. Nevertheless, the regularity and consistency with which the ligatures are used suggest that the scribe had good experience in copying Greek texts.

Osorio states with certainty that several copies of the epigrams of Villerías were in circulation in the eighteenth century.[52] Osorio concludes that, although the errors in the Greek do not suffice to deny the attribution of the manuscript to Villerías (on the grounds that scribes tended to make corrections to the text as they wrote or after later revisions), they do seem to suggest that the manuscript is a copy of Villerías' original. Any suggestions to settle this question will remain hypothetical, but I believe there is reason to suggest that the manuscript could be autographed.[53]

Pending further palaeographic analysis, errors in Greek (accents, letters, punctuation, and others) provide insight into the modes of learning, appropriation, and reproduction of this language in eighteenth-century Mexico. They do not imply total ignorance of the language but rather a hasty hand and a lack of care when copying texts. I hypothesise that Villerías carelessly copied Greek texts in a manuscript he used for notes and drafts when he was learning the language, and he had the unique opportunity to hold the books of the Colegio de San Juan library in his hands. Later, when he was preparing Ms 1594, he returned to his earlier notes, selected the texts to include in his new manuscript, and reproduced them as he saw them therein. All this in the hope that, when his manuscript reached the press, he would have the opportunity to improve the text and purge those errors.

An epigram composed of two Greek elegiac couplets that appear in the book printed in 1725 (Joseph Bernardo de Hogal) *Llanto de las estrellas al ocaso de sol anochecido en el oriente*, after the Latin elegy in honour of Louis I, shed light on the authorship. It was not printed with movable types but by etching (i.e., text etched on a metal plate). The same epigram appears in Ms 1594 (fol. 86v) with some differences, yet it seems that both have been written by the same hand. Villerías, who had published a book with that publisher, must have known that de Hogal, at some point after 1725, came to possess Greek types.[54] I suggest that Villerías intended this manuscript to be published by this printer and hoped to participate actively in the process. It is difficult to establish a reliable hypothesis about Villerías's specific relationship with the edition of Poliziano published in Lyon in 1546 and held at the library of the convent of Santo Domingo of Oaxaca. Did the book pass through Puebla or Mexico city? Did Villerías consult it at the time of writing Ms 1594? At any rate, the philological arguments are solid in this regard, in particular, the reading κλέως in the margin of verse 9.

[52] Osorio Romero, 1991: 71-72 adduces a codex of José Antonio Bermúdez (see note 83) purportedly containing a Greek epigram of Villerías. To date, I have not been able to find this codex.

[53] When this article was about to be published, it came to my attention that in the Central Library of the National Autonomous University of Mexico there is a copy of an epistolary of Erasmus of Rotterdam published in Freiburg of Brisgovia in 1532 (Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami, Epistolae Palaeonaeoi). In its margins, the copy contains Latin translations of the Greek terms of the epistolary signed with the name of Joseph Villerias y Roelas (accesit versio marginalis Graecarum vocum per Joseph Villeriam Roelaeum). The handwriting is clearly the same as that of the manuscript examined here, which is proof that it is an autograph manuscript. I am grateful to Pedro Emilio Rivera Díaz for bringing this to my attention.

[54] Sarabia Viejo, 2008: 457, and this text note 10. In the *Aprilis dialogus* authored by the Jesuit Vicente López (published in the *Anteloquia* of Eguiara y Eguren's *Bibliotheca Mexicana* in 1755), a debate between a Belgian, an Italian, and a Spaniard over the quality of American intellectual endeavours, the Belgian character alludes to the lack of Greek types in New Spain and the novelty they represented for book printing in the eighteenth century, promoted by Eguiara y Eguren.

Villerías' Latin Translation: An Early Component of the History of Translation of Classical Languages in Mexico

Right after the Greek text, a Latin translation in elegiac couplets immediately catches the eye, because it is not a literal translation but a creative rendition of the epigram. Unlike Greek, which Villerías knew imperfectly and whose use in the manuscript displays notable errors, his mastery of Latin is palpable. It is precisely in his translations that Villerías' originality as a Neo-Latin poet becomes apparent. The comparison between Villerías' translation and Toussain's Latin rendition for the 1519 Paris Ascension edition exposes fundamental differences: Toussain's is a literal translation in prose, whereas Villerías' is a liberal translation in verse.

One wonders why Villerías chose to translate the epigrams into Latin instead of Spanish. Why did he opt to provide a translation of a text in an elitist language only few would understand into another, similarly elitist language?[55] The answer to this must lie in the models Villerías felt he inherited in assembling this collection and the poetic projects he emulated. Alessandra Scala's epigram and the collection from which it comes, Poliziano's vulgate, offer a very clear answer: Villerías wanted to emulate the Hellenising muse of the Italian Quattrocento, which is why the longest poem in his anthology was taken from that collection. Villerías himself explains, not without irony and sarcasm, the reason for his Latinising efforts. The section of the manuscript that contains his original Latin epigrams opens with the following poem (fol. 72r):[56]

> Mexiceas Latium cur quaeram natus ab undas
> noxia limosus fert ubi stagna lacus.
> Barbarus insuetam cur tentem visere Romam,
> quaerere sollicitus, lector amice,[57] potes.
> Scilicet ut mendum quod te repraehendere[58] posses
> erranti excuset lingua aliena mihi.
>
> Why, born in the Mexican waves,
> where the silty lake drags the noxious stagnant waters,
> did I seek Latium? You may ponder, dear reader,
> over the reasons a barbarian solicitously strives to frequent strange Rome.
> So that you may excuse me when I err
> since I write in a strange tongue.[59]

[55] Osorio Romero (1991: 79) asks the same question.
[56] Osorio Romero, 1991: 89.
[57] This interpellation to the reader is reminiscent of Martial's epigram (5.16.1-2): *Seria cum possim, quod delectantia malo/ Scribere, tu causa es,* ***lector amice****, mihi* and Ovid's *Tristes* (3.1.2): *Da placidam fesso,* ***lector amice****, manum.*
[58] I am grateful to one of the anonymous reviewers, who insightfully suggested that in this verse the spelling of the verb *repraehendere* borders on a metrical flaw, which is possibly a deliberate *mendum*, as the verse states.
[59] Author's translation. I am grateful to one of the anonymous reviewers of this paper for drawing my attention to the fact that these verses also echo the prologue of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (in particular the *exotici ac forensis sermonis rudis*, 1.1.5), as does Cato's disapproval, reported by Gellius (11.8) of the Greek used in the Annals of Albus Albinus. On the reading of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* in Latin in New Spain and particularly of its prologue, Laird, 2021 and García Ehrenfeld (forthcoming).

Villerías focuses not on his prominence as a Latinist but on his possible shortcomings. These verses clearly exhibit the modesty (as is common in many Latin poets) that tends to be rather a statement of exclusivity, through which it is affirmed that only a few will be able to perceive the richness of his poetry.

Hereunder, I present the Latin text followed by some notes on *loci similes* and intertexts and a selective analysis of how Villerías translates Greek. The primary purpose is to draw attention to a significant and little-known historical fact among contemporary Mexican students of classical literature about the history of translation of classical languages in Mexico. A tendency to defend faithful, literal translations at all costs remains prevalent among Mexican translators of Greek and Latin. The roots of this approach go back to Rubén Bonifaz Nuño, who, in the introductory pages of his Spanish translations of Greek and Latin texts in the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Mexicana* (BSGRM),[60] repeatedly makes this principle explicit.[61] Apart from the specific discussion of this issue, which exceeds the purpose of this paper, what is striking is that, over the course of three centuries, the politics of translation of classical texts in Mexico has been forcefully turned away from Villerías' model. The most important and renowned translation in colonial Mexico, Francisco Xavier Alegre's Latin translation of the *Iliad*, published in Bologna in 1776 and later in Rome in 1788, is a translation *ad sententiam*.[62] Villerías constitutes a completely forgotten chapter in the history of translation of classical languages in Mexico.

Pulchrius a magno nil est quam vate probari,
At te laudari, gloria qualis erit?
Multi trioboli quoniam paucique poëtae:
Ecce adsum sed minime, quae tibi in umbra aderam.

Namque ait ad similem doctus vir quemque moveri,
At quid Alexandrae sit tibi nunc simile?
Nam velut Ister aquas ex occasu fundit in Austrum
Atque ortum, refluens sic prope cuncta rigas.

[60] The first bilingual collection in Latin America with a history of nearly eighty years (since 1944).

[61] For example, in the introduction to his translation of Propertius' *Elegies* (1983), he says: 'I do not conceive, in order to translate a classic, any other way or any other objective than literalism; to achieve it, the version must not be from meaning to meaning, because with this system the original author is ultimately subjected to the goodwill of the subjective interpretation of his translator, but from word to word, which allows (...) a more truly objective and certain approach to the meaning of the original' (p. LXII). In his translation of the *Aeneid* (1972), he says: 'I have preferred to stick to the most complete literalism (...) instead of searching for the essence of the original by means of the system, always shoddy and ignoble, when it comes to translating a classical work, which involves paraphrastic dilution' (p. CLXIII). In his translation of Virgil's *Georgics* (1963): 'I have tried to slavishly stick to the original (...) I have not tried to invent anything; I have not tried to explain anything. I have only worked to place, in front of each Latin word, the mirror of a Spanish word' (p. XXXVII). The next generation of Mexican translators of classical languages continued to abide by this standard. Eminent examples are the translations of Bulmaro Reyes Coria (almost all of Cicero), or those of Pedro Tapia Zúñiga: the *Odyssey*; Callimachos' *Hymns and Epigrams*; Aratos' *Phenomena*; and the fragments of Gorgias, in whose prologue the translator notes (1980: VIII): 'It was sought in synthesis that the translation of the fragments be a faithful and exact reflection of the original.'

[62] In the preface (p. VIII, *editio romana*), Alegre explains that he tried to express not the words but the spirit of the prince of poets (*Poetarum igitur Principis mentem, non verba, latinis versibus exprimere conati*). A few pages earlier (p. V) he warns that some consider *verbum a verbo* versions preferable to more liberal translations. He offers as an example Henri Estienne's criticism of free translations in his analysis of Poliziano's Latin translation of Herodian's *Histories*: their defect is that, in eagerly pursuing the elegance of the Latin language, they stray further from the Greek original, so that it cannot be easily distinguished what in the Latin version corresponds to the Greek text. Cf. García de Paso Carrasco and Rodríguez Herrera, 1998: 285-286; Osorio Romero, 1986: 89-90.

Vocibus et variis tua lingua discutit undas
Graiis, Romanis, Hebraicis, Lydiis.
Naturam, numeros, medicinam, carmina, leges,
Vindex Alcides, restituis Latio.

At meo virgineo ludunt epigrammata more
Bocchyris ut dicat flos quasi, rosque fugax.
Cur resonans elephanta petam sic dispari bombo?
Aelurum, Pallas, tu quoque temnis item.

2 A te | **5** quenque | **7** occassu | **8** refluens mg. : undis a.r.

1 *Pulchrius*: The position of this comparative adjective in the hexameter is not common in classical Latin poetry; it is used only by Propertius (2.3.34) and Statius (*Silv*. 1.1.35). In Christian poetry of late antiquity, it is used in Venantius Fortunatus and Dracontius. *probari*: The location of this passive infinitive as *clausula* of the verse is uncommon in classical poetry, but is employed twice by Lucretius (1.513, 2.499), once by Ovid (*Epist*. 17.127), a couple of times by Statius (*Silv*. 4.6.109 and 5.1.42) and in three passages of Martial. It is also sparingly used in late antiquity poetry (Ausonius, Claudian, and Corippus, among others). The iunctura *vate probari* is used in an epigram by the Croatian-Hungarian poet Janus Pannonius (1434-1472), included in his *Poemata*, a praise to the Italian humanist Niccolò Perotti (Book I. XXXII, v. 7, p. 572, edited in Utrecht in 1784, therefore unknown to Villerías). The intertext is interesting not because it could be an influence of Villerías, but rather because it coincides with his poetic phraseology.
2 *At te laudari*: this phrase seems to lack a preposition suitable for an agent, like *abs*. *gloria qualis erit*: This phrase is non-existent in classical poetry but appears in the Neo-Latin poem *Geminae coronae carmeli carmina* by Fray Antonio di San Nicolò published in Naples in 1694, comprising elegiac couplets on the lives of Carmelite saints (carmen XVII.212: *Aetheris Arctoi, gloria qualis erit*?). Villerías' interest in the order of the Discalced Carmelites is demonstrated by his rendition in royal octaves published in 1728 (see above) of Fray Gabriel Cerrada's devotional *Escudo triunfante del carmelo*.
3 The Greek verse is a straightforward recreation of *Anth. Graec. App*. 4.19, with the minor variation of εἰσιν instead of ἄνδρες. This verse is quoted in all the paroemiographers. The αἴτιον of the verse is that Apollo uttered it after Zeus entrusted him with the management of the oracles disavowing the psephomancy invented by Athena.[63] In a section dedicated to the Latin translation of the proverbs compiled by Zenodotus of his *Opera multifarii argumenti*, published in 1562 in Basel, Gilbert Cousin (1506-1572), the French humanist and private secretary of Erasmus, translated this verse as *Multi trioboli, pauci vates*.
4 This line has no identifiable intertexts in classical poetry. The verbal form *aderam* is never used in classical hexameter poetry as the clausula of a verse. The scansion of the pentameter is incorrect, although it seems that Villerías composed the verse thinking of a very violent synalepha (non-existent but phonologically understandable) between *adsum sed*. Another possibility is that if the manuscript is a copy of a previous one, the copyist has corrupted the text; possible readings that do not hinder the scansion could be *ecce adsum et* or *ecce adsum at* or *ecce adsum*? *Minime quae…* The iunctura *ecce adsum* seems typical of religious texts. Interestingly, Francisco Xavier Alegre, in his translation of the *Iliad* (10.210), uses this iunctura.
5 *namque ait*: this iunctura is attested only in a passage of Ovid (*Fast*. 6, 21) and in Stat. *Achil.* 1.494, according to some manuscripts. *ad similem*: the phrase is not proper to classical Latin poetic diction and is attested only in a sentence of Publilius Syrus (Sent. App. 83) and in a verse of the fifth-century CE Gallic poet Paulinus Petricordis (*de vita Martini* 5.818). *doctus vir*: the couple is not attested in any Latin hexameter poet, while the infinitive *moveri* is very common as clausula of a verse.
7 This hexameter is not well scanned, probably not because of a corruption of the original text since the prepositional syntagm *ex occasu* translates the Greek ἐκ ζόφου literally.[64]
9 The Lucretian and Virgilian clausula (*de rerum natura* 4.341, *Georg*. 3.357*) discutit umbras* resounds in the end of the verse, while *tua lingua* occurs in 11 passages of Venantius Fortunatus.

[63] Pontani, 2022: 144.
[64] I am grateful to one of the reviewers for bringing this to my attention.

12 *restituis Latio*: this closure is very relevant because, besides radically changing the meaning of the original, it is a phrase used by Poliziano himself in his famous elegy dedicated to the humanist and poet Bartolomeo della Fonte, editor of classical texts and translator, with whom he had first enjoyed a friendship before becoming bitter enemies (*Ad Bartholomaeum Fontium*, v.215-216: *Sic tu, quos rapuit nobis cariosa vetustas/Restituis Latio, Vespasiane, viros*).[65]
13 In an epigram by the seventeenth-century Dutch Neo-Latin poet Gulielmus Hornius, there appears a hexameter similar to that of Villerías: *At mea, sub tenui, ludunt epigrammata, velo*.[66]
15 *elephanta petam*: the phrase is found in an epigram by the Italian Renaissance poet Lancino Curzio: *ignotus licet ipse elephanta petam ore culex*.[67]

There is nothing more beautiful than to be approved by a great poet,
however, where would be the glory in receiving praise from you?
Trifles abound, but poets are scarce:
Here I am present, but not quite, since for you I remain in the shadows.

And since a learned man says that one is drawn to one's like,
to what you now, however, do you resemble Alessandra?
For as the Istros sheds its waters, from sunset to Austre and Ortho,
so you, ebbing near, irrigate all things.

And your tongue cleaves the waves with varied voices:
Greek, Roman, Hebraic, and Lydian.
Nature, numbers, medicine, poems, and laws
you restore to Latium, avenging Alcides.

My epigrams, however, amuse in the manner of maidens,
that Bocchiris would almost call them flower, fleeting dew.
Why resounding thus with disparate humming, shall I try to beat the elephant?
In the same way you too, Pallas, despise the cat.

From the very first verse, the lucid translation creates a well-crafted hexameter that incorporates the complex connotations of Greek to Latin flawlessly. Villerías changes the comparative adjective ἄμεινον at the end of v. 1 into *pulchrius*, places it at the beginning of v. 1 of the Latin translation and replaces the noun αἴνοιο with the passive verb *probari*. It is interesting to note the complex semantics of the Greek word αἶνος. Whereas in Scala's epigram it clearly means 'praise', in the Latin version it conveys the sense of 'approval', so that in the following verse, when the Greek uses the same noun, Villerías chooses another passive verb, *laudari*. The noun repetition is replaced by two infinitives, thus bestowing greater semantic and sonorous richness on the couplet. This clearly demonstrates the eloquence of Villerías' version, which keeps a very long distance from Toussain's literal version with its calque *laude* and *laudatio*. Villerías takes more liberty in translating the Greek ἔμφρονος ἀνδρός, in the same verse, as *magno vate*. Again, Toussain's version calques the expression with *prudente viro*.

In v. 3, Villerías translates the Greek μάντιές by *poëtae*, unlike Toussain's *vates*, which Villerías had already used in verse 1. More creative freedom emerges in v. 4, although this time it results in a wrongly scanned pentameter. With verbs in the first person (*adsum* and *aderam*) rather than in

[65] Knox, 2019: 240-255.
[66] Hornius, 1717: 777 (*Epigrammatum Liber* XXX).
[67] Curzio, 1521: 144 (*Liber Vicessimus*).

the second, the verse prioritises the poet's voice over that of her addressee. Instead of reproducing the epanalepsis of the verb ('you found me but failed to find me': εὕρες καὶ οὐχ εὕρες = *invenisti... non invenisti* in Toussain's translation), which creates a connection with the first line of Poliziano's epigram XXX (εὕρηχ' εὕρηχ'), Villerías paraphrases the hemistich: 'I am here but barely present, only a shadow for you'. Interestingly, in Villerías' version, Alessandra's assertive rejection of Poliziano is softened and transformed into a female reproach to the male's lack of attention. This change of focus, manifested by the change of gender in the poetic voice, reveals a masculine reappropriation of the female voice, wherein the refusal is transformed into a radically different gesture: the complaint. In any case, it is significant that the poet scans the verse wrongly whenever the translation deviates the most from the original.

In v. 5, Villerías translates θεῖος ἀοιδός as *doctus vir* instead of Toussain's literal *divinus poëta*, and turns the active verb ἄγει of the Homeric quotation from the Greek to a passive infinitive (*moveri*). It seems as if the translator systematically wanted to depart from the literal possibilities, having in mind to create an original Latin poetic diction.

In vv. 7-8, Villerías uses ancient terms (*Ister* for the Danube, *Austro* for midday, and *orto* for the east) and ventures a more complex periphrasis than the original Greek. Instead of a single verb in the second person referring to the addressee of the poem, who is being compared to the Danube (χέεις), the Latin comprises a period with two verbs and a participle: *fundit* (referring to the Istro), *rigas*, and *refluens* (both referring to the addressee of the poem).[68] Notably, in verse 7 the hexameter does not scan but it stutters precisely when the translator tries to render the Greek literally: by translating the prepositional phrase ἐκ ζόφου into Latin as *ex occasu,* the hexameter rhythm is lost.

In v. 9, again, Villerías liberally effaces the word κλέος of the original (which in v. 2 he translated as *gloria*) and thus transforms the image of fame rushing through the air (κλέος ἠέρ' ἐλαστρεῖ) by that of the tongue cleaving the waves of the sea (*lingua discutit undas*). The modification is interesting for two reasons: first, because the image in Greek is not entirely clear, thus the translator felt obliged to recast it;[69] second, because the metaphor of the poetic tongue crossing the waves successfully complements the earlier comparison between the poet and the Danube.

The couplet in vv. 11-12 shows the most significant variation between the text of the Aldine edition and that of the Lascaris manuscript, for the Aldine reads in verse 12 Ἀλκείδην καλέει σ', whereas the Vat. Graec. reads Ἡρακλῆν καλέουσ'.[70] The Latin text of Villerías, taken from the *vulgata*, omits the noun ἄστρα and the participle ἀντιμεθελκόμενα,[71] and modifies the succession of the nouns in the Greek text. He also felt at liberty to add an adjective to the noun (*vindex*: avenger) and replace the verb καλέει with the expression *restituis Latio* ('you have restored them to Latium'), possibly taken from Poliziano's Latin poetry (see above p. 177, note to verse 12).

In the hexameter of the penultimate couplet (vv. 13-14), the Latin text changes σπουδάσματα (studies or efforts) into *epigrammata*, and παίγνια (toys or games) to *ludunt* (to amuse). For the first

[68] Toussain's translation: *Nam tu qualia Danubius, ex occasu in meridiem / Et rursus in orientem, alta fluentia fundis.*
[69] According to Pontani (2002: 146), there are no parallels for the Greek expression, which cannot mean 'disperses the fog' or 'dispels the darkness', but rather 'travels through air'.
[70] Heracles' alternate name, Alcides, was a sobriquet Ficino used for Poliziano. It is an adjective derived from the noun ἀλκή (strength, prowess, courage) and means powerful, strong, and courageous. Ficino would have so dubbed him because of his mighty struggle against the monsters of medieval ignorance and barbarism (Pesenti 1925: 255, n. 1).
[71] Which can be translated either as 'each of them wanting you for itself' (Pesenti, 1922: 255) 'or pulling you from both sides' (Pontani, 2002: 143).

time in the epigram, the pentameter translates almost literally the Greek text of the Aldina, adding only the adjective *fugax*, which does not appear in the original.

Finally, in the last couplet again, the hexameter is modified the most, whereas the pentameter is kept very faithful to the original. Villerías converts a statement in Greek to a rhetorical question in Latin. He ingeniously adds the adjective *dispar* and the participle *resonans*, referring to the first person who recites the poem. It is fortunate the *hypallage* of this adjective that, instead of agreeing with *bombo*, is transferred to the subject of the sentence ('I, resonant').

Interestingly, these Latin verses do not preserve unequivocal intertextual connections with classical Latin poetry. Rather, it seems that Villerías composed his couplets *ex novo*, avoiding to adhere closely to any specific classical model. Essentially, Villerías distances himself from the imitative poetic style that characterises his original Latin compositions, such as his epic poem *Guadalupe*, which reuses classical Latin phrases, mostly of Virgil, and also of Lucretius, Ovid, and Lucan, among others.[72] The identifiable textual parallels seem to entail many Neo-Latin poems, in which one can find *iuncturae* and expressions that resonate in Villerías' verses (Janus Pannonius, Antonio de San Nicolà, Gilbert Cousin, Poliziano, Willem Horn, and Lancino Curzio). These parallels could be suggestive of Villerías' own readings. In any case, it is more interesting to think that, regardless of whether he read all these poems or not, the similarities in the phraseology of this New Spanish translation indicate an awareness of the vast conglomerate of Latin poetic expressions that had animated European poetic life from the Renaissance onwards.

Remarks and Discussion

Villerías' bilingual anthology constitutes a crucial and largely neglected chapter in the still unwritten history of the translation of classical languages in Mexico. It is a fundamental precursor of the most important translation project from Greek into Latin in the eighteenth century, F. X. Alegre's translation of the *Iliad*. However, unlike the latter, whose strong dependence on Virgil's poetic diction led some scholars to label it *Virgil's Iliad*,[73] Villerías' Latin translations do not rely significantly on classical poetic diction, but rather are characterised by originality and independence from classical models.[74]

The institutionalisation of classical studies in Mexico through the creation of the Translators' Centre of Classical Languages in the National Autonomous University of Mexico in 1966, formed a new stage dominated by a literalist approach to translation.[75] That is, the very institutionalisation of the discipline was closely linked to translation work and the politics of literalism, which emerged as the result of a paradoxical alliance between a conservative desire for fidelity to a text that is deemed pure and unalterable and a scientistic reaction against nineteenth-century translators of classical texts. The latter, curiously, tended to be conservative yet "liberal" when translating classical texts, as they

[72] Whereas some of the classical Latin poetry intertexts were briefly noted by Osorio Romero in his edition of *Guadalupe*, the topic requires much more research and attention.
[73] Menéndez Pelayo, 1947: 87; on the Virgilianism of Alegre's translation, García de Paso Carrasco and Rodríguez Herrera (1998) is very useful.
[74] Judging from F. X. Alegre's translation of the *Iliad* and the translation models that would be predominant in the nineteenth century (see note 76 below), it can be assumed that, until the middle of the twentieth century, the predominant model adopted in New Spain for the translation of classical texts was that of liberal translations.
[75] Named Centro de Estudios Clásicos del Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas in 1974.

could thus afford to censor or adapt content deemed unsuitable to their taste or unbecoming to the public.[76]

Everything changed with Rubén Bonifaz Nuño, the founder of the Translators' Centre and a staunch defender of literalism. His work is a turning point in translation practices of classical languages in Mexico and deserves detailed discussion. For the purpose of this paper, it suffices to note that his influence has dominated the discipline from the second half of the twentieth century onwards, that is, in all the years that classical studies have been under the auspices of state and public institutions. How can this shift in translation policies be explained? What needs does it respond to, and how does it fit into the Mexican classical tradition?

It would seem as if literalism were the necessary redoubt to guarantee the scientific accuracy of the translation work and, even more so, the translator's knowledge of the source language, contrary to the earlier tradition of liberal and paraphrastic translations.[77] Twentieth-century translators challenged these traditional approaches, termed creative translations of the past 'parodies and ridiculous imitations', and called for 'real translations with philological precepts'.[78]

Alfonso Reyes unfinished translation of the *Iliad*, published with the title *Aquiles Agraviado* (Infuriated Achilles),[79] is diametrically opposed to these forms of literalism in twentieth-century Mexico and has received strong criticism from certain academic circles.[80] Reyes' declaration in his introduction stirred controversy: 'I do not read the language of Homer, I barely decipher it', further elaborated a few pages after: 'I do not offer a word-for-word translation, but from concept to concept, adjusting myself to the original document and preserving the literal expressions that must be preserved, either for their historical value or for their aesthetic value (...) *Whoever wants the philologist's translation knows where to look for it*'.[81] Reyes' translation is a worthy successor to the long Mexican tradition of translators *ad sententiam* that started with Villerías (the first important representative in the field of Greek) and was followed by Alegre and others in the nineteenth century.

[76] Nineteenth-century Mexican translations of classical texts is a subject that requires a separate study. The most important translator of Greek is possibly Ignacio Montes de Oca (1840-1921), translator of Pindar, the bucolic poets, and Apollonios of Rhodes. Bishop of Tamaulipas and San Luis Potosí, therefore a member of the conservative clergy, and member of the *Roman Arcadia* under the pseudonym Ipandro Acaico, Montes de Oca received extensive training as a Hellenist at Oxford. In the prologue to his translation of Pindar, he confidently declares his work as 'the first Spanish metrical translation of the prince of lyricists'. On nineteenth-century translations of classical authors in Mexico, Quiñones (2018), who also discusses José Joaquín Pesado (the translator of Synesius of Cyrene) and José Sebastián Segura (who translated the fragments of Callinos and Tyrtaios).

[77] Clearly articulated in R. Bonifaz Nuño's introduction to his translation of the *Aeneid*: 'Apart from other defects, *I think that paraphrastic translation has the defect of making the translator's knowledge of the original language doubtful*, since such a type of translation often gives the impression of not being the result of direct work on the text, but the fruit of the reading of other translations' (Bonifaz Nuño, 1972: CLXIII).

[78] Quiñones, 2018: 401.

[79] Reyes, 1951.

[80] E.g., Alatorre, 1974: 22 (quoted in Guichard, 2004): 'Don Alfonso sabía el griego como yo el ruso: leía las letras y entendía ciertas palabras aisladas, pero hasta allí…' (Don Alfonso knew Greek as I know Russian: He could read the letters and understand certain isolated words, but that's it…). On Reyes' translation, Guichard, 2004, esp. 428-435 on the polemic and critics.

[81] Reyes, 1951: 91. Interestingly, Bonifaz Nuño himself reviewed this translation (1952: 3), praised it and declared it better than the one of the Spanish Hellenist José Mamerto Gómez Hermosilla, first published in 1831. Bonifaz states in the first paragraph: 'The judgment given on a translation must necessarily be incomplete when the language in which the translated work was originally written is unknown. In such a situation I find myself...'. It would take Bonifaz thirty-eight years to learn Greek and publish his first translation into Spanish (Bonifaz Nuño: 1990).

This New Spain anthology of Greek poems invites us to think about the methodological principles operative for the study of the reception of classical texts in the Viceroyalty, which, for lack of a better name, I will provisionally term 'the philology of dispossession and plundering'. Except for this manuscript, all other Greek works produced in New Spain that we know of have since disappeared without a trace. Among these, the most prominent were the Greek grammars of Francisco Galves y Escalona and Don Cayetano de Cabrera y Quintero[82] and the history of Hellenism in New Spain written by the Jesuit Agustín De Castro, who also translated Anacreon, Sappho, and Hesiod into Spanish and compared a tragedy of Seneca with another of Euripides, according to J. L. Maneiro.[83] Even manuscripts referenced by twentieth-century scholars like Méndez Plancarte and Ignacio Osorio are difficult to find: for example, José Antonio Bermudez' manuscript entitled *Epistulae eruditae* discussed by Méndez Plancarte, which contained a section of Greek epigrams, according to Osorio Romero.[84] This unfortunate situation complicates the elaboration of a solid frame of reference upon which studies of Mexican Hellenism can be based: almost everything we know about the Mexican Hellenising muse seems to have dissipated.

Unlike in Europe, where research on an author's sources can be undertaken with relative transparency, since the catalogues of printed works and manuscripts allow an accurate reconstruction of an author's readings (and even, as in the case of many humanists, to read their own autographs, *glosses*, and *scholia*), in New Spain the situation is dire. Many of the books to which a poet like Villerías could have had access were stolen, looted, exported to other countries, or expropriated by private owners, uncatalogued and often kept out of the public's eye and the researchers' reach.[85] Although old catalogues and fire marks give us a fair idea of which books were circulating in colonial Mexico, they cannot provide sufficient information to safely determine the sources, readings, and material available to eighteenth-century New Spanish poets. Often, researchers underestimate the vast volume of works available to Novohispanic authors, due to the lack of concrete evidence of book availability and arrivals in New Spain.[86] Villerías' collection of

[82] Beristáin (vol. I, 1816 [1980]: 232) states that he wrote a *Liber variorum epigrammatum e Graeco in Latinum translatorum*, which is now lost (see note 2).
[83] *De vitis aliquot mexicanorum*, Bologna, 1792, t. III, p. 195; Osorio Romero, 1986: 85.
[84] Méndez Plancarte, 1970: 95-112; Osorio Romero, 1991: 71. Mercedarian father José Antonio Bermúdez compiled his Latin correspondence with José Antonio Flores, the canon of Guadalajara's cathedral, together with other materials written in Latin, gathered between 1731 and 1761, in a codex entitled *Epistulae eruditae*. A section entitled *Versiuncularum farrago*, according to Mendez Plancarte, included compositions in Greek (versions of some Latin liturgical hymns, as well as epigrams of his own and other authors). To date I have not been able to find this manuscript to corroborate this information or study the contents in Greek (see note 52).
[85] The looting continues today. In May 2021, the governor of the state of Puebla protested: 'What did they do in the Palafoxiana Library? They mutilated books, they mutilated works, maps, they took them away. It can't stay like that.' In August of the same year the secretary of culture of the same state, after conducting an audit, announced that: 'In the Palafoxiana we found 120 missing volumes and some others lying in a room. We are going to cross-reference them and there will be a leaf-by-leaf review to detect missing books.' If in 2021 Mexico the integrity of archives cannot be guaranteed, one fears to envisage conditions in colonial times.
[86] Although a dramatisation aimed at praising the intellectual environment of New Spain and defending it against the attacks of the classical scholar Manuel Martí (see below), the *Aprilis Dialogus* of the Jesuit Vicente López (see note 54 above) reiterates the vast quantity of books that existed in New Spain. At the beginning of the dialogue, the narrator says that the ships that sail from Spain to the port of Veracruz usually carry rare and strange merchandise of books (*raras ac peregrinas librorum merces*), so one may ponder whether the American gold and silver had enriched Europe more than the Europe had enriched the Mexicans with their books (*et dubitari possit auro ne magis, et argento americani ad Aeuropam, an Aeuropa suis libris mexicanos ditaverit*).

Greek epigrams, and particularly his Latin translation of Alessandra Scala's epigram to Poliziano, encourage reflection on the methodological particularities that must be considered for the study of classical reception in colonial and peripheral contexts.

The inclusion of Scala's epigram in Villerías anthology is the strongest and most sophisticated evidence of Poliziano's reception in New Spain. To date, there was no evidence that Poliziano's epigrammatic poetry in Greek had reached or been read in New Spain. An analysis of the four editions of Poliziano currently preserved in the Palafoxiana Library at Puebla (the Aldina of 1498, the two Lyon editions published by S. Gryphius in 1528 and 1550, and the Basel edition of 1553 printed by N. Episcopius) and of the 1546 Lyon edition preserved in the Francisco de Burgoa Library at Oaxaca, all of which were present in New Spain very possibly at least since the seventeenth century, shows that Villerías copied Scala's epigram from the Lyon edition of 1546. The punctuation, accentuation, certain orthographic errors, and the reading of a pair of *voces nihili* point in that direction. The reasons why Villerías might have consulted this volume, in particular, are not clear, and some hypotheses can be made regarding his connection and relation with the library of the convent of Santo Domingo in Oaxaca. Nevertheless, based solely on philological arguments derived from the manuscript itself, it is safe to argue that Villerías copied his text from that edition, at least when he copied this manuscript. The specific history of this volume and its vicissitudes may be the subject of a particular study, but for the moment it can be safely said that correspondences between Villerías' manuscript and this volume are evident.

Nonetheless, it is quite possible to trace the main library in which Villerías was able to find the sources for his anthology of Greek poems. Almost all books bear the fire mark of the Colegio de San Juan, one of the three colleges belonging to the Royal and Pontifical Tridentine Seminary of Puebla. It is quite possible that since his years of studying Latin with the Jesuits, Villerías had found various Greek books along the way and developed a particular interest in this language. He should have had access to the Colegio de San Juan library, where he may have read and self-studied classical languages. Not only the aforementioned copies of Poliziano, but also the following editions were kept in the library of the Colegio: the 1562 edition of the Digest (Paris, Merlin-Desboys), from which Villerías possibly took the text of epigram VI of his anthology; the 1619 edition of Lucian's works, from which Villerías may have taken the text of epigram I of his collection;[87] and the 1604 edition of Demosthenes and Aeschines published in Frankfurt (Claudium Marnium et Haeredes), from which he may have taken epigram XXI.

In order to understand the importance and scope that a Hellenising enterprise, such as that of Villerías, had had in eighteenth-century New Spain, it is helpful to contextualise this Greek anthology from New Spain within a broader movement of vindication of classicism taking place in the margins of the Spanish empire and the Mexican periphery.[88] In the eighteenth century, the failings of Spanish classicism became a topic of fervent debate among certain intellectual circles. Some Spaniards, such as Manuel Martí (1663-1737), 'one of the most eminent classical scholars

[87] Berruecos Frank, 2022: n. 27; also, here n. 19.

[88] On the situation of the knowledge of Greek in Spain and Portugal, Pontani, 2022: 559-564. On Hellenism in Mexico, the most detailed study hitherto is Osorio Romero (1986), which covers the history of Greek language in Mexico from the sixteenth to the early twentieth century. On the importance of Martín del Castillo's Greek grammar (written in New Spain and published in 1678) for the learning of Greek in colonial Mexico and, above all, for the Hellenic education of Villerías, Berruecos Frank, 2022: 292 with notes 63 and 76 therein, where the interactions between the *exempla* of that grammar and the Greek forms used by Villerías are highlighted.

of his age',[89] openly denounced the lack of rigour of Spanish classicism. In his *Epistle to the Spanish youth* (*Hispanae juventuti*), possibly written around 1723,[90] after emphasising the importance of Greek in various European countries, Martí states forcefully that Greek language and culture 'not long after, flew swiftly to our Spain; but they flew so swiftly that they did not stop for long' (*Nec multo post in Hispaniam nostrum pervolarunt: sed pervolarunt tantum, nec diu consistere*).[91] Another of Martí's letters caused great controversy in the *criollos'* circles of New Spain. The epistle was addressed to a Spanish youth, Antonio Carrillo, eager to try his luck in America.[92] The reading of this letter in New Spain and the reactions it sparked were crucial to the formation of the *criollos'* identity.[93] In a particularly virulent passage,[94] Martí slurs the cultural environment of New Spain as 'such a vast desert of culture' (*tam vasta literarum solitudine*) and asks his addressee 'in which libraries are you going to study?' (*ecquas lustrabis bibliothecas?*). Martí warns him that if he undertakes such a journey, he 'will try to achieve this in vain like someone who shears a donkey or milks a male goat' (*Haec enim omnia tam frustra quaeres, quam qui tondet asinum, vel mulget hircum*).

Although the debate on the poverty of colonial and Spanish classicism had intensified with the publication of this *Epistula*, to which Eguiara y Eguren's *Bibliotheca Mexicana* was a response,[95] it is safe to assume that the intellectual circles of colonial Mexico were aware of the proverbial backwardness of classical studies in the metropolis.[96] In this sense, the audacity of writing in Greek can be interpreted as an affirmation of the superiority and good standing that Greek literature enjoyed in the Viceroyalty.[97] Obviously, the flourishing of the Greek language remained a *desideratum*, due to the lack of interest and means to help this cause transcend beyond the limits of a manuscript that would finally end up being forgotten and buried on the shelves of the National Library until 1983. However, it is highly significant to acknowledge the anthologies of Greek poetry and active composition in this language as indicative of the intention of eighteenth-century Mexican Hellenists, like Villerías, to revitalise the Hellenising muse purposefully and declare to the world that Mexican Greek was in better health than Greek in the metropolis, where knowledge and competence in Greek drastically declined between 1500 and 1800, and where, accordingly, Greek composition

[89] Laird, 2018: 15. On Manuel Martí's prowess as a classical philologist and as a composer of Latin poetry, Laird, 2012: 247.
[90] However, the work is dated to 1705 and published until 1734 in the prologue to his edition of the Latin poetry of Fernando Ruiz de Villegas, a sixteenth century Spanish disciple of Luis Vives; cf. Comes-Peña, 2015a: 101.
[91] Osorio Romero, 1986: 65.
[92] It was published in Madrid in 1735 (*Epistolarum libri duodecim*).
[93] Comes-Peña, 2015b: p. 150.
[94] Cf. Laird, 2012: 244.
[95] Laird (2012: 249-251) argues persuasively that Eguiara y Eguren's *Bibliotheca Mexicana* (1755) was deeply inspired by the ambitious project of Nicolás Antonio's *Bibliothecae Hispana Vetus* and *Nova*, an undertaking to which Manuel Martí was invited to complete and edit and to which he contributed in a very important way. An interesting fact emphasised by Laird (2012: 248) is that Ms 1600 (National Library of Mexico), one of the most important documents of the Neo-Latin poetry of the New Spanish Jesuit Enlightenment, contains a copy of Martí's *Oratio por crepitu ventris*, most probably copied after this intense polemic and without further details about the identity of Manuel Martí.
[96] Manuel Martí's work abounds in criticism of the debasement of Spanish classicism. A telling example of the disinterest and perceived uselessness of Greek is one of the erudite letters of Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, in which he labels the knowledge of Greek as pointless. In his time, he says, there were five or six Spaniards who have dedicated themselves to the study of this language (quoted in Comes Peña, 2015a: 85-86).
[97] Incidentally, this need to affirm Mexican classicism over Spanish classicism remains current among Mexican classicists, many of whom view Spanish classical philology with contempt and show great respect for classical philology in other European countries, particularly Germany and Italy.

rarely made it to the printing press.[98] As far as I know, no analogous undertakings are recorded in the Iberian Peninsula during the eighteenth century. Books on Greek grammar shared a similar fate. One of the most important Spanish handbooks of Greek grammar was written in New Spain in 1678, not in the metropolis.[99] Arguably, intellectual circles in the Viceroyalty wished to demonstrate the advances of Hellenic classicism and make available didactic and informative materials to those interested.

Conclusions

The manuscript anthology containing Alessandra Scala's epigram is the only known collection of Greek poems compiled in colonial-period Mexico. The selection of texts reveals clear independence from the *Greek Anthology* (only eight out of twenty-two poems feature in the *Planudea*). An analysis of the poems allows insight into the Greek texts to which Villerías had access. This reconstructed list comprises a representative sample of Greek literature, from the Archaic period to the Renaissance. An overview of this list suggests that Villerías drew most of his Greek texts from volumes the Jesuits kept in Puebla, particularly in the Colegio de San Juan, which was later confiscated by Francisco Fabián y Fuero, bishop of Puebla, and became part of the Biblioteca Palafoxiana. In particular, the joint inclusion of Alessandra Scala's epigram and the hexastich epigram at the beginning of the 1562 edition of the Digest published in Paris (Merlin-Desboys) invests his collection with particularly Polizianic connotations.[100]

Unlike, for example, Alegre's translation of the *Iliad*, whose dependence on Virgil is evident, or Villerías' original Latin poetry, full of intertexts (particularly of Virgil, but also of Lucan, Ovid, and Lucretius, among others), the almost complete lack of such intertexts in Villerías translation of Alessandra Scala's epigram reveals independence from classical poetic models. It is impossible to tell whether certain echoes of Neo-Latin poems are intertexts or coincidences in the poetic diction. Villerías' unique Latin style and his originality as a Latin poet manifest more clearly in his translations, not in his original poems. That is because his Latin composition *ex novo* is always constrained by the long tradition that precedes it; the need to keep close to the great predecessors reduces the margin for originality. Additionally, since the margin of unpredictability is greater in free literary creation than in the work of translation, the poetics that guide the stylistic choices becomes much more explicit in the latter.

Four hundred and seventy-four years separate the first attestation of Greek letters in New Spain, the 1539 translation of the epistles of St. Paul and other Church Fathers by Cristobal de Cabrera,[101] from Pedro Tapia Zúñiga's 2013 translation of the *Odyssey*. In this long history of Mexican translations of

[98] Of the nineteen poems written by the sixteen Iberian poets included in Pontani's anthology (2022), ten remained in manuscript only; of the remaining nine that were printed, only four were printed in Spain (in Valencia, Salamanca, and Madrid), while one was printed in Basel, two in Italy (Mantua and Brescia), and two more in Lisbon. An interesting parallel is the Spanish poet Antonio Martínez de Quezada (1718-1751), author of a manuscript preserved at the Universidad Complutense of Madrid (Ms 191) containing an important commentary on Hesiod's *Theogony* followed by a hymn to the Virgin Mary in 147 hexameters with a Latin translation of his own (Pontani, 2022: 587-591). Villerías' Greek epigram to the Virgin of Guadalupe (Berruecos Frank, 2022), possibly preceding de Quezada's by twenty years, constitutes an important point of contact between the two. Like Villerías, de Quezada was a marginal character who died in poverty and at the same age (33 years old). For more information, Gil, 1974.
[99] Berruecos Frank, 2022.
[100] See notes 20 and 36 above.
[101] Osorio Romero, 1986: 69.

classical languages, the work of Villerías is not only the first attempt in the field of Greek poetry but also the first model of liberal poetic translation *ad sententiam*. It aimed to express the original author's *mens*, instead of mirroring the source text in the targeted language.[102] F. X. Alegre also choose to compose a liberal translation of the *Iliad* a few decades later and Alfonso Reyes returned to it in the twentieth century. Intriguingly, by translating liberally, the utmost connoisseur of the Greek language in early eighteenth-century Mexico thought he would be validated much more than if he had ventured into a cold, staunchly literal translation. Unfortunately, this relationship between literalism and academic validation was completely reversed in the twentieth century and the reasons for this demand more research. Villerías' creative and liberal Latin translations invite us to problematise and question the limits of literalism and the processes by which this policy of translation constituted the touchstone for the institutionalisation of Mexican classical studies by establishing itself as a means of validating the translator and imprinting a seal, a certificate of knowledge of classical languages.

[102] This debate between *verbum pro verbo* translations and *ad sententiam* ones captured the interest of F. X. Alegre, as he notes in the Foreword to his translation of the *Iliad*.

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Abstract (Spanish) | Resumen

El Fondo Reservado de la Biblioteca Nacional de México conserva un manuscrito en su mayoría inédito (Ms 1594) que contiene las obras en latín y griego de un poeta novohispano llamado José de Villerías y Roelas (1695-1728). Se trata, sin duda, del documento más importante que conocemos escrito en griego y producido en la Nueva España durante el periodo colonial. Hasta la fecha, no se han localizado ni estudiado otros materiales novohispanos con composiciones originales en griego; tampoco conocemos ninguna colección de poemas griegos antologados por un helenista de la Nueva España, por lo que el manuscrito constituye una especie de *codex unicus* del helenismo novohispano. En este trabajo, presento una edición de uno de los poemas, el más largo de la colección de poesía griega de Villerías, y de su traducción al latín. El epigrama en cuestión se atribuye a una destacada humanista del *Quattrocento* italiano, Alessandra Scala, que presuntamente lo compuso en respuesta a uno de los poemas que le dedicó el famoso poeta Angelo Poliziano. Antes de presentar y analizar el texto de Villerías y su traducción, el artículo rastrea la recepción de Poliziano en la Nueva España y explora el posible contacto que Villerías pudo tener con su *Liber Epigrammatum Graecorum*. Por último, se ofrece una discusión panorámica sobre los diversos enfoques que la traducción de textos griegos fue adoptando en México desde el período colonial hasta la actualidad, con el objetivo de estimular los debates acerca de la recepción clásica en contextos poscoloniales y periféricos y de comprender las políticas en que el clasicismo logró institucionalizarse en el México contemporáneo.

La versión novohispana del epigrama renacentista de A. Scala y su traducción al latín

La transmisión textual del epigrama es doble. Por un lado, se conserva en la edición Aldina de las obras completas de Poliziano publicada en 1498 (y en las sucesivas ediciones dependientes de ella). Por otra parte, se incluye sin indicación de autoría ni destinatario, en un manuscrito autógrafo de Janus Laskaris (el *Vaticanus Graecus* 1412, fol. 62), lo que hace suponer o bien que el poema es del propio Laskaris o bien que ayudó a Alessandra en su composición. La edición del texto del epigrama se presenta aquí con pequeñas correcciones ortográficas, seguida de un aparato crítico en el que se registran algunas correcciones del texto apoyadas en las lecturas de la Aldina, las otras ediciones de Poliziano que llegaron a la Nueva España y el texto del manuscrito de Laskaris (*Vat. Graec.*). Registré el texto tal y como está en el manuscrito limitándome a pequeñas correcciones que el lector podrá corroborar en el aparato (principalmente colocación de acentos y espíritus). Esto implica que algunas lecturas del texto no son correctas, pero es importante registrarlas de esta manera para dar cuenta de la forma en que el griego era escrito por este autor en el México de principios del siglo XVIII.

De sus propias composiciones griegas, de las que conservamos sólo 30 versos, se puede decir, por un lado, que Villerías comete con frecuencia errores ortográficos y que a veces muestra desconocimiento del género de los sustantivos, pero que, por el contrario, posee conocimientos de los dialectos griegos, tiene nociones aceptables de prosodia y, por último, posee conocimientos del uso de los modos verbales, aunque a veces su sintaxis no es del todo ejemplar y suena algo torpe y atropellada. La comparación entre la Aldina, la edición de Lyon de 1546 y la de Basilea de

1553 sugiere que Villerías reprodujo el texto de la edición de Lyon conservada en Oaxaca. Como indica su marca de fuego, este volumen impreso formó parte del segundo grupo de obras que conformaron la biblioteca del Convento de Santo Domingo, por lo que puede decirse que pertenecía a la colección del convento, posiblemente desde el siglo XVII. Es difícil establecer una hipótesis fiable sobre la relación concreta de Villerías con este ejemplar. En todo caso, los argumentos filológicos son sólidos al respecto, como el artículo intenta demostrar.

Las políticas de traducción de las lenguas clásicas en México

La antología bilingüe de Villerías constituye un capítulo crucial y en gran medida olvidado de la historia aún no escrita de la traducción de las lenguas clásicas en México. Es un antecedente fundamental del proyecto de traducción del griego al latín más importante del siglo XVIII, la traducción de la *Ilíada* de F. X. Alegre. Sin embargo, a diferencia de esta última, cuya fuerte dependencia de la dicción poética de Virgilio llevó a algunos estudiosos a calificarla como la *Ilíada* de Virgilio, las traducciones al latín de Villerías no se apoyan significativamente en la dicción poética clásica, sino que se caracterizan por su originalidad e independencia de los modelos clásicos y por su tendencia a modificar y adaptar el texto de partida.

A partir de un análisis selectivo de cómo Villerías traduce el epigrama de Alessandra Scala del griego al latín, resulta evidente que el trabajo de traducción consiste en la capacidad de reinterpretar y adaptar creativamente los contenidos originales evitando constantemente el literalismo, incluso a riesgo de violentar el metro. Dentro de la historia contemporánea de la traducción de las lenguas clásicas en México, este modelo no literalista constituye un punto de contraste radical frente a las formas institucionales actuales de ejercer el clasicismo. A lo largo de tres siglos, la política de traducción de textos clásicos en México se ha alejado con fuerza del modelo de Villerías.

La institucionalización de los estudios clásicos en México, consolidada mediante la creación del Centro de Traductores de Lenguas Clásicas en la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México en 1966, configuró una nueva etapa dominada por un enfoque literalista de la traducción. La propia institucionalización de la disciplina estuvo estrechamente vinculada a la labor de traducción y a la política del literalismo, que surgió como resultado de una paradójica alianza entre un deseo conservador de fidelidad hacia un texto que se concibe puro e inalterable y una reacción cientificista contra los traductores decimonónicos de textos clásicos, que curiosamente solían ser conservadores aunque "liberales" en su labor de traducción, pues así se podían permitir censurar o adaptar los contenidos que consideraban inadecuados para su gusto o impropios para su público.

Todo cambió con Rubén Bonifaz Nuño, fundador del Centro de Traductores y firme defensor de la literalidad. Su trabajo es un punto de inflexión en las prácticas de traducción de las lenguas clásicas en México y su influencia ha dominado la disciplina a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XX, es decir, en todos los años en que los estudios clásicos han estado bajo el auspicio de instituciones estatales y públicas. ¿Cómo se explica este cambio en las políticas de traducción? ¿A qué necesidades responde y cómo se inscribe en la tradición clásica mexicana?

La literalidad parece que ha venido a desempeñar la función de reducto para garantizar la exactitud científica del trabajo de traducción y, más aún, el conocimiento del traductor de la lengua de partida, a diferencia de la tradición anterior de traducciones liberales y parafrásticas. Los traductores de lenguas clásicas mexicanos del siglo XX se han validado institucionalmente mediante

un desafío a estos planteamientos tradicionales, que muchas veces ha consistido en descalificar las traducciones creativas del pasado como "parodias e imitaciones ridículas" y reclamar "verdaderas traducciones con preceptos filológicos". El trabajo creativo y libre de traducción latina desarrollado por Villerías invita a problematizar y cuestionar los límites del literalismo y los procesos mediante los cuales esta política de traducción constituyó la piedra de toque para la institucionalización de los estudios clásicos mexicanos.