

Notes

These notes aspire neither to completeness nor to the naming of the first respective originator of a thought or a theory. Since this work is more a research report than an academic treatise, such aspirations would actually be neither required nor useful. However, should we have violated any rights of primogeniture, this did not happen intentionally and we hereby apologize beforehand, and promise to mend our ways. We also would like to express our gratitude in advance for any references, tips, or clues sent to us.

For abbreviations of collected editions and lexicons, journals and serials, monographs and terms see Ziegler & Sontheimer (1979). For the Greek authors' names and titles see Liddell & Scott (1996) and for the Latin ones Glare (1996).

The Gospel texts translated into English were quoted on the basis of the *King James Version* of 1611. In some cases the *Revised Standard Version* of 1881 and the *New American Bible* of 1970 were relied on. These three translations often differ from each other considerably. Although they all, even the Catholic one, make use of the original languages rather than the Vulgate as a basis for translation, they have the tendency to read the text of the New Testament according to the current interpretation and to amalgamate it with the Old, so that in critical points the newer translations are overtly conflicting with the Greek original text, arbitrarily interpreting e. g. *thalassa*, properly 'sea', as *lake*, *Christos*, 'Christ', as *Messiah*, adapting the orthography of the proper names in the New Testament to those in the Old, e. g. *Elijah* to *Elijah*, etc. For this reason we have preferred to use as a basis the King James Version, which is older but more reliable and closer to the *Graeca Veritas*.

I. *Prima Vista*

- 1 According to Lange (1938) this Buca-denarius (collection Mamroth, Berlin-Pankow) represents the definitive Caesar-portrait. The same coin is depicted on the cover of various books, for example in Gelzer (³1941) and Vandenberg (1986). A. Alföldi analyzes in the *Schweizer Münzblätter* 73, 1969, p. 1-7 'the earliest type of denarius by L. Buca with the inscription caesar dictator perpetuo', from which it can be learned that this denarius belongs to one of the earliest types (plate 1, 1-3). Similar features are also found on the Mettius-denarius with caesar dict quart (*B.M.C. 4135, Crawford 480/2a-b*); since dict quart preceded dict perpetuo for some time, this Mettius-type would be the more original (cf. A. Alföldi, 'Das wahre Gesicht Caesars', *Antike Kunst* 2, 1959, p. 27 sqq). It can be seen that later dies idealize towards clementia and divus, so that some Buca-denarii (as the denarius depicted here or the one in A. Alföldi, *Schweizer Münzblätter* 73, l.c. plate 1, 3) already show 'Jesus-like' features. For the whole of this iconography cf. R. Herbig, 'Neue Studien zur Ikonographie des Gaius Iulius Caesar', first published in: *Kölner Jahrbuch für Früh- und Vorgeschichte*, Berlin, ⁴1959, p. 7sq., and again

- in: D. Rasmussen ed., *Caesar*, Darmstadt 1967, with bibliography and many illustrations.
- 2 Borda (1957).
- 3 Vessberg (1941), p. 176sq.
- 4 So Borda, l.c.
- 5 Cic. *Ep. ad fam.* 12.3.
- 6 Erika Simon, *Arch. Anz.* 1952, 138sqq.; *Gymnasium*, 64. Jg., 1957, H. 4, p. 295-9.
- 7 App. *BC* 2.147
- 8 The identification of the Torlonia head as a Caesar-portrait was questioned by Paul Zanker, *Arch. Anz.* 1981, p. 357. He suspects a 'Caesar-Zeitgesicht', a 'time-face of Caesar', i.e. the portrait of an unknown person amongst the leaders of a provincial town, in which 'the effect of the numerous statues to the honor of the divine dictator are reflected'. He thinks that Erika Simon's 'interpretation of it as a pity rousing, posthumous figure, which has found a very positive echo in the newer literature' is based on 'empathy'—and rejects it: 'In spite of great resemblances, mainly in the details of the nose and the mouth, in the accentuated cheek-bones and the structure of the forehead, the head differs clearly in the proportions and the profile from the authentic figures of Caesar of the Turin type (from Tusculum) and the Pisa-Vatican type.'
- However, Zanker's opinion 'does not convince' Erika Simon 'nor other colleagues either' with whom she spoke: 'He makes it too easy for himself, because none of his other "time-faces" is penetrated by this energy, none of the others has these typical Caesarean proportions and the accentuated occiput, where the traces of the (metal) wreath have been convincingly demonstrated. And Zanker also uses the term "time-face" (Zeitgesicht), invented by Bernhard Schweitzer, much too broadly' (personal communication). Since both archaeologists use the profile as an argument, we place the Torlonia in the middle between some other, authenticated Caesar-profiles:



1. Buca

2. Tusculum

12. Torlonia

18. Uffizi

19. Pisa

Apart from the fact that the typical occiput of Caesar seems to be more accentuated than usual and so the neck has become somewhat thicker to accommodate this, we can find no major differences. That the saddle in the middle of the forehead has been rounded and the hair piously covers the bald front in the heads Torlonia, Uffizi and Pisa marks them all three as posthumous. Only the expression of the Torlonia-face is different, more humble, stressed by the inclination of the head. But the same expression and the same inclination of the head are also found in that of the Palazzo degli Uffizi (as well as in the Vatican-type, see chapter 1 ill.9).

Anyway, it is not decisive for the economy of our text whether we have here a 'Caesar-face' or a 'Caesar time-face'. That is to say, Zanker bases his examination on the bust of M. Holconius Rufus in Pompeii, who was *Augusti Caesaris sacerdos* according to the inscription on the base, which, in respect of the supposed time of its dedication (between 2/1 bc and 14 ad), still meant *sacerdos Divi Iulii* and *sacerdos Divi Filii* at the same time. Mutatis mutandis the face of the deified Caesar would have

- rubbed off on the face of his priest (hardly on the face of the priests of his Son of God Augustus, because Zanker holds Caesar's head in the Torlonia museum to be an 'image of the late republic' as the legend on the illustration explains). In the case of the Torlonia head, one would then have to assume that the features of the deified one have completely transfigured those of his priest. If Zanker were right, we would here be looking at the face of Divus Iulius become independent, instead of 'Caesar's pietà': 'Caesar's transfiguration'. Our starting point would hardly be altered by this.
- 9 Dio Cass. *HR* 44.4.5: καὶ ἐπὶ γε τοῦ βήματος δύο (ἀνδριάντας), τὸν μὲν ὡς τοὺς πολίτας σεσωκότος τὸν δὲ ὡς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ πολιορκίας ἐξηρημένου, μετὰ τῶν στεφάνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις νενομισμένων ἰδρῦσαντο.
 - 10 Gel. 5.6.11: *civica corona appellatur, quam civis civi, a quo in proelio servatus est, testem vitae salutisque perceptae dat. ea fit e fronde querneae; 5.6.8: obsidionalis est, quam ii qui liberati obsidione sunt dant ei duci qui liberavit. ea corona graminea est, observarique solitum ut fieret e gramine, quod in eo loco gnatum esset, intra quem clausi erant qui obsidebantur.*
 - 11 App. *BC* 3.3.8
 - 12 Cf. Weinstock (1971), p. 365.
 - 13 Details cf. Raubitschek (1954), p. 65-75; *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* (The inscriptions of Ephesos), part II, 1979, n° 251.
 - 14 Photography: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome. Cf. F. Chamoux, Fondation Eugène Piot, *Monuments et Mémoires* 47, 1953, 131sq. Tab. 12.
 - 15 Cf. App. *BC* 3.3.8-9; Cic. *Phil.* 1.5.
 - 16 Sometimes also a wreath of myrtle is supposed, cf. L. Cesano, *Rendiconti della Pontif. Accad. Rom. Archeol.* 23/24, 1947/49, p. 146sq., and Kraft (1969), p. 21 and n. 78: 'könnte man sie auch als Myrtenblätter ansprechen—they could be called myrtle-leaves as well'.
 - 17 That the wreath was called *etrusca corona* is attested to by Tert. *coron.* 27, and that the instruments which were used in the triumph are of Etruscan origin by App. *Pun.* 66 (cited after Latte (1960), p. 152). Kraft (1969), p. 20: 'On the coins Caesar certainly does not wear a natural wreath of laurel or another wreath of green leaves, but an Etruscan *corona aurea* (after Dio Cass. *HR* 44.6.3)', an Old Etruscan royal crown, which he distinguishes from the *corona aurea* of Pompeius (after Vell. 2.4.40). In contrast Crawford (1974), I, p. 488, n. 1 and n° 426.4a, who accepts a 'golden triumphal wreath', but not an 'Old Etruscan royal crown' (he thinks Caesar's golden triumphal wreath is identical to Pompeius' *corona aurea*). Dio Cassius (*HR* 44.6.3) speaks of a 'wreath, embroidered with gold and decorated with precious jewels'—καὶ τὸν στέφανον τὸν διάλιθον καὶ διάχρυσον.
 - 18 Lucius Cornelius Sulla was the leader of the senate party (the optimates), Gaius Marius of the people's party (the populares). M. Minucius Thermus was an obdurate follower of Sulla who in 88 chased Marius, an uncle of Caesar's, out of Rome. It has not been passed down to us who was saved by Caesar. As at this time only Sullans and optimates held office—and the Marians and populares were either liquidated or had to go into hiding—the person saved by Caesar probably was a political opponent. This could explain his rehabilitation, his later marriage with Pompeia—who was linked to Sulla's family (daughter of Sulla's brother-in-law Q. Pompeius Rufus)—and also his political connection with Pompeius, who was a Sullan as well.
 - 19 The sign on the left behind the head of Venus is generally regarded as an ancient form of writing for *lii* (52) and is interpreted as Caesar's age: born 100 bc, so in 48 bc at Pharsalos he was 52 years old. The female bust is identified as Venus, but by some authors as Pietas. This is explained by the argument that the oak-wreath is not an attribute of Venus, but that it is an act of pietas to save the lives of citizens (for the discussion cf. Battenberg, p. 37sq). On the other hand—Caesar's Venus was not typical: he had not consecrated the temple at the Forum Iulium to *Venus* gener-

ally but to *Venus Genetrix*. So the relationship between the one saved and the savior was a relation of pietas, because the one saved owed his life to his savior, who was then like father and mother for him. Therefore *Venus* cannot really have attributes of Pietas, whereas *Venus Genetrix* indeed can.

- 20 Cf. *Crawford* n° 468/1. *Obv.*: Bust of Venus with diadem, with Cupid in the background. *Rev.*: Tropaeum with Gallic arms and carnyces. At the base there is a seated female figure, on the other side a bearded Gaul with hands fastened behind the back. Below the inscription: caesar.
- 21 Indeed the cities of Asia started to date the time after Pharsalos (see below and cf. inter alia Leschhorn (1993), p.221sq). But apparently for Caesar the year of Pharsalos was not year 1, but the year 52: he reckoned his new era from his year of birth, 100 bc. The reason for this was perhaps that Pharsalos was decisive for the East, as Pompeius had reigned there until then. But for Caesar, the previous year—the Rubicon, Corfinium, Brundisium, Rome—was the year of his assumption of power. Thus he had no uniform time reckoning anyway. His year of birth, however, allowed the connection with Iulus-Aeneas-Venus, the mythical origin from Ilium/Troja (cf. the coin from the same series *Crawford* n° 458, where on the obverse Venus is depicted with a diadem and on the reverse Aeneas carrying the father Anchises on his shoulder and the palladium in his hand), which allowed the connection of Italy with Asia and vice versa. Moreover, by reckoning time from the date of his birth he erased the time of Sulla (and also that of Pompeius) and connected himself directly with the time of Marius.
- It is astonishing that, going by this year 52, the Caesarean era is exactly 100 years earlier than the Christian. The dating from Caesar's birth is equivalent to the dating from Christ's birth + 100. Did Dionysius Exiguus, who determined Christ's birth in the 6th century, simply take Caesar's year of birth and add 100 in order to approximately fit this date with Herodes and Pilatus?
- 22 *B.M.C. East* 58. Cf. Carson (1978), vol. I, 269.
- 23 Whether a *corona graminea* can be recognized on the face-helmet of Battenberge, respectively a *corona obsidionalis* on the Italic-Roman pan of earthenware from Teate, is doubtful. Incidentally, they are completely different in their form of appearance. Cf. Kraft (1969), p.16, n.51.
- 24 The *corona obsidionalis* was a decoration of higher distinction than the *corona civica*, because it represented not only the rescue of a single citizen but of a whole division or even an army. (Festus 193 M. (208 L.): *inter obsidionalem et civicam hoc interesse quod altera singularis salutem signum est, altera diversorum civium servatorum*; Plinius 22.8: *quod si civicae honos uno aliquo ac vel humillimo cive servato praeclarus sacerque habetur, quid tandem existimari debet unius virtute servatus universus exercitus*? Liv. 7.37: *secundum consulis donationem legiones gramineam coronam obsidialem, clamore donum approbantes, Decio imponunt.*) Accordingly it was awarded extremely rarely, according to Plinius only seven times in the whole of Roman history (after Caesar only to Augustus, before him to Sulla; Plin. 22.7-13). It was given to Caesar not only because of a specific event—of which there were more than one, the last time in Munda—but also because he had liberated the city generally from the siege, which means the Oikumene from the opposition party and the spectre of civil war (see above, citation of Dio Cassius, cf. Weinstock (1971), p.148-152).

It may surprise that the wreath, which represented the highest decoration for the Romans was simply of grass, the lowest of all plants. This came about because the wreaths as well as the plants from whose twigs they were made were consecrated to a particular Godhead. The myrtle, for example, was sacred to Venus (Virgil, *Eclg.* 7.62: *Veneri gratissima myrtus*) and so it is not astonishing at all that we find on the head of Caesar, whose ancestress was Venus, a myrtle-wreath (see above). In Greece

the laurel was sacred to Apollo, but in Rome to Jupiter, because it is the only tree planted by man that does not get struck by lightning (Jupiter's); so the Triumphantor wore it not only for the expiation of the spilt blood of the enemy but as a symbol of restored peace. The oak also was sacred to Jupiter, not least because it serves as a lightning rod and hardly burns and thereby is a protection against lightning. Thus the idea originated that an oak wreath should be awarded to anyone who saved a citizen from a deadly strike. Correspondingly the siege-wreath was made of grass, because the battlefield belonged to the God of the field, Mars, and no other plant symbolizes the field like the grass. Hence the lowest plant meant the highest honor.

It could be that the grass-wreath was originally a sign of capitulation, as the Latin phrase *herbam dare* for 'to surrender' leads us to suspect. So the grass in question has to be a symbol for the surrender of the formerly occupied field either to the victorious enemy or to the liberating ally. Then it would preferably be a strongly rooted grass rather than a long bladed type, especially in the latter case, when the resistance was victorious. It is striking that the term *corona graminea* does not refer to herba, but to *gramen*. Whereas the term *herba* contains the association with blade, this is not essential in the case of *gramen*. So *gramen* seems to be connected rather with the roots than with the blade. Anyway, the botanists speak of *rhizoma graminis* and they mean the rhizome of couch grass or its roots: *graminis* becomes a synonym for couch grass. Also in the Romance languages the word *graminea* became a substantive and it only designates couch grass, as for example the Italian *gramigna*: couch grass and simply weeds. This specialization seems to have started very early, because in classic Latin *gramen* also means weeds.

This fits with the Roman image of Mars, who was the God of war because he was God of the fields and the God of those who cultivated and defended the fields. Accordingly there were two sodalities of Mars-priests: that of the 'arable field brothers' (*Fratres Arvales*), responsible for the fecundity of the fruits of the land; and the 'leaping fellows' (*Sodales Salii*), known for their war dances and notorious carousing. The Roman army was an army of farmers and had its origin in the defence of the land. The typical Roman field is not a meadow, but arable lands, so the grass of Mars has to be looked for not in the meadow, but on the acre. And the grass found there is the common couch-grass or quitch, called with different names according to the region (dog-grass, quick-grass, quackgrass, quitch-grass, quake-grass, scutch-grass, twitch-grass, witch-grass, wheatgrass, creeping wheatgrass, devil's-grass, durfa-grass, Durfee-grass, Dutch-grass, Fin's-grass, Chandler's grass): the rapidly growing, indestructible weed, feared by all farmers, which riddles the ground with tough roots and wending runners. It is closely related to wheat, the botanical name is *triticum repens*, 'sudden wheat'. So couch-grass is to wheat as the legionary is to the farmer—not by chance, one would say from the viewpoint of Mars.

The Roman legionary was not just a porridge muncher—as the meat-eating barbarians mocked them—he was an armed farmer. And as such he made use of the spade more often than the sword. His job was fortification. Within hours the camp's fosse was excavated and the wall of the camp was raised. And here suddenly the much hated weed came to the assistance of the legionary: the rapidly spreading couch grass with its strong roots protected the wall from wind and rain.

There is scarcely a grass that can be easily used to braid a wreath, but couch-grass can be used effortlessly—one only has to think of the farmer's saying when they speak of 'wreathes of couch-grass', which they remove from the ground.

The result of our examination is that the *corona graminea* was probably a wreath of couch-grass. The one awarded to Caesar was such a wreath. One of his statues on the Rostra wore the *corona graminea* on the crown. We can imagine it as a wreath of couch-grass—in Latin: a couch-grass-crown.

Those who are familiar with couch can easily imagine how such a wreath may have looked, especially when it was dried up—or if a metal imitation had been made of it to make it weatherproof: the resemblance to Jesus' crown of thorns is striking. There is still one question left: which field did Caesar's grasswreath come from? Maybe from Ategua, whose defenders he saved in the last Spanish campaign when they were besieged by the Pompeians? Or from Munda, the decisive battle in the same war, where his army faltered and only his personal physical intervention fortified them and finally led to victory?

But Dio Cassius says that he received the grass wreath 'as liberator of the city from the siege' (Dio Cass. *HR* 44.4.5: τὸν δὲ ὡς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ πολιορκίας ἐξηρημένον). But the city meant here is neither Ategua nor Munda, but Rome: simply 'the city', together with the Empire, *urbi et orbi*, so to speak, liberated simply from the siege and the enemy, whom it was better not to mention because of the political aim of reconciliation.

For these reasons the grass of Caesar's political siege-wreath will have been from Rome itself, viz., because it had to be the wreath of Mars from the Field of Mars where by tradition the Roman *populus* assembled at arms. Not by chance was this the burial site of Caesar's daughter Julia, where his funeral pyre was initially prepared and where his bones, collected from the ashes, were to be buried.

The crown of thorns on the statues of Jesus in our Catholic churches come from Palestine: they are picked by monks there and prepared in such a manner that they are most identical with the Saviour's real crown of thorns. So the ritual is identical with that of the Roman *corona obsidionalis*: It also has to be made from the grass of the field of deliverance—for Caesar presumably the Campus Martius in Rome. Caesars *corona graminea* and Jesus' crown of thorns differ only as undergrowth from Rome and thorns from Jerusalem do.

- 25 The other difference between the statues of Caesar and those of Jesus concerns hair length and beard. We noticed a steady increase in hair length for Caesar's statues over time. For he suffered from his baldness, ergo little by little piety gave him back his hair.

With Jesus it is no different. In the early Christian depictions his hair is much shorter than today. The hair grew more and more as the centuries passed, which was furthered by the fact that in ancient times the statues wore genuine human hair which had to be replaced periodically. In most cases the hair was longer than previously, making the statues more life-like (cf. inter alia the tradition about the pilgrimage-cross of Oberried). The same happened with the beard. The early Christian depictions show a beardless Jesus (cf. i. a. ill. 116 p. 387 and 117 p. 388). Not till later, and then only gradually, did he grow a beard, and even then it was always short and unobtrusive. It is interesting that today we still see that on some crucifixes the beard does not cover the face, but only grows under the chin (as on e. g. the above mentioned pilgrim cross of Oberried).

Here it must be remembered that for the Romans, who were very meticulous in matters of body-care, it was a sign of mourning to refrain from cutting the beard and hair. After the military failure at Gergovia Caesar left off shaving his beard till he was able to defeat Vercingetorix. Also Marius—his exiled uncle—did not shave until he was able to return to Rome. Antonius and Augustus did the same until Caesar's murderers were punished and they had themselves depicted on coins in this fashion.

So the depiction of an indication of a beard could have begun with the first wax-statue of the murdered Caesar, which Antonius ordered made and erected in front of the Rostra at the funeral. This would not only have been realistic—as is known the beard apparently continues to grow on a dead body—but would have increased deterrence as well: the bearded murdered one calls for revenge.

- 26 Cf. Battenberg (1980), p.56.
- 27 *Historia Augusta*, Ver. 2.3; Serv. *Aen.* 1.286 i. a., compare *RE* X 464sq 'Caesar' is said to have been the Moorish name of the elephant. As it was claimed the Julii with the cognomen Caesar inherited it from an ancestor who had it conferred on him for killing an elephant (in the first Punic war?). It is possible that the elephant was called Caesar by the Gauls as well, because they got to know the animal not through the Greek (Pyrrhus) but through Hannibal. It is said that Caesar, too, had elephants with him in Gaul and that he even used one in Britain at the Thames (Polyaenus viii.23.5). Of course there were other explanations of the name 'Caesar': *a caesis oculis*, 'because of the blue eyes' (but Caesar's were black, Suet. *Jul.* 45. The cruel Sulla had blue ones, so the reference to the blue eyes—at least in the name—could have been part of the political discrediting campaign); *a caesaries*, 'because of the hair' (but he was bald, so the explanation could be part of the mockery); finally *a caeso matris utero*, 'born by Caesarean section' (this could be part of the slander that he had raped his fatherland: For the Romans it was the 'mother'land, cf. the anecdotes about the first Brutus, who was the first to kiss the mother (earth); and the dreams reported of Caesar, that he had had incest with his mother). So for Caesar the only useful explanation of his name was the first one—that of the elephant. Moreover it enabled him to stand on equal ground with the opposing Metelli Scipii, who used the elephant as their heraldic animal. His followers certainly appreciated the jibe: at the beginning of the year 49 Metellus Scipio had demanded that Caesar dismiss his troops, whereas Pompeius, on the other hand, was arming. And the other Metellus had tried to stop Caesar from taking the state treasury from the temple of Saturnus. Now Caesar minted his coins from the treasury replete with the elephant and thereby not only took away the state treasury, but also the coat of arms of the proud Metelli.
- 28 The obverse of his denarius was also aimed at deterrence with the *securis*, the axe of the presiding *pontifex maximus*, in the center. The *securis* was also the axe of the *lictor*, which was used in Republican times for the punishment of decapitation. And it did not look amiable here, adorned as it was with the head of the she-wolf and her biting jaws. To the left we see the other pontifical emblems: the so-called *aspergillum*, the holy water sprinkler which by no accident looks like the *flagellum*, the chastising whip, and also the *simpulum*, the scoop. On the right the *apex*, the pointed hat of the priest. This felt cap with the unmistakable point did not really belong to the attributes of a *pontifex* (who usually acted *capite velato*, with a veiled head) but rather to those of a *flamen*. Caesar had been elected *flamen Dialis*, high priest of Jupiter, whilst still a young man. Sulla had hindered his inauguration, but de jure he held on to the position—at least no-one else took the position as long as he remained alive (that he was not allowed to practise the position certainly suited him afterwards because of the restrictions connected with it: the *flamen Dialis* was not allowed to leave the city or to ride a horse, and he forfeited the post on the death of his wife, the *flaminica*, who therefore was the true holder of it). With the depiction of the apex of the flamen Dialis on his coin, Caesar discreetly suggested two things: that an injustice had been done to him earlier; and the state of emergency decreed against him—and which could only be legitimized by Jupiter—was not blessed by his high priest. So the Pompeians could depict as many Jupiters as they liked on their propaganda coinage (Cf. Crawford n° 445/1a and b, 445/2, 445/3a and b, 447/1a, 459, 460/1), but indeed it was he who was high priest of Jupiter and *pontifex maximus*.
- That the sacral titles *pontifex maximus* and *flamen Dialis* were important to Caesar even after his triumphs took place is demonstrated by the denarii Crawford n° 480/19 and 480/20 of the year 44, which show him *capite velato* and wreathed, where

- the *apex*—which cannot be placed on the head because of the wreath—is depicted behind him. The oak-wreath is indicated here in the title: *caesar parens patriae*.
- 29 Cf. Raubitschek (1954), p. 69, (R) and fig. 5: ἀρχιερέως μεγίστου. *Archiereus megistos* is the tautological but clearer full form (which was employed more by the later emperors—presumably also to make a distinction between him and the local priests of the emperor’s cult, who were sometimes called *archiereus* too); *archiereus* is the more elegant and terse short form.
- 30 Cf. Raubitschek (1954), p. 73: ‘The occurrence of the Greek equivalents for Imperator and Pontifex Maximus is indicative of the position occupied by Caesar immediately after his victory at Pharsalos. Only two of the inscriptions (H, I) omit the title “Pontifex Maximus”, but they combine with the title “Imperator” the unique designation *θεός*.’
- 31 Cic. *Phil.* 2.110: *Quem is honorem maiorem consecutus erat quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem? Est ergo flamen, ut Iovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Iulio M. Antonius? Quid igitur cessas? Cur non inauguraris? Sume diem, vide qui te inauguret: conlegae sumus; nemo negabit. O detestabilem hominem, sive quod tyranni sacerdos es sive quod mortui!*
- 32 Cicero understood the inscription as a direct threat because, as the spiritual father of Caesar’s murder, he felt branded as ‘parricide’. Cf. *Ep. ad fam.* 12.3.
- 33 Hor. *Carm.* 3.24; 27.
- 34 F.e. *CIL* III 3279. AE 1938, 140. Dessau 6779. Grant I 266: coin from Corinth with Caesar’s head and inter alia the legend creator. The same for Augustus and Agrippa, in: Iader, *CIL* III 2907. 13264. Vives 3, 10, 25, 11, 27; 36; 39, 12, 41; 42, 10, 26, 11, 39; 40. Cf. Vittinghoff (1952), p. 52 and 75. About the divine honours of ἥρωος-κτίστης: Kaerst (1917), 481 sq.
- 35 According to Plutarchus, *Ant.* 33.1, Antonius was inaugurated after the peace of Brundisium in October 40 bc at the behest of Octavianus.
- 36 Dio Cass. *HR* 44.6.4; Cic. *Phil.* 2.110.
- 37 Suet. *Jul.* 85: *postea solidam columnam prope uiginti pedum lapidis Numidici in foro statuit <in>scripsitque parenti patriae. apud eam longo tempore sacrificare, uota suscipere, controuersias quasdam interposito per Caesarem iure iurando distrahere perseueravit.*
- 38 This was the perception at that time. The comet that appeared after Caesar’s murder received its consecrated meaning after Philippi, as *sidus Iulium*. Cf. Plut. *Caes.* 69: Ὁ μέντοι μέγας αὐτοῦ δαίμων, ὃ παρὰ τὸν βίον ἐχρήσατο, καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἐπηκολούθησε τιμωρὸς τοῦ φόνου, διὰ τε γῆς πάσης καὶ θαλάττης ἐλαύνων καὶ ἀνιχνεύων ἄχρι τοῦ μηδένα λιπεῖν τῶν ἀπεκτονότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς καθ’ ὅτιοῦν ἢ χειρὶ τοῦ ἔργου θιγόντας ἢ γνώμῃ μετασχόντας ἐπέξελλεῖν. θαυμασιώτατον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνθρωπίνων τὸ περὶ Κάσιον· ἡττηθεὶς γὰρ ἐν Φιλίπποις, ἐκείνῳ τῷ ξιφιδίῳ διέφθειρεν ἑαυτὸν ὃ κατὰ Καίσαρος ἐχρήσατο· τῶν δὲ θείων ὃ τε μέγας κομήτης (ἐφάνη γὰρ ἐπὶ νύκτας ἑπτὰ μετὰ τὴν Καίσαρος σφαγὴν διαπρεπῆς, εἴτ’ ἠφανίσθη), καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀμαύρωμα τῆς αὐγῆς.
- 39 It is known that about the beginning of the Christian era all educated persons in Rome spoke Greek. Caesar himself was perfectly bilingual, some of his famous sayings like *alea iacta est(o)* are Greek citations (Ἀνερρίφθω κύβος, from Menander’s *Arrhephoros*, cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 60.4) and also his last words to Brutus *You too, My son!* he must have spoken in Greek according to Suetonius’ reports (*Jul.* 82: *Καὶ σὺ τέκνον!*). It is less well known that in Rome Greek was the cultural language within living memory and an official one from very early on.
- 40 The so-called ‘itacism’, which means that η—‘ēta’—became ‘ita’ in pronunciation, with the danger of confusing a whole group of vocals and diphthongs, i. a.: ι, εἰ, η (ἦ) οἰ, υ, —‘i’, ‘ei’, ‘ê’, ‘ēi’, ‘oi’, ‘y’—which then were all spoken ‘i’ (i. e. ‘iota’: that’s why it is also called ‘iotacism’), the same with ε, αι—‘e’, ‘ai’—both ‘e’, so that not

even ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς, i.e. we and you (respectively us and you, etc.) could be kept apart. Cf. Charalambakis (1984), p.83 7.1.1: Συνέπεσε ἡ προφορά τῶν ι, ει, η (ἦ), οι, υ σέ ι.

- 41 Cf. Lüderitz (1994), p. 193.
- 42 Plut. *Pomp.* 75: τῶν δὲ Μιτυληναίων τὸν Πομπήϊον ἀσπασαμένων καὶ παρακαλούντων εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ κακείνους ἐκέλευσε τῷ κρατοῦντι πείθεσθαι καὶ θαρρεῖν· εὐγνώμονα γὰρ εἶναι Καίσαρα καὶ χρηστόν.
- 43 As χριστός—*christós* with 'i'—means 'oiled, greased' it was interpreted by the Christians as 'anointed' and was used for the Aramaic 'Messiah' (cf. Jn. 1:41; 4:25, where in both cases *Χριστός* is added, once as an interpretation, then as a surname).
- 44 COLoNia > KÖLN / LVgdVNum > LYON / caeSARauGVStA > ZARAGOZA / hIPpoDIARrhyTVs > BIZERTE / PRESbyTeros > PRIEST—without claiming linguistic accuracy: the phonetic transitions are naturally more complex and depend on the location and the time (for example from the Greek *presbyteros* we have the German *Priester*, the English *priest*, the French *prêtre*, the Italian *prete*, etc.; *Forum Iulii* led as well to *Friuli* as to *Fréjus*, etc.). Aided by the respective special terminologies, we can ponder whether in the transition from *Caesaraugusta* to *Zaragoza* the sounds 'c' or 's' or 'cs' became the initial 'z'—with or without the assimilation of the sibilants. Also, we can ponder whether in the hypothesized transition of *archiereus megistos* to *christos* it was the first or second 'r' that was retained—or a combination of both with or without the metathesis of the liquid—and so on. But this discussion would only complicate the matter at this point in time, all the more so because we still do not know when and where these hypothetical transitions may have happened. So at first it is about taking stock only.

II. Vitae Parallelae

- 45 App. BC 2.146: [...] ἐν θαύματι αὐτῶν ἕκαστα ποιούμενος.
- 46 Dio Cass. HR 44.44.4. App. BC 2.150.625: Καίσαρι δὲ ἢ τε Ἴόνιος θάλασσα εἶξε, χειμῶνος μέσου πλωτὴ καὶ εὐδῖος γενομένη [...]. Dio Cass. HR 41.46.3: ἐξέφηγεν ἑαυτὸν καθάπερ ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα παύσων.
- 47 Plut. *Caes.* 5: καὶ θαυμάσας ὥσπερ ἐξ "Αἰδου διὰ χρόνων πολλῶν ἀνάγοντα τὰς Μαρίου τιμὰς εἰς τὴν πόλιν.
- 48 Apparently it is willingly repressed that Caesar was *pontifex maximus* from the beginning of his career, and that he was honored during his lifetime with cultic practices and after his death as a God. Here is just one example representative of many others: in his preface to Rasmussen (1967) the editor lists: 'Caesar was a politician and statesman, conqueror, discoverer and general at the same time—and not least an orator and writer of rank [...]'. The *pontifex maximus*, son of Venus and God of the Empire is not mentioned—it is left to specialist studies (cf. inter alia: Wlosok (1978), Price (1984), Clauss (1999) or Cancik/Hitzl (Ed.) (2003)).
- 49 Mt. 10:34-36. Cf. Martial (Poet of the first century ad), *Epigrams*, ix, 72-73: *cum gener atque socer diris concurreret armis maestaque civili caede maderet humus.*
A common school translation recites:
'When Caesar and Pompey each attacked the other
And son killed father and brother his brother.'
<http://www.lingua.co.uk/latin1/tour/authors/martial/>
It is not a literal translation, having lost the 'dire arms' and the 'mournful earth becoming wet from the civil massacre', but it makes clear that the *gener* and the *socer*, the 'son in law' and the 'father in law', were Pompeius and Caesar fighting one another in a civil, and yes, a domestic war.

If we compare the text of Martial with Mt. 10:34-36 in Latin (Vulgate)—*Nolite arbitrari quia pacem veneri mittere in terram: non veni pacem mittere sed gladium. veni enim separare hominem adversus patrem suum, et filiam adversus matrem suam, et nurum adversus socrum suam: et inimici hominis, domestici eius.*—we see that *gener* and *socer*, ‘son in law’ and ‘father in law’, have become *nurus* and *socer*, ‘daughter in law’ and ‘mother in law’. The reason lies in the fact that Matthew is citing Micah 7:6:

‘For the son dishonoureth the father, the daughter riseth up against her mother, the daughter in law against her mother in law; a man’s enemies are the men of his own house.’

But in Micah there is no reference to a ‘sword’ or other ‘arms’, although to ‘blood’ in Mch 7:2. So Martial’s verses are closer to Matthew’s passage than Micah’s. It is conspicuous that a text like this from Martial was present here, before Matthew himself or later copyists substituted it with the inevitable midrash, in this case a citation of Micah.

- 50 Letter of Caesar to Oppius and Cornelius, in: Cic. *ad Att.* 9.7 c: *Haec nova sit ratio vincendi, ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus.* Stauffer (1957), p.20, translates: ‘Das muß die neue Siegestaktik und Sicherheitspolitik sein, daß wir Vergebung üben und eine freie und festliche Welt schaffen—This must be the new tactics of victory and security politics that we grant forgiveness and create a free and festive world’. Cf. Suet. *Jul.* 75.
- 51 This is attested of him by the Church Fathers also—cf. Orosius *Hist.* 6.17.1, who says that Julius Caesar perished in the attempt to construct the political world anew, contrary to the example of his predecessors, in the spirit of clemency: *Caesar Roman rediit: ubi dum Reipublicae statum contra exempla maiorum clementer instaurat, auctoribus Bruto et Cassio, conscio etiam plurimo senatu, in curia viginti et tribus vulneribus confossus interiit.*’
- 52 Dio Cass. *HR* 44.46.5-6: πάντας ὅσοι μὴ καὶ πρότερόν ποτε ἀλόντες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἠλέητο ἀφείς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς πολλάκις ἐπιβουλεύοντάς οἱ αἰεὶ περιποιεῖσθαι μωρίαν, οὐ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐνόμιζε [...].
- 53 Mk. 3:29: ὃς δ’ ἂν βλασφημήσῃ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐκ ἔχει ἄφεσιν εἰς τὸν αἶωνα, ἀλλὰ ἔνοχος ἐστὶν αἰωνίου ἁμαρτήματος [...].
- 54 Dio Cass. *HR* 44.4.5; Gel. 5.6.11.
- 55 Detail of the passion-sarcophagus in: Hinz (1973-81), I Fig. 74. Cf. note 157, ill. 116, second scene from left.
- 56 Today Greece is still called *Ionian* by the Turks and the Arabs, and the Greeks are still *Ionians*. But also in the West the term is more comprehensive than one thinks. So the *Ionian islands* are less likely to be the eastern ones in front of the *Ionian coastline* of Asia minor like Chios and Samos, but rather the western islands in the *Ionian sea*, the islands in closer proximity to Italy like Corfu, Cephalonia etc.
- 57 Mk. 1:22: ἦν γὰρ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων.
- 58 Mk. 1:24: Τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρηνέ; ἦλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς;
- 59 In Rome the woman receives the name of her father’s gens, but sometimes even scholars make the mistake of naming her after her husband—so Caesar’s wife Pompeia is called ‘Iulia’ by Appianus (*BC* 2.14). The differing accent, *Mária* and *María* results from the different rules of the Latin and Greek accentuation. Gr. *Mários/María* like *Kýrios/Kyria*.
- 60 Jn. 11:5.
- 61 For the metathesis of the liquids in the Aramaic cf. Stanislav Segert (⁴1990), 3.7.2.5. Like Greek *Herakles* > Latin *Hercules*; German *Riegel* > Czech *ligr*. The variations in the vocals are insignificant, even more so to ears that are familiar with Semitic languages. In the Aramaic—as in the other Semitic languages—only the consonants are semantically relevant. A similar phenomenon exists in the Indo-Europe-

- an languages only as a residuum, for example in English: *begin, began, begun*. If we were to also only pen the consonants, the relationship of the three words would be more striking. Common denominator: *bgn*.
- 62 For eventual doublets that can be generated from different names, among them especially 'Lepidus' see note 100.
- 63 Concerning short forms with *-ās* cf. Chantraine (1933), p. 31 sq.
- 64 Mk. 14:43: Ἰούδας εἶς τῶν δώδεκα.
- 65 Cf. the respective meaning of the Italian derivatives: *ladro*—'thief, rogue'—and *lazzarone*—'scoundrel, villain, lout'.
- 66 Ὁ νέος Καῖσαρ respectively Καῖσαρ ὁ νέος—so Octavianus Augustus is often called to distinguish him from the older (Nicol aus Damascenus *Vit. Caes.* 14: πρεσβύτερος) or great Caesar (Nic. Dam. *Vit. Caes.* 107: μέγας). Cf. i.a.: Nic. Dam. *Vit. Caes.* 14, 16, 17, 32, 36, 37, 51, 107; Plut. *Brut.* 27.1, *Cic.* 43.6, 44.1 and Plut. *Ant.* 16.1; App. *BC* 3.21, 32 and 33. If there was no pressing danger of confusion the ancient historians simply called him *Caesar*—Καῖσαρ.
N.B.: We transcribe here—and from now on—the Greek article ὁ not with 'ho' but with '(h)o' or even 'o',—as well as the other words beginning with *spiritus asper*—because in the late Hellenistic time we are concerned with, the 'h' was not pronounced and was no longer written: the diacritical signs, the accents, the esprits etc. were introduced at a later time. The classical transcription here would give the wrong impression and lead us astray.
- 67 *Iuuenis* > ὁ νέος > Ἰωάν(ν)ης. There are many examples in the Romance languages of the incorporation of the article into the name—witness the French *Lorient* (< *l'Orient*), *Lancelot* (< *l'Anselot* < *Anselo* < *Anguselus*), the Italian *Labbadia* (< *l'Abbadia*), etc.
The acoustic transition to Johannes (John) also occurs when the Greek ὁ νέος is omitted and the Latin *iuuenis* is supposed as the starting point. The presence of a 'v' in the Italian form of both words *giovane* and *Giovanni* (and its absence in the popular *Gianni*) would speak for the direct derivation of the name Ἰωάν(ν)ης from the Latin *iuuenis*. A modern example for *young* > *John* is the football (resp. soccer) player Elber—who was called *il giovane Elber* in Italy 'the young Elber' when he came from Brazil at a young age—and was later called *Giovane* in Germany as well—but with the accent of *Giovanni*: *Giovàne*, instead of *gióvane*.
- 68 Because of the weak and aspirant pronunciation of the Greek 'g'—and because of the appearance of the writing.
- 69 Model: *curia* < *co-uiria*, meeting of men.
- 70 Nicol aus Damascenus (i.a. *Vit. Caes.* xxiii 82) regularly calls the Roman Senate *συνέδριον*. The distinction between *synedrion*, '(Greek) council' and *synedrium*, 'Jewish council', which is often made in German, is arbitrary. In English the perspicuity of the relation between *senate* and *synedrion* is lost, because the last is rather called *sanhedrin*, using a pseudo-Hebraic word, in fact a late hebraization of an authentic Greek word, composed of *syn*, 'together' and (*h*)*edra*, 'seat, sitting, session'. The Greek word *synedrion* indicates simply a *council*, i.e. in Rome the *senate*.
- 71 Aramaic *migdol*, 'tower' respectively 'castle'. Hence the frequency of places with this addition.
- 72 It is striking that all women who are related to Jesus or who are close to him are called *Maria*.
- 73 Plut. *Ant.* 74: αὐτὴ δὲ θήκας ἔχουσα καὶ μνήματα κατεσκευασμένα περιπτῶς εἰς τε κάλλος καὶ ὕψος.
- 74 Mk. 1:16: εἶδεν Σίμωνα.
- 75 Cf. the reputed relic of the *titulus crucis*, the sign on Jesus' cross, with a text written from right to left, Greek and Latin: BCYNEPAZA(H)N.CI / RSVNIRAZAN.I—for IC.N(H)AZAPENYCB / I NAZARINVSR, here obviously in imitation of the Jewish

- way of writing; the Greek line is a mere Greek transcription of the Latin line rather than a translation, in contrast to all the Greek citations of the Gospels, so that this *titulus crucis* can hardly be considered authentic, even if some devout scholars persist in doing so. Anyway, if authentic, it documents the possibility of writing Greek and even Latin in reversed script in a Jewish context. If not authentic, it documents the inveterate tendency to write Greek and even Latin in reversed script, in order to appear authentic. In fact, in archaic times the Greeks—like the Egyptians and Etruscans—did not always write from the left to the right, but also from right to left. Sometimes they wrote one line to the right and the next line to the left: *boustrophedon*, which means: as oxen reverse during ploughing (cf. the inscription of the Cretan city of Gortyn about its municipal right). It is also assumed that the Septuagint was transcribed in Greek letters first and was then translated with occasional perceptual errors, amongst them the ones due to the misreading of the direction in which various words were to be read (cf. Wutz (1925). Apart from the Septuagint, transcriptions of Hebrew texts are contained in the writings of Flavius Josephus, Origenes, Eusebius, Epiphanes, Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. For the heterographical use of the Aramaic in the Persian cf. Segert (⁴1990), 1.7.6. So it is conceivable that a copyist has taken the name *Antonius* to be a reversed, heterographically inserted *Simona* and that he has ‘corrected’ the supposed mistake.
- 76 The metathesis, the reordering of sounds, often occurs in transitions between languages, sometimes combined with a wrong etymology. So for example, *wasp*—(from the Latin *vespa*) was in Old English *wæps*, as if it had come from *wefan*—‘to weave’—although in this case the etymology could, as an exception, be correct.
- 77 N.B.: This expression—*εἰς τὴν πόλιν*, pronunciation: *Is tem bolin*—became *Istanbul*, the proper Turkish name for the city of Constantinople. This is similar to the Arab *medina*, which signifies ‘city’ generally but ‘The city’ as well.
- 78 Lxx and Philo write *Σαλήμ*, Flavius Josephus *Ant. J.* 1.180 writes *Σολυμᾶ*.
- 79 Paul in Heb. 7:1sq calls Melchisedek βασιλεὺς *Σαλήμ* by following Gn. 14:18 and explains it as ‘king of peace’. Philo *leg. all.* 3.79: *Μελχισεδέκ βασιλέα τῆς εἰρήνης—Σαλήμ τούτο γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται.*
- 80 Similar to the German *Regensburg*, which sounds like ‘Castle of Rain’, derived from Latin *Castra Regina*, which can be erroneously understood as ‘Queen’s castle’: *castra* > *Burg*, ‘castle’ (straight translation); *regina* > *Regen*, ‘rain’ (translation by sound—thus changing the meaning). In fact *Regen*, Lat. *Regina*, is neither the rain nor a queen, but the name of the river flowing there. —
- 81 Older manuscripts—i. a. P. Bodmer II (= P⁶⁶)—write *IC*, only more recent ones like the Bezae Cantabrigiensis (= D) write—*IHC*.
- 82 Cf. i. a. App. BC 2.106: *σχήματά τε ἐπεγράφετο ταῖς εἰκόσι ποικίλα, καὶ στέφανος ἐκ δρυὸς ἦν ἐπ’ ἐνιαυτῶν ὡς σωτήρι τῆς πατρίδος, ᾧ πάλοι τοὺς ὑπερασπίσαντας ἐγέραιρον οἱ περισωθέντες.*
- 83 Cf. Raubitschek (1954), p. 69, (B), (C), (F), (G), (J), (K), (M), (N), (O): the many similar inscriptions have the following common denominator:
Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΓΑΙΟΝ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΥΙΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ [ΥΠΑΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΤΑΤΟΡΑ ΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ] ΣΩΤΗΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ [ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΩΝ]. In square brackets we have the titles that were omitted or were formulated in another manner in one or the other inscription. The accusative indicates that these are not only dedications but in fact are consecrations.
- 84 *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* (The inscriptions of Ephesos), part II, 1979, N° 251: *ΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΑΣΙΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΔΗΜΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΕΘΝΗ ΓΑΙΟΝ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΥΙΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ ΥΠΑΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΠΟ ΑΡΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΝ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΝΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΑ.*

- 85 Like Jesus, Caesar was also «Son of God». Because the Julii were generally considered to be descendants of Venus via Julus and Aeneas and especially he, the favorite son, who had consecrated his victories to her: *Venere prognatus*. Cf. Cic. Ep. *ad fam.* 8.15.2.14; c. vii Id. Mart. 49. Linguistically there is to note, that 'Son of God' in Greek can also mean 'Son of the Goddess', because *θεός* is a commune and also means Goddess, e.g.: ἡ Διὸς θεός, ἡ Ζηνὸς θεός, verbatim 'she the Zeus' God', i.e. the daughter of Zeus; cf. also Dio Cass. *HR* 41.61.4: ἐν τῷ τῆς Νίκης ναῶ [...] καὶ τὴν θεὸν αὐτὴν [...]. Hence *υἱὸς θεοῦ* (Mk 15:39; Lk 1:35) and thus also *υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* (passim)—can also mean 'Son of the Goddess'. So Dio Cassius says of Caesar, analogous to the inscription from Ephesos, that he is ἐκ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης (*HR* 44.37.4), descended 'from Aphrodite', while the parallel place in Appianus (*BC* 146) speaks of θεοῦ γενέσεως 'his origin from God' (not 'from the Goddess', although 'from Venus' is meant here). The 'from Ares' in the inscription from Ephesos—instead of the expected 'from Anchises'—originates from the marriage of Mars and Venus, a notion familiar to the Greeks, because it had come to the Romans from them (cf. Wissowa (²1912) p.292). Here 'from Ares' alludes politically to Caesar as the new Romulus, who was the son of Mars (cf. also the temple of *Mars Ultor* which was later consecrated to Caesar by his adoptive son Octavianus; the same Augustus was to name his nephew and adoptive son Caius Caesar Ἄρης υἱός). Possibly it also alludes to the fact that Caesars' father descended on the mothers' side from the *Marcii Reges*, who stemmed from *Ancus Marcius* (cf. Suet. *Jul.* 6.1), with (etymologically correct) derivation of *Marcus* from *Mars*. Caesar had sacrificed to both deities, Mars and his ancestral mother Venus, at midnight before the battle at Pharsalos: App. *BC* 2.68.281: θυόμενός τε νυκτὸς μέσης τὸν Ἄρη κατεκάλει καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρόγονον Ἀφροδίτην [...].
- Jesus Son of God* can thence stand for *Caius Iulius Venere prognatus*. But since (*υἱὸς τῆς*) ἈΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΣ is very close to (*υἱὸς τοῦ*) ἈΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ in tone and appearance of writing, hypothetical mix-ups between 'Son of Man' and 'Son of God' cannot be completely ruled out.
- Theós* can stand for *divus*. The fact that *theós* can only relatively rarely be found on the pedestals of Ionian statues, even more seldom on the earlier ones (on which instead *archieus* or *archieus megistos*, i.e. *pontifex maximus*, is written), is explained thus: that those with *theós* probably came later, in the time after Munda, when the title *divus* was bestowed upon Caesar. Cf. Raubitschek (1954).
- 86 In our consecration-inscriptions the Latin title *imperator* is rendered as *autokratōr*. Jesus is called *pantokratōr*, the almighty, which sounds like a blend of *imperator* with *autokratōr* or of *hypatos* (consul) with *autokratōr*. But also the *apantōn* of *tōn hellēnōn apantōn* could be heard as *panto-*. In the Gospel it is said that Jesus had *exousia*—authority, full power. The classical Latin translation of *exousia* is *potestas* respectively *imperium* (cf. Magie 1905, p. 11, 68 and 121). So *exousia* respectively *pantokratōr* could represent a collective term for the different political titles of Caesar that were sometimes mentioned together or sometimes alternately: *autokratōr*, *hypatos*, *diktator*—*imperator*, *consul*, *dictator*.
- 87 The *nomen sacrum*, the abbreviation for *ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ*, *ΧΡ*, is an anomaly because in most abbreviations, the first and the last letter are the ones preserved—*ΘΕΟΣ* > *ΘΣ*, *ΙΗΣΟΥΣ* > *ΙΣ* etc. Thus the normal abbreviation is *ΧΣ*. So it would be conceivable that the abbreviation *ΧΡ* may have replaced the abbreviation for *ΚΑΙΣΑΡ*, *ΚΡ*, through a writing error: *K* > *X*.
- 88 *Jesus Nazarene* is the name and sometimes the address of Jesus. The possessed man of Capernaum in Mark addresses him that way. *Nazarēnos*—*Ναζαρηνός*—is generally understood as 'of Nazareth'. Outside of Mark, sometimes *Ναζωραῖος* is found instead, but this variation is also interpreted as an adjective to *Ναζαρέθ*—explicitly so in Matthew 2:23. The Septuagint has *Ναζηραῖος*. The annotation by Bauer

(⁶1988), Sp. 1077, that ‘the linguistic bridge from *Ναζαρέτ* to *Ναζωραῖος* is difficult to construct, and one has to assume that *Ναζωραῖος* had another meaning before it was connected to Nazaret’, something that cannot be emphasized too much. For *Nazareth* there is also the variation *Nazara* which could be older (cf. Lk. 4:16: *Καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ναζαρά*). If we compare in Greek the roots of *Nazarēnos* and *Nazareth* with *Caesar*—*NAZAP* ≈ *KAIΣAP*—then the difference appears to be minimal (the differing letters—the initial ‘N’ and ‘K’—both consist of three lines: only the beginning and the direction of the last line differ a bit; ‘Σ’ and ‘Z’ can be confused; ‘I’ dissipates easily and it could be held for the commonly appearing dash of the Z: ‘Z’). Whereas *Nazara* is close to *Kaisara* (the Greek accusative of Caesar) and also *Nazareth* is close to *Kaisareia* (Greek *Caesarea*: the name of several cities), so *Nazarēnos* looks like *Kaisarianos*: *Jesus Nazarene* could stand for *Gaius Iulius Caesar*.

- 89 Caius Iulius Caesar was ‘son of Caius’, pronunciation ‘Gaius’. Understood as having the meaning of ‘son of Gaia’, ‘son of Mother Earth’, the name Gaius stood for the concept of ‘man, human’ par excellence to the farmers which the Romans were (cf. the vow of marriage of the Roman woman: *Vbi tu Gaius et ego Gaia*—‘Where you (will be) man of earth, likewise I (will be), woman of earth’). This is especially the case for Greek ears (In Greek *Caius* is written *Gaios*, like *Gaia*, *gê*, the earth. Cf. *γη*, *γᾶ* or *γαῖα*—*gê*, *gâ* or *gaia*—for ‘earth’ and in English ‘geography’; *γαῖῆος*—*gaiēios*—‘born of the earth, coming from the earth’, poetical since *Odyssey* 7.24; also *γηγενής*—*gêgenês*—‘born of the earth, son of earth, native, autochthon’), and—translated—also for Aramaic ears (‘Adam’, name of the first man and ‘man’ in general, is derived from *adamâ*, ‘earth, arable land’. According to Gn. 2:7: ‘And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground [...]’—a play on words; Gn. 5:2: ‘Male and female (men) created he them [...] and called their name Adam (man)’—both times ‘Adam’. For Christ as ‘the new Adam’ cf. Rom. 5:14; 1 Cor. 15:45). So *Jesus Son of Man* can stand for *Caius Iulius Cai filius*. However, since both parts of the name (i. e. *Caius Iulius* and *Cai filius*), as demonstrated in the inscriptions, can be easily confused in the Greek—especially when written without a space between the words, as was usual at that time: *ΓΑΙΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΓΑΙΟΥΥΙΟΝ*, *gaiouionlion*—many a *son of man* can also stand for *Caius Iulius*. (The frequent occurrence of *son of man*—82 times in the four Gospels—as well as its use: never as an address, would attest to this.)
- 90 *Gaius Iulius* as a proper name cannot endure: it is too long. Proper names shrink in usage to a maximum length of two syllables. Johannes becomes Jannis, Jean, Sean, Ian or John, etc. and if officialdom tries to preserve the full form it shrinks just as much in practise—so the German Johannes to Hans for example, or the Italian Giovanni becomes Gianni; of course Johannes can be abbreviated according to the modern trend to Jo but it has to become shorter. The same thing happens to other names with three or more syllables: Margarita becomes Margit or Rita, Joseph can remain (it only has two syllables, but there is in German the option of Sepp), but Giuseppe (three syllables) becomes Beppe, Francesco becomes Franco, Checco, Paco or Franz etc. (but François can remain): always the maximum of two syllables. The same tendency toward one or two syllables can be observed in the names of towns: Colonia becomes Köln, Confluentes Koblenz, Mogontiacum Mainz, Forum Livii becomes Forlì etc. Gaius Iulius has four syllables. The abbreviations, only *Gaius* or only *Iulius*, rule themselves out because they would lead to confusions. The name has to contract itself. As a comparison *Forum Iulii*, which became *Fréjus*, could help us to understand the process (apparently the vulgar tongue started from the undeclined basic form *Forum Iulius*: *Forum Iulius* > *Fre-jus*). This shows that the second link of our combination *Iulius* becomes *-ius* (*-jus*). The unaccented middle syllable then fades (cf. i. a. Pope (1934): *vigilare* > *veiller*; *regina* > *reine*; *nigrum*

> *noir*; *legere* > *lire*, etc.). So *Gaius Iulius* will have as an intermediate stage *Gais-jus*. The initial soft 'g' becomes 'j', whereas the spirant 's' absorbs the semivowel 'j' of the second link; then the accented vowel in the first link closes itself to 'e' (especially in the case of the Greek *Gaios*, because it is understood as a dialectal version of *gêios*—pronunciation 'ghêios'—Dorean γάιος / Atean γήιος): *Iêsus*, Greek ΗΗΣΟΥΣ.

Gaius Iulius > *Gais-jus* > *Iêsus* > Ἰησοῦς.

Gaius Iulius and *Jesus* can be one and the same name, the one in its elaborate form and the other in the everyday one.

- 91 The titles in the square brackets correspond in the Christology, besides *basileus* and *kyrios*, to others that are typical for Caesar—*victor*, *triumphator*, *imperator*, even *Caesar*—or for Augustus—*dux*, *custos*, *princeps* and *Augustus*. Cf. Cancik (1975), p. 118. That *dictator* is missing in Christology may be based on the fact that the title was prohibited after Caesar's murder. Hence Octavianus took the title *princeps*.
- 92 At the time when the Gospels originated, which means a century or so after Caesar's death, there were so many Caesars and Julii that it became common to call *Caius Iulius Caesar* rather *Divus Iulius*, 'the divine Julius' (cf. the titles of Suetonius' emperor-biographies). Because *Divus Iulius* was his cult-name it would be conceivable that we should assume *Diuus Iulius* as the starting point for the short name *Jesus* instead of *Gaius Iulius*.

Remarkably—in this case also, the short form would be *Jesus*. The development of the second element would be at first the same: *Iulius* > *-ius* (*-jus*). What can become of *Diuus* is illustrated to us by the development of *diu pater* (from an original *dieu pater*) which became *Ju-piter*: the 'd' before 'iu' was eliminated. That this rule was valid also later can be seen in the evolution of *diurnus* which led to the French *jour* and to the Italian *giorno*. So *Diuus* at first becomes *Iuus*. The intermediate stage would be *Iuus-jus*. Then the spirant 's' would absorb the semivowel 'j': *Iuusus*. Finally the accented syllable would lead to a narrowing of the vowel as before—*Iêsus*. *Diuus Iulius* > *Iuus-jus* > *Iuusus* > *Iêsus* > Ἰησοῦς.

Moreover, we have to notice here that also Caesar's adoptive son *Octavianus* became *Caius Iulius Caesar Cai filius* by his adoption—and hence he had practically the same name as the father (the cause was the *condicio nominis ferendi*: in order to claim the inheritance *C. Octavius Thurinus* had taken the name of his adoptive father and he was called *Gaius Iulius Caesar Cai filius Octavianus* from then on. The equality of names proved itself to be a political trump. His opponents like Antonius denigrated him as *Octavianus*, sometimes *Thurinus* as well. Today he is called mostly by his later title of honor: *Augustus*. Cf. Cancik (1975), p. 118). When his adoptive father shortly after was consecrated, the adoptive son was from then on called *Caius Iulius Caesar Divi filius*—'son of God'. But because Caesar was also son of God as descendant of Venus there was practically no possibility of distinguishing them.

Coincidentally we also arrive at the short name *Jesus* when we use *Divi Filius* as the starting point (instead of *Caius Iulius* or *Divus Iulius*). We would namely have to assume *Diuus Filius* as the undeclined basic form (see the above example 'Fréjus'). *Diuus* becomes *Iuus*, as we have seen before, *Filius* to *fius* (disappearance of the unaccentuated syllable). Then the dental fricative 's' would absorb the labiodental fricative 'f': *Iuusus*. And from here on again *Iêsus*.

Diuus Filius > *Iuus-fius* > *Iuusius* > *Iêsus* > Ἰησοῦς.

All Roman roads lead inevitably to *Jesus*.

We have to reckon with the possibility that Caesar and Octavianus Augustus have competed to generate the name *Jesus*. Or—expressed differently—we have to be prepared for at least two *Jesus*-figures.

- 93 This is documented for *koíranos*, which is close to *kyrios* in both meaning and sound. Cf. the play on words of Areios οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκαισαρίη—‘More than one Caesar is not a good thing’ (Plut. *Ant.* 81)—a paraphrase of Odysseus’ οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη—‘More than one master is not a good thing’ (*Iliad* 2.204)—which enticed Augustus to murder Caesarion, the real son of Caesar and Cleopatra.
- 94 Mark and Matthew speak in only one passage of Jesus as ‘the Lord’, Ὁ κύριος: Mk. 11:3 = Mt. 21:3. In addition, Mark uses this term only once as a form of address (7:28). Matthew has it several times. Only Luke uses it more often. At the time of Matthew and Luke (between 70 and 100 ad) the term *dominus* = *kyrios* as a designation of and an address to the emperor had established itself, following Oriental custom.
- 95 The Greek ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ respectively ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑCΤΟC for the Latin CAESAR AVGVSTVS is the common name of the later emperors, which was abbreviated in different ways in inscriptions and on coins and finally with the simple *K.C.* (cf. von Aulok (1957-68), nr. 19, coin of Traianus from Amasia in the Pontus). While on the Latin emperors’ coins the title *pontifex maximus* was regularly written, mostly abbreviated *p. m.*, on the Greek ones the correspondent *archiereus megistos* is found extremely seldom (if we do not err lastly on a coin of Caligula-Augustus from Crete with the obverse inscription ΓΑΙΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒ. ΓΕΡΜ. ΑΡΧ. ΜΕΓ. ΔΗΜ. ΕΞΟΥ ΥΠΙΑ). This is probably connected with the fact that except for Augustus who could only become *pontifex maximus* i. e. *archiereus megistos* after the death of Lepidus in 12 bc, all other emperors normally took on the title as a rule at their enthronement already, so that at least in the Greek-speaking East *archiereus megistos* was an understood attribute of *Kaisar Sebastos*. This would mean that the title *archiereus megistos* had become ownerless in the East—and could be usurped.
- 96 Accordingly the *magister equitum*, the Grand Master of the Horse, was his proxy.
- 97 Cf. Jn. 1:38: ‘Rabbi, (which is to say, being interpreted, Master)’. Ραββί, ὃ λέγεται μεθερμηνεύμενον Διδάσκαλε. It could also be translated: ‘Rabbi—that is master, translated’, then ‘Rabbi’ would be the translation of ‘Master’.
- 98 Cf. in English ‘dictation’, ‘to dictate’, see also the German ‘Dichter’ (poet, writer), as well as the address ‘Master’. *Rabbi* too is originally an address—‘(my) Lord’—which later took on the meaning of (*law*-)teacher.
- 99 Mk. 1:22: ἦν γὰρ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων [...].
- 100 We have seen that if sound and meaning fall apart, for the one name Caesar, two can emerge in the Gospel: so Jesus as a possible translation of servator or as a result of the wearing off of *Gaius Iulius* respectively *Divus Iulius* or *Divi Filius*. Thus two persons in the Caesar story can stand for one in the Gospel—or vice versa. For example:
Lepidus > *Pilatus* (preservation of the sound)
Praetor Lepidus > *Petrus* (the sense of *Lepidus*, misunderstood as *lapis*, *lapidis*, ‘stone’; the sound from *praetor*)
 Or vice-versa:
praetor (Lepidus) > *Petrus*
praetor (Antonius) > *Petrus*
praetor (Brutus) > *Petrus*
- 101 Concerning the *oral transmission* of information, there is the well known experiment: a picture is shown to the first student, who has to describe it to the next one and so on. It is then possible to follow the transformation of the story. If the picture was of a woman in black who undresses in front of a man in white, the result can be that a white man has raped a black woman: Thus a medical examination by a doctor turns into a rape. Provided, of course, that there are racial problems in the

area. The story is totally different at the end but the requisites are the same: woman/black/naked, man/white/power.

In such experiments that examine the spreading of rumors (or of information heard through the grapevine), at first a simplification of the original story is observed, which tends toward the threefold unity of time, place and action like in the old theater. Only later does embellishment take place, the function of which, however, is to explain rationally and credibly that which has become incomprehensible. Therefore requisites, changed by folk etymology, may generate others that fit into the new picture and support the requisites in their new function. In the example mentioned above the discarded garment could be torn suddenly, or a bed or a knife may appear. But above all a great deal can be argued round and round: the interpretation gets the upper hand. Sub-themes will also arise which seek to correct contradictions caused in the main story, etc.

It is virtually impossible to trace a narration found at the delta of an oral river back to its source. But if we have both, the mouth and the (supposed) source, it is easy to determine, by the comparison of the requisites, if one is the source of the other or not. So if 'grapevine' effects did become incorporated in the Gospels, then, in the process of verification of our hypothesis, we first have to pay attention only to the requisites and set the story they are embedded in aside for the moment. In this way a possible filiation may be detected.

- 102 For an example of a transition through three languages cf. i. a., the medicinal herb *Erythraea* which the Greeks named after the centaur Chiron *Kentaurion*, Latin *centaurium* (cf. Plinius, *Nat. hist.* 25.66): misunderstood as *centum aurum* ('hundred gold pieces'), in German/Dutch it went beyond the *Hundertgulden*, 'hundred guilders', to the *Tausendguldenkraut*, 'thousand guilders herb'. Sometimes transitions are not provable. The Hindi word for ape—*markata*—is found again in *meerkat*: a small long-tailed monkey very fond of climbing (e. g. a southern African mongoose, especially the suricate). A Portuguese mediation, *marcata*, misinterpreted as *marcata*, 'see cat', seems to be obvious but it is not substantiated (Cf. Kluge²¹ 1975, s. v. *Meerkatze*).

It is particularly in the names of flora and fauna that the folk language is mistaken in determining the origin, inferring the wrong mediator from the sound and then proceeding to a fantastic origin: the *Zizyphus jujuba*, with its characteristic fruits, the 'red or Chinese dates' is called, according to the botanical name, 'common Jujube' in German, but the thorny shrub or tree of the Jujube, became *Judendorn*, 'thorn of the Jews' in the vernacular. A similar thing happened to the *Helianthus tuberosus*, a root tasting like artichoke which was named after the sunflower *girasole*, 'turning with the sun', by the Italo-Americans, and became *Jerusalem artichoke* in the USA, albeit not an artichoke and not from Jerusalem (communication by Erika Simon).

The role played by a third term as an attraction pole in the mechanism of folk etymology is illustrated by the German *radikal*, 'radical' > *ratzekahl*, 'absolutely bare', influenced by *tabula rasa*; idem with the French *forcené* < *for-senné*, 'out of mind', with the influence of *energumène*. For the incorporation of the article cf. the assistant of Commissaire Moulin in the French TV-criminal series: *Katzmann*, 'cat-man', called *Shalom* (< *chat l'homme*). For the incorporation of other particles cf. the German nickname *Owi* for the smiling Jesus-child in the crib, from the Christmas-song: *Stille Nacht ... Gottes Sohn oh wie lacht / Liebe aus deinem göttlichen Mund / da uns schlägt die rettende Stund, / Christ in deiner Geburt...—Gottes Sohn oh wie lacht*, 'Son of God, O how love laughs from out Thy godly mouth...' > *Gottes Sohn, Owi, lacht*, 'God's Son, Owi, laughs'...: *oh wie*, 'oh, how', was bound together to *Owi*, and taken for the proper name of the Jesus-child.

It is not unusual that animals pop up in folk etymology providing an outlet for the people's respective love or hatred of them.

Elephants never roamed around the London *Elephant and Castle* and one would seek the castle in vain. The name is the legacy of a visit by a Spanish princess, when the common people had to shout out in her language: '*A l'infante de Castilla!*'.

The *Mäuseturm*, 'mice-tower', near Bingen on the river Rhine owes its name not to any mice but to the *Maut*, 'toll', that was exacted there: when the memory of the ancient *Maut* was long gone, popular idiom turned the *Maut-tower* into a *Mice-tower* (German *Maus/Mäuse* = mouse/mice).

Buffalo are not to be found in the American city called *Buffalo*, nor any bison, but there is a beautiful river, christened *beau fleuve* by the French, which naturally sounded like *Buffalo* to the ears of the Englishman.

People insist on calling police by animal names in all languages: in Germany they are called *Bullen* (bulls), in French *poulets* (chickens), in England *pigs*, in Italy *poia* and *puia* (buzzard). Different animals, as we see, but they have one thing in common: they always are the animal whose name in the respective languages corresponds most closely to the respective language's word for *police* (*polizia*, *Polizei*, etc). It does not matter which animal, the main thing is that it is one. And how far removed phonetically the animal's name is from the respective word for *policeman/police* is determined by chance: in the word *Bullen* the hissing end-sound is missing, in the words *pigs* and *puia* the 'l', etc. The main thing being that they are approximately called by their name!

We must not forget that this is not about the development of language in the sense of Indo-European linguistics with its regular sound shifts, but about folk etymologies, folk 'etymolocheats' one could say. This is particularly the case with folk etymologies arising from feelings of awe—the so-called occultatives. We can observe how far removed this can be from the laws of sound shift. This happens if e. g. a Bavarian while cursing conceals his *Sakrament!* (sacrament) behind a *Sack Zement!* (sack of cement), or also when a Venetian covers his *ostia!* (the sacred Host) with *ostrega!* (the humble oyster). We see how sometimes sounds disappear or how they can originate out of necessity, as in this case the 'r', 'z' and 'g'. The main thing is they are hidden, right under our noses!

Folk etymologies can also lead to symbolic reinterpretations. The sausage, e. g., stands for anal or sexual associations in almost all languages, depending on its form and size from *hot dog* to *Negersäckel*, 'black man's pouch', the term for blood-sausage in German rural areas. Almost everywhere—but not in Northern Italy. There, *sausage* is used as a synonym for stupidity: a *salame*, 'salami', is an idiot. The reason is that a big salami is called a *salamon*, which sounds like *Solomon*—the epitome of the wise man. So it is said of anyone who was behind the door when the brains were handed out that he is no 'Solomon', but rather a 'salamon'—a big salami. So salami became a synonym for stupidity—contrary to its namesake. Anyhow the new association also helped to expose some sacerdotal pseudo-wisdom, wrapped in biblical Latin, as brainwashing of the people: an enlightening side effect!

Could this have occurred with us in the same way as in the former times of the Church, when the priest scarcely knew any Latin and the people none, leading to inevitable slips of the pen and the tongue, funny misunderstandings and roguish corruptions: *Hoc est corpus* > *hocus-pocus*. *In nomine pax* > *kannst wechsle, Max?*—'can you change, Max?': originally a play on words between *nomen*, 'name', and *nummus*, 'coin'. Or also on the base of a different language: *Salam aleikum* > *ich zahl, wenn ich vorbei kum.*—'I'll pay when I come by'.

Is the Gospel the missal of the poor in spirit?

Folk etymologies always occur when vernacular is involved. When, however, scholars cause it one speaks of *Verballhornungen* (erudite corruptions/bastardizations/

transmogrifications). The result is often still more exciting. He who gave his name to this process—of making things worse rather than better by changing the sense whilst intending to correct what was supposedly wrong—was no layman but a scholar, a printer from Lübeck, Germany: Joh. Balhorn the younger. In 1586 he edited the 'Lübische Recht', the law of the city of Lübeck, 'Auffs Newe vbersehen, Corrigiret'. The printer was blamed for the fateful erroneous improvements of the editors. Actually 'one should write 'Verbalhornung' (ver-Balhorn-ung) with only one 'l', but this would present the danger of it being read as 'Verbal-hornung'—and this would be another Verballhornung. For this reason 'Verballhornung' is written with two 'l's: is this not itself one: 'Ver-ball-hornung'?

As a matter of fact there are only a few genuine folk etymologies: most of them are scholarly corruptions, that are decreed to be folk etymologies once they are detected in order to preserve them like *forcené* and *Tausendgüldenkraut*.

And there are things that the scholars do not want to admit because of ideological reasons. So the Indo-European philologists with their tribal idea of languages according to the maxim that 'the inheritance goes through the blood', only accept words of consanguinity, and conversely all noble words have to be of consanguinity. So *meerkat* (literally 'sea-cat') is not permitted to originate from the Indian *markata*, and *Arbeit*, 'work', has to be a German word because of the *deutsche Wertarbeit*, 'German quality work'. So it is fabulated that the word *Arbeit* originated from an Indo-Germanic root **orbho-*, which means 'orphaned' and then became the Germanic **arbhêjō*, 'am an orphaned (and hence obliged to heavy work) child'. There's a rub in this explanation: *Arbeit*, 'work', never meant 'child or servant labor', but from the beginning the meaning was 'utilizing nature, agriculture' or even 'hardship' (Cf. Kluge ²¹1975, s.v. *Arbeit*). Further, the word *Arbeit* comes from the south—in the north we already have *Werk*, *work*, etc. And in the south there is a word that means 'utilizing nature, farming' and 'trouble' as well, which is the medieval Latin *laborat(um)*. Since the initial 'l' sound is often lost in words because it is taken to be the definite article (cf. German *Oleander* < *lorandum* or Venetian *osmarin* < *l'osmarin* < *rosmarin*), we may assume an *aborat* as the intermediate stage which could become, by metathesis of the liquid, *arabot* as the possible basic form for the origin of the Slavic *rabota* (by the loss of the 'a' which was taken to be a Greek article) and the Old High German *arabeit*. But this is not even allowed to be considered: where would we end up?

- 103 In the bilingual Roman Empire, Greek correspondences were sought for the Latin terms of the official Roman language. In Leipzig in 1905, David Magie published a treatise on the manner of how the Roman festive vocabulary was rendered in Greek, and he identifies three methods which followed each other in the course of the centuries: in the most ancient times by comparison (*comparatio*)—so for example *populus* was rendered as *dêmos*—later, when there were no longer any Greek correspondences, firstly by translation (*interpretatio*)—so for example *ensor* became *timêtês*—and finally by adoption, borrowing of the Roman terminology (*transcriptio*)—a process where *dictator* did not become *autokratôr*, but rather *diktatôr* instead (Cf. Magie 1905).

But if we take a look at which word succeeds amongst the different possible variants, we find an astonishing fact: for the word *senatus* it is not the classical *boulê* that becomes accepted, nor even *gerousia*, qua meaning the best translation, but (besides *synedrion*) *synklêtos*. For *imperator* (sometimes also for *dictator*) *autokratôr*, 'absolute ruler', was said. For *lictor*, the usher with the lictor-bundles, it was said *liturgos*, 'functionary, servant of the state'. For *Augustus*, the title of the emperor Octavianus and then of his successors too, it was said *Sebastos*, 'revered (Sir)'. If we list all these correspondences, we detect the attempt to choose words that are close

in sense as well as in sound. Actually, to preserve the sound, diminutions of sense were tolerated:

senatus > *synklêtos* / *imperator* resp. *dictator* > *autokratôr* / *lictor* > *liturgos* / *Augustus* > *Sebastos*.

It is seen very clearly with *synklêtos*, which means 'called together, convoked' (and hence more appropriate as the translation of *comitium calatum*) and also with *dictator*, who indeed ruled by himself but did so within the framework of the constitution and so was not *sui iuris*—he was not an 'autocrat'; the same goes for *imperator*, who in his original sense of *victor* was more likely a *nikatôr*, a 'winner'; it also goes for *lictor*, who got his name from *ligo*, the 'bundle' he carried—he was not just a simple 'civil servant'; and it applies to *Augustus*, a name that the Romans took partly from *augeo*, 'to increase, to let it grow' and partly from observation of the flight of birds (*ab avium gustu*)—so it did not stand for a typical 'revered one' at all.

It is striking that the resemblance of sound was always aimed at the ending of the word and only at the beginning of the word if possible.

We rather have to be astonished that in general the other names in the Gospels remain so close to those of Caesar's vita. Seemingly the similarity of sound was more important for the editors of the Gospels than for the magistrates: After all, they had to proselytize; the civil servants did not have to convince anybody.

With respect to Caesar's official titles the Greek terms in comparison to the Latin ones are shown to be similar:

Dictator stays: *diktator*; *consul* is translated: *hypatos*; *imperator* is rendered as *autokratôr*, which is not a correct translation. For the word means the same as the Latin *sui iuris*—between 'absolute ruling' and 'plenipotentiary'. Even in the combined meaning of 'unlimited lord and master' *autokratôr* represents *dictator* better than *imperator*. Apparently it was chosen because *autokratôr* is phonetically closer to *imperator*—like the later *sebastos* is closer to *augustus*. A comparable situation is observed between the titles *pontifex maximus* and *archiereus megistos*. *Archiereus* would be enough, because *arch-* already gives the idea of *maximus*, like *iereus* that of *pontifex*: but yet we find in addition also its full form, even if pleonastic, probably because *archiereus megistos* is rhythmically and phonetically close to *pontifex maximus*.

- 104 The classic example here is the London *Elephant and Castle*: As we have seen above it originates from: 'A l'infante de Castilla!'. This disappoints the tourist who expects to see the castle of a Maharaja and imagines himself in India.

In the Paris Metro one can fantasize being on a railroad trip through Europe: *Anvers, Rennes, Liège, Plaisance, Danube, Crimée, Stalingrad...* or, following Napoleon: *Solferino, Campo-Formio, Wagram, Austerlitz, Le Kremlin-Bicêtre* (the last one is a French corruption of *Winchester*), *Pyramides*—the last one points to Caesar: *Alésia, Rome* etc.

In the US one keeps on coming across doublets of European towns: *Paris, Venice, Amsterdam, Toledo* etc.—without counting the 'New' ones: *New York, New Orleans* etc. In polyglot Switzerland it is even easier to be sent on a journey: thus an American travel guide once counselled caution because all the towns have three names there, a German, a French and an Italian one, for example: *Basel/Bâle/Basilea, Genf/Genève/Ginevra* or ... *Luzern/Lausanne/Locarno* (sic!—these three being really three different cities).

In America, names that were originally European have sometimes experienced a second mutation and migration: so it is thought that the people called *Cajun* or *Cajan*, half-bloods in the South of Alabama and Mississippi, received their names from the *Acadian*, descendants of French speaking immigrants from Louisiana who were forcibly resettled.

Stereotype city-names like for example the many called *Heliopolis* or *Nikopolis* caused confusion, especially those which were named after a ruler like *Alexandria*, *Seleukia*, *Antiochia*, *Ptolemais*, *Caesarea* etc. The greater the ruler's house and duration of the dynasty, the more prevalent the city-name and the greater the confusion, occurring in former times just as it sometimes occurs among modern historians: in which *Antiochia* or in which *Caesarea* did this or that event occur? To which *Alexandria* did Caesar want to relocate the capital of the Empire? The context decides. But what if it is precisely the context that is misleading? Or what if the location itself determines the context? Then an event is suddenly located at another place and the context is fantasized accordingly. Then we find ourselves in a right mess!

Our suspicion is that the Gospels are exactly such a mess. We need to find the original ingredients, and this is only possible if we detect the first delocalization.

III. Crux

- 105 Mk. 14:61: *ὁ δὲ ἐσιώπα καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο οὐδέν.* Mk. 15:5: *ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίθη [...].*
- 106 Mk. 14:62: *ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, Σὺ εἶπας ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι (Θφ pc arm Or); 15:2: ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῷ λέγει, Σὺ λέγεις.*
- 107 Mk. 15:34: *Ἐλωι ἐλωι λεμα σαβαχθαι; ὁ ἔστιν μεθερμηνηόμενον Ὁ θεός μου θεός μου, εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με;* Mt. 27:46: *Ἡλι ἡλι λεμα σαβαχθαι; τοῦτ' ἔστιν, Θεέ μου θεέ μου, ἵνατί με ἐγκατέλιπες;* Lk. 23:46: *Πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθειμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου.* Jn. 19:26: *Γύναι, ἴδε ὁ υἱός σου.* 19:27: *Ἴδε ἡ μήτηρ σου.* 19:28: *Διψῶ.* 19:30: *Τετέλεσται.*
- It should be noted that Caesar's biographers reproduce different traditions of Caesar's last words as well. Appianus (2.117) speaks of Caesar's loud clamor when he was still trying to resist, but that after Brutus' stroke he wrapped himself in his robe and fell to the floor in a dignified posture. Plutarchus (66) agrees with Appianus but knows that initially Caesar shouted to the first attacker Casca in Latin: 'Wicked Casca, what are you doing?' Dio Cassius (44.19) also reports that when they all stabbed at him, Caesar was unable to say or do anything and only wrapped up his face, but that some add, that when Brutus stabbed at him he said the famous: 'You too, my son?' Suetonius also has this dictum, which had come down to him by others. He specifies that Caesar expressed it in Greek, but besides that speaks of Caesar's silence and claims that he only uttered a single sigh. That is to say, with Caesar, as well as with Jesus, the constant factor is the silence with clamor and finally a sigh, while the alleged last words do not appear in all reports, and, when they do, they are not the same.
- 108 Mk. 15:22: *[...] καὶ φέρουσι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Γολγοθᾶν τόπον, ὃ ἔστιν μεθερμηνηόμενον Κρανίου Τόπος.*
- 109 Jn. 19:33-4: *ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐλθόντες [...] ἀλλ' εἷς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγῃ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν ἐνύξεν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εὐθὺς αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ.*
- 110 Jn. 19:35: *καὶ ὁ ἑωρακὼς μεμαρτύρηκεν, καὶ ἀληθινὴ αὐτοῦ ἔστιν ἡ μαρτυρία, καὶ ἐκεῖνος οἶδεν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγει, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς πιστεύ[σ]ητε.*
- 111 Jn. 19:36-7: *ἐγένετο γὰρ ταῦτα ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῆ, [...] Ὅψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν.*
- 112 *Acta Pilati xvi, in Schneemelcher (1990), vol. 1, p. 413.*
- 113 Mk. 14:47: *εἷς δέ [τις] τῶν παρεστηκότων σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν ἔπαισεν τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἀφέιλεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὠτάριον.*
- 114 Mk. 14:48: *καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Ὡς ἐπὶ ληστὴν ἐξήλαθε μετὰ μαχαιρῶν καὶ ξύλων συλλαβεῖν με;*

- 115 App. BC 2.117: πολλοί τε διωθιζόμενοι μετὰ τῶν ξιφῶν ἀλλήλους ἔπληξαν.
- 116 Servants appear at the attempt on Caesar as well. We will see later in what role; cf. Suet. Jul. 82.
- 117 App. BC 2.117: καὶ Κάσσιος ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον ἔπληξε.
- 118 Suet. Jul. 82: *Nec in tot vulneribus, ut Antistius medicus existimabat, letale ullum repertum est, nisi quod secundo loco in pectore acceperat.*
- 119 Mk. 15:26: καὶ ἦν ἡ ἐπιγραφή τῆς αἰτίας αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένη, Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Lk. 23:38: ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπιγραφή ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος. Mt. 27:37: καὶ ἐπέθηκαν ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένην· Οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Jn. 19:19: ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ τίτλον ὁ Πιλάτος καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ· ἦν δὲ γεγραμμένος, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων.
- 120 For the written fixation of the accusation against Caesar cf. Cic. Phil. 2.85-7: [...] *adscribi iussit in fastis ad Lupercalia C. Caesari dictatori perpetuo M. Antonium consullem populi iussu regnum detulisse: Caesarem uti noluisse.* Cf. also the writings on the tribunal of Brutus (App. BC 112; Plut. Caes. 62).
- 121 Cf. i.a. Suet. Jul. 79-80: *proximo autem senatu Lucium Cottam quindecimvirum sententiam dicturum, ut, quoniam fatalibus libris contineretur Parthos nisi a rege non posse vinci, Caesar rex appellaretur. quae causa coniuratis maturandi fuit destinata negotia, ne assentiri necesse esset.*
- 122 Cf. Magie (1905), p. 62, 68.
- 123 Mk. 15:21: Καὶ ἀγγαρεύουσιν παράγοντά τινα Σίμωνα Κυρηναῖον ἐρχόμενον ἀπ' ἀγροῦ, τὸν πατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ρούφου, ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ.
- 124 The form ἄρῃ is an active one (conj. aor. i a., 3. s.). One could only translate it with 'would carry' if the respective medium: ἄρῃται—'he carried for himself, he carried away' were in place here. For *airō* in contrast to *pherō* cf. Mk 2:3: καὶ ἔρχονται φέροντες πρὸς αὐτὸν παραλυτικὸν αἰρόμενον ὑπὸ τεσσάρων. Mk. 6:8 does not contradict it, because there *airō* is used in the sense of 'to carry with themselves; to take along'.
- 125 Mk. 15:24: καὶ σταυρώσαντες αὐτὸν διαμερίζονται τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, βάλλοντες κλῆρον ἐπ' αὐτὰ [...]; Mt. 27:35: σταυρώσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, βάλλοντες κλῆρον [...]; Lk. 23:33: [...] ἐκεῖ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν [...]; Jn. 19:18: [...] ὅπου αὐτὸν ἐσταύρωσαν [...].
- 126 'Cross' in the sense of 'to make a cross' is in classic Greek *chiasma* respectively *chiasmos*, 'to order anything cross-shape' *chiazō*. These words are also familiar to us, for example as *chiasma*, the 'crossing over' of chromosomes in biology or as *chiasmus*, 'to put crosswise' in the syntax. The basis was the letter *chi* = X, for the Greeks the genuine symbol of the cross. 'Cross' in the meaning of 'to carry his cross', hence for 'pain' is called *ponos*, *penthos* or *lypē*. *Stavros*, which as noted above originally meant 'stake', 'slat' or 'palisade', was never associated with the cross in classic times, and even when in the course of the Christianization it took on the meaning 'cross' in the sense of the 'martyr-stake', its symbol was a T and not a †. This originates from the fact that in the Greek word *stavros* the crossing of beams is not constitutive, so little so, that the Christians themselves originally did not translate it with the Latin *crux* either. They should have done that if it had been its back-translation, instead they translated it with *lignum*, 'wood'. This is still preserved in the well known Good Friday formula: *Ecce lignum crucis, in quo salus mundi pependit*, which is officially translated as: 'Behold the wood of the cross, on which the salvation of the world was hung', and which could also be translated differently, for example as: 'Here is the wood of torture, wherewith the salvation of the world was paid'. Here it is important however, that it doesn't say *crux* alone, but *lignum crucis*, whereby *stavros* is not rendered by *crux* as one might think but by *lignum*, which means 'wood' in the sense of the substance primarily, thus 'piece of

wood' and in the plural, *ligna*, 'firewood'. And thus we are at Caesar's funeral pile again.

- 127 Mk. 15:23: [...] καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτῷ ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον· ὃς δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβεν.
- 128 Mt. 27:34: ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ πιεῖν ὄξος μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον· καὶ γευσάμενος οὐκ ἠθέλησεν πιεῖν.
- 129 Lk. 23:36: οἱ στρατιῶται προσερχόμενοι, ὄξος προσφέροντες αὐτῷ [...].
- 130 Lk. 23:55-6: ἐθεάσαντο τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ ὡς ἐτέθη τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, ὑποστρέψασαι δὲ ἠτοίμασαν ἀρώματα καὶ μύρα.
- 131 It should not be a surprise that 'aromatics' respectively 'aromatics and ointments' is found here: aromatics were used at funerals in both forms to alleviate the cadaverous smell, they were used in cremations to an even greater extent. Besides incense, sometimes whole dolls of cloves were burned as well. Oils and ointments were used for the same purpose and for the preservation of the corpse before the cremation, which sometimes happened many days later, see below.
- 132 Jn. 19:29-30: σπόγγον οὖν μεστόν τοῦ ὄξους ὑσσώπῳ περιθέντες προσήνεγκαν αὐτοῦ τῷ στόματι. ὅτε οὖν ἔλαβεν τὸ ὄξος—'Ysop' ὑσσώπῳ or ὑσσῶ—(h)ysō(i)—looks like a doublet of vinegar ὄξω—oxō(i)—but on the other hand like the anagram of 'Piso', Caesar's father in law, who took charge of the funeral and who brought the body to the Forum.
- 133 Jn. 19:39-40: [...] φέρων μίγμα σμύρνης καὶ ἀλόης ὡς λίτρας ἑκατόν. ἔλαβον οὖν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἔδησαν αὐτὸ ὀθονίοις μετὰ τῶν ἀρωμάτων, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνταφιάζειν.
- 134 This word comes from ΣΜΥΡΝΑ—*smyrna*—variation of ΜΥΡΡΑ—*myrrha*—like for example *smikros* could stand for *mikros*, 'small': The sigma tends to proliferate in Greek. The use of *smyrna* for *myrrha* could be based on the fact that these, like the other oriental aromatics, were imported into Greece through the port of Smyrna, located at the mouth of the Persian royal trade route, which stretched from Susa over Sardes to Ionia. But because with the ΜΥΡΑ—*myra*—of Luke only the part *myr* is common—*esMYRnismenon* (the beginning of the word *es-* can be a prefix in Greek)—so only ΜΥΡ(A)—*myr(a)*—appears to be certain. For that matter the difference between 'rr' and 'r' in ΜΥΡΡΑ and ΜΥΡΑ is irrelevant, because in the late classical period the double consonants were pronounced like single ones. Cf. Charalambakis (1984), Σ. 88 7.1.7: Τά διπλά σύμφωνα (ἄλ-λος, ἄμ-μος) ἀρχισαν νὰ ἀπλοποιοῦνται στήν προφορά.
- 135 App. BC 2.148: [...] καὶ ξύλα αὐτῷ καὶ βάρηρα, ὅσα πολλὰ ἦν ἐν ἀγορᾷ, καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτότροπον ἄλλο συνεινεγκόντες, καὶ τὴν πομπὴν δαφιλεστάτην οὖσαν ἐπιβαλόντες, στεφάνους τε ἐνιοι παρ' ἐαυτῶν καὶ ἀριστεία πολλὰ ἐπιθέντες [...].
- 136 Plut. Caes. 68: [...] αὐτῶν τὸ πάθος, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν νεκρῷ περισωρεύσαντες ἐξ ἀγορᾶς βάρηρα καὶ κιγκλίδας καὶ τραπέζας [...].
- 137 Suet. Jul. 84: [...] *confestimque circumstantium turba virgulta arida et cum subsellis tribunalia, quicquid praeterea ad donum aderat, congressit. deinde tibicines et scaenici artifices vestem, quam ex triumphorum instrumento ad praesentem usum induerant, detractam sibi atque discissam iniecere flammae et veteranorum militum legionarii arma sua, quibus exculti funus celebrabant; matronae etiam pleraeque ornamenta sua, quae gerebant, et liberorum bullas atque praetextas.*
- 138 App. BC 2.148: ἐξῆψαν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πανδημεί τῇ πυρᾷ παρέμενον [...].
- 139 This polysemy of verbs occurs in every language. For example in German when a car 'hält an'—literally 'holds on'—it stops; but if the rain 'hält an'—also literally 'holds on'—it continues; if a law is 'aufgehoben'—literally 'lifted up'—it is 'repealed' and gone, but if milk is 'aufgehoben'—also literally 'lifted up'—it is 'retained' and you still have it; if a synthesis occurs and 'hebt auf'—'lifts up'—thesis and antithesis, it 'resolves' them, although the student of philosophy might ruminate: 'aufgehoben' as in the case with law or milk?

In Greek the polysemy is more extreme: even the most everyday verb, *erchomai*, means 'to come' as well as 'to go'—it depends. The Greeks do not have a problem with that, they even seem to apply their particular verbal gymnastics to other codes. When the foreign driver in Greece unexpectedly sees a street-sign at a crossing with an arrow pointing *down*, he should not search for the entry to a tunnel that leads to the village named on the sign: it simply means the village is located *behind you*; if you want to go there, you have to make a U-turn and go back.

140 App. BC 2.148: [...] ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ τὸ λέχος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπαινεθῶν ἔφερον αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον [...].

141 Mk. 15:22: [...] καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Γολγοθᾶν τόπον, ὃ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνευόμενον Κρανίου Τόπος.

142 ἀγούσιν **Dφ** lat—cf. Aland & Nestle (181957).

143 Arnobius *Adversus gentes* vi 7; Servius *Aeneid-Commentary* viii 345; the chronograph of the year 354 specifies that 'caput *Oli regis*' was written on the skull in Etruscan letters; cf. also Isidor *Origines* xv 2.31.

144 Lk. 23:33: [...] τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον Κρανίου [...]; Jn. 19:17: [...] τὸν λεγόμενον Κρανίου Τόπον, ὃ λέγεται Ἑβραϊστὶ Γολγοθᾶ [...]; Matthew does not contradict this, because both times he says 'called': 27:33: τόπον λεγόμενον Γολγοθᾶ, ὃ ἐστὶν Κρανίου Τόπος λεγόμενος [...].

This passage gives us the opportunity to clearly see how ideologically biased the work of latter-day bible translators is. As late as the beginning of the 17th century the King James Version translates Jn. 19:17 (v.s.) verbatim:

'[...] τὸν λεγόμενον Κρανίου Τόπον, (h)ὃ λέγεται (H)εβραϊστὶ Γολγοθᾶ [...]'—'[And he bearing his cross went forth into a place] called (τὸν λεγόμενον) the place of a skull, which is called (λέγεται) in the Hebrew Golgotha'.

But by now word has got around that *legō* sometimes must also be understood in the sense of 'to mean', which would advise to translate the second 'called'—*λέγεται*—as 'means'. Accordingly one would have to write (the rest of sentence remaining the same):

'[And he bearing his cross went forth into a place] called (ton λεγόμενον) the place of a skull, which means (λέγεται) in the Hebrew Golgotha.'

This, however, apparently is intolerable for the orthodox scholars and actually one has turned up who does not just attenuate the testimony like e.g. the *KJV* but outright distorts it. The *Worldwide English (New Testament) (WE)* plainly reverses the terms and makes it:

'[They took Jesus and led him away. Jesus went out carrying his own cross. They went to a place] that the Jews called Golgotha. That means "the place of the skull bone".'

Thus out of the name's Hebrew translation they make the name itself, and out of the Greek name they make its explanation. Why?—one wonders. The answer is very simple: in order to maintain and reinforce the fiction that the Hebrew name is the original one, and with it to pseudo-scripturally support the delocalization of the whole story from Rome to Jerusalem by an again distorted translation of the Greek text. The thing about it is that they are not even liars: they really believe it is the correct translation. Their ideological glasses sit so firmly on their noses that they do not even notice anymore how they twist the meaning of the text right round. Misrepresentation has become second nature to them. And in order to guard their contorted minds against doubts they distort the letter—without feelings of guilt. After all, the spirit prevails over the letter, doesn't it?

In order to guard against misunderstandings: We do not think that (h)ὃ λέγεται (H)εβραϊστὶ Γολγοθᾶ must absolutely denote 'which means in the Hebrew Golgotha'. The established meaning of *λέγεται* is '(it) is said', like of *λεγόμενον* it is 'the so-called', 'as the saying goes'. 'Τὸν λεγόμενον Κρανίου Τόπον' could thus be

- translated as ‘according to legend called place of skull’—which leads us back to the saga of the *caput Oli*, ‘Skull of Olus’, found on the Capitoline hill (cf. text p. 70) and which suggests that the continuation of the sentence (*h*)*ó légetai (H)ebraísti Golgothá*, conceals a prior (*h*)*ó légetai Rômaísti Kapitôlion*, ‘which is called in the Latin Capitolium’, representing its bowdlerizing misspelling.
- Thus, at the same time it would be shown, though, that our latter-day bible translators still have the ‘right’ wrong attitude of mind: they are doing nothing else but continuing the concealment of the ‘Julian’ origin of the Gospel which already occurred in the old manuscripts behind an allegedly ‘Judaic’ one.
- 145 Suet. *Jul.* 84: *Quem cum pars in Capitolini Iovis cella cremare, pars in curia Pompei destinaret, repente duo quidam gladiis succinti ac bina iacula gestantes ardentibus cereis succenderunt [...].*
- 146 Mk. 15:27: Καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ σταυροῦσιν δύο ληστὰς, ἓνα ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἓνα ἐξ ἐνωμένων αὐτοῦ.
- 147 Suet. *Jul.* 84: *Funere indicto rogos instructus est in martio campo iuxta Iuliae tumulum [...].* This was independent of the fact that it was part of the honor decrees adopted for Caesar that he should be interred within the Pomerium (cf. Dio Cass. *HR* 44.7.1).
- 148 Mk. 15:16-20: Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς, ὃ ἐστὶν πραιῶριον, καὶ συγκαλοῦσιν ὅλην τὴν σπεῖραν. καὶ ἐνιδύσκουσιν αὐτὸν πορφύραν καὶ περιτιθέασιν αὐτῷ πλέξαντες ἀκάνθινον στέφανον· καὶ ἤρξαντο ἀσπάζεσθαι αὐτόν, Χαῖρε, βασιλεῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων· καὶ ἔτυπτον αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν καλάμῳ καὶ ἐνέπτιον αὐτῷ καὶ τιθέντες τὰ γόνατα προσεκύνουν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὅτε ἐνέπαιξαν αὐτῷ, ἐξέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὴν πορφύραν καὶ ἐνέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐξάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἵνα σταυρώσωσιν αὐτόν.
- 149 Jn. 19:23: Οἱ οὖν στρατιῶται ὅτε ἐσταύρωσαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἔλαβον τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐποίησαν τέσσαρα μέρη, ἐκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ μέρος, καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα. ἦν δὲ ὁ χιτῶν ἄρραφος, ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑφαντὸς δι’ ὅλου.
- 150 App. *BC* 2.148: ἐξῆψαν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πανδημεὶ τῇ πυρᾷ παρέμενον [...].
- 151 Mk. 15:25: ἦν δὲ ὥρα τρίτη καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν (*D*: ἐφύλασσον) αὐτόν. Here the lection of *D* has to be preferred, as *lectio difficilior*. An emendation to ‘and they crucified him and watched over him’ would not change anything.
- 152 Lk. 23:35: καὶ εἰστήκει ὁ λαὸς θεωρῶν. 23:44: Καὶ ἦν ἡδὴ ὥσει ὥρα ἕκτη καὶ σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ’ ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης [...].
- 153 The wax-figure of Augustus at his funeral was clad in the triumphal garb—as later that of Pertinax was as well (cf. Dio Cass. *HR* 56.34.1; 74.4.3). Conversely Traianus was represented at his posthumous Parthian triumph in 117 ad by his *imago* (cf. *SHA* Hadr. 6.3; J.-C. Richard, *REL* 44, 1966, p. 358).
- 154 Cf. Nicolaus Damascenus, *Bios Kaisaros*, *FGrH*, ed. F. Jacoby, 26.97: ὁρᾶν δ’ ἐνῆν ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν ἀπεσταλμένων τῶν παρακαλυμμάτων, αἰωρουμένας τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου πληγὰς.—‘as the curtains were drawn back, the dangling arms and the wounds on his face could be seen from both sides.’ Cf. also Suet. *Jul.* 82: *Exanimis diffugientibus cunctis aliquandiu iacuit, donec lecticae impositum, dependente brachio, tres seruoli domum rettulerunt.*—‘After all had fled he lifelessly lay there for some time until three young slaves placed him in a litter and carried him back home with one arm hanging over the side.’
- 155 Suet. *Jul.* 84: *pro rostris*—‘in front of the Rostra’; App. *BC* 2.143: ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα—‘on the Rostra’.
- 156 Suet. *Jul.* 84: [...] *et pro rostris aurata aedes ad simulacrum templi Veneris Genetricis collocata; intraque lectus eburneus auro ac purpura stratus et ad caput tropaeum cum ueste, in qua fuerat occisus.*—Cleopatra, who stayed in Rome at that time and whose statue stood in the temple of Venus Genetrix (evidently in her role as incarnation of Isis and hence equated with Venus) apparently co-led the direction.

157 Shakespeare is unfortunately of no help here, because he follows Plutarchus who does not report anything about the ritual of the funeral. Dio's speech of Antonius seems also rhetorically finessed. We reconstruct the situation here mainly from Suetonius and Appianus, who agree with each other; but where Appianus says (*BC* 2.146) that Antonius 'recited many other things', we refer to Dio. We follow partly Stauffer (1957), p.21-23. But he overlooks that the effigy of wax had to be hanging on the tropaeum, because according to Suetonius (*Jul.* 84, first paragraph: *Funere indicto rogos instructus est in martio campo iuxta Iuliae tumulum et pro rostris aurata aedes ad simulacrum templi Veneris Genetricis collocata; intraque lectus eburneus auro ac purpura stratus et ad caput tropaeum cum ueste, in qua fuerat occisus.*) the toga was hanging there right from the beginning. It must have covered the effigy, as is evident from Appianus (*BC* 2.146: τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγύμνου καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπὶ κοντοῦ φερομένην ἀνέσειε, λελακισμένην ὑπὸ τῶν πληγῶν καὶ πεφυρμένην αἵματι αὐτοκράτορος.): When Antonius removes the toga, the effigy is exposed. Also the fact that Antonius uses a spear to remove the toga (l. c.), speaks for it unambiguously. With τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος—'the body of Caesar'—Appianus could only mean here the ἀνδρείκελον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκ κηροῦ πεποιημένον—'the effigy (literally: the mannequin) of Caesar himself formed from wax' (*BC* 2.147)—because Antonius as priest—apart from being *flamen Diui Iulii* and *lupercus* he was also *augur*—was not allowed to see a corpse (cf. Weinstock 1971, p.354⁵, with further proofs); besides—Caesar's body was lying in the death bed as Appianus himself reports: τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα, ὡς ὑπτίον ἐπὶ λέχους, οὐχ ἑωρᾶτο. τὸ δὲ ἀνδρείκελον ἐκ μηχανῆς ἐπεστρέφετο πάντη.—'as the body, lying flat on the bier, could not be seen. But the model, with the help of a mechanical device, could be turned in all directions.' This 'mechanical device' could only have been set up in advance, and therefore only at the tropaeum. So the previous sentence of Appianus refers to the erecting of the tropaeum itself, together with the mannequin, or to the heaving of the wax mannequin onto the tropaeum: Ὦδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ἤδη καὶ χειρῶν ἐγγύς οὖσιν ἀνέσχε τις ὑπὲρ τὸ λέχος ἀνδρείκελον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκ κηροῦ πεποιημένον.—'While they were in this temper and already near to violence, somebody raised above the funeral couch a mannequin of Caesar himself made of wax.'

On the relation of *mêchanê* and cross in the liturgy cf. Ignatius, *Ephes.* ix, i: ἀναφερόμενοι εἰς τὰ ὕψη διὰ τῆς μηχανῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν σταυρός—'raised above by the *mechane*, the "theatrical machine" of Jesus Christ, which is the cross'. Unless there were several tropaea because, after all, Caesar had celebrated at least



114. *Arma Christi*, The weapons of Christ

four triumphs, or two tropaea, like on the denarius of Caldas, ill. 22, one with the arms of Vercingetorix and one with the wax model of Caesar. This is conceivable insofar as there are two different crosses to be seen in our churches or Ways of the Cross as well: on the one the figure of Christ is attached, on the other the instruments of the crucifixion, what is called *croix des outrages*, 'cross of insults', or *creu dels improperis*, 'cross of improprieties', in other languages. In English, like in German, it is not by chance called by the Latin name *Arma Christi*, which stresses its proximity to the Roman tropaeum on which the 'arms' of the succumbing commander were appended as well. Compare ill. 114 with ill. 21 p. 90 and ill. 33 p. 97, i. a.



115. First reconstruction drawing by Pol du Closeau, Nov. 28th, 2002

Based on the descriptions that are preserved by Suetonius (*Jul.* 84.1), Appianus (*BC* 2.146-147), and the parallel tradition, the Utrecht artist Pol du Closeau has tried in a first approximation a drawn reconstruction of the central scene of Caesar's funeral.

The perspective is from the Forum Romanum, from the side of the Basilica Aemilia on the Rostra, the rostrum, where Antonius is just delivering the funeral oration to Caesar. On the left we perceive the gable of the temple of Saturnus and in the background the rocky Capitol with the temples of Jupiter and Iuno. We are in the year 44 bc, so the temple of Vespasianus, which was built later, does not yet exist so we have a clear view of the capitol. The Tabularium which was attached to the Capitol on the end of the Forum remains just outside the section of the picture on the right from this angle.

Caesar's body is laid out in a gilded model of the temple of *Venus Genetrix*. One perceives the frieze with the egg-motif, the symbol of birth (*Genetrix*), which in Christianity was to become that of reincarnation (Easter eggs). Beneath, the carrying poles can be seen. At head height of this little temple of Venus stands the tropaeum-like device (Suetonius: *tropaeum*; Appianus: *mêchanê*) on which the mannequin made of wax is hanging with the wounds on the body caused by the dagger thrusts. Marcus Antonius is just about to pull away Caesar's gown, the bloodstained toga which first covered the wax figure and the tropaeum, by dint of a lance, and in this way reveals the corpus. In the background the people are crying out, filled with indignation, as can be seen through the bier.

Caesar's wax figure on the tropaeum has outstretched arms not only because on a tropaeum the arms could only be fastened like that (cf. also ill.61) but because somebody who falls down dead stretches out his arms and because Caesar's body had been seen like that when three servants carried him home with the arms hanging out of the litter on both sides (cf. quotation from Nicolaus Damascenus, p. 83, note 193). For Antonius wanted to show how Caesar had lain there, murdered. But because the body would not have been visible if lying on the Rostra, he had the wax figure produced and erected it—like a tropaeum. Thus Caesar's wax simulacrum which should have depicted him lying, appeared as if it were hanging on a cross.

The tropaeum is made of plain planks instead of round posts here because a wax figure could be affixed better to those. The artist has purposely not drawn any fastenings for the wax figure in this reconstruction. When wax manufacturers were asked about this detail, they said that full-scale representations made of wax can only be held upright by a scaffolding, or a structure. It is known that in antiquity wax figures had a structure made of wood; they were actually wooden figures with a wax outer-layer (cf. Marquart-Mau (1886), p. 354). The most functional and direct way to fasten such a wooden figure coated with wax to a tropaeum would involve nails through the hands. This would explain why the 'Crucified one' has nails through his hands in spite of the fact that for a real man hanging on the cross, one would best use rope. Anyway, nails would have to be driven through the wrists because if attached to the palms the body weight would tear through the flesh.

As said, this drawing is a first attempt and unfinished: the rents and blood stains on the toga caused by the dagger thrusts are still missing. The drawing was not yet ready when it was shown at the lecture and subsequent discussion in the Lutherse Kerk (Lutheran Church) in Utrecht on Nov. 28th 2002, and also during the telecast 'Buitenhof' in the contribution of Prof. Paul Cliteur Ph. D. on the following Dec. 1st. Both times it caused a sensation. Therefore we want to reproduce it here as incomplete and as effective as it was first shown, with some slight improvements.

It might appear strange because it is not done in an archeologically correct and anatomically perfect late Hellenistic style. It is from the hand of a contemporary artist with his personal style affectionate to popular art. But for that very reason it has an

eminently documentary nature, since it brings home to us for the first time how the exposition of Caesar's 'body' during his funeral might have looked, true to the original, according to the sources, but at the same time in an anachronistic, almost naive way so that we can already get a feel for the alienation that the depiction of these scenes was to experience in Christian art in the course of time. As an identikit picture this drawing serves very well: it realizes graphically what the eyewitnesses had seen and makes it possible for us to catch a glimpse of the instant in which the genesis of the 'crucified one' occurred.

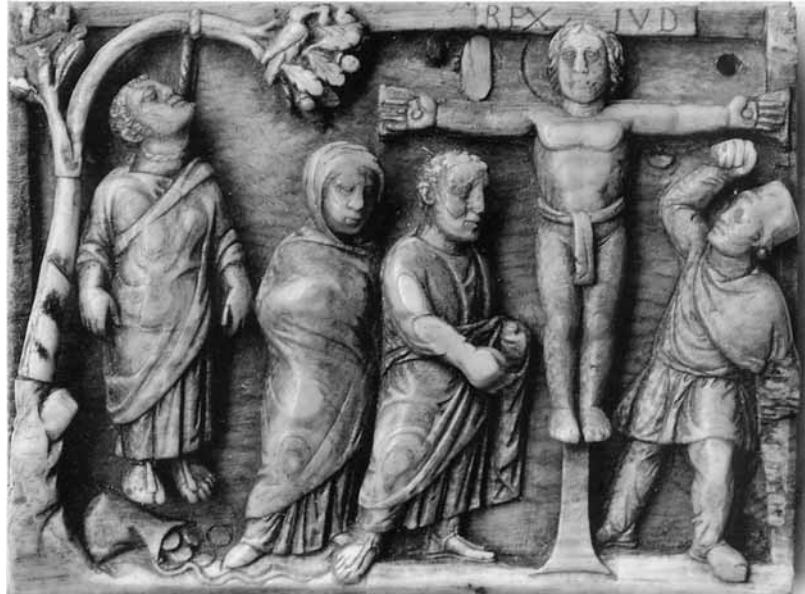
This moment was short because as we have seen the sight was unbearable: the people revolted, became enraged, pursued the assassins and burned Caesar's body right there at the Forum. This was interpreted as his resurrection. Accordingly the moment of the re-erecting of the body on the pyre was frozen on Caesar's coins (cf. ill. 67, p. 109) together with the ascension in the apotheosis (cf. ill. 85 and 86, p. 117 as well as ill. 87, p. 118). For the exhibition of Caesar's martyred body had indeed fulfilled its function to incite the people to revolt, but it still belonged to the assassination, i. e. to what one wanted to overcome, to the parricide, the commemoration of which should be wiped out by the execration of the day of murder as *dies parri-cidii, ater, funestus* (cf. referring to this, p. 88). So it is not astonishing that this image was never shown except for in the liturgy of Passion Week.

A glance at the appearance of the 'crucified one' in Christian art confirms this. In the Christian iconography there are pictures of the 'crucified one' dating only from the 5th century on, and as one who suffers only in the second millennium. Prior to that, the cross appears alone initially as *crux invicta*, as the invincible laureate cross, which the victorious Christ carries like a tropaeum in triumph (compare the way Simon a Cyrenian carries the 'cross' on the late Constantinian passion sarcophagus of 340/370 ad (ill. 116, left) with that of Romulus resp. Mars carrying the tropaeum in ill. 23–25, p. 91. Also notice in the second scene from the left side that the crown of thorns really is a laurel wreath which is held above the head of Christ like in the triumph of the emperor, Christ who is depicted beardless and in toga just as a Roman, the roll in his left hand like the commander's rod; on the right he authoritatively instructs Pilate).



116. Late Constantinian Passion Sarcophagus 340/370 ad, Rome, Vatican

And after 420/430 ad, when the first depictions of the 'crucified' Jesus Christ surface, he doesn't appear as dead man but as one who defies death, victorious, anticipating his resurrection in his posture—like on this ivory relief on the London casket in the British Museum, even emphasized by the anticipated death of Judas by hanging (ill. 117, left). Also note the way Longinus applies his 'lance'-stab to the heart region: like a dagger thrust. And here also, Jesus is beardless, i. e. in Roman symbolism: without mourning—like Divus Iulius.



117. Ivory relief, Italic, 420/430 ad, Crucifixion of Christ, (right) Longinus' thrust into the heart side, (left) Judas' suicide

If one then looks at the development of the picture of the 'crucifixion' through the course of history, two things are detected: firstly the earliest pictures preserved were also popular-naive, and sparsely classical, and secondly there is no effect of gravity at all initially. It was not until the second millennium and then only slowly that gravity becomes apparent in the 'crucified one'—and slowly pulled him down. In former times it was different and in Byzantine resp. Greek Orthodox art it has largely remained that way to date.

Where does this illogical manner of representation stem from? Traditionally two reasons are given: The basis is said to be that originally no one wanted to portray a suffering one but rather one overcoming death—and for that a man in a standing position is better suited. Additionally there must have been a fearfulness of depicting one's own Godman as a crucified one, a fear that allowed cross representations to develop in art only after Theodosius I had abolished the penalty of crucifixion and when the cross no longer triggered negative associations. Meanwhile, one refrains from this earlier prevailing interpretation (the Rabula-Codex and the casket in Sancta Sanctorum in Rome, both from the 5/6th century, indeed show a standing as well as suffering Jesus on the cross), opining that it simply originates from the fact that the Christian artists had no ancient examples of crucified ones available—the crucifixion was sporadically described in texts from classical times, but never portrayed, neither by painters nor by sculptors—and that no pictures nor descriptions of Jesus' crucifixion had been passed down either. These two competing arguments, neither of which are very convincing, point to the helplessness of the circles of experts, who are still struggling for a plausible explanation. The more so as it is obvious that as soon as the man on the cross was perceived to be a crucified one, the artists immediately started to let him hang and fall down more and more. And although the artists in these instances did not have examples either, they knew that somebody who is hanging on a cross just hangs.



118. Box of relics from Palestine, End of the 6th c.; 119. Codex from Syria, 586 ad



120. Carolingian, 9th cent.; 121. 10th cent.; 122. Miniature, 975 ad



123. San Damiano, 12th cent.; 124. Giotto, ca. 1305; 125. Rubens, 1620

This is confirmed by the third century signet stones and gems from the fund of numerous small pilgrim's souvenirs which were produced to satisfy the great demand for them after Helena the mother of Constantine had discovered the pretended 'true' cross of Christ in Jerusalem—at least according to tradition—and brought a part of it to Constantinople and had built a church in Jerusalem, '(To the) Holy Tomb' while Constantine had further memorial buildings erected, all of which attracted more and more pilgrims in the course of time.

Irrespective of whether the signet stone resp. the gem reproduced here is about Christ, Bacchus, Dionysos or somebody else and whether they evolved from a Orphic-Christian syncretism or served for pagan-magic use, they do show that not only the artists of the second millennium but also artists from late Antiquity knew clearly, that one who was crucified has to hang on the cross and not stand up straight. One has to ask oneself whether there was a model for the atypical and unnatural representation of Christ standing on the cross which was the exclusive way of depicting

him for a thousand years, a model that counteracted the hanging Christ and demanded that the 'crucified one' was not to hang.



126. Orpheos Bakkikos, signet stone, 3rd cent.; 127. Crucified One, gem, 3rd cent.

The return to Caesar's funeral again explains this paradox: originally it was not the presentation of a crucified one but the *expositio* of a stabbed one lying on the floor who was only erected that all could see him. Thus his arms should not be stretched upwards but rather downwards, or straight out at the most. And this is exactly what can be observed in the antique 'crucifixions'.

The solution to the mystery of the late and anomalous appearance of the 'crucified one' in Christian art would then be easy. The 'crucified one' was at first only shown in the liturgy of the passion of Divus Iulius. This meant, according to tradition during the first centuries, that a wax simulacrum had to be made for it year after year, that was to be burned in the Easter fire. This was very important because it signified the moment of the resurrection, when the people cry out *Christos anesti!* resp. *resurrexit!* Only later, when the Christian aversion to cremation established itself and beginning with Constantine, inhumation became traditional for the emperor as well, could the liturgy be partially adjusted to the texts of the Gospels too. The Easter fire remained in symbolic form, but 'Jesus' was no longer burned in it, and instead of his wax simulacrum only the Easter candle, possibly together with a co-burned *Judas* (instead of *Julius*). From then on the simulacrum could also be made of different materials, out of gypsum or carved in wood, and could, for use in the next year, be preserved in the churches, which had been built in the meantime after the acceptance by the emperors. That was more economical too, which was certainly welcome in the meager years that accompanied the triumph of Christianity.

Then it was only a question of time as to when these pictorial representations of the crucified one would occur in art also, for instance at the gates of churches like in Santa Sabina in Rome where it is still visible today. However, since they not only emblemized the suffering of the Christians from the persecutions but also the victory from Constantine's time on, they did not emphasize the suffering, but rather the victorious aspect of the crucified one, for quite some time. It was only after the decay of the Roman Empire and the triumph of the barbarians—and the accompanying subjugation of the free Roman peasants as serfs—that the suffering Christ alone remained as symbol, and of the former victory not even the remembrance remained and if any still did, then it was as a painful one also. The never-ending suffering of the Christians summoned the permanently present and everywhere visual-

ized suffering of Christ. The age of the Crucifixus, of the Crucified one, had dawned. Caesar's tropaeum had finally become Christ's cross.

- 158 Suet. *Jul. 84: Inter ludos cantata sunt quaedam ad miserationem et invidiam caedis eius accomodata, ex Pacuvi Armorum iudicio* «Men servasse, ut essent qui me perderent?» et ex *Electra Atili ad similem sententiam*.—'Emotions of pity and indignation for Caesar's murder were aroused at the funeral games by singing verses like the line from Pacuvius' play *Contest for the Arms of Achilles*—'What, did I save these men that they might murder me?!'—and others with a similar sentiment from Atilius' *Electra*.
Pacuvius was a Roman tragedian poet (220-130 bc); the sentence that is cited here is taken from a piece about the Trojan war. Atilius composed an apparently very literal translation of Sophocles' *Electra* in Latin (cf. Stauffer 1957).
- 159 App. *BC 2.146.611: οὐκ ἔφερον ἔτι ὁ δῆμος, ἐν παραλόγῳ ποιούμενος τὸ πάντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς σφαγέας χωρὶς μόνοῦ Δέκμου, αἰχμαλώτους ἐκ τῆς Πομπηίου στάσεως γενομένους, ἀντὶ κολάσεων ἐπὶ ἀρχᾶς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων προαχθέντας ἐπιβουλεύσαι, Δέκμον δὲ καὶ παῖδα αὐτῷ θετὸν ἀξιωθῆναι γενέσθαι.*
- 160 We follow Ethelbert Stauffer here, cf. Stauffer (1957), p.21-23: Soph. *El. 839sqq.: καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ γαίας*- *ΗΛ. "Ε ἔ, ἰώ. ΧΟ. πάμφυχος ἀνάσσει. 453sq: αἰτοῦ δὲ προσπίτνουσα γῆθεν εὐμενῆ | ἡμῖν ἀρωγὸν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐχθροὺς μολεῖν. 792: ΗΛ. "Ἀκουε, Νέμεσι τοῦ θανόντος ἀρτίως. 1418-21: ΧΟ. Τελοῦσ' ἀραί· ζῶσιν οἱ | γὰς ὑπαὶ κείμενοι· | παλῖρρυτον γὰρ αἴμ' ὑπεξαιροῦσι τῶν | κτανόντων οἱ πάλοι θανόντες. 33sq: ὄτῳ τρόπῳ πατρὶ | δίκας ἀροίμην τῶν φονευσάντων πάρα.*
A resonance of these impropria of March 44 is even found in Cicero in October 44 in his speech against Antonius: *illum interfecerunt, quo erant conservati* (Cic. *Phil. 2.3.5*)—'they have killed the one who had kept them alive'.
- 161 Suet. *Jul. 84: Laudationis loco consul Antonius per praeconem pronuntiauit senatus consultum, quo omnia simul ei diuina atque humana decreuerat, item ius iurandum, quo se cuncti pro salute unius astrinxerant; quibus perpauca a se uerba addidit.*
- 162 App. *BC 2.144.601-3: ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιστρέφων ἐν παραβολῇ τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἔργον ἐπεδείκνυ. ἐπεφθέγγετο δὲ πού τι καὶ βραχὺ ἐκάστῳ, μεμιγμένον οἰκτῶ καὶ ἀγανακτήσει, ἐνθα μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα εἶποι "πατέρα πατρίδος," ἐπιλέγων· "τοῦτο ἐπεικειάς ἐστὶ μαρτυρία," ἐνθα δ' ἦν "ἱερὸς καὶ ἄσυλος" καὶ "ἀπαθῆς καὶ ὅστις αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτερος προσφύγοι," "οὐχ ἕτερος," ἔφη, "τῷδε προσφεύγων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ὁ ἄσυλος καὶ ἱερὸς ἀνήρηται, οὐ βιασάμενος οἷα τύραννος λαβεῖν τάσδε τὰς τιμὰς, ἃς οὐδὲ ἤτησεν.*
- 163 App. *BC 2.146.611: ἐφ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος οἷα χορὸς αὐτῷ πειθιμώτατα συνωδύρετο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πάθους αὐθις ὀργῆς ἐνεπίμπλατο.*
- 164 App. *BC 2.146.611 : καὶ που τῶν θρήνων αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐδόκει λέγειν, ὅσους εὖ ποιήσειε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐξ ὀνόματος, καὶ περὶ τῶν σφαγέων αὐτῶν ἐπέλεγεν ὡσπερ ἐν θαύματι· "ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ τοὺςδε περισῶσαι τοὺς κτενοῦντάς με, [...]"*
- 165 App. *BC 2.146: Τοιάδε εἰπὼν τὴν ἐσθῆτα οἷα τις ἔνθους ἀνεσύρατο, καὶ περιζωσάμενος ἐς τὸ τῶν χειρῶν εὐκόλον, τὸ λέχος ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς περιέστη κατακύπτων τε ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνίσχων, πρῶτα μὲν ὡς θεὸν οὐράνιον ὕμνει καὶ ἐς πίστιν θεοῦ γενέσεως τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέτεινεν [...].*
- 166 Dio Cass. *HR 44.48: διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀρχιερεὺς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ὑπάτος δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, δικτάτωρ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπεδείχθη. καὶ τί ταῦτ' ἐξαριθμοῦμαι, ὅποτε καὶ πατέρα αὐτὸν ἐνὶ λόγῳ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπεκαλέσατε;*
- 167 App. *BC 2.146.609.*
- 168 Dio Cass. *HR 44.49: ἀλλ' οὗτος ὁ πατήρ, οὗτος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ ἄσυλος ὁ ἥρωος ὁ θεὸς τέθνηκεν, οἴμοι, τέθνηκεν οὐ νόσῳ βιασθεῖς, οὐδὲ γήρα μαραινθεῖς, οὐδὲ ἔξω που ἐν πολέμῳ τινὶ τρωθεῖς, οὐδὲ ἐκ δαιμονίου τινὸς αὐτομάτως ἀρπασθεῖς, ἀλλὰ*

ἐνταῦθα ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὁ καὶ ἐς Βρεττανίαν ἀσφαλῶς στρατεύσας, ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνεδρευθεὶς ὁ καὶ τὸ πωμήριον αὐτῆς ἐπαυξήσας, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κατασφαγεῖς ὁ καὶ ἴδιον ἄλλο κατασκευάσας, ἄσπλος ὁ εὐπόλεμος, γυμνὸς ὁ εἰρηνοποιός, πρὸς τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ὁ δικαστής, πρὸς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὁ ἀρχων, ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὃν μηδεὶς τῶν πολεμίων μηδ' ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκπεσόντα ἀποκτεῖναι ἠδυνήθη, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων ὁ πολλακίς αὐτοὺς ἐλείσας. ποῦ δὴτὰ σοι, Καῖσαρ, ἢ φιλανθρωπία, ποῦ δὲ ἡ ἀσυλία, ποῦ δὲ οἱ νόμοι; ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν, ὅπως μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τις φονεῖται, πολλὰ ἐνομοθέτησας, σέ δὲ οὕτως οἰκτρῶς ἀπέκτειναν οἱ φίλοι, καὶ νῦν ἐν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρόκεισαι ἐσφαγμένος, δι' ἧς πολλακίς ἐπόμπευσας ἐστεφανωμένος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔρριψαι κατατετρωμένος, ἀφ' οὗ πολλακίς ἐδημηγόρησας. οἶμοι πολιῶν ἡματωμένων, ὃ στολῆς ἐσπαραγμένης, ἦν ἐπὶ τούτῳ μόνον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔλαβες, ἴν' ἐν ταύτῃ σφαγῆς."

- 169 App. BC 2.146 (cf. note 157): τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγγύμου καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπὶ κοινοῦ φερομένην ἀνέσειε, λελακισμένην ὑπὸ τῶν πληγῶν καὶ πεφυρμένην αἵματι αὐτοκράτορος. App. BC 2.147.612: Ἔδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσι ἤδη καὶ χειρῶν ἐγγύς οὖσιν ἀνέσχε τις ὑπὲρ τὸ λέχος ἀνδρείκελον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκ κηροῦ πεποιημένον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα, ὡς ὑπτιον ἐπὶ λέχους, οὐχ ἑωράτο. τὸ δὲ ἀνδρείκελον ἐκ μηχανῆς ἐπεστρέφετο πάντῃ, καὶ σφαγαὶ τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι ὠφθησαν ἀνά τε τὸ σῶμα πᾶν καὶ ἀνά τὸ πρόσωπον θηριωδῶς ἐς αὐτὸν γενόμεναι. Dio Cass. HR 44.35.4 and 44.49.3-4.
- 170 App. BC 2.147: τῆνδε οὖν τὴν ὄψιν ὁ δῆμος οἰκτίστην σφίσι φανείσαν οὐκέτι ἐνεγκῶν ἀνώμωξάν τε καὶ διαζωσάμενοι τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἔνθα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνήρητο, κατέφλεξαν καὶ τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους ἐκφυγόντας πρὸ πολλοῦ περιθέοντες ἐζήτουν, οὕτω δὴ μαινωδῶς ὑπὸ ὀργῆς τε καὶ λύπης, ὥστε τὸν δημαρχοῦντα Κίinna ἐξ ὁμωνυμίας τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Κίinna, τοῦ δημηγορήσαντος ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι τε περὶ τῆς ὁμωνυμίας οὐδ' ἀκοῦσαι, διέσπασαν θηριωδῶς, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ μέρος ἐς ταφήν εὐρέθη.
- 171 Suet. Jul. 85: *caputque eius praefixum hastae circumtulit.*
- 172 Dio Cass. HR 50.3.
- 173 Suet. Jul. 84: [*Quem cum pars in Capitolini Iovis cella cremare, pars in curia Pompei destinaret,*] *repente duo quidam gladiis succinti ac bina iacula gestantes ardentibus cereis succenderunt [...].*
- 174 Suet. Jul. 84: [...] *confestimque circumstantium turba virgulta arida et cum subsellis tribunalia, quicquid praeterea ad donum aderat, conguessit. deinde tibicines et scaenici artifices vestem, quam ex triumphorum instrumento ad praesentem usum induerant, detractam sibi atque discissam iniicere flam mae et veteranorum militum legionarii arma sua, quibus exculti funus celebrabant; matronae etiam pleraeque ornamenta sua, quae gerebant, et liberorum bullas atque praetextas.*
- 175 Suet. Jul. 84: *In summo publico luctu exterarum gentium multitudo circulatim suo quaeque more lamentata est praecipueque Iudaei, qui etiam noctibus continuis bustum frequentarunt.*
- 176 Dio Cass. HR 44.51.1: βωμὸν δὲ τινα ἐν τῷ τῆς πυρᾶς χωρίῳ ἰδρυσάμενοι (τὰ γὰρ ὀστᾶ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἐξελεύθεροι προανείλοντο καὶ ἐς τὸ πατρῶν μνημεῖον κατέθειντο) θύειν τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ κατάρχεσθαι τῷ Καίσαρι ὡς καὶ θεῷ ἐπεχείρουν. οἱ οὖν ὑπατοὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἀνέτρεψαν, καὶ τινὰς ἀγανακτήσαντας ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκόλασαν, [...].
- 177 Which is at the time of Appianus.
- 178 App. BC 2.148: ἔνθα βωμὸς πρῶτος ἐτέθη, νῦν δ' ἐστὶ νεὺς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, θείων τιμῶν ἀξιουμένον· ὁ γὰρ τοι θετὸς αὐτῷ παῖς Ὀκτάουιος, τό τε ὄνομα ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα μεταβαλὼν καὶ κατ' ἔχνος ἐκεῖνου τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσιών, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐπικρατοῦσαν ἔτι νῦν, ἐρριζωμένην ὑπ' ἐκεῖνου, μειζύτως ἐκρατύνατο καὶ τὸν πάτερᾳ τιμῶν ἰσοθέων ἠξίωσεν [...].
- 179 Stauffer (1957), p.28—where in *Bios Kaisaros* we read 'Emperor biography', rather than 'Caesar-biography', because Nicolaus Damascenus starts by writing

about the life of the young Caesar—Octavianus Augustus—then inserts an excursus about the elder Caesar, resulting in it becoming a central part of this ‘Emperor’-biography.

180 Stauffer (1957), p. 21.

181 Cf. *Gregorian massbook*, Good Friday: ‘*Ecce lignum Crucis, in quo salus mundi pependit.*’

182 Cf. *Gregorian massbook*, Good Friday: ‘*Popule meus, quid feci tibi? Aut in quo contristavi te? Responde mihi. Quia eduxi te de terra Aegypti: parasti Crucem Salvatori tuo [...].*’

183 Suetonius does not say anything about why the Jews were so eager here. Although he is the only one amongst the ancient historians to report the presence of the Jews at Caesar’s cremation site, his testimony is generally not doubted by the commentators—there is speculation about their reasons, however.

Some say the reason for the affection of the Jews was Caesar’s pro-Jewish policy, since he had granted them many privileges and the right to practice their religion freely. Others say that the Jews were very thankful to Caesar because he had defeated Pompeius, who had conquered Jerusalem and desecrated the temple. They had seen in Caesar the avenging angel—or even the Messiah?

Both arguments seem to suggest themselves, even though they are not without certain contradictions.

The first one—that Caesar had granted a number of privileges and free exercise of religion—is based mainly on Flavius Josephus (Jos. *JA* 14.10.1): Caesar had declared the Jews living in Alexandria as ‘fellow citizens of the Alexandrians’—which was not a small thing, because only as such could Egyptians obtain Roman citizenship (cf. Plinius, *ep.* X, 6; 7; 10)—and allowed Hyrcanus to keep the office of Jewish high priest because he had come to his help with 1500 men in the Alexandrine war (Jos. *AJ* 14.10.2). In fact, however, according to the same Flavius Josephus, the Idumean Antipater governed Judea at that time, only pro forma on Hyrcanus’ order, and it was he who joined Mithridates with 3000 (that is, twice as many) ‘foot soldiers of the Jews’ (cf. Jos. *BJ* 1.9.3), made a good showing at the capture of Pelusium, was repeatedly wounded during the campaign, and persuaded the Egyptian Jews, who were fighting against Caesar, to change sides (Jos. *JA* 14.8.1). The Idumean Antipater whose wife Kypros, the mother of the later Herod the Great, was a Nabatean sheik’s daughter (Jos. *BJ* 1.8.9) apparently also led the troops of his Nabatean father-in-law along with the cavalymen of the Nabatean Malchus, whom Caesar had called for help, and who joined Mithridates Pergamenus, who was gathering auxiliary troops from Cilicia and Syria and was advancing by land on his way (*B. Alex.* 1.1 and 26). As reward, Caesar made Antipater a Roman citizen and procurator of all of Judaea after the war.

So he had allowed Hyrcanus to keep the religious office (of Jewish high priest), but had given the political one into the hands of an Idumean and his non-Jewish descendants. However, many among the Jews were glad about this also, the opponents of Hyrcanus as well as those who rejected all Hasmoneans as non-Davidians—e. g. the Pharisees—or were generally opposed to the kingship.

Anyhow, all were glad about Caesar’s clemency which they had experienced again, because the Egyptian Jews, especially those from the Onias district in Leontopolis—where since the conquest of Jerusalem by the notorious Antiochos Epiphanes stood a small copy of the Temple of Jerusalem—had fought against Caesar at first and only changed sides after the situation had already tilted in favor of Caesar, and only on massive pressure of Antipater who could produce letters of Hyrcanus on this matter. So they had reason to fear Caesar’s revenge. But he tempered justice with mercy this time also.

This could explain why the Jews were especially attached to him from then on.

How grateful they were to him can be recognized by a decree of Augustus whereby he affirmed the regulations of his adoptive father, which Flavius Josephus cites as one of the main records for the privileges granted to Hyrcanus (Jos. *AJ* 16.6.2[§162-165]).

Therein *Caesar Augustus, pontifex maximus* (ἀρχιερεύς), *tribunicia potestas* permits, with reference to the fact that the nation of the Jews was found to be friendly (εὐχάριστον—*socius et amicus populi Romani?*) not only in his time but especially in the time of his father, the dictator Caesar, as well as due to the agreement of the Roman people: Jews are allowed to pursue their customs according to the ‘fatherly’ law as at the time of Hyrcanus, the high priest (ἀρχιερεύς) of the ‘Highest God’ (θεὸς ὑψίστος).

It is interesting here that ‘fatherly’ law means the ‘Caesarean’ one, the law of the ‘father’ of Augustus, i.e. Caesar’s law (cf. Noethl ichs p 86). It may be asked whether the confusion with the ‘fatherly’ law of the Jews, i.e. their father Moses’, which suggests itself—incidentally, editors and translators usually blunder into it—was intended by Augustus who, as is generally known, aimed at identification (starting with his own with Caesar, whose name he did not take over by chance). Θεὸς ὑψίστος, ‘Highest God’ is what Jupiter was called (cf. thereto i. a. A.D. Nock, «The Guild of Zeus Hysistos», *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 29, 1936, p. 39-88), an equating that was certainly intended by Augustus, a clear *interpretatio Romana* of *Jahve = Iove*. High priest of the ‘Highest God’ (ἀρχιερεύς θεοῦ ὑψίστου), anyway, was not only Hyrcanus but also Caesar, who was not only *pontifex maximus* but *flamen Dialis*, too, high priest of Jupiter: And he had appointed Hyrcanus as a smaller duplicate in Jerusalem, as it were. However, the deified Caesar himself was equated with Jupiter also, it is not by chance stated expressly with Cassius Dio (*HR* 44,6,4: καὶ τέλος Δία τε αὐτὸν ἀντικρυσ Ἰούλιον προσηγόρευσαν), so that Caesar appears here not only as father of Augustus but also of Hyrcanus and the Jews themselves, God the Father and Moses at the same time: As new Romulus he analogously was also a new Moses and as new Jupiter a new Jahweh as well. And as Augustus was his adoptive son, it seems here that Hyrcanus together with his God becomes adoptive too—to plagiarize Tertullian, who distinguished *di adoptivi* from *di captivi* (cf. Tertullian, *apol.* 10.5). This, incidentally, is confirmed by the fact that Augustus does not mention Judaea among the provinces nor the allies in his account of his deeds, thus expressing a personal relationship.

Hence, when Antonius lamented that Caesar, of all people, who had freed Rome from the Gallic threat like a new Camillus, had been murdered and all foreigners joined in *suo more*, ‘according to their customs’ and sang dirges, the Jews will probably have praised him as a new Moses, who had led them out of Egypt again and for whom they now prepared the ‘stake’: his *stavros*—by which, at least for the Caesareans among them, was meant not the ‘cross’, the *lignum crucis*, but the ‘flammable wood’ for the pyre, as was right and proper for their savior, yes, their father and God (cf. note 157). The lament became an *improperium* addressing those who had joined the murderers thus making themselves co-responsible for his *cruciatus*.

So this fateful hour, on which opinions differed in Rome and the whole Empire, had also divided Jewry: The Caesareans among them—those who did not celebrate with Brutus and Cassius on the Sabbath after Caesar’s Passover and would rather be Sabbath desecrators than not mourn for him—had carried out the break with the old law and gone over to the new religion born in that hour: the cult of Divus Iulius which was to become Christianity after the Jewish war.

As for the second assumed reason: the fact that Pompeius, by capturing Jerusalem and storming the Jewish temple, did not make only friends among the Jews cannot be disputed. In the Jewish tradition he was never forgiven for entering into the holy of holies, which was forbidden not only for strangers but even Jews themselves (Jos.

AJ 12.145sq). Still under Traianus when the insurrections broke out in Egypt in 115-117 the Jews exhumed the head of Pompeius from the grove, where Caesar had had it buried, out of revenge for the sacrilege of 63 bc (*App. BC* 2.90.380). But the fact of the matter is that in the process, Pompeius had entangled himself in inner-Jewish quarrels over the throne, in which the two brothers fighting over regality had made him arbiter, and he then had to besiege, together with the older one whom he favored, the younger one who was barricading himself in Jerusalem. 'For this calamity of Jerusalem, only the conflict between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus was to blame', Josephus himself realizes (*Jos. AJ* 14.4.5). He also gives great credit to Pompeius for not touching the temple treasure—unlike Crassus later on his unfortunate campaign against the Parthians, who took all the gold with him—and 'behaving as one could expect of his virtue': for he had the sanctuary purified again and appointed Hyrcanus as high priest (*Jos. AJ* 14.4.4). Also, we see that in the following Roman civil war 'the people of the Hebrews and their Arabic neighbors' (*App. BC* 2.71.294) stood on Pompeius' side: so Pompeius must have come to an arrangement with not a few Jews after the capture of Jerusalem and they with him. That Caesar, inversely, did not only make enemies amongst the Jews by freeing Aristobulus, who had been arrested by Pompeius, cannot be disputed either. Aristobulus was an opponent of Hyrcanus though, who also had his sympathizers. Thus not all Jews will have been furious that the Pompeians poisoned Aristobulus soon afterwards, still in Rome, while in Syria Pompeius' new father in law, Q. Metellus Scipio, had Aristobulus's son decapitated. Furthermore Caesar had later not supported Aristobulus' presumptuous and unreliable young son Antigonus but instead favored Antipater, who had more actively supported him and possessed scars all over his body. So one has to come to terms with the thought that Caesar had intervened in a biased manner with the Jews, as with all other peoples and nations, and as a result had aroused sympathies as well as antipathies—depending on one's point of view.

The one who must have been hated by all Jews, whether Caesareans or Anti-Caesareans, is Cassius Longinus. Because in 53/52, after Crassus' defeat against the Parthians, he had still been able to maintain control of the province Syria, then had turned against the rebelling province of Judaea, captured 30,000 Jews and in so doing had Pitholaus, who had defected and led the rebellion after Aristobulus, executed on Antipater's advice, whom he held in high regard (*Jos. AJ* 14.7.3, *Jos. BJ* 1.89). Flavius Josephus does not say how Pitholaus was executed. So it will have been the usual way of execution for rebels, in Judaea normally crucifixion. Not the least significant was the fact that it was Aristobulus' father Alexander Jannaeus, himself king of the Jews who had set standards in that respect. After he had killed umpteen thousands of Jews who were rebelling against him he had 800 of the captives nailed to the cross in the middle of Jerusalem and their wives and children slaughtered in front of their eyes, while he himself, boozing and lying with his concubines, was watching (*Jos. BJ* 1.4.5).

But now, nine years later, the same Cassius Longinus had made his mark for himself by murdering Caesar, and as a result the same Antipater joined him. Because of that, Caesar must have, for the Jews of Rome, inevitably become one of theirs, and the attempt on him an attempt on them too. They had suffered from the same deadly hand and naturally found themselves together in mourning, beyond all partiality. Caesar's death from the hand of Cassius Longinus must have carried more weight for them than the fact that it had occurred in front of Pompeius's statue. The exhibition of Caesar's body, tortured by all the wounds, at the tropaeum must have seemed a crucifixion to them particularly.

This being true all the more so in recollection, by the time when Suetonius, one and a half centuries later, writes and reports of the conspicuously long time that the Jews remained at Caesar's cremation site. For history had soon repeated itself among the

children. The son of Aristobulus, Antigonus, who during an invasion of the Parthians in the year 40 as the last of the Hasmoneans, with their help had managed to become king instead of the captured Hyrcanus (in his hatred he had bitten off one of Hyrcanus' ears, so that he could no longer be high priest, since bodily integrity was a pre-condition for that). Soon afterwards, in 38, he is captured himself by the Romans and brought to Antonius in Antiochia, where Herod, the son of Antipater, bribed Antonius to have him killed (Jos. *BJ* 1.357; Jos. *AJ* 14.489-491; 15.9sq). Here too, Flavius Josephus does not say what kind of execution it was. Cassius Dio however (*HR* 49.22.6) speaks about a flagellation and crucifixion of Antigonus before his killing, a punishment that no other king had ever suffered under the Romans. One may ask oneself how much this flagellation and killing of Antigonus by Antonius may have affected the transformation of the exhibition of the tropaeum with the wax figure during Caesar's funeral, directed by the same Antonius.

But for the moment, Antonius' act of piety towards Caesar, preventing his body from being dragged like that of a tyrant through the streets of Rome and then thrown in the Tiber—as his murderers had planned—must have evoked, especially among the Jews, the memory of a previous act of piety by the same Antonius towards Aristobulus. This man had been brought captured to Rome by Pompeius in 63, and was able to flee together with his son Antigonus seven years later in order to take possession of Judaea again. But the rebellion failed and Aristobulus was brought to Rome a second time. However, in 49 Caesar freed him to fight the civil war for him against Pompeius in Judaea, for which he gave him two legions (Cass. Dio *HR* 41.18.1)—whereupon he was poisoned by Pompeians. His body, too, was denied a burial in home soil until Antonius finally sent it to the Jews, embalmed in honey, to be buried in the royal tombs (Jos. *AJ* 13.16.1-14.7.4; *BJ* 1.5.4-9.1).

Furthermore, it must be taken into consideration that Caesar did pay back, with high interest, all the money he had borrowed for 'his Gallic tarts to pay', as his soldiers had poked fun during the triumphal procession, and the amount was not negligible. But he was already about to go to war again, namely against the Parthians in order to grind out the defeat of Crassus. For that he had put 19 legions on stand by and sent them ahead. To finance the forthcoming greatest of all wars—after crushing the Parthians he wanted to attack the Germans from the rear in the East, marching around the Black Sea through the regions of the Scythes and the Sarmatians, and thus close the gap to Gaul—he had borrowed great sums of money again. We know about the hectic minting activity of those last months of his life. For it the financially strong Orientals will have been asked to pay up also, without exception—according to his well-known maxim: 'One needs money for the soldiers and one has soldiers for the money'. We thus have to assume that the Jewish financial circles took part one way or another. He will have particularly considered their inclusion for the reason alone that the Jews of the Adiabene were under Parthian sovereignty and a pro-Parthian party was active in Judaea. Therefore, after Caesar's assassination all was at stake for the Jews on Caesar's side as it was for all other Caesareans—not least the return of the temple treasure formerly purloined by Crassus, which could have been expected from a Caesar victorious against the Parthians.

For these reasons it can be concluded that Caesar's policy was not hostile towards the Jews, even if it was not conflict-free, and that it obligated as well as involved the Jews living in the City and the Empire. That is why Suetonius' remark that the Jews in Rome stayed and mourned at the site of Caesar's cremation for a long time can be regarded as certain and justified.

But is this sufficient to explain why they lingered there for a conspicuously long time?

Fortunately, as is often the case, the solution to the mystery is simpler than one might think. We have seen that the fifteenth of the Aramaic month Nisan (Hebrew

Abib), i. e. the first month of spring, beginning with the new moon, corresponds with the Ides of March. This is based on the calculation of the Jews for their Passover-feast 'after the cycle of the moon beginning from the spring equinox (= depending on calculation, between the 20th and 25th of March)' (Philo zu Ex. 12.2). But because all the other nations in principle did the same, as a rule they used the month of the civilian calendar of the respective areas wherein the spring equinox occurred—so in Syria it was regularly the *Xantikos*, in Alexandria the *Parmuthi* and in Rome just March. On the full moon of this month the Passover was celebrated (cf. G. Gentz, *RE* s.v. 'Ostern' Sp. 1647-48). But now, one year earlier, 45 bc, Caesar had introduced the solar calendar, named the Julian calendar after him. Chance has it that on the Ides of March 45 bc it was full moon as can easily be calculated on the basis of Julian calendar which is still valid in the Eastern Church, as well as with the help of the Easter tables of Dionysius Exiguus. In the first year according to the new calendar the month of March perfectly corresponded to Nisan.

This was different in the following year because there is a difference of 11 to 12 days between solar and lunar years. However, since everything is in the beginning, the Jews among the Caesareans, respectively the Caesareans among the Jews, will have celebrated their Passover in Rome in the year 44 bc on the same date as the Romans did the Ides, which also included the ritual offering of a lamb—*ovis Idulis*—to Jupiter. This happened at the end of the 14th and in the beginning of the 15th, because the day was reckoned as beginning at evening. But for the Jews, the feast of the unleavened bread (matzoth) followed from the 15th till the 21st of Nisan (Lv. 23.6). This means that they still had at least one holiday left until the end of the Matzoth festival after Caesar's funeral, which happened presumably on the 20th (cf. u. a. Drumann-Gröbe 1.417). So, even if they did not have more reason to keep vigil at Caesar's funeral site than other denizens of Rome, they had more spare time.

It should be pointed out here that this fact—Matzoth festival following Passover in the Jewish religious calendar—later led to continual arguments with the Christians, when they began to reckon Easter according to the solar/lunar system in order to prevent 'dark Easter' without a moon (which happened regularly during the use of the purely solar Julian calendar; that the Christians originally always celebrated Easter in March is substantiated by Tertullian, *de jejun.* 14: *pascha celebramus annuo circulo in mense primo*). Because, whereas the Christians fasted until the resurrection of the Lord, the Jews terminated their fasting on the evening of the 14th, which led to the impression that they were scoffing at the death of Jesus or even that they were glad about it (cf. Epiph. 70.10sq). But when the Christians joyfully celebrated the resurrection, the Jews still ate unleavened bread and bitter herbs for some days (namely the Matzoth is celebrated *ἐν πικρίσιν*, 'in bitterness', cf. Ex. 12:8), leading again to the assumption that they were mocking Christ's resurrection. This led to continuous irritations and finally to the determination of the Christian Easter so that it no longer coincided with the Jewish celebrations.

But back to Caesar and our question:

A clear indication of this associating by some of the Jews with the murderers of Caesar is given by Flavius Josephus himself.

Among the Roman benefactors of the Jews—who secured their cult which encountered resistance in the whole Empire and especially in the free towns or those allied with Rome in Asia minor—Josephus (Jos. *AJ* 14.10) counts, besides Caesar, who apparently made a start, and Augustus who confirmed it, a proconsul *Marcus Iunius Brutus, Son of Iunius*, of all people, who according to the predominant opinion of the commentators is the murderer of Caesar (*AJ* 14.10.25 [§262-264]; cf. Benedictus Niese, *Flavii Iosephi Opera*, Berlin 1892, vol. iii, p 288, among other things the lection *Marcus Iunius Brutus, Son of Caepio*, as well as Noethl ichs (1996), p. 85 and note 480). It is said that this Brutus had been requested by the Jews of the town

of Ephesos that they might practice Sabbath and traditional customs without interference and he as the proconsul had conceded this to them. Hence the Ephesians decided: According to the Romans nobody shall prevent a Jew from celebrating the Sabbath or for this reason convict him to pay a fine, but the Jews may do everything according to their laws.

If Jews should have stayed particularly long at Caesar's cremation site out of gratitude to him, then other Jews should have abstained from it out of gratitude to Brutus. Even if one assumes that Brutus gave that permission to the Jews of Ephesos only later, e.g. 42 bc when he was in Asia, one would hardly want to suppose that Brutus had favored the Jews then, shortly before his Philippi, where the demon of the dead Caesar was to appear before him again, if they all had been with the mourners and so had been counted among those who had caused his flight from Rome. On the contrary: Just then, at the time of Caesar's funeral, the association between Brutus and likeminded Jews must have arisen and it must have had to do with the Sabbath celebration. Had they celebrated the *Quinquatrus* falling on the Sabbath of the week of Passover not only at the same time, but also together?

A coincidental similarity in the appearance and manner might have also contributed to the fusion of the image of the Jews with that of the murderers of Caesar. These, who posed as liberators, ostentatiously wore the *pilleus*, a felt hat or cap, the traditional Roman liberty cap. Brutus had it stamped on his coins, between two daggers and the inscription *eid(ibus) mar(tii)s*, 'on the Ides of march' (cf. ill. 30, p. 95), as a sign of the regained liberty of the Roman citizens from the alleged tyrant. Now, the same *pilleus* was also worn by freedmen as a sign of their personally won liberty (cf. Marquardt-Mau (1886) p. 355 u. Anm. 8; Nonius p. 528: *Plautus in Amphitruone* (462): *Ut ego hodie raso capite calvus capiam pilleum*. — 'in order that I, with shaved head, receive the cap of liberty today'). It was far from uncommon that the Jews gained Roman citizenship by way of manumission, and so they presented exactly this habitus (which Jews, bound to tradition, interestingly maintain until today). It was a similarity that was even completed by the fact that Brutus wore a beard in order to emphasize the connection with the old Brutus, while those mourning over Caesar did not shave either anymore (according to custom). Since in times of tumults, in dangers, in war, and eminently during civil war, it was usual practice *servos ad pilleum vocare*—'to call the slaves to the liberty cap', which means promising them liberty so that they joined in the battle instead of running away or defecting. And since Brutus did call all to insurrection, it probably resulted in many a confusion with fatal consequences. Caesar's friend Helvius Cinna had indeed been lynched by the enraged crowd only because he was mistaken for the homonymous Cornelius Cinna, who had spoken against Caesar. So the uncanny situation arose that Caesar's freedmen, especially those named in the testament, who according to tradition walked alongside the relatives and heirs in front of or beside the bier out of gratitude, that they wore the same cap as the conspirators and all those to whom Brutus had given liberty in the heat of the battle. On that day all wearers of caps lived in danger, all the more so if they wore a beard also. And if the conspirators had left Rome even before the funeral reception (cf. Nic. Dam. 17, Plut. *Brut.* 21), the same crowd that tore Helvius Cinna into pieces on the spot without listening to explanations, certainly caught many another man, whether he was the right one or not.

A reverberation of this ambivalent relationship, first of the Caesareans and then of the Christians, towards the Jews could also resonate in Suetonius' account. Writing between two Jewish wars, the secretary of Hadrian—who soon had to cope with the Bar-Kochba insurrection—at any rate, always reports on the negative attitude of the emperors towards the Jews and with a preference to issues connected with money or expulsions at that. (The famous passage that we already dealt with in the chapter

'Re-Orientation'—Suet. *Claud.* 25.4: *Iudaeos impulsore chresto assidue tumultuantis Roma expulit*—does not make an exception either, since we meanwhile know, how it is translated correctly: '...he banished from Rome the Jews, who were practicing usury and by that continually created unrest'). So that one finally is quite surprised to learn that Jews stayed particularly long at Caesar's cremation site, when he has not given a reason for it. What did he want to say? Look, all emperors after Caesar treated the Jews badly, only Caesar did not: for they mourned especially long over his murder? Does Suetonius here really want to praise their reverence—that the Jews had stood at his *bustum* out of attachment and adoration to Caesar and stood there longest of all, even longer than the Gauls themselves—or rather to report gossip—that they had stood there longest of all, at night, in order to hush up the fact that they together with Antipater, were already about to reach an agreement with the murderers of Caesar, or even, to have the opportunity to screen the ashes for gold. Or both?

Suetonius remains silent about why the Jews were so eager here. But by the sequence of his account he seems to suggest ironically to the reader what they might have been looking for in a place where such a lot of jewelry had come under the ashes—relics? Because staying longer than necessary at a *bustum*, a spent funeral pyre, was suspicious, for it was implied that one might search through the ashes for the remnants of the molten valuables that had been thrown into the fire by the mourners.

That even respected personalities were not immune to that suspicion is shown by Plutarchus who reports an accusation of Cato, who was above suspicion, a reproach which probably was raised by Caesar in his *Anticato* against the upholder of moral standards he was in conflict with. When Cato's brother died, Cato had arranged a splendid funeral, in which a lot of incense goods, many precious garments and much jewelry donated by cities and rulers had been burnt together with the dead. Cato pretended to not want to accept money and gifts, but had to put up with being reproached in writing of having sieved the ashes of the deceased in order to get hold of the melted gold (Plut. *Cato Minor* 11). Since the reproach against Cato had been taken up by Caesar himself in his *Anticato* (cf. Tschiedel (1981) p. 113sq), Caesar's followers will hardly for their part have sieved Caesar's ashes: ergo it remained a 'valuable' relic in that respect also. The oldest sacral law, recorded in the twelve tables, forbade giving the dead person gold into the grave ('*Neve aurum addito ... Cui auro dentes iuncti escunt, ast im cum illo sepelirei ureive se fraude esto.*': cf. Cic., *leg.* 2.24.60. This was probably in order to not encourage desecration by plunderers). In Caesar's case, at any rate, it is said that only the bones which remained after the cremation were picked up for burying in the family tomb (cf. Dio Cass. *HR* 44.51.1-2: τὰ γὰρ ὀστέα αὐτοῦ οἱ ἐξελεύθεροι προανείλοντο καὶ ἐς τὸ πατριῶν μνημεῖον κατέθεντο—'for his freedmen had already picked up his bones and buried them in the family tomb'), so that the relics now would have been available for picking up by the mourners, i. e. in the case of Caesar by the whole people, because except for the murderers all were mourning.

This, however, was risqué. Because the robbing of dead people was punishable with the death penalty and for its imposition during the civil war, the suspicion was sufficient. After Philippi, Antonius spread his very precious purple robe across the body of Brutus and instructed a freedman to take care of the burial. When he later learned that the freedman had not burnt the purple robe together with the body and also had embezzled a big part of the money destined for the burial, he had him executed (Plut. *Ant.* 22, *Brut.* 53) (Mark's lection—'...and when they had crucified him, they parted his garments casting lots upon them...'—could still retain a memory of that). And as burial gifts belonged to the dead person it is hardly conceivable that those, of all people, who had thrown the offerings on Caesar's funeral pyre—and everyone had thrown just what they had with them, the actors their triumphal garments (cf.

Suet. *Jul.* 84), the veterans their gold and silver decorated splendor weapons (cf. Suet. *Jul.* 67), the family mothers their pieces of jewelry and even the golden breast-plaques and purple-fringed tunics of their children—now went there again and fetched back remains of the melted things: A gift is a gift. But they must have been picked up, those relics, because they were too valuable, in every respect. Since at first an altar was erected at the cremation site, where the people carried on bringing offerings, and later the temple of Divus Iulius was added, one could assume that those relics were kept in that temple, like exvotos. But did they all get there? Did they all still exist? That altar was first knocked over by the consuls, the initiators were killed, even crucified, and years passed until the temple of Divus Iulius could be consecrated. Had the same freedmen of Caesar, who had 'picked up his bones and buried them in the family tomb,' also saved the relics and did their status succor them in doing so, because being Romans and strangers at the same time, they were less affected by the religious taboos? And had they handed them over to the followers of Caesar from all the peoples of the earth whom Suetonius calls 'the many foreigners who lived in Rome', who 'had sung dirges in groups according to their respective customs' and who had thus now become the moving force of the cult of Divus Iulius? Had they distributed them among Caesar's followers and thereby scattered them over the whole Empire, where they were kept in all the *caesarea* resp. basilicas, which had already emerged everywhere in the Empire and continued to emerge? And did 'especially the Jews who even visited the cremation site for many nights in a row' distinguish themselves in that respect too? In any case, when centuries later St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, let the allegedly 'true cross' be searched for and wanted to find it in Jerusalem and found it, it is said that the place was revealed to her by an inspired Jew (Cyriacus: cf. Paulinus of Nola, *ep.* 31.5). Had the tradition about it already formed from the relics at Caesar's cremation site? Was it therefore regarded as a matter of course that 'particularly the Jews' knew where some, and not the unimportant ones, of 'His' relics were hiding? Did the traditional collecting of relics on the part of the Christians as well as the dealing in relics that inevitably went along with it, originate at Caesar's cremation site?

- 184 In Jerusalem the Greek patriarch lights the Easter fire in the Holy Sepulchre. As he leaves the tomb, he lights the torches of the believers who then run with them out of the church and announce the resurrection: *Christós anesti!* In the Eastern churches (Greece, Armenia, etc.) the Easter fire is enormous, and in some rural parishes there is still an effigy of 'Judas' on top, understood by the people as the burning of Judas. A comparable custom is seen in the West too, indeed not always at Easter, but in the week between the 15th and the 20th of March, presumably the ancient date of Easter. For example at the 'fallas' of Valencia and environs they also burn a huge fire with effigies of Judas in multifarious variations. Does 'Judas' here stand for 'Julas', i. e. 'Julius'? (Compare: *IVLIVS* > *IOYΛAC* > *IOYΔAC*). With this custom the people would be faithfully re-enacting the cremation of Caesar's body—which in the meantime had become incomprehensible to them—so they would have changed its meaning to the desired burning of Judas.
- 185 Cf. Dio Cass. *HR* 47.19.1.
- 186 Stauffer (1957), p. 135, note 4, does just this, but does not specify the common archetypes.
- 187 Cf. Gabba (1956), as well the *Introduzione* van Gabba (1958).
- 188 That Appianus could have used novel-like sources has often been suggested, cf. i. a. Schwartz (Ed.), *RE*, s. v. Appianus, Sp. 222-37, explicitly in reference to Antonius' funeral speech: Sp. 230; André (1949), p. 41sqq.
- 189 Weinstock (1971), p. 354. He points out that a praetexta *Cato* by Curvatus Maternus existed (Tac. *Dial.* 2.1; cf. Teuffel-Kroll 2.296, s. v. Vespasian), which leads

us to assume a praetexta *Julius Caesar*, in the same way that the *Cato* by Cicero was followed immediately by Caesar's *Anticato*—and they were read in counterpoise.

190 Even if this is not absolutely confirmed by Cic. *Att.* 14.10.1 and *Phil.* 2.90sq (cf. Drumann & Groebe, 1899-1922², reprint Hildesheim 1964, i p.74), yet the publication of the *oratio funebris* by Antonius in accordance with Roman tradition is probable (cf. Bengtson (1977), p.82sq). Hence the speech as rendered by Appianus can be regarded as authentic.

191 Cf. Nicolaus Damascenus, *Bios Kaisaros*, *FGrH*, ed. F. Jacoby, 26.82, i. a.

192 Suetonius does not mention the name Caesar at all in his report on the funeral (*Jul.* 84).

193 Nicolaus Damascenus, *Bios Kaisaros*, *FGrH*, ed. F. Jacoby, 26.97: οἰκέται δὲ διη τρεῖς, οἵπερ ἦσαν πλησίον, ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐνθέμενοι τὸν νεκρὸν εἰς φορεῖον οἴκαδε ἐκόμιζον διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. ὁρᾶν δ' ἐνῆν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἀπεσταλμένων τῶν παρακαλυμμάτων, αἰωρουμένας τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου πληγὰς. ἔνθα οὐδεὶς ἀδακρυς ἦν ὁρᾶν τὸν πάλαι ἴσα καὶ θεὸν τιμώμενον· οἰμωγῇ τε πολλῇ καὶ στόνῳ συμπαρεπέμπετο ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ὀλοφυρομένων ἀπὸ τε τῶν τεγῶν καθ' οὓς ἂν γένοιτο καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ προθύροις. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησίον τῆς οἰκίας ἐγένετο, πολὺ δὴ μείζων ὑπήντα κωκυτός· ἐξέπεπληθήκει γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ μετὰ πολλοῦ ὄχλου γυναικῶν τε καὶ οἰκετῶν, ἀνακαλουμένη τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἑαυτὴν ὀδυρομένη, ὅτι μάτην προὔλεγε μὴ ἐξιέναι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην. τῷ δ' ἤδη μοῖρα ἐφειστήκει πολὺ κρείττων ἢ κατὰ τὴν αὐτῆς ἐλπίδα.

194 *Plut. Caes.* 1-2: εἴτ' ἀποπλέων, ἀλίσκεται περὶ τὴν Φαρμακοῦσσαν νῆσον ὑπὸ πειρατῶν, ἥδη τότε στόλοις μεγάλοις καὶ σκάφεσιν ἀπλέτοις κατεχόντων τὴν θάλατταν. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν αἰτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν λύτρα εἴκοσι τάλαντα, κατεγέλασεν ὡς οὐκ εἰδότην ὄν ἠρήκοιεν, αὐτὸς δ' ὠμολόγησε πεντήκοντα δώσειν· ἔπειτα τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλων εἰς ἄλλην διαπέμφας πόλιν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν χρημάτων πορισμὸν, ἐν ἀνθρώποις φοινικωτάτοις Κίλιξι μεθ' ἐνὸς φίλου καὶ δυοῖν ἀκολουθοῖν ἀπολελειμμένος, οὕτω καταφρονητικῶς εἶχεν, ὥστε πέμπων ὁσάκις ἀναπαύοιτο προσέταττεν αὐτοῖς σιωπᾶν. ἡμέραις δὲ τεσσαράκοντα δευεῖν δεούσαις, ὥσπερ οὐ φρουρούμενος ἀλλὰ δορυφορούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ πολλῆς ἀδείας συνέπαιζε καὶ συνεγυμνάζετο, καὶ ποιήματα γράφων καὶ λόγους τινὰς ἀκροαταῖς ἐκείνοις ἐχρήτο, καὶ τοὺς μὴ θαυμάζοντας ἀντικρυσ ἀπαιδεύτους καὶ βαρβάρους ἀπεκάλει, καὶ σὺν γέλῳι πολλάκις ἠπέλιψε κρεμᾶν αὐτοῦς· οἱ δ' ἔχαιρον, ἀφελεία τινὶ καὶ παιδιᾷ τὴν παρρησίαν ταύτην νέμοντες. ὡς δ' ἦκον ἐκ Μιλήτου τὰ λύτρα καὶ δοὺς ἀφείθη, πλοῖα πληρώσας εὐθύς ἐκ τοῦ Μιλησίου λιμένος ἐπὶ τοὺς ληστὰς ἀνήγετο, καὶ καταλαβὼν ἔτι πρὸς τῇ νήσῳ ναυλοχούοντας, ἐκράτησε τῶν πλείστων. καὶ τὰ μὲν χρήματα λείαν ἐποίησατο, τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας ἐν Περγάμῳ καταθέμενος εἰς τὸ δεσμοπήριον, αὐτὸς ἐπορεύθη πρὸς τὸν διέποντα τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰουγκον, ὡς ἐκείνῳ προσήκον ὄντι στρατηγῷ κολάσαι τοὺς ἐαλωκότας. ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐποφθαλμιώντος (ἦν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγα), καὶ περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων σκέψεσθαι φάσκοντος ἐπὶ σχολῆς, χαίρειν ἑάσας αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς Πέργαμον ὤχετο, καὶ προαγαγὼν τοὺς ληστὰς ἀπαντας ἀνεσταύρωσεν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς δοκῶν παίζειν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ προειρήκει πολλάκις.

Suet. *Jul.* 4: [...] *Rhodum secedere statuit, et ad declinandam invidiam et ut per otium ac requiem Apollonio Moloni clarissimo tunc dicendi magistro operam daret. huc dum hibernis iam mensibus traicit, circa Pharmacussam insulam a praedonibus captus est mansitque apud eos non sine summa indignatione prope quadraginta dies cum uno medico et cubicularis duobus. nam comites seruosque ceteros initio statim ad expediendas pecunias, quibus redimeretur, dimiserat. numeratis deinde quinquaginta talentis expositus in litore non distulit quin e uestigio classe deducta persequeretur abeuntis ac redactos in potestatem supplicio, quod saepe illis minatus inter iocum fuerat, adficeret.*

Suet. *Jul.* 74: *sed et in ulciscendo natura lenissimus piratas, a quibus captus est, cum in dicionem redegisset, quoniam suffixurum se cruci ante iurauerat, iugulari prius iussit, deinde suffigi [...].*

- 195 Plut. *Caes.* 1-2: καὶ σὺν γέλῳτι πολλάκις ἠπειλήσε κρεμᾶν αὐτοῦς ... καὶ προαγαγὼν τοὺς ληστὰς ἀπαντας ἀνεσταύρωσεν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς δοκῶν παίζειν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ προειρήκει πολλάκις. Appianus also uses the same verb *kremō* for 'to crucify', for example when he reports that Antonius had the slave followers of Amatius crucified. App. *BC* 3.3.9: ἕως ἑτέρων ἐπιπεμφθέντων ἐξ Ἀντωνίου ἀμυνομένοι τε ἀνῆρέθησαν ἔνιοι καὶ συλληφθέντες ἕτεροι ἐκρεμάσθησαν, ὅσοι θεράποντες ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐλεύθεροι κατὰ τοῦ κρημινοῦ κατερρίφησαν. As the rebellion originated because Amatius had erected an altar on the site of Caesar's funeral pyre, the confusion of 'to cremate', *cremo* > *kremō*, 'to crucify', could have originated here. As statues of Caesar are also concerned here, called by Appianus—*andriantes*—similar to the word for the wax simulacrum on Caesar's cross—*andreikelon*—the confusion could have been executed backwards there as well. To make it more complete, we note here that during the slaughter of Amatius' followers, as well as during the cremation of Caesar, people were hurled from the Tarpeian rock—in the one instance the free citizens amongst the followers of Amatius and in the other the daring fellows who wanted to cremate Caesar's body on the Capitol. Appianus calls the Tarpeian rock *krēmnos* 'overhanging bank'—the root of which is the same as for *kremō*. Not by chance are both words found in the above cited quotation from Appianus—as if the one would demand the presence of the other: this could have given the last kick to the confusion.
- 196 Namely the fashion of crucifixion was not uniform: cf. Mommsen (1899), p. 918sqq.
- 197 Cf. Plut. *Rom.* 16: τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμίλου τὰς εἰκόνας ὄραν ἔστιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὰς τροπαιοφόρους πεζὰς ἀπάσας.
- 198 Plut. *Rom.* 16: Ὁ δὲ Ῥωμίλος, ὡς ἂν μάλιστα τὴν εὐχὴν τῷ τε Διὶ κεχαρισμένην καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ἰδεῖν ἐπιτερπὴ παράσχοι σκεψάμενος, ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου δρῶν ἔτεμεν ὑπερμεγέθη καὶ διεμόρφωσεν ὥσπερ τρόπαιον, καὶ τῶν ὀπλων τοῦ Ἀκρωνοῦ ἕκαστον ἐν τάξει περιήρμοσε καὶ κατήρτησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα περιεζώσατο, δάφνη δ' ἐστέψατο τὴν κεφαλὴν κομῶσαν. ὑπολαβὼν δὲ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ τρόπαιον ὤμῳ προσερειδόμενον ὀρθόν, ἐβάδιζεν ἐξάρχων ἐπινικίου παιᾶνος ἐν ὄπλοις ἐπομένη τῇ στρατιᾷ, δεχομένων τῶν πολιτῶν μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ θαύματος. ἡ μὲν οὖν πομπὴ τῶν αὐτῆς θριάμβων ἀρχὴν καὶ ζῆλον παρέσχε, τὸ δὲ τρόπαιον ἀνάθημα Φερρετρίου Διὸς ἐπωνομάσθη—τὸ γὰρ πληξαι φερίρε Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν, εὐξάτο δὲ πληξαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ καταβαλεῖν [...].
- 199 We are almost forced to answer the question in the affirmative. For if *Simon* stands for *Antonius*, then *kêryx*, 'herald', stands for *Kyrene*, and so *Simon a Cyrenian* reflects *Antonius per praeconem*, 'Antonius by the herald', who according to Suetonius, read out that decision of the Senate that awarded Caesar all the divine and human honors at the same time, and also the oath by which all the senators obliged themselves to protect him. Suet. *Jul.* 84: *Laudationis loco Antonius per praeconem pronuntiauit senatus consultum, quo omnia simul ei diuina atque humana decreuerat, item ius iurandum, quo se cuncti pro salutem unius astrinxerat; quibus perpauca a se uerba addidit.*
- 200 Tac. *Hist.* 4.11: *seruile supplicium*. Free non-Romans and citizens were threatened with crucifixion in the case of offences that were typical for slaves, such as incitement to rebellion, homicide, robbery, switching sides to the enemy, high treason etc.
- 201 Plut. *Rom.* 12.4: τούτου μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι μᾶλλον ἠὔξησε τὴν Ῥώμην, ἀεὶ προσποιούσαν ἑαυτῇ καὶ συνένεμουσαν ὧν κρατήσειεν.
- 202 Cf. i. a. Rosso Fiorentino, *Deposizione dalla croce*, Volterra Pinacoteca, as well as generally Fra Angelico.

- 203 Cf. Battenberg (1980), p.87sqq.
- 204 Cf. Zanker (1990), p.61-63.
- 205 Well-known is a signet-ring of Mithradates VI with moon and star. Cf. O.Ja. Neverod, «Mitridat Evpator i perstii-pecati iz Pantikapeja», *Sovetskaja Archeologija* 1, 1968, p.235sqq. For the discussion about the symbolism of moon and star in the imperial coinage of Caesar cf. Battenberg (1980), p.72 n.1 and passim, but he cannot demonstrate any results (epilogue of l. c.: 'But this explanation is not satisfying either').
- 206 Suet. *Jul.* 79: *proximo autem senatu Lucium Cottam quindecimvium sententiam dicturum, ut, quoniam fatalibus libris contineretur Parthos nisi a rege non posse uinci, Caesar rex appellaretur.* Following Plut. *Caes.* 64.1 and App. *BC* 2.110 Caesar had planned to continue being *dictator* in Rome and to accept the title 'king' in the Eastern provinces.
- 207 Tablet of stone from the middle of the ninth century bc. The sun-god Schamasch on the right on the throne beneath the tent receives a king, on the left accompanying two Godheads. The symbol of the sun is located in the middle on the altar. Beneath the tent on the right above are depicted the cosmic symbols moon, sun and the star of Astarte.
- 208 The plate made of gold plated silver is embossed and decorated with jewels. It has a diameter of 61 cm and it was found at the village Malaya Pereshchepina (near Poltava). On the basis of the inscription it is dated between 491 and 518 ad. At that time bishop Paternus lived in Constantiana, the former Milesian settlement Tomi on the Black Sea. It became famous as the town of Ovidius' banishment and it furnishes early evidence of Christianity (today the Romanian port and city Constanta). We have only depicted the isolated bottom of the plate.
- 209 Cf. Zanker (1990), p.43. Fittschen (1976), p.187, argues for the issuing of the coin in 17 bc or shortly after, because a comet appeared again during the secular games of that year, which was again connected with Caesar (cf. the source indicated in the study). In any case we find ourselves in the period after the consecration of the temple of Divus Iulius, which took place in 29 bc.
- 210 The cross in Jesus' aureole is mostly a cross of the Maltese type, which only appears to have four points. In reality it is a star with eight rays because it can be seen as both light on a dark background and vice versa. This is especially recognizable in the earlier reproductions. Hence we are led back to the *sidus Iulium*.
- 211 Cf. Simon (1986), p.51. Following the example of the cult-statue of Mars the author reconstructs (p.56) the statue of Augustus of Prima Porta with a lance pointed down in the right hand and a laurel branch in the left. As Divus Iulius holds the 'lance' in the left on the Lentulus-denarius the tip did not necessarily point to the front.
- 212 This wreath was meant for the victorious Agrippa, who will not by chance soon sit next to his father-in-law Augustus on the *sella curulis* (à propos: wasn't there something like this? 'He shall sit on the right hand of the Father...?')
- 213 Cf. Zanker (1990), p.89, ill.64 and p.265, ill.208. As mentioned elsewhere, Capricorn was Augustus' sign of the zodiac. Hence the Victoria on the antefix with the Capricorns beside the globe is unambiguously Augustan.
- 214 This impression is a little softened in another coinage of the same edition by Lentulus, located in the Glasgow Hunter Coin Cabinet. There the little figure on the hand of Divus Iulius looks somewhat feminine, however the little wing in the right above does not hang from the body but from the extremity of the left 'arm' (which is the right one from the viewers standpoint), so that also here, if we were to think of a Victoria at all, we would think of one *en face* and with the tropaeum on the left arm.
- 215 Fittschen (1976) speaks up for Divus Iulius, when he finds here the typical Augustan triad of gods—Mars Ultor-Venus-Divus Iulius. Simon (1979) on the other

hand, speaks up for Gaius Caesar, the grandson and adoptive child of Augustus, asserting that the patron was the exceptionally well educated Iuba, who accompanied Gaius Caesar on his Oriental travels and who had written books for him on, amongst other things, Arabia. His wife was Selene, daughter of Antonius and Cleopatra, who was educated for some time in the house of Augustus' sister Octavia. For the artists had the tendency to depict gods, heroes and even other contemporaries with the features of their patrons—compare the adaptation of the features of Caesar and Octavianus to those of Antonius on the coins of Antonius depicted in ill. 93 and 96, as well as those of Caesar on the coins of Octavianus in ill. 92 and 98. So if the sculptor of Cherchel had received an order for Divus Iulius, he would have given him the features of the contemporary Caesar, Gaius, and vice versa, he would have opted to give Gaius Caesar, in the presence of Venus and Mars, a heroic representation à la Divus Iulius. In whichever case we have to reckon with the features of Gaius Caesar in the appearance of Divus Iulius. Our matter—the use of the Cherchel-torso in the examination of the appearance of Divus Iulius on the coins of Lentulus—is justified by that.

- 216 Fittschen (1976), p. 184. The armored statue was originally painted, so that the sculptor could have left the depiction of aspects in the background to the painter—in this case aspects of the Victoria that were not emphasized in the relief.
- 217 Moreover there is a possibility—in order to not exclude any from the outset—that neither the garment of Victoria nor the trunk of the palm-tree were depicted at the left foot of the tropaeum, but flames—which would reflect Caesar's funeral pyre.
- 218 The fact that the tropaeum on the Prima-Porta-breastplate was sculpted to the back, whereas in that of Cherchel it is situated in the middle front could hint that, although the armored statue of Cherchel, for stylistic reasons, is estimated to be younger than the other and dependent on it, the central motif is older. For the divine triad Mars Ultor-Venus-Divus Iulius on which it is based, or which it reflects, was designed immediately after Philippi and the avowal of a temple for Mars Ultor (42 bc), and it existed since the time of the dedication of the temple of Divus Iulius (29 bc) at the latest, which was also realized in the form of a statue.
- 219 Simon (1986), p. 223-4.
- 220 Plut. *Sulla* 9, 7-9. Cf. discussion by Battenberg (1980), p. 168-71. His epilogue to p. 171: '[...] würde ich mich für die Vergottungstheorie entscheiden—my decision would be for the theory of the deification.' The fact that the untenable hypothesis of 'Sulla's dream' was raised at all indicates how reluctant scholars are to discern religious, even primal Christian motifs in Caesar.
- 221 In order to give only one example: On a limestone from the Coptic cemetery of Armant in Egypt we see a dolphin bearing a cross (4th/5th century, Paris, Musée du Louvre).
- 222 We can see a crab on the head of the personified Jordan on the mosaic in the Baptistarium of the Arians in Ravenna—a sea crab, not a freshwater one—hence it cannot be a crab from the Jordan but rather from the Ionian sea.

- 223 Cf. the denarius of Servilius for Cassius after the victory over the fleet of Rhodos at Cos in 42 bc, whereon a crab holds a galleon figurehead in his claws:



79. Denarius of Servilius for Cassius, 42 bc

- 224 Cf. Plut. *Ant.* 15.

225 Alföldi (1953), p. 10, had also at first interpreted the veil on Caesar's head as a symbol of mourning, but then, following the prevailing opinion (cf. i. a. R.A. Carson, *Gnomon* 28, 1956, p. 183) that sees in the reproduction *capite velato* the holding of priesthood, or even the 'homo pius', he interpreted it as an attribute of the *pontifex maximus*. Accordingly the dates of the coins that show Caesar with a veil were corrected to before the Ides of March. This outcome is not compelling because the veil does not characterize Caesar generally as *pontifex maximus*, but in a special way. As we saw before, on his first coinage illustrating his office as *pontifex maximus*, all the insignia are present (cf. ill. 20). It is not clear why he should have suddenly depicted himself *capite velato* in February-March in the year 44. The veil could indicate the fact that Caesar was buried as *pontifex maximus*, through which he narrowly escaped the violation of his body and became the object of an apotheosis demanded by the people. Hence a simultaneous genesis of the coins that show Caesar and Antonius *capite velato* is conceivable. The fact that the same P. Sepullius Macer was involved in striking the coins could also support it. Moreover we can observe the especially accentuated inclination of the head of Venus on the rear of the illustrated Caesar-coin of Macer, as if the goddess were also mourning. Also the abstract arrangement of the cross on the rear of Maridianus' denarius as well as its unusual surplus weight—7.61 grams instead of the customary 4 or so—rendering it unsuitable as currency and branding it as 'not of this world'. The appearance of all the 'veil' coins after the Ides of March is absolutely conceivable. Only the title *caesar dict · perpetvo* instead *caesar parens patriae* on two Macer-denarii (*Crawford* 480.11 and 480.13 against 480.20) seems not to support it. But if the last mentioned coin was struck after Caesar's death on the order of Antonius, possibly parallel to the inscription on Caesar's statue as mentioned by Cicero and Suetonius (*parenti optime merito* and *parens patriae*), then we could assume that the first release of the Macer coin with Caesar *capite velato* still displayed the last title of his lifetime. In any case we have to consider that at least the Macer-denarius *Crawford* 480/20 had to be minted after Caesar's murder, because the rear side with *desultor* and horses alludes to the Parilia, which were celebrated on the 21st of April. And this denarius had the wreathed head of Caesar *capite velato* and the title *caesar parens patriae* on its front side.

- 226 Cf. the depiction of the ascension on the rear side of the altar of Augustus as *Pontifex Maximus*, between 12 and 2 bc, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano. Helbig (1963-72, nr. 255), Kraus (1967, table 180) and Zanker (*BullComm* 82, 1970/71 (1975), 153) explain it as the apotheosis of Julius Caesar. Erika Simon (1986) and H. Prückner interpret this ascension as that of Romulus-Quirinus. In any case the one ascending to heaven is not borne by an eagle as with the later emperor conse-

crations, but by horses—as if the desultor-motif on the coins struck immediately after the Ides of March had been obligatory.

In one of the most ancient of all depictions of Christ (circa 210 ad) in the Necropolis beneath the Basilica of Peter in Rome, we see the triumphant Christ also being borne to heaven by horses (cf. *Der triumphierende Christus* [Christus Helios]; R. Reiser (1995), p. 187). Interestingly, there, he is not standing on the chariot but separately behind the horses like Romulus/Divus Iulius on the Augustus-altar. One could more aptly interpret him as Christ Romulus resp. Christ Divus Iulius.



89. Reiderian plate: Caesar's last dream

Other early Christian depictions of the Ascension originate from another tradition. In the famous Reiderian plate, created around 400 ad, today in the Bavarian National Museum in Munich, one sees Christ ascending to heaven on a stairway of clouds, grasping God the Father's hand jutting out from a cloud. On the left there is Jesus' tomb in the form of a round little temple; behind it a laurel protrudes on which birds are picking; beneath one sees soldiers and other persons sleeping or gazing up in awe. This could be an apt depiction of the dream Caesar had the very night before his murder (Suet. *Jul.* 81): He seemed to be floating above the clouds and grasping the right hand of Jupiter; the day before, birds had been observed tearing to pieces a wren carrying a sprig of laurel. The round shape of Jesus' 'tomb' fits in also: It corresponds to that of the round altar at the temple of Divus Iulius, (cf. ill. 91, p. 118) the canopy seeming to be borrowed from that of the temple of Vesta resp. the temple of Mars Ultor which was originally planned and at first probably built in a round shape also.

227 Instead, the temple of *Divus Iulius*, built later by Octavianus, was consecrated. In parallel to that, the temple of *Mars ultor*, the avenging Mars, was inaugurated. Octavianus, who proscribed and persecuted Caesar's murderers and like Sulla proscribed all his other opponents as well, no longer showed interest in a temple to *Clementia Caesaris* which was seen as the cause of Caesar's death (cf. App. *BC* 3.4.8).

228 Because of the name avg_vst(us) on the rear of the coin—some authors assume the child's face to be a self portrait of Augustus as the young Octavianus.

229 Suet. *Aug.* 5: *Natus est Augustus M. Tullio Cicerone C. Antonio cons. VIII Kal. Octob. paulo ante solis exortum, regione Palati ad Capita bubula, ubi nunc sacrum habet, aliquando post quam excessit constitutum.*

230 Suet. *Aug.* 96.

231 It can be observed on various coins and cameos in particular:



100. Swimming Capricorn and fishing youth with the features of Augustus

Cf. Simon (1986), p. 159.

232 An image adorning the *Codex aureus* from 870 ad in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek of Munich (CIm 14000, fol. 6r) depicts the adoration of a 'lamb of God' that has distinctly elaborated testicles: Below it there is an eight pointed star. Cf. Reiser (1995), p. 89.

233 Zanker (1990), p. 179, ill. 136 sees Pax herself in it (who gave the Ara Pacis its name), brought into line by the symbols of fertility with Tellus, the goddess of earth, as well as the fertility-providing Venus.

234 Depictions of the Madonna and child and the boy John are not so rare—to name just one: Giuliano Bugiardini, Galleria dell'Accademia, Firenze.

Excursus—Re-Orientation

235 The only point that has occasionally been disputed in the research on the matter is whether Caesar's apotheosis took place during his lifetime or posthumously. Different opinions were represented by e.g. Dobesch (1966) and Gesche (1968). Stefan Weinstock (1971) wrote a summa on this theme without rationalistic limitations. Some of the inaccuracies (the author died before the book was published) have been corrected in the review by A. Alföldi, *Gnomon* 47, 1975, p. 154-79. We may assume the opinion of Alföldi (1973), p. p. 99-128 (Pl. iv-xiii) to be the final point of the discussion: Deification during lifetime with posthumous, though not uncontested, confirmation. See also Clauss (1999), who thinks among other things that Caesar had already been addressed as a god at the crossing of the Rubicon.

236 *App. BC 2.106-8*: ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἠπέιγετο, τὰ ἐμφύλια πάντα καθελὼν, ἐπὶ φόβου καὶ δόξης, οἷας οὐ τις πρὸ τοῦ ὄθεν αὐτῷ τιμαὶ πᾶσαι, ὅσαι ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων, ἀμέτρως ἐς χάριν ἐπεισοῦντο, θυσίων τε περὶ καὶ ἀγώνων καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἐν πᾶσιν ἱεροῖς καὶ δημοσίοις χωρίοις, ἀνὰ φυλὴν ἐκάστην καὶ ἐν ἔθνεσιν ἅπασιν, καὶ ἐν βασιλευσίν, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίοις φίλοι. σχήματά τε ἐπεγράφετο ταῖς εἰκόσι ποικίλα, καὶ στέφανος ἐκ δρυὸς ἦν ἐπ' ἐνίαις ὡς σωτήρι τῆς πατρίδος, ᾧ πάλοι τοὺς ὑπερασπίσαντας ἐγέραιρον οἱ περισωθέντες. ἀνερρήθη δὲ καὶ πατὴρ πατρίδος, καὶ δικτάτωρ ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἠρέθη καὶ ὑπάτος ἐς δέκα ἔτη, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἱερὸς καὶ ἄσυλος εἶναι καὶ χρηματίζειν ἐπὶ θρόνων ἐλεφαντίνων τε καὶ χρυσέων, καὶ θύειν μὲν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ θριαμβικῶς ἠμφιεσμένοι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, αἷς αὐτὸς ἡμέραις ἐν παρατάξεσιν ἐνίκα, ἱερέας δὲ καὶ ἱερείας ἀνὰ πενταετῆς εὐχὰς δημοσίας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τίθεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς καθισταμένας ὀμνύναι μηδεὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ὀριζομένων ἀντιπράξειν. ἐς τε τιμὴν τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ τὸν Κυνίτιλιον μῆνα Ἰούλιον ἀντὶ Κυνίτιλιου μετωνόμασαν εἶναι. καὶ νεῶς ἐψηφίσαντο πολλοὺς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καθάπερ θεῷ καὶ κοινὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἐπεικειάς, ἀλλήλους δεξιουμένων· οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὲν ὡς δεσπότην, εὐχοντο δὲ σφίσιν ἐπεικὴ γε-

ιέσθαι. Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ βασιλέα προσεῖπεν ἐπενόουν, μέχρι μαθὼν αὐτὸς ἀπηγόρευσε καὶ ἠπέλιπεν ὡς ἀθέμιστον ὄνομα μετὰ τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἀράν. σπείραι δ' ὄσαι στρατηγίδες αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἔτι ἐσωματοφυλάκουν, ἀπέστησε τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ μετὰ τῆς δημοσίας ὑπηρεσίας ἐπεφαίνετο μόνης... καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς διηλλάσσετο καὶ τῶν πεπολεμηκότων οἱ πολλοὺς προῆγεν ἀθρόως ἐς ἐτησίους ἀρχὰς ἢ ἐς ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίας.

237 Suet. *Jul.* 85: cf. note 37.

238 The respective involvement of Antonius and Octavianus in the deification of Caesar naturally had its highs and lows, according to political opportunity: cf. Alföldi (1973), p. 99-128 (pl. iv-xiii).

239 Weinstock (1971), p. 403.

240 Cf. Weinstock (1971), p. 398-411.

241 Flavius Josephus *AJ* 17.8.3; *BJ* 1.33.9. Cf. Otto W.: P.W., *RE*, Suppl. ii, Sp. 167, s. v. Herodes, Nr. 22; Schalit (1969).

242 Suet. *Jul.* 88: [...] *in deorum numerum relatus est, non ore modo decernentium, sed et persuasione uolgi*. In the meantime it has become generally accepted that the cult of Divus Iulius was the precursor of the ensuing emperor cult and also that the latter represents the connection between the earlier Hellenistic ruler cult and later Christianity. Cf. Taylor (1931); Dobesch (1966); Gesche (1968); Weinstock (1971); Wlosok (1978); Price (1984); Clauss (1999). What is little accounted for however is the fact that the emperor cult does not begin with Caesar, but actually with Octavianus Augustus, who as Appianus reports, indeed followed the footsteps of his adoptive father—but it is precisely this that illustrates the difference between the two men—Caesar did not follow anyone's footsteps at all. He had become absolute ruler, but by himself and had himself founded no dynasty. That was the reason for Antonius' opposition to Octavianus, whose political claims to inheritance he did not want to acknowledge as they were incompatible with the Republican tradition. This resistance of Antonius led to repeated wars, wherein Antonius *incerta fortuna* held his ground for a long period till he finally perished. There are two things of interest: for a long period Antonius refused to be inaugurated as *flamen Divi Iulii*, as high priest of the new God, precisely because he wanted to prevent Octavianus ipso facto becoming *Divi Filius*—the son of God; and the fact that Octavianus ordered the son of Antonius, who had sought refuge at a statue of Divus Iulius, where qua the *lex templi* he should have enjoyed the right of asylum, to nevertheless be torn away and executed (Suet. *Aug.* 17.10). So Octavianus as *Divi Filius* had set himself higher than Divus Iulius, whose rights he restricted at the same time he claimed to be his only heir (it is no coincidence that in the same regard he had driven Antonius and Cleopatra to death, and even had Caesar's son Caesarion killed, cf. Suet. *Aug.* l. c.). For this reason an incurable cesura had developed between the emperor's cult—the dynastic claim of Octavianus Augustus and many of the following emperors to be the only legitimate heirs of Caesar in a political and religious respect—and all the people, who in contrast to the respective actual and all too human emperor emphasized the unequalled and insurmountable divinity of the Empire's founder Divus Iulius Caesar and hung on to him. Christianity originated to a lesser extent from the emperor's cult but far more from this loyal adoration of Divus Iulius by the people who defied the dynastic claims.

243 Euhemerus lived at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century bc. His famous book, *ἱερὰ ἀναγραφή*, which named the conditions for the deification of a ruler—*εὐεργεσία* and *σωτηρία*, 'well-doing, benefaction, charity, welfare' and 'deliverance, salvation, preservation, security, safety, health, well-being'—and hence outlined the theoretical motivation for the ruler cult, became a matter of polemics: he was accused of diminishing the status of the gods to the level of mankind. But

the book was so important that it was translated by Ennius into Latin. Following Ennius' translation it is cited by the Church Fathers, notably Lactantius.

- 244 App. BC 2.146: *πρῶτα μὲν ὡς θεὸν οὐράνιον ἕμει καὶ ἐς πίστιν θεοῦ γενέσεως τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέτεινεν, ἐπιλέγων ὁμοῦ σὺν δρόμῳ φωνῆς πολέμους αὐτοῦ καὶ μάχας καὶ νίκας καὶ ἔθνη, ὅσα προσποιήσεται τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ λάφυρα, ὅσα πέμψειεν, ἐν θαύματι αὐτῶν ἕκαστα ποιούμενος [...].*
- 245 *ἱστορία περὶ τὰ πρόσωπα ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν (ἥρωος, θεοῦ)*—cf. Cancik (1984).
- 246 Reiser (1984).
- 247 2. *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον. ἐγράφη ῥωμαῖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ μετὰ ιβ' ἔτη τῆς ἀναλήψεως κυ.* Fam.13 of the 'Datumsvermerke—Annotations about dates', cited by Zuntz (1984), p.60.
- 248 Harris (1893).
- 249 Couchoud (1926).
- 250 Tac. *Hist.* 4.81: *Per eos mensis quibus Vespasianus Alexandriae statos aestivis flatibus dies et certa maris opperiebatur, multa miracula evenere, quis caelestis favor et quaedam in Vespasianum inclinatio numinum ostenderetur. e plebe Alexandrina quidam oculorum tabe notus genua eius advolvitur, remedium caecitatis exposcens gemitu, monitu Serapidis dei, quem dedita superstitionibus gens ante alios colit; prebaturque principem ut genas et oculorum orbis dignaretur respergere oris excremento. alius manum aeger eodem deo auctore ut pede ac vestigio Caesaris calcaretur orabat. Vespasianus primo inridere, aspernari; atque illis instantibus modo famam vanitatis metuere, modo obsecratione ipsorum et vocibus adulantium in spem induci: postremo aestimari a medicis iubet an talis caecitas ac debilitas ope humana superabiles forent. medici varie disserere: huic non exesam vim luminis et redituram si pellerentur obstantia; illi elapsos in pravum artus, si salubris vis adhibeatur, posse integrari. id fortasse cordi deis et divino ministerio principem electum; denique patradi remedii gloriam penes Caesarem, inriti ludibrium penes miseros fore. igitur Vespasianus cuncta fortunae suae patere ratus nec quicquam ultra incredibile, laeto ipse vultu, erecta quae adstabat multitudine, iussa exequitur. statim conversa ad usum manus, ac caeco reluxit dies. utrumque qui interfuere nunc quoque memorant, postquam nullum mendacio pretium.*
- 251 Plut. *Grac.* 9: *τὰ μὲν θηρία τὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν νεμόμενα καὶ φωλεὸν ἔχει, καὶ κοιταῖόν ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἕκαστῳ καὶ κατάδυσις, τοῖς δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλίας μαχομένοις καὶ ἀποθηήσκουσι ἀέρος καὶ φωτός, ἄλλου δ' οὐδενὸς μέτεστιν, ἀλλ' ἄοικοι καὶ ἀνίδρυτοι μετὰ τέκνων πλανῶνται καὶ γυναικῶν, οἳ δ' αὐτοκράτορες ψεύδονται τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὲρ τάφων καὶ ἱερῶν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους: οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐ βωμὸς πατρῶος, οὐκ ἠρίον προγονικὸν τῶν τοσοῦτων Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίας τρυφῆς καὶ πλοῦτου πολεμοῦσι καὶ ἀποθηήσκουσι, κύριοι τῆς οἰκουμένης εἶναι λεγόμενοι, μίαν δὲ βῶλον ἰδίαν οὐκ ἔχοντες.*
- 252 Mt. 8:20: *Αἱ ἀλώπεκες φωλεοὺς ἔχουσι καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατασκηνώσεις, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχει ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλίνη.*
- 253 Cited after Schweitzer (1906/9/1984), p.452 (see there for the source).
- 254 Cf. Blass et al. (17/1990), p.6-9 (with specification of the sources).
- 255 Blass et al. (17/1990), p.8, note 10; Couchoud (1926).
- 256 Cf. Cancik (1975), p.120.
- 257 Cf. Vittinghoff (1952); Otto, W.: P.W., *RE*, Suppl.ii, Sp.167sq., s.v. Herodes, n°22. See the glossary on further explanations about the Aramaic.
- 258 2Tim. 4:13: *τὸν φαλόνην ὃν ἀπέλιπον ἐν Τρωάδι παρὰ Κάρπῳ ἐρχόμενος φέρε, καὶ τὰ βιβλία, μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας.*
- 259 Cf. Roberts & Skeat (1983).
- 260 Roberts & Skeat (1983), p.6 and p.15-29.

- 261 Suet. *Jul.* 56.6: *epistulae quoque eius ad senatum extant, quas primum uidetur ad paginas et formam memorialis libelli conuertisse, cum antea consules et duces non nisi transuersa charta scriptas mitterent.*
- 262 Roberts & Skeat (1983), p. 6 and p. 35-37.
- 263 Roberts & Skeat (1983), p. 6 and p. 39. The fact that the text of a Gospel was written on the rear side of a scroll with no text on the front is also interesting from another point of view: what should have been written on the front side? As if the copyist knew that there had to be another text and that the Gospel was a text of the reverse: namely the apostille to a text that was so well known that it was not necessary to write it down—it was enough to leave this place free—the *vita Divi Iulii*?
- 264 Roberts & Skeat (1983), p. 6 and p. 45-53. They take apart all the reasons that were mentioned by earlier authors. Also the two alternative hypotheses they tried are inconclusive, as they themselves admit: '[...] *neither of the two hypotheses discussed above is capable of proof [...]*' (p. 61).
- 265 In the following we seek to reflect the general consensus of researchers, or of the general controversy of the irreconcilable opponents in this minefield. Cf. Der Kleine Pauly (1979), s.v. Jesus; Wikenhauser & Schmid (⁶1973); Schweitzer (1906/²1913 and 1906/⁹1984); Heiligenthal (1997); Messori (1976/³²1986); Messori (1997), i. a.
- 266 Albert Schweitzer (1906/²1913, chap. 22, p. 451sq.) places in the category of first deniers of any historicity of Jesus i. a.: Charles François Dupuis (book printed by the Club des Cordeliers), Constantin François Volnay (counselor of Napoleon), Bruno Bauer (Hegelian), Albert Kalthoff, John M. Robertson, Peter Jensen, Andrzej Niemojewski, Christian Paul Fuhrmann, William Benjamin Smith, Arthur Drews, Thomas Whittaker, S. Hoekstra, Allard Pierson, Samuel Adrian Naber, G.J.P.J. Bolland, Samuel Lublinski, temporarily also Abraham Dirk Loman. It would be pointless to name all the others who joined the ranks after 1913. As a representative of all the others, see Paul-Louis Couchoud.
- 267 So also the modernist Alfred Loisy, although his positions were radical enough for him to be excommunicated. Symptomatic of the trench warfare between the two implacable positions is the biting polemic that Loisy first launched at Wrede, then against Couchoud.
- 268 Cf. Couchoud (1924).
- 269 Rudolf Bul tmann: *so gut wie nichts*—'next to nothing' (in: *Die Erforschung der synoptischen Evangelien*—'Investigating the synoptic Gospels', Berlin ³1960, p. 12).
- 270 Cf. Bornkamm (1956), p. 11: 'Am Ende dieser Leben-Jesu-Forschung steht die Erkenntnis ihres eigenen Scheiterns—The conclusion of the Life of Jesus research is the discovery of its own failure', cited in Heiligenthal (1997), p. 8; cf. also Schweitzer (1906/²1913), p. 631.
- [NB: As the good Augstein has passed on since then, we have considered whether we should leave out the following note for reasons of reverence: *de mortuis nihil nisi bene*. However, since his *Jesus Son of Man* is still haunting around, and nevertheless—or just because—*Der Spiegel* [a famous German news magazine] and its pseudo-enlightening counterparts all over the world have not been able to prevent the digital worst case scenario of the Mel Gibson movie with their positivistic critique of traditional ecclesiastical fabulation, and with this, apparent for all to see, they have completely failed, we still leave the note, or at least the core of it.]
- A pompous victim of this impasse of the Life of Jesus research is Rudolf Augstein. For decades the editor of the news magazine *Der Spiegel* has been trying to adopt the results of scientific theology as weapons in his everlasting crusade to instruct and inform the public against the 'Wojtyla-Pope' who is holding on to 'sanctimonious legends'.

In doing so the theology journalist misses the realization that scientific theology is not scientific at all. Albert Schweitzer, whom he likes to quote, already had to state apropos David Friedrich Strauß: 'He fought a dogma of scientific theology which defends them more doggedly than the Church defends hers until today' (l. c. p. 122). Augstein is seemingly the only person who has not yet noticed that it is not science that stands against the fostering of legends, but dogma standing against dogma, and that the dogmas of a wannabe-science of yesterday must inevitably succumb to those of the Church which are richer in tradition.

'Of yesterday' is not meant polemically here but temporally-factually. The same Albert Schweitzer, even in the sixth edition of his fundamental book in 1950, refused to update the second edition of 1913 opining that the historical investigation of the public appearance of Jesus which had begun in the last third of the eighteenth century 'has reached a certain completion during the first decade of the twentieth century' (l. c. p. 29). Thus he had euphemistically dismissed all that had come later as futile elucubrations, including the teachings of the form-historical method and similar. Couchoud had namely demonstrated with Kantian inevitability in the twenties that anything trying to go beyond textual criticism runs into emptiness, so that the 'Life of Jesus research' was history, to be filed away. Albert Schweitzer was spared the more or less esoteric and increasingly fanciful modern images of Jesus.

In spite of his profound insight into the Lacrima-Christi problem, he does not regard depicting Jesus as 'glutton and wine bibber' as insult, but as an attempt to 'present him with more popular touch'. The nation's philosopher of the Enlightenment un-tinglingly rehashes his mulligan of myth and historiette again and again, and does not notice that the one hypothesis excludes the other: the derivation of the Gospels from myth excludes the historical existence of Jesus and vice versa. Augstein's eclectical combination of both neutralizes both ingredients and makes them appetizers for papal food in whose pot he tries to spit. So he must witness how the believers still prefer receiving Holy communion in church, rather than sipping from his stale soup.

271 See above note 40.

272 Amongst others, *OC* (ὁς), 'he', was mistaken for *ΘC* (θεός), 'God'.

273 Thus Mark, especially in the bi-lingual Bezae Cantabrigiensis.

274 Some facts: not even half the words in the Gospels are the same in all manuscripts. The vast majority of the worst changes were created before the start of the third century. Not one papyrus dates earlier than the 2nd century and no manuscript is regarded as coming from an archetype earlier than the same 2nd century. From the generally accepted date of the death of Christ a century of text tradition lies in darkness.

Of the different text types that the modern textual critics were able to establish, one is questionable (Caesarea-text); the value of the Byzantine and Egyptian ones is disputed; whereas on the Western and the so-called neutral text there is a debate about age and priority. Until today, no original text has been able to be established. The published Greek text, the foundation of all new translations, remains on the basis of the *textus receptus*, the 'generally accepted one', i. e. the Byzantine, i. e. from the viewpoint of textual-criticism: the worst.

If the reader wants to get a feeling for the frequent 'improving' changes and re-changes the scribes made while blaming one another, he or she may visit the following website where an amusing example is given concerning Heb. 1:3 in the *Codex Vaticanus Graece 1209, B/03*:

<http://www-user.uni-bremen.de/~wie/Vaticanus/note1512.html>

On page 1512, the beginning of Hebrews, a curious marginal note appears, where a later scribe complains about a change of the text of Heb. 1:3 made by an earlier hand: ἀμαθέστατε καὶ κακέ, ἄφες τὸν παλαιόν, μὴ μεταποίει—'Fool and knave, can't you leave the old lection untouched and not alter it!'

- 275 Cf. Heiligenthal (1997), p. 108-119.
- 276 This cycle, like a game of Rock, Paper, Scissors between the historical-critical school, the mythological school and the traditionalists, is elucidated by Messori (1976/³²1986).
- 277 John and Jacobus only have a historical background if they are identical with the persons of the same names in Acts—which is purely hypothetical—and they also have to be the same persons who show up in Flavius Josephus. But then the father Zebedee is missing.
- 278 The nautical tow rope could be more original as the Evangelists were mocked for their miserable barbaric ‘sailor language’ (Celsus in Origenes, *contra Celsum* i 62), and not because of their ‘Bedouin language’.
- 279 The same occurs *mutatis mutandis* with our contemporary scriptwriters: Why are there so many scripts about the world of scriptwriters? Why do so many directors make films about the movie-milieu? Because this is all they really know. The *cinéma vérité* becomes the *cinéma du cinéma*. The true novel is the novel about the writer.
- 280 Cf. Schweitzer (1906/²1913), p. 458sq.
- 281 Suet. *Claud.* 25.4: *Iudaeos impulsore chresto assidue tumultuantis Roma expulit.*
- 282 It is still in use today in urban Rome: *far(ci) la cresta* means ‘profiteer’, ‘to demand an extortionate price’.
- 283 Tac. *Ann.* 15.44: *sed non ope humana, non largitionibus principis aut deum placamentis decebat infamia quin iussum incendium crederetur. ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos et quaesitissimis poenis adfecit quos per flagitia invisos vulgus chrestianos appellabat.* ‘The form of the name *Christianos* was established in manuscripts by correction; it had previously been *chrestianos*. That this [...] form had been in use is attested to by, i. a., Lactantius iv 7 and Tertullianus *Apol.* 32 extr.’ (Tac. *Ann.* 15.44, K. Nipperday and G. Andresen (Eds.), ¹¹1915, p. 264, note 4).
- 284 Tac. *Ann.* 15.44: *auctor nominis eius Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat; [...].*
- 285 Tac. *Ann.* 15.38: *nec quisquam defendere audebat, crebris multorum minis restinguere prohibentium, et quia alii palam faces iaciebant atque esse sibi auctorem vociferabantur, sive ut raptus licentius exercerent seu iussu.*
- 286 Tac. *Ann.* 15.44: *igitur primum correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens haud proinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contexti laniatu canum interirent, [aut crucibus adfixi aut flammandi,] atque ubi defecisset dies in usum nocturni luminis urerentur.* ‘These words—*aut crucibus adfixi aut flammandi*, “nailed to the cross or destined for death in the flames”—are a foreign body, although a very old addition, because already Sulpicius Severus (4th century) read it here, inserted by someone who missed the typical punishments of Christians. But these words are inappropriate here because there is no *ludibrium* in these pains and they break the flow of the text.’ (Tac. *Ann.* 15.44, K. Nipperday and G. Andresen (Eds.), ¹¹1915, p. 264, noot 13).
- 287 We are induced to the Roman (in this case the urban Roman) understanding of the word *chrestiani* by the fact that this word is a Latinism, like for example *herodiani* (Mk. 3:6).
- 288 Tac. *Ann.* 15.44: *repressaque in praesens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Iudaeam, originem eius mali, sed per urbem etiam quo cuncta undique atrocía aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque.*
- 289 Suet. *Nero* 16.2: *afflicti supplicii christiani, genus hominum superstitionis nouae ac maleficae; [...].*
- 290 1 Tes. 1:10: Ἰησοῦς ὁ ῥυόμενος. Cf. also Rom. 11:26 and Mt. 1:21: Ἰησοῦς· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει. Cf. Ecclesiasticus 46:1; Phil on *Nom. mutat.* §21.

- 291 **Flavius Josephus Ant. J. 20.200:** ἄτε δὴ οὖν τοιοῦτος ὢν ὁ Ἄνιανος, νομίσας ἔχειν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον διὰ τὸ τεθνήσκειν μὲν Φῆστον, Ἀλβίνον δ' ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑπάρχειν, καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν καὶ παραγαγὼν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καὶ τινες ἑτέροις, ὡς παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος παρέδωκε λευσθησομένους.
- 292 **Mt. 13:55.**
- 293 **Act. 12:17; 15:13sq; 21:18sq.**
- 294 **Gal. 2:9; 1 Cor. 15:7.**
- 295 **Flavius Josephus Ant. J. 18.63sq: [...]** καὶ οὕτω παύεται ἡ στάσις.
 [Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, εἶγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρῆ· ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ τάληθῃ δεχομένων, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο· ὁ χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπήσαντες· ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια εἰρηκότων. εἰς ἔτι τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὀνομασμένοι οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φύλον.]
 Καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἕτερόν τι δεινὸν ἐθορύβει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους [...].
- 296 **Cf. Flavius Josephus B. J. 3.8.7sq; 4.10.** When Jotapata in Galilee was conquered by Vespasianus, Josephus fled with the last defenders into the subterranean canals. When they were found, his brothers-in-arms decided that they would rather face death than fall into the hands of the Romans. Josephus feigned to abide by the will of the majority, but then he presented a supposedly easier way for the collective suicide: the first to cast the lot was to be killed by the second, then he by the third and so on till only the last one would have the dreadful job of killing himself. The casting of the lots was organized by Josephus, who was trusted as the commander. And, as he himself says, 'only Josephus was left, maybe by good fortune or by divine providence' (sic!). So he could surrender to the Romans and save his life. He justified his betrayal of his brothers-in-arms and the violation of his duty as a general with the command of a divine mission: God had appeared to him so that he would proclaim to Vespasianus that the messiah awaited by the Jews, who was to arise at this time in Judaea, was not the leader of the rebels, but Vespasianus himself: He would become emperor, and so would his son Titus.
 Cf. Suet. *Vesp. 4: Percrebuerat Oriente toto uetus et constans opinio esse in fatis ut eo tempore Iudaea profecti rerum potirentur. Id de imperatore Romano, quanto postea euentu paruit, praedictum Iudaei ad se trahentes rebellarunt [...]. Vesp. 5: et unus ex nobilibus captiuis Josephus, cum coniiiceretur in uincula, constantissime asseueravit, fore ut ab eodem breui solueretur, uerum iam imperatore.*
- 297 Presumably 50-60 ad.
- 298 **1 Cor. 11:23-25.**
- 299 **Rom. 1:3sq; 1. Cor. 15:3sq, i. a.**
- 300 **70/100 n. Chr., except Mark: mostly 40/60.**
- 301 It is known that the so-called Western and probably most ancient order of arrangement, which e. g. the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis still has, was the following: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. If we assume that the later Gospels were piled up on top of the earlier ones we would have—in the Western order read backwards—the chronological order of the origin of the Gospels, respectively their incorporation in the canon: Matthew coming last. But Matthew had to be made the first, so that he, thanks to his citations from the Jewish Bible, could establish the link to the 'Old Testament', which it became by a corresponding rearrangement of the order of the TaNaCh. Concerning the last matter cf. i. a. B. Feininger, "Schreib' dir alle Worte ... in ein Buch"—Das Alte Testament der Christen' ("Write thee all the words ... in a book"—the Old Testament of the Christians'), Annemarie Ohler, 'Die jüdische

- Bibel' ('The Jewish Bible'), W. A. Lohr, 'Fixierte Wahrheit?—Der neutestamentliche Kanon als "Heilige Schrift"' ('Fixed truth?—the canon of the New Testament as "Holy Scripture"'), in: 'Heilige Bücher' ('Holy Books'), *Freiburger Universitätsblätter*, Heft 121, September 1993, 32. Jahrgang, Freiburg i. Br.
- 302 This is confirmed by the fact that the Judeo-Christian apocryphal Gospels—of the Jews, the Ebionites and of the Twelve—are all based on Matthew.
- 303 Except perhaps Mark, but then from the Latin; cf. Couchoud (1926).
- 304 2. *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον. ἐγράφη ῥωμαϊστὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ μετὰ ιβ' ἔτη τῆς ἀναλήψεως* κν. Fam. 13 of the 'annotations about dates', cited by Zuntz (1984), p. 60. In other manuscripts it is rendered *ι' ἔτη*.
- 305 Cancik (1984) p. 93, speaks in Hellenistic terminology of a *ἱστορία περὶ τὰ πρόσωπα ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν* (ἥρωος, θεοῦ)—a 'historical monograph about a famous man (a hero or a god)'.
- 306 This form historical method is borrowed from Gunkels' examination of Genesis and it in practice presupposes that the origin of the Old and New Testaments developed in the same way—which should be proved.
- 307 This seems to have been the case with the Septuagint. Cf. Wutz (1925).
- 308 Dibelius and Bultmann take different types as a base and they can not even agree on terminology. Moreover Bultmann supposes a similar development for the pre-literary phase as for the later one of Mark through to Matthew and Luke—which is not at all self-evident. Then what if Couchoud (see above) were right that Mark was first written in Latin?
- 309 Wikenhauser & Schmid (⁶1973), p. 293.
- 310 Loisy (1910), introduction.
- 311 Couchoud (1924), p. 84-5: *Dans plusieurs cantons de l'empire déifier un particulier était chose faisable. Mais dans une nation au moins la chose était impossible: c'est chez les Juifs. [...] Comment soutenir qu'un juif de Cilicie, pharisien d'éducation, parlant d'un juif de Galilée, son contemporain, ait pu employer sans frémir les textes sacrés où Jahvé est nommé? Il faudrait ne rien savoir d'un juif, ou tout oublier.*—'In several regions of the empire deifying a particular one was feasible. But in one nation at least the matter was impossible: with the Jews. [...] How could one assert that a Jew from Cilicia, educated as a Pharisee, when talking about a Jew from Galilaea, his contemporary, could have employed the sacred texts wherein Jahve is named without trembling? One would have to know nothing about a Jew anymore or forget everything.' [...] p. 113: *Il était frivole de s'opposer jusqu'au martyre à l'apothéose de l'empereur pour y substituer celle d'un de ses sujets. [...] En tout cas une déification, en milieu juif, même de la Dispersion, reste un fait sans exemple.*—'It was frivolous to oppose the apotheosis of the emperor to the point of martyrdom just to replace it with that of one of his subjects. [...] In any case, a deification in a Jewish milieu, even in the diaspora, remains an event without precedent.'
- 312 Augstein (1972), p. 56.
- 313 As is known, the metaphor was coined by Nietzsche: 'The founder of a religion can be unimportant—a match, nothing more!' (*Wille zur Macht*, Aphor. 232). The critics among the modern exegetes, especially Loisy, reproach the mythicists that without a historical residual-Jesus there would be no match. Couchoud answered that the picture of Jesus developed by the critics, that of a destitute Nabi from Galilee, would be a damp squib that could not at all have lit the enormous Christian brush-fire, the glorious resurrected son of God: The match should be looked for with Paul, in his report of Peter's vision (1 Cor. 15:1-11). Cf. Couchoud (1924), p. 76-89.
- 314 Leipoldt (1923).
- 315 Torrey (1941), p. 37sq., regarded it as 'almost certain' that Paul in 2 Thes. 2 cited the Gospel of Mark. For an opposing view, see Zuntz (1984), p. 49.
- 316 Explicitly in Gal. 1:13-24, i. a.

- 317 Rom. 15:28; 1 Cor. 16:4; Gal. 2:10; i. a. He speaks of the *hagioi* from Jerusalem, which is translated in editions of the bible as 'Saints'. *Hagioi* does mean 'Saints' but when used in relation to people, it often had an ironic meaning, switching it completely to 'damned'. A similar phenomenon is seen in the Sicilian 'Honored Society', i. e. the Mafia, or also for 'brothers', which is ironically converted to 'What kind of brothers!' not just by the monks. As Paul distanced himself from the 'Saints' in Jerusalem (cf. Gal. 1:17; 1:19 i. a.) and because here it concerns the collection of money, which Paul himself sometimes calls robbery (2 Cor. 11:8: 'I robbed other churches, taking wages of them, to do you service.')
- NB: Originally many evangelical expressions were meant ironically—e. g. the *Claudii* taken as *the lame*, the *Caecilii* as *the blind*—, but the deadly earnestness of the exegetes, copyists and translators extinguished it long ago: a serious problem.
- 318 'Judaists' and also 'Judeo-Christians' are word constructs of theologians.
- 319 The missionaries of the other parties mentioned in the first letter to the Corinthians (besides Paul's party, those of Apollos, Kephas and Christ) do not seem to have been Judaists either. From this split in the community of the Corinthians it can furthermore be seen that Paul was not the first missionary of the heathens because he declares expressly that he hardly baptized anybody (1. Cor. 1:14-5) and preached to already baptized ones (1. Cor. 1:17). Idem Col. 1:4sq.; 2:1, where Paul testifies that he did not found any of the neighboring communities (Colossae, Laodicea, Hierapolis); rather, according to Col. 1:7; 4:12sq. the founder of the Colossians seems to have been *Epaphras*. This name is an abbreviated form of *Epaphroditos* (appears also in Phil. 2.25), it means 'favorite of Aphrodite' (thus already unsuitable for a Jew), was considered a translation of the Latin *Felix* (proven as Greek form of Sulla's epithet, cf. Plut. *Sull.* 34; App. *BC* 1.97), is known as the name of the freedman whom Octavianus sent to Cleopatra in order to disperse her suicidal thoughts and provide for her joys (cf. Plut. *Ant.* 79: since Cleopatra was regarded as Egyptian reincarnation of Venus it is hardly by chance that Octavianus' envoy was called *Epaphroditos*: Was he priest of Venus, the ancestral mother of the Iulii?) Now an *Epaphroditos* was a Christian parish founder, in fact not of one but of several. This one Paul calls *systratiôtês*, 'fellow-soldier', then *syndoulos*, 'fellow-slave', meaning 'slave of the same master': Were they 'fellow-prisoners of war'? Fellow-freedmen? Of the same Roman ruler—of Vespasianus? One may speculate. Anyway it can be concluded from the mentioned circumstances that not only the first Christians but also the first Christian missionaries were Gentiles. Then came Paul, and only after him came the Judaists with whom he can fight all the more easily as his communities consisted of Gentiles evangelized by Gentiles. The *communis opinio* that Christianity originates from Judaism seems hardly maintainable on the basis of Paul.
- 320 Apparently, concessions had to be made to Marcion, and it is due to his resistance that our canon is not more forged than it is. Cf. von Harnack (1924).
- 321 Amongst other things, the double ending of Romans.
- 322 Aufhauser (²1925), p. 9.
- 323 Aufhauser (²1925), p. 44-57.
- 324 The latest conspiracy theory, that nothing is said of Jesus in the published Qumran scrolls because the crucial scriptures are being held under lock and key by the Vatican, is nothing more than a cover up of the fact that Eisler & Co. have nothing up their sleeve. Amusingly enough, the road this excuse takes leads to Rome again!
- 325 Certainly the fact that Jews are willing to accept Jesus if he is regarded as a Jew could throw light on the motives that led to the Judaization of Divus Iulius in early Christianity.
- 326 Cf. Gesche (1968); Weinstock (1971); Alföldi (1973), p. 99sq.
- 327 Stauffer (1957), p. 21-23. Stauffer (1952), *passim*.

- 328 For an overview of the research into Jesus from the point of view of the science of antiquity see Chr. Burchardt in *Der Kleine Pauly* (1979), s.v. 'Jesus', Sp. 1344sqq.
 329 Cf. Schweitzer (1906/⁹1984), p.631; Bornkamm (1956), p.11; Heiligenthal (1997), p.8 and passim.
 330 Cf. G. Mordillat / J. Prieur, *Corpus Christi*, archipel 33—La Sept arte, France 1998, broadcasted Easter 1998; video cassettes at La Sept Vidéo, Sainte Geneviève. Cf. also Dan Brown, *The Da Vinci Code*, Doubleday, 2003.

IV. Words and Wonders

- 331 Near Dyrrhachium, in mountainous Epirus, today Durrës (Durazzo) in Albania.
 332 Mk. 4:35-5:20; Caes. *Civ.* 3.6: *Cerauniorum saxa*.
 333 This is even more striking in view of the fact that the Gospel manuscripts differ at least as much among each other—*Gerasenes/Gergesenes/Gadarenes*—as they respectively do from the *Ceraunians* of Caesar, which really presents itself as the source for the variants.
 334 Mk. 5:3 *μνήμασιν*, Vulgata: *monumentis*. Vell. 2.51.2: *mox etiam obsidione munitis eum complecteretur*. Caes. *Civ.* 3.43sq and passim: *munitiones*.
 335 Vell. 2.51.2: *Sed inopia obsidentibus quam obsessis erat grauior*.
 336 Caes. *Civ.* 3.47: *pecus vero, cuius rei summa erat ex Epiro copia, magno in honore habebant*.
 337 Caes. *Civ.* 3.48; Plut. *Caes.* 39.
 338 App. *BC* 2.61: *ὁ δὲ οὐχ ἦσθη, ἀλλ' εἶπεν, "οἷσις θηρίοις μαχόμεθα."* Plut. *Caes.* 39: *ἠθύμουν γὰρ οἱ στρατιῶται, τὴν ἀγριότητα καὶ τὴν ἀπάθειαν τῶν πολεμίων ὥσπερ θηρίων ὀρρωδοῦντες*.
 339 Mk. 6:45-51.
 340 Plut. *Caes.* 38: *τὴν μὲν ἑωθινήν αὔραν, [...] πολὺς πνεύσας [...]*.
 341 App. *BC* 2.57.237-58.239: *τὸ πνεῦμα δ' αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ κύμα μετέωρον ἐς τὰς ὄχθας διερρίπτει, μέχρι πλησιαζούσης ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐδεδοίκεσαν ὡς ἐν φωτὶ κατάδηλοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐσόμενοι, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, τῷ δαιμονίῳ χαλεψάμενος ὡς φθονερῷ, ἐφῆκε τὴν ναῦν ἐπαιέναι. Ἡ μὲν δὴ πνεύματι ταχεῖ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀνέπλει, Καίσαρα δ' οἱ μὲν ἐθαύμαζον τῆς εὐτολμίας, οἱ δ' ἐπεμέμφοντο ὡς στρατιώτῃ πρόπον ἔργον εἰργασμένοι, οὐ στρατηγῷ. ὁ δ' οὐκέτι λήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν Ποστούμιον ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ προσέταξε διαπλευσαί τε καὶ φράσαι Γαβινίῳ τὸν στρατὸν εὐθὺς ἀγειν διὰ θαλάσσης*.
 342 Antonius landed in the port of Nymphaeum at Lissos, then part of Dalmatia, today Lesh (Alessio) in Albania (App. *BC* 2.59.245).
 343 Mk. 8:10: *Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά*.
 344 Mk. 4:39: *καὶ εἶπεν τῇ θαλάσσει*, Mt. 8:24: *ἐν τῇ θαλάσσει*; only Luke 'improves' it to *εἰς τὴν λίμνην* (8:23). In the old Bible translations we correctly read 'sea', in modern editions it is of course 'corrected' to 'water', or 'waves', evidently in order to prepare the ground for the 'lake' of the last Gospel, Luke.
 345 *Thalassa* for a *limnē* is otherwise only applied to the Caucasian (Caspian) Sea (Arist. *Mete.* 1.13 p.351 a, 8), but as a wilful naming by the local population because of the number and volume of the discharging rivers, and also because of the lack of a visible outlet: *ἀλλ' ἢ γε ὑπὸ τὸν Καύκασον λίμνη, ἣν καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐκεῖ θάλατταν· αὕτη γὰρ ποταμῶν πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων εἰσβαλλόντων οὐκ ἔχουσα ἔκρουν φανερόν [...]. Thalassa/thalatta* in Greek always indicates salt water only, for example a spring with salt water in the Erechtheion at Athens (cf. also Sicilian *la salata*, literally 'the salt water', for 'the sea').
 346 Mt. 4:18, 8:24, 13:11, 14:24sq, 15:29; Mk. 1:16, 2:13, 3:7, 7:31; Jn. 21:1; i. a.

- 347 Jn. 1:15: Ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονει, ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν.
- 348 Jn. 1:27: Ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος, οὐ οὐκ εἰμι [ἐγὼ] ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος.
- 349 Mk. 1:7: Ἔρχεται ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου ὀπίσω μου, οὐ οὐκ εἰμι ἱκανὸς κύψας λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν υποδημάτων αὐτοῦ. Cf. also Mt. 3:11.
- 350 Plut. *Pomp.* 73: ἐπεὶ δὲ καιρὸς ἦν δείπνου καὶ παρεσκεύασεν ὁ ναύκληρος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, ἰδὼν ὁ Φαώνιος οἰκετῶν ἀπορία τὸν Πομπήϊον ἀρχόμενον αὐτὸν ὑπολύειν προσέδραμε καὶ ὑπέλυσε καὶ συνήλειψε. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκ τούτου περιέπων καὶ θεραπεύων ὅσα δεσπότης δοῦλοι, μέχρι νύψως ποδῶν καὶ δείπνου παρασκευῆς, διετέλεσεν, ὥστε τὴν ἐλευθεριότητα τῆς ὑπουργίας ἐκείνης θεασάμενον ἂν τινα καὶ τὸ ἀφελές καὶ ἀπλαστον εἰπεῖν· Φεῦ τοῖσι γενναίοισιν ὡς ἅπαν καλόν. The citation is from Euripides, fg. 961, from an unknown drama.
- 351 Jn. 13:4-6: ἐγείρεται ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου καὶ τίθησιν τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ λαβὼν λέντιον διέζωσεν ἑαυτόν· εἶτα βάλλει ὕδωρ εἰς τὸν νιπτῆρα καὶ ἤρατο νίπτει τοὺς πόδας τῶν μαθητῶν καὶ ἐκμάσσειν τῷ λεντίῳ ᾧ ἦν διεζωσμένος. ἔρχεται οὖν πρὸς Σίμωνα Πέτρον· λέγει αὐτῷ, Κύριε, σὺ μου νίπτεις τοὺς πόδας;
- 352 It should be noted here, that behind the expression ‘to girdle oneself’—‘to gird oneself up’ could be hidden. This was the typical course of action for men of antiquity when they wished to run, especially when taking flight, so as not to be hindered by the lengthy garment. A further indication of the origin of this situation: Pompeius was fleeing.
- 353 Jn. 1:20: καὶ ὠμολόγησεν καὶ οὐκ ἠρηγήσατο, καὶ ὠμολόγησεν ὅτι Ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμι ὁ Χριστός.
- 354 Jn. 3:25-28: Ἐγένετο οὖν ζήτησις ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν Ἰωάννου μετὰ Ἰουδαίου περὶ καθαρισμού. [...] ἀπεκρίθη Ἰωάννης καὶ εἶπεν, [...] αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς μοι μαρτυρεῖτε ὅτι εἶπον [ἔτι] Οὐκ εἰμι ἐγὼ ὁ Χριστός [...]. The fact that the text here says *metà Ioudaïou*, ‘with a Jew’, and not, as we would expect ‘with Jesus’, has irritated many commentators. Accordingly there are numerous conjectures that suggest ‘with Jesus’, cf. Al and Nestle (¹⁸1957): *Iησου Bentley cj*: του *Iησου Baldensperger cj*: των *Iησου Osc. Holtzmann cj*. These conjectures would require fewer letters to be changed if one took as starting point, as in our hypothesis, that μετὰ Ἰουδαίου—*metà Ioudaïou*, was based on an original μετὰ Ἰουλίου—*metà Iouliou*, ‘with Iulius’—which would not have been covered by the nomen-sacrum-abbreviation IC because of the genitive ending—and hence could not have been influenced by *Iésous* but by *Ioudaïou*.
- 355 App. *BC* 2.69.285: εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ περὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐς ἀλλήλους ἤδη διήρζον. Cf. also Plut. *Caes.* 42: ὥστε φιλονικεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχιερωσύνης Δομίτιον καὶ Σπινθηρα καὶ Σκιπίωνα διαμιλλωμένους ἀλλήλοις—‘Domitius, Spintner and Scipio fought earnestly amongst each other for Caesar’s office of Pontifex Maximus [...]’.
- 356 Plut. *Pomp.* 74-5: “Ὁρῶ σε,” εἶπεν, “ἄνερ, οὐ τῆς σῆς τύχης ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐμῆς, προσετριμμένον [...]”. Ταῦτα εἰπεῖν τὴν Κορινθίαν λέγουσι, τὸν δὲ Πομπήϊον ἀποκρίνασθαι· “Μίαν ἄρα, Κορινθία, τύχην ἤδεις τὴν ἀμείνονα, ἢ καὶ σὲ ἴσως ἐξηπάτησεν, ὅτι μοι χρόνον πλείονα τοῦ συνήθους παρέμεινε. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα δεῖ φέρειν γενομένους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τῆς τύχης ἔτι πειρατέον. οὐ γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον ἐκ τούτων ἀναλαβεῖν ἐκεῖνα τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνων ἐν τούτοις γενόμενον.”
- 357 Jn. 3:29-31: ὁ ἔχων τὴν νύμφην νυμφίος ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ φίλος τοῦ νυμφίου ὁ ἐστηκὼς καὶ ἀκοῦων αὐτοῦ χαρᾶ χαίρει διὰ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ νυμφίου. αὕτη οὖν ἡ χαρὰ ἢ ἐμὴ πεπλήρωται. ἐκεῖνον δεῖ αὐξάνειν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐλαττοῦσθαι. Ὁ ἄνωθεν ἐρχόμενος ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν· ὁ ὢν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐστιν [...].
- 358 Jn. 1:5: καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν.

- 359 App. BC 2.68.282: ὡς δὲ καὶ σέλας ἐξ οὐρανοῦ διαπτάν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὸ Πομπηίου στρατόπεδον ἐσβέσθη, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Πομπηίου ἐσεσθαί τι λαμπρὸν αὐτοῖς ἔφασαν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ σβέσειν αὐτὸς ἐμπεσῶν τὰ Πομπηίου.
- 360 This would explain why Jn. 1:5sqq has a doublet at Jn. 3:22sqq.
- 361 Jn. 1:25: καὶ ἠρώτησαν αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ, Τί οὖν βαπτίζεις εἰ σὺ οὐκ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐδὲ Ἡλίας οὐδὲ ὁ προφήτης;
- 362 Mk. 11:28-30: καὶ ἔλεγον αὐτῷ, Ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιεῖς; ἢ τίς σοι ἔδωκεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἵνα ταῦτα ποιῆς; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Ἐπερωτήσω ὑμᾶς ἓνα λόγον, καὶ ἀποκρίθητέ μοι καὶ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιῶ· τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ Ἰωάννου ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἦν ἢ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων; ἀποκρίθητέ μοι.
- 363 It is symptomatic here that in his commentaries Caesar always speaks only of *dilectus*, 'recruitment', but when his officers take up the pen they use the alternate word *lustratio*—as in the last book of *De Bello Gallico* or in the commentaries about the Alexandrian, African or Hispanic war (Caes. Gal. 8.52; B. Afr. 75.1; B. Alex. 56.5).
- 364 Mk. 1:4: καὶ κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεισιν ἁμαρτιῶν.
- 365 *Armilustrium* is translated by Lydos as *καθαρμὸς ὄπλων*, in the glossaries as *ὄπλοκαθαρμὸς*, *ὄπλοκαθάρσια* respectively *ὄπλων καθάρσις*. Cf. Magie (1905), p.33 and p.150.
- 366 Plut. Caes. 30.1-2: Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἢ γε παρὰ Καίσαρος ἀξίωσις τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς δικαιολογίας λαμπρὸν εἶχεν· ἤξιον γάρ αὐτὸς τε καταθέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ Πομπηίου ταῦτο πράξαντος ἀμφοτέρους ιδιώτας γενομένους εὐρίσκεσθαι τι παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀγαθόν, ὡς τοὺς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀφαιρουμένους, ἐκείνῳ δ' ἦν εἶχε βεβαιούντας δύναμιν, ἕτερον διαβάλλοντας ἕτερον κατασκευάζειν τύραννον. Plut. Caes. 30.4: ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ Σκιπίων μὲν ὁ Πομπηίου πενθερὸς εἰσηγήσατο γνώμην, ἃν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ μὴ κατάρθῃται τὰ ὄπλα Καίσαρ, ἀποδειχθῆναι πολέμιον αὐτόν. Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio became Metellus by adoption. His former name was P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. Consul for the year 52, he became father-in-law to Pompeius after the death of Caesar's daughter Julia and Pompeius' subsequent new marriage. The new father-in-law was a fierce opponent of the former one, Caesar, and he spoke on behalf of his son-in-law, who at first stayed in the city but later joined his troops outside the walls for formal juristic reasons. Cf. Caes. Civ. 1.2.1: *Haec Scipionis oratio, quod senatus in urbe habebatur Pompeiusque aderat, ex ipsius ore Pompei mitti uidebatur*. Caes. Civ. 1.11.1: *Erat iniqua condicio postulare, [...] exercitum Caesaris uelle dimitti, dilectus habere*. Suet. Jul. 29: *Cum adversariis autem pepigit, ut dimissis octo legionibus [...]*. Vell. 2.48.1: *[...] cum iustissimus quisque et a Caesare et a Pompeio uellet dimitti exercitus; quippe Pompeius in secundo consulatu Hispanias sibi decerni uoluerat easque per triennium absens ipse ac praesidens urbi per Afranium et Petreium, consularem ac praetorium, legatos suos, administrabat et iis, qui a Caesare dimittendos exercitus contendebant, adsentabatur, iis, qui ab ipso quoque, aduersabatur*. Vell. 2.48.5: *Ad ultimum saluberrimas et coalescentes condiciones pacis, quas et Caesar iustissimo animo postulabat et Pompeius aequo recipiebat, discussit ac rupit, unice cauente Cicerone concordiae publicae*. Cf. also Suet. Jul. 30: *Et praetextum quidem illi ciuilium armorum hoc fuit; [...]*—where *armorum* means 'civil war' rather than 'weapon', 'army'. Hence the *εἰς ἄφεισιν ἁμαρτιῶν* in Mark could theoretically also mean 'averting of the civil war' however *ἄφεισις*, 'dismissal', argues against it. Also, because of this permanent demand for demobilization of the adversarial army and simultaneous recruiting of one's own, Mark could have had difficulties differentiating *dilectus*, 'recruitment', from *discensus*, 'departure, decampment' (cf. Caes. Civ. 1.26.4: *[...] ab armis sit discensusum [...]*).
- 367 App. BC 2.32.133; 35.140.

- 368 Mk. 1:16: ἀμφιβάλλοντας [ἐν τῇ θαλάσσει]· ἦσαν γὰρ ἀλεεῖς. p) has βαλλοντας ἀμφιβληστρον. The nets, however, are mostly lacking in Mark (cf. Aland & Nestle 18¹⁹⁵⁷).
- 369 That the sentence in Mark does not necessarily originally refer to fishermen is indicated by the fact that in most of the Markan manuscripts, as in the papyri, no nets are mentioned. They only emerge later in the sequence of redaction—at first as *amphiblêstron*, casting-net in the singular, then gradually they become *diktya*, trawling nets in the plural, until in Luke they are no longer ‘cast’ at all, they are instead lowered down (the reference to ‘cast’ has now disappeared): χαλάσατε τὰ δίκτυα. Also that (*h*)*aleeis* had been a singular form like *alea* becomes believable through Luke, where Jesus speaks to Simon alone: εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα (Lk. 5:4).
- 370 Politically north of the Rubicon, but geographically far south of it, which city names today—like for example *Senigallia* (near Ancona)—still testify to.
- 371 Suet. *Jul.* 75: *Denuntiante Pompeio pro hostibus se habiturum qui rei publicae defuissent, ipse medios et neutrius partis suorum sibi numero futuros pronuntiauit.* Cf. Caes. *Civ.* 1.33 u. 1.85. Plut. *Caes.* 33; *Pomp.* 61. Dio Cass. *HR* 41.6.2. App. *BC* 2.37.148.
- 372 Mk. 3, Mt. 12, Lk. 11.
- 373 Mk. 9:40. Variant: ‘for he that is not against us is for us’ (Lk. 9:50); see also Mt. 12:30 and Lk. 11:23.
- 374 Plutarchus: ἦλθον, εἶδον, ἐνίκησα / Dio Cassius: καὶ ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν πολέμιον καὶ εἶδεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνίκησε / Appianus: ἐγὼ δὲ ἦλθον, εἶδον, ἐνίκησα / Suetonius: *veni, vidi, vici.*
- 375 Jn. 9:7: ἀπῆλθεν οὖν καὶ ἐνίψατο καὶ ἦλθεν βλέπων.
- 376 Jn. 9:11: ἀπελθὼν οὖν καὶ νιψάμενος ἀνέβλεψα.
- 377 Mk. 8:24: Βλέπω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅτι ὡς δένδρα ὄρω περιπατοῦντας.
- 378 1st element, with Caesar: ἦλθον / ἦλθε, with Jesus: ἀπελθὼν / ἀπῆλθεν / περιπατοῦντας; 2nd element, with Caesar: εἶδον / εἶδεν, with Jesus: ἀνέβλεψα / βλέπων / βλέπω / ὄρω; 3rd element, with Caesar: ἐνίκησα / ἐνίκησε, with Jesus: νιψάμενος / ἐνίψατο / ἀνθρώπους ὡς δένδρα. The transition of ὄρω / εἶδον to βλέπω depends on the period and the linguistic register.
- 379 Here we document but a few of the innumerable Latin sources that show the regular appearance of *caesus* (and derivatives) with those fallen in battle. Amongst others Vel1. 2.4.4 (on the killing of Tib. Gracchus): *iure caesum*; 2.52.3 (on the Pompeians fallen in the battle of Pharsalos): *caesos uiros*; or 2.55.1 (on the death of Curio in the battle in Africa): *occiso Curione*; 2.117.1 (on the Varus-battle): *caesi Vari*; Suet. *Jul.* 25.2 (on the ambush of the Germans on Caesar’s winter quarters): *legatis per insidias caesis*; 30.4 (on Caesar viewing the soldiers killed in action at Pharsalos): *caesos profligatosque aduersarios prospicientem*; 76.1 (on the question, whether the killing of Caesar had been legitimate): *iure caesus*; Liv. *Periochae* A.U.C. 12.3 (on L. Caecilius, perished with his legions): *cum legionibus caesus est*; 22.8 (on the consul Flaminus, died in war against Hannibal): *cum exercitu caesus est*; 25.15 (on Centenius Paenula, also defeated by Hannibal): *cum exercitu caesus est*; 27.2 (idem): *cum exercitu [...] caesus est*; 27.19 (on Hasdrubal conquered on his part): *cum milibus hominum LVI caesus est*; 103.2 (on Catilina): *cum exercitu caesus est*; 110.18 (on Curio, killed in action against Juba, see above): *cum exercitu caesus est*. Cf. also the vocabulary of the *Periochae* 82.2 of Livius, referring to Pharnaces’ father Mithridates, defeated by his then opponent Sulla, in similar situation: *caesis hostium C et castris quoque expugnatis*; and 97.8, victory of Lucullus in Pontus: *caesis hostium amplius quam LX*; referring to murdered Roman citizens, A.U.C. *Perioch. ex P. Oxy.* 668.37.1: [...] in *Hispania Romani caesi*.

Of course our argumentation presupposes that Latin sources were used, if not directly by the Evangelists nevertheless by their exemplars, the so-called Proto-Gospels.

The direct use of Latin exemplars is generally accepted for all of the three Greek writing historians and biographers who are often quoted here, Dio Cassius, Appianus and Plutarchus. (For Dio cf. i.a. Ed. Schwartz, *RE* III 1684sq; for Appianus cf. Gabba (1956), p. 246; for Plutarchus Ziegler, K. & Sontheimer, W. (1979), s.v. Sp. 951.)

Dio Cassius certainly followed Livius for the part we are concerned with (from book 36 onwards), Appianus followed Asinius Pollio, likewise Plutarchus, albeit together with other sources.

Plutarchus himself admits to the insufficiency of his linguistic ability in Latin. Appianus' proficiency in Latin was such that his Greek is full of Latinisms (cf. *Demosth.* 2). Dio Cassius had the best knowledge, if for no other reason than that his father and he himself held high offices in the Empire (senator, praetor, consul suff.). However, translation errors of his are attested, too, or assumed (amongst others is his much discussed alleged 'Iupiter Iulius', *HR* 44,6,4: *καὶ τέλος Δία τε αὐτὸν ἀντικρὺς Ἰοῦλιον προσηγόρευσαν*, with it many authors assume that Dio only falsely reproduced the title *Divus* with his *Δία*. Cf. list of pros and cons in Gesche, H. (1968), p. 35-6, n. 80: Both positions take a Latin exemplar as the starting point).

In our text of Pharnaces we have the possibility of ascertaining their recourse to a Latin exemplar by comparing a parallel text by Dio Cassius and Appianus. This is especially interesting for us because the Latin exemplar must have contained the word *caesus*.

In Livius' *Periochae* (*A.U.C.* 113.15) it is said of Pharnaces, that he is *victus*: *Pharnaces, Mithridatis filius, <r>ex Ponti, sine ulla belli mora victus est*. Referring to Pharnaces, unfortunately it cannot be seen directly that in the Latin Caesar sources there probably was also *caesus* to be found, because Suetonius and Velleius do not report in detail, just as little as the *Periochae* of Livius. However this can be deduced from the *Bellum Alexandrinum* (76)—where Pharnaces at first manages to flee, but where it is regretted that he could not be captured 'alive'—and more precisely from the Greek adaptations. In the more extensive Greek source of Dio Cassius it is written that Pharnaces fell, if not directly in the battle with Caesar then at least in the immediately following battle. (*HR* 42.47.5):

'Pharnaces escaped to the sea and later tried to force his way into Bosphorus, but Asander repulsed and killed him.'

'Killed him'—*ἀπέκτεινε*. Here in the according Latin source from which Dio also scooped, *caesus est* must have occurred, accordant to established Latin usage.

This is confirmed by a comparison between Dio and Appianus who report in parallel that before Caesar's arrival, Pharnaces had looted the city of Amisos in the haughtiness of his victory over Domitius. Dio:

'[...] Pharnaces was greatly elated, and after acquiring all the rest of Pontus, captured Amisos also, though it long held out against him; and he plundered the city and killed all the men of military age there.'

Here also Dio says 'killed'—*ἀπέκτεινε*. However in the parallel place with Appianus it says 'made them eunuchs'—*τομίας ἐπεποίητο*: 'Being much elated by this affair he had subjugated the city of Amisos in Pontus, which was friendly to the Romans, sold their inhabitants into slavery, and made all male descendants eunuchs.'

The deviation becomes explicable only if one assumes a common Latin exemplar in which *excidi* was written, literally 'cut off', which in Latin means 'struck down, exterminated', in Greek however it can very well be misunderstood as 'castrated': *ἐκ-τέμνω*—*ek-temno*. This *ex-cidi*, verbal adjectiv *ex-cisus*, stems from *caedo*, whose verbal adjectiv is *caesus*. Probably in the source there was just the passive *caesi sunt*,

according to Latin style. Then Dio would have translated analogously 'cut down', Appianus literally 'cut, castrated'. The fact that both are right is shown by *Bellum Alexandrinum* (70), where Caesar blames Pharnaces of having committed an irreparable crime, namely 'killing' or 'castrating' Roman citizens who were out on business in Pontus—though for clear differentiation other, synonymous words are used here, *interfectis* and *exsectis*: *'itaque se magnas et graves iniurias civium Romanorum, qui in Ponto negotiati essent, quoniam in integrum restituere non posset, concedere Pharnaci: nam neque interfectis amissam vitam, neque exsectis virilitatem restituere posse; quod quidam supplicium gravius morte cives Romani subissent.'*

Since the examined place is part of the assumed model for John's healing of a blind man, that passage, uncertain even for the classical Greek historians—'struck (cut) down' versus 'castrated'—could have encouraged the Evangelist who was blinded by the word 'saw' to an even more creative translation: 'blind man'. A classical topos, by the way, that can already be found with King Oedipus, whose 'blinding' at the end of the tragedy is said to have stood euphemistically for his 'castration', the condign punishment for incest with the mother.

- 380 Suet. *Jul.* 79: *Neque ex eo infamiam affectati etiam regii nominis discutere ualuit, quanquam et plebei regem se salutanti «Caesarem se, non regem esse» responderit [...]. Cf. also Plut. Caes. 60:* καὶ καταβαίνοντος ἐξ Ἀλβης Καίσαρος εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐτόλμησαν αὐτὸν ἀσπάσασθαι βασιλέα· τοῦ δὲ δήμου διαταραχθέντος, ἀχθεσθεῖς ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔφη Βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ Καῖσαρ καλεῖσθαι καὶ γενομένης πρὸς τοῦτο πάντων σιωπῆς, οὐ πάνυ φαιδρὸς οὐδ' εὐμενῆς παρήλθει, [...]. App. *BC 2.108.450:* ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἠνεγκεν εὐσταθῶς, ἐτέρων δ' αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας ἰόντα ποθὲν βασιλέα προσειπόντων καὶ τοῦ δήμου στενάζαντος, εὐμηχάνως εἶπε τοῖς ἀσπασαμένοις: "οὐκ εἰμὶ Βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ Καῖσαρ," ὡς δὴ περὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐσφαλμένοις.
- 381 Caesar was proud of this, cf. his funeral speech about his father's sister Iulia, Marius' widow, Suet. *Jul.* 6: *'Amitae meae Iuliae maternum genus ab regibus ortum [...]. est ergo in genere et sanctitas regum [...].'*
- 382 Cf. the preceding note. One suspects that it was at the *ovatio ex Monte Albano*. Cf. Degrassi (1947), p. 87, 567. Weinstock (1971), p. 326-331.
- 383 Jn. 19:13-15: Ὁ οὖν Πιλάτος [...] ἤγαγεν ἔξω τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ βήματος εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Λιθόστρωτον, [...] καὶ λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, Ἴδε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν [...] ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς, Οὐκ ἔχομεν βασιλέα εἰ μὴ Καίσαρα.
- 384 App. *BC 2.115.479-480:* ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ πρὸ μιᾶς τοῦδε τοῦ βουλευτηρίου χωρῶν ἐπὶ δέιπνον ἐς Λέπιδον τὸν ἵππαρχον, ἐπήγετο Δέκμον Βροῦτον Ἀλβίνου ἐς τὸν πότον καὶ λόγον ἐπὶ τῇ κύλικι προύθηκε, τίς ἄριστος ἀνθρώπων θάνατος· αἰρουμένων δὲ ἕτερα ἐτέρων αὐτὸς ἐκ πάντων ἐπῆνει τὸν αἰφνίδιον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὠδε προυμανεύετο ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἐλεσχῆνευε περὶ τῶν ἐς τὴν αὔριον ἐσομένων. Cf. also Plut. *Caes. 63:* ἐμπεσόντος δὲ λόγου, ποῖος ἄρα τῶν θανάτων ἄριστος, ἅπαντας φθάσας ἐξεβόησεν: "ὁ ἀπροσδόκητος."—"when the conversation turned to what sort of death was the best, before anyone else could answer Caesar exclaimed "The sudden one!"
- 385 Mk. 14:12sq; Mt. 26:17sq; Lk. 22:7sq; Jn. 13:21sq.
- 386 Like for example the German *Regensburg* from *Castra Regina*—cf. note 80.
- 387 App. *BC 2.115.480:* ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πότῳ νικτὸς αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα κωθρὸν ἐγγίγνετο, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Καλπουρνία ἐνύπνιον αἵματι πολλῷ καταρροέμενον ἰδοῦσα κατεκάλυε μὴ προελθεῖν. θυομένῳ τε πολλάκις ἦν τὰ σημεῖα φοβερά.
- 388 Jn. 13:21-27: λέγει οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ὁ ποιεῖς ποιήσον τάχιον. Luther translated τάχιον as 'bald' ('soon'), which it can mean in a certain sense.
- 389 Cf. note 158.
- 390 App. *BC 2.146.611:* καὶ που τῶν θρήνων αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐδόκει λέγειν, ὅσους εὖ ποιήσειε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐξ ὀνόματος, καὶ περὶ τῶν σφαγῶν αὐτῶν ἐπέλεγεν ὡσπερ ἐν θαύματι. "ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ τοῦσδε περισῶσαι τοὺς κτενοῦντάς με, [...]."

- 391 App. *BC* 2.136.567: 'Then Piso yelled out as loud as he could and demanded that the consuls reconvene the senators, who were still present, which was done, and then he said "These men who talk of having killed a tyrant are now setting themselves up over us as a group of tyrants instead of one. They want to prevent me from burying the *Pontifex Maximus* [...]"'. 'Εκβοήσας οὖν ὁ Πείσων ὅτι μέγιστον καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔτι παρούσαν οἱ τὴν βουλὴν ἀξιώσας συναγαγεῖν, εἶπεν· "οἱ τύραννοι λέγοντες ἕνα ἀνηρηκέαι τοσοῖδε ἡμῶν ἀνθ' ἐνὸς ἤδη τυραννοῦσιν· οἱ θάπτειν με κωλύουσι τὸν ἀρχιερέα [...]. Note here that Appianus uses the same word *archiereia* for *pontifex maximus* which in Mark stands for 'High priest' (cf. next note).
- 392 Mk. 15:31: ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐμπαίζοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους μετὰ τῶν γραμματέων ἔλεγον, Ἄλλους ἔσωσεν, ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύναται σῶσαι [...].
- 393 Caes. *Civ.* 1.30: *Mittit [...] in Siciliam Curionem pro praetore cum legionibus III, eundem, cum Siciliam recepisset, protinus in Africam traducere exercitum iubet.* App. *BC* 2.40.162: Ἀσινίος τε Πολλίων ἐς Σικελίαν πεμφθείς, ἧς ἠγείτο Κάτων, πυνθανομένη τῷ Κάτῳ, πότῃ τῆς βουλῆς ἢ τοῦ δήμου δόγμα φέρων ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν ἀρχὴν ἐμβάλλοι, ὧδε ἀπεκρίνατο· "ὁ τῆς Ἰταλίας κρατῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτά με ἐπεμφε." Καὶ Κάτων μὲν τοσόνδε ἀποκρινάμενος, ὅτι φειδοῖ τῶν ὑπηκόων οὐκ ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν ἀμνητεῖται, διέπλευσεν ἐς Κέρκυραν καὶ ἐκ Κερκύρας ἐς Πομπήιον· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπειχθείς [...]. Then, after a brief description of Caesar's entrance into Rome, Appianus continues with the nomination of Curio as governor of Sicily (2.41): Λέπιδον δὲ Αἰμίλιον ἐπίστη τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν δήμαρχον Μάρκον Ἀντώνιον τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν στρατῷ. ἔς τε τὰ ἔξω Κουρίωνα μὲν ἀντὶ Κάτωνος ἠγείτο ἠγεῖσθαι Σικελίας [...]. We can conclude from these passages that Asinius had been an ordinary legate of Caesar with the special mission to take Sicily from the Pompeian governor Cato—in fact for the *legatus pro praetore*, the governor Curio, who would follow him and who had to cross the sea from Sicily to Africa. It seems that Asinius was sent directly from Brundisium whereas Curio did not advance with the army until he had been authorized in Rome (where Lepidus and Antonius received their orders too).
The fact that Caesar does not mention Asinius alongside Curio has raised the question of the status of Pollio in Sicily. But since Asinius Pollio is not mentioned at all in Caesar's *De bello civili*—for whatever reasons—neither here nor at the Rubicon nor at Pharsalos (with Appianus and Plutarchus he is not only present, but 'the' eyewitness), Asinius' not being named as legate in *De bello civili* cannot be considered as an *argumentum e silentio*.
- 394 Mk. 11:1-6: Καὶ ὅτε ἐγγίζουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰς Βηθφαγὴ καὶ Βηθανίαν πρὸς τὸ Ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν, ἀποστέλλει δύο τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Ὑπάγετε εἰς τὴν κώμην τὴν κατέναντι ὑμῶν, καὶ εὐθὺς εἰσπορευόμενοι εἰς αὐτὴν εὐρήσετε πῶλον δεδεμένον ἐφ' ὃν οὐδεὶς οὕτω ἀνθρώπων ἐκάθισεν· λύσατε αὐτὸν καὶ φέρετε. καὶ ἐάν τις ὑμῖν εἴπῃ, Τί ποιεῖτε τοῦτο; εἶπατε, Ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ χρεῖαν ἔχει, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἀποστέλλει πάλιν ὧδε, καὶ ἀπήλθον καὶ εὔρον πῶλον δεδεμένον πρὸς θύραν ἔξω ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμφοδου καὶ λύουσιν αὐτόν, καὶ τινες τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐστηκότων ἔλεγον αὐτοῖς, Τί ποιεῖτε λύοντες τὸν πῶλον; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτοῖς καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἀφήκαν αὐτούς. Mt. 21:1-6; Lk. 19:29-34; Jn. 12:12-15.
- 395 Lk. 19:30: Ὑπάγετε εἰς τὴν κατέναντι κώμην [...].
- 396 Theoretically Curio's moving on could also be expressed here.
- 397 Mk. 11:12-13: Καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐξελεθόντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Βηθανίας ἐπέινασεν, καὶ ἰδὼν συκὴν ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔχουσαν φύλλα ἦλθεν, εἰ ἄρα τι εὐρήσει ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐπ' αὐτὴν οὐδὲν εὔρεν εἰ μὴ φύλλα· ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς οὐκ ἦν σύκων.
- 398 Mk. 11:12-14; Mk. 11:20-21.
- 399 App. *BC* 2.40.162-41.165, see above Mk. 11:1-21.
- 400 Mk. 11:20: 'And in the morning, as they passed by, they saw the fig tree dried up from the roots.'—Καὶ παραπορευόμενοι πρῶτ' εἶδον τὴν συκὴν ἐξηραμμένην ἐκ

ρίζων. Here we not only have to compare *Curio(n)* with *xêron*, 'dried up', but perhaps also with *ek rizôn*, 'from the roots', then *Africam* with *aridam* (Lat. 'withered', cf. Vulgata) and *exêrammenên* (Greek 'withered') with *exercitum* (Lat. 'army'). Cf. Caes. *Civ.* 1.30: *in Africam traducere exercitum iubet*. This *iubet* of Caesar—the order to bring the army to Africa—would correspond to *καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτῇ* of Mk. 11:14—Jesus' command that the fig tree wither. Finally in the word 'wither' Curio's defeat in Africa could linger.

The picture of the fig tree with Jesus (standing for Sicily) could have been summoned from the figs of Tusculum, which Pompeius' comrades-in-arms were craving for and with which they incited him to wage the decisive battle at last: so that they finally could go home and taste the famous figs before the season was over (so sure were they that they would defeat Caesar, since after Dyrrhachium he already was virtually defeated; but it turned out differently at Pharsalos and they did not taste the figs of Tusculum ever again). Cf. Plut. *Caes.* 41: *Φαώνιος δὲ τὴν Κάτωνος παρρησίαν ὑποποιούμενος μανικῶς, ἐσχετλιάζεν εἰ μὴδὲ τῆτες ἔσται τῶν περὶ Τουσκλάνου ἀπολαῦσαι σύκων διὰ τὴν Πομπηίου φιλαρχίαν.*—Favonius, mimicking Cato's free way of speaking his mind, complained bitterly that he could eat no figs this year from his manor at Tusculum, because of Pompey's lust of power.'

- 401 The most well known: Q. *Caecilius* Metellus Celer, opposed Caesar's land legislation in 59 bc (he was unhappily married to Clodia, sister of Clodius); Q. *Caecilius* Metellus Pius Scipio Nasica, whose daughter Cornelia married Pompeius after the death of Julia, was co-consul in 52 bc (defeated at Pharsalos and again at Thapsos, he committed suicide); L. *Caecilius* Metellus, tribune of the people in 49 bc, unsuccessfully opposed Caesar's loan for armaments from the Aerarium (in the temple of Saturnus); Publius *Clodius* Pulcher, (changed his name from Claudius to the plebeian Clodius for political reasons in 59 bc), the infamous tribune of the people who in 62 bc intruded into Caesar's house during the feast of the *Bona Dea* in order to seduce Caesar's wife (he was accused of sacrilege, charged by his friend Cicero, but exonerated by Caesar and so was set free; from then on he opposed Cicero and supported Caesar); Appius *Claudius* Pulcher, brother of Clodius, father in law of Marcus Brutus, Censor 50 bc, then he was Proconsul in Greece as a follower of Pompeius (died before Pharsalos); M. *Claudius* Marcellus, Consul for 51 bc (accepted Caesar's mercy 46 bc, but was killed in Piraeus 45 bc); C. *Claudius* Marcellus, cousin of the previous, he was also an opponent of Caesar although he was married to his grand-niece Octavia, Consul 50 bc: he proclaimed the state of emergency against Caesar—without a decree from the Senate (changed sides to Caesar in 49 BC); C. *Claudius* Marcellus, cousin of both of the aforementioned, Consul 49 bc, together with L. *Lentulus* Crus: he declared Caesar's soldiers enemies of the state and drove the tribune of the people Antonius out of the Senate (in 48 he was still an admiral of Pompeius', died before Pharsalos); L. Cornelius *Lentulus* Crus (*Crus*, 'leg', was his nickname: *Lentulus Crus*, 'lame leg'), in 61 bc he was the chief prosecutor of *Clodius*, Consul in 49 bc, together with C. *Claudius* Marcellus (see above). After Pharsalos he fled to Egypt with Pompeius, where he was arrested and killed.

It is known that in their *fescennini*, the old-italic mocking and teasing verses which they sang during a triumphal procession and which often degenerated into coarse and unrestrained sprees, the legionaries did not even spare the triumphator, their imperator. By the way this tradition lives on in our carnival processions and carnival speeches. If Caesar was mocked like that as we know (cf. page 276 and note 599) it is easy to imagine how they will have sneered at the 'blind' (*Caecili*) who did not get a look in, and the 'lame' (*Claudii*, *Lentuli*, *Crus*, etc.) who were made to get a move on! And since Caesar was looked upon as the therapist of the state (cf. Plut.

Caes. 28.6) he thereby became the 'healer' of those 'lame' and 'blind' ones in the vernacular—like Jesus. It is a pity the biting irony got lost in the change.

- 402 The ceremony called *Damia* had to take place during the first week of December with the participation of the vestal virgins at the wife of a magistrate *cum imperio* who himself had to leave the house. At the time of the event Caesar already was *Praetor designatus* elected as praetor for the following year, as *Pontifex maximus* he lived in the time-honored *domus publica* at the Forum. The secret ceremonies of the female deity who was associated with Faunus/Lupercus resp. Dionysos/Liber were said to occur at night also, with wine, music and dancing as well as myrtle twigs playing an important role in them. Plutarchus says about them (*Caes.* 9):
'Now the Romans have a goddess whom they call the Good one, the Greeks call her Gynaecia, i. e. the goddess of women; the Phrygians who draw on her for themselves say she had been the wife of king Midas whereas the Romans regard her as a nymph of the woods who united with Faunus and the Greeks take her for that mother of Dionysos whom they dare not name. When therefore the women hold the festivity they cover the tents with vine-twigs and lay a snake beside the goddess according to the myth. While the holy mysteries of the goddess are celebrated no man is allowed to attend not even to stay inside the house. Completely apart the women perform many actions during the divine service which are said to resemble those of the orphic mysteries. So when the time of the feast approaches which must be celebrated in the house of a consul or praetor, the same and with him all male persons go out. The wife takes over the house and prepares everything for the ceremony. The most important activities are celebrated at night. Frolic and much music accompany the nightly goings.'
- The cult of the Bona Dea, mother of Dionysos, had survived the ban on the Bacchanals in Italy (resolution of the Senate of 186 bc: under penalty of death!), seemingly by perpetuation of the original form as an all women's cult. Clodius' creeping in had to be classified as an attempt to alter the feast of the Bona Dea into a Bacchanal. The active help given to Clodius by the lady's maids argues for the continuing popularity of this festive form. Probably he also felt encouraged by Caesar's attitude towards it, who lifted the ban on the cult of Bacchus (*Liber Pater*) again (cf. *Serv. B.* 5.29: *«hoc aperte ad Caesarem pertinet, quem constat primum sacra Liberi patris transtulisse Romam. «curru» pro «curru». thiasos saltationes, choreas Liberi, id est Liberalia.»* Caesar's final victory in Munda was to come at just the right moment, on the Liberalia: on the 17th of March.).
- 403 Cf. *App. BC* 2.14.52-4; *Plut. Caes.* 9-10 and *Cic.* 28-30; *Suet. Jul.* 6 and 74. According to Plutarchus the beardless 'beauty' dressed up as a female harp player and sneaked into Caesar's house with the help of one of Pompeia's lady's maids, but his voice betrayed him.
- 404 It is reported that amongst them were also the wives of Sulpicius, of Gabinius, of Crassus and even of Pompeius and last but not least Servilia, sister of Cato and mother of Brutus, and also her daughter Tertia. Cf. *Suet. Jul.* 50.
- 405 As a serving magistrate—he was praetor in this year—Caesar was granted immunity. But if Clodius had been sentenced for sacrilege, Caesar—who had not persecuted him although he was *pontifex maximus* and *praetor*, making him a *praefectus morum*, 'arbiter of morals', twice over—would have found himself in a bad situation and certainly would have had to pay for his former dedication to the Catalinarians.
- 406 Lucullus.
- 407 Plutarchus reports that Cicero was forced into it by his wife Terentia. She was jealous of Clodius' sister Clodia, called *quadrantaria*, 'quarter-whore' (cheap whore). Cicero had a special relationship with her and had even promised to marry her.

- 408 This is less to be seen as a reprimand of Pompeia whom he backed with it but as a side blow at his own mother Aurelia and sister Julia who had accused Pompeia (cf. Suet. *Jul.* 74). This family quarrel could also explain the divorce. Differing from Suetonius—'Because members of my household [...]—Plutarchus reports Caesar's answer as: 'Because my wife should not only be free of guilt but also of suspicion', but he adds that 'only some believed that Caesar spoke seriously'. Indeed the quick witted answer was taken to be an expression of the *ironia Caesaris*. Appianus and Dio Cassius do not mention this sentence.
- 409 In the case of a conviction Clodius could have been whipped to death and Pompeia could have been either buried alive or thrown from the Tarpeian rock.
- 410 Mk. 2:1-12; Mt. 9:1-8; Lk. 5:17-26.
- 411 Mk. 2:1-12: Καὶ εἰσελθὼν πάλιν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ δι' ἡμερῶν ἠκούσθη ὅτι ἐν οἴκῳ ἐστίν. καὶ συνήχθησαν πολλοὶ ὥστε μηκέτι χωρεῖν μηδὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν θύραν, καὶ ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον. καὶ ἔρχονται φέροντες πρὸς αὐτὸν παραλυτικὸν αἰρόμενον ὑπὸ τεσσάρων. καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι προσεγγεῖν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ὄχλον ἀπεστέγασαν τὴν στέγην ὅπου ἦν, καὶ ἐξορύξαντες χαλῶσι τὸν κράβατον ὅπου ὁ παραλυτικὸς κατέκειτο. καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ, Τέκνον, ἀφίενταί σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. ἦσαν δὲ τινες τῶν γραμματέων ἐκεῖ καθήμενοι καὶ διαλογιζόμενοι ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, Τί οὗτος οὕτως λαλεῖ; βλασφημεῖ· τίς δύναται ἀφίεναι ἁμαρτίας εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός; καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπιγνοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ ὅτι οὕτως διαλογίζονται ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λέγει αὐτοῖς, Τί ταῦτα διαλογίζεσθε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν; τί ἐστὶν εὐκοπώτερον, εἰπεῖν τῷ παραλυτικῷ, Ἀφίενταί σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, ἢ εἰπεῖν, Ἐγειρε καὶ ἄρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου καὶ περιπάτει; ἴνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀφίεναι ἁμαρτίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς—λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ, Σοὶ λέγω, ἐγειρε ἄρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου καὶ ὑπάγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου. καὶ ἠγέρθη καὶ εὐθὺς ἄρας τὸν κράβατον ἐξῆλθεν ἔμπροσθεν πάντων, ὥστε ἐξίστασθαι πάντας καὶ δοξάζειν τὸν θεὸν λέγοντας ὅτι Οὕτως οὐδέποτε εἶδομεν.
- 412 Lk. 5:17: ἐκ πάσης κώμης [...].
- 413 Cf. 'comedy', from the Greek *kōmōidia*, in fact 'singing of a *kōmos*, i.e. a festive parade, a banquet, revel, carousal, merry-making', cf. also Latin *comis*, 'cheerful, affable, gracious, having good taste', as well as *comitas*, 'cheerful mood, brightness, graciousness, good taste'.
- 414 *Logos* in the sense of a testimony is substantiated here. Cf. Plut. *Caes.* 10: *μάρτυς δὲ πρὸς τὴν δίκην κληθεὶς, οὐδὲν ἔφη τῶν λεγομένων κατὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου γινώσκειν. ὡς δὲ τοῦ λόγου παραδόξου φανέντος ὁ κατηγορὸς ἠρώτησε "πῶς οὖν ἀπεπέμφω τὴν γυναῖκα".* Because Caesar was praetor at this time, the presence of the term *legem dicere* in the Latin source used by Plutarchus has to be considered. This could have been used by Mark to change it to ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον: *logon* would then stand for *legem*.
- 415 Mk. 2:3: ὑπὸ τεσσάρων. Plut. *Caes.* 10: ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδυίας θεραπεινίδος.
- 416 Suet. *Jul.* 74: «*in Publium Clodium, Pompeiae uxoris suae adulterum atque eadem de causa pollutarum caeremoniarum reum, testis citatus negavit se quicquam comperisse, quamvis et mater Aurelia et soror Iulia apud eosdem iudices omnia ex fide rettulissent; interrogatusque, cur igitur repudiasset uxorem: «Quoniam», inquit, «meos tam suspicione quam crimine iudico carere oportere»*».
- 417 Whereas we believe that the Evangelist tells us how to enter an Oriental house with an inside court (respectively a Roman Atrium house), namely via the roof, he seems in reality to conceal Caesar's (respectively Jesus') adulterous wife: Not the woman, but the roof is ripped open.
- 418 App. *BC* 2.14.52: ἕτεροι δὲ διὰ τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἐς ἀσέβειαν ἐδίωκον, καὶ συνηγόρευε τοῖς διώκουσι Κικέρων.

- 419 For 'accused' Plutarchus says *egrapsato*, cf. Plut. *Cic.* 28: καὶ δίκην τις τῶν δημ-
ἀρχων ἀσεβείας ἐγράψατο τῷ Κλωδίῳ.
- 420 Mk. 1:40-45; Mt. 8:1-4; Lk. 5:12-16.
- 421 One could object that a 'priest' is not a 'High priest'. Now it is true that the Greek Gospel text we have received uses 'priest' here, but the Vulgate has *principi sacerdotum*, 'High priests', as expected. One has been surprised that Hieronymus, in his emendation of the *Vetus Latina* on the basis of Greek manuscripts, did not change *principi sacerdotum* to *sacerdoti*. (Hieronymus *De vir. inl.* 235: *Novum Testamentum graecae fidei reddidi*; he changed the text of his schema in 3500 places); (cf. *Vulgata*, Aland & Nestle, ¹⁸1957). Here again the reinterpretation of the Gospels as the *Vita Caesaris* gives us the solution to a heretofore unexplained peculiarity in the handing down of the texts: Hieronymus was not mistaken. He simply found 'High priest(s)' in the Greek manuscripts—at least in some of them—that were still available in his time.
- 422 Particularly over the *mos maiorum*, the 'custom of the ancestors'. Traditionalistic Romans regarded this as the constitution, and Caesar was repeatedly blamed for having broken it in order to introduce *novae res*, 'new (i.e. revolutionary) things'. As is known this opposition of the new to the old ('It has been said by those of old, but I say unto you...') is typical of Jesus' message—where we find the *terminus technicus* 'custom of the ancients', *mos maiorum*, as 'Mose and the prophets' (via *praefectus morum*?) and in the generalization as the opposition implied in 'New and Old Testament'. It is striking that in ancient manuscripts *Μωσῆς* (Greek transcription—*Mōsēs*) consistently appears whereas modern text critics in a know-all manner correct it to *Μωϋσῆς* (Greek transcription—*Mōysēs*), supposedly in order to standardize the orthography (according to Aland & Nestle, sic!), as if they knew better and as if the spelling were irrelevant in just those texts. So they themselves partly destroy the painstaking listing of the handwritten variations by straightening out the orthography. For example, it is only noticeable in the facsimile that in the Vulgate manuscripts the town corrected to and known as *Kapharnaum* respectively *Kapernaum/Capernaum* today was originally written *Cafarnaum*, which allows us to recognize it as a miswriting of *Corfinium*. It must be stated: With the slogan that Aland-Nestle & Co. adopted: *Te totum applica ad textum: rem totam applica ad te* (J.A. Bengel) text critics only sometimes find the old corrections that made things worse, because the *res tota* which they 'apply' on themselves is still the old—the Judaistic glasses through which they look are still the same and they fit even tighter thanks to the new feelings of guilt towards the Jews after World War II. Do they not see that they forge with the right what they correct with the left? They even feel they are merely fulfilling a belated duty. The political correctness to which we owe the metamorphosis of the *Vita Divi Iulii* into the Gospels still affects—under hardly changed conditions—modern textual criticism.
- 423 App. BC 2.15.53: δημάρχους δὲ ἤρεῖτο Οὐατίνιον τε καὶ Κλωδίον τὸν Καλὸν ἐπί-
κλην, ὃν τινα αἰσχρὰν ἐν ἱερουργίᾳ γυναικῶν ποτε λαβόντα ὑπόνοιαν ἐπὶ Ἰουλίᾳ
τῇ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἔκρινεν, ὑπεραρέσκοντα τῷ δήμῳ,
καίπερ ἀποπεμψάμενος τὴν γυναῖκα, ἕτεροι δὲ διὰ τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἐς ἀσεβείαν ἐ-
δίωκον, καὶ συνηγόρευε τοῖς διώκουσι Κικέρων. καὶ κληθεὶς ἐς μαρτυρίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ
οὐ κατεῖπεν, ἀλλὰ τότε καὶ δήμαρχον ἐς ἐπιβουλήν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπέφηνε, δια-
βάλλοντος ἤδη τὴν συμφροσύνην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς μοναρχίαν. οὕτω καὶ λύπης
ἐκράτουν ὑπὸ χρείας καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν εὐηργέτουν ἐς ἄμυναν ἑτέρου.
- 424 App. BC 2.13.49: ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν εἶλοντο Γαλατίας τῆς τε ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων καὶ ὑπὲρ
Ἄλπεων ἐπὶ πενταετὲς ἄρχειν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔδοσαν τέλη στρατοῦ τέσσαρα.
And 14: δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κλωδῖος ἀμείψασθαι πρότερος τὸν Καῖσαρα καὶ συλλαβεῖν
ἐς τὴν τῆς Γαλατίας ἀρχήν.

- 425 Cf. Jn. 9:2: 'And his disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?'
The association with the *leper* might originally have been caused by the end of this story—'he was out there in desolate places' (Mk. 1:45)—or by the beginning of the next—where one is 'not in the room' or supposed to 'remain outside the door.' Also conceivable is a Latin source wherein Faunus as *Lupercus* and Dionysos as *Liber* were mentioned in connection with the Bona Dea. Two names that just would have to evoke the lection *lepros*. Or maybe another source in which the looks of the joking beauty *Pulcher* were characterized as *lepor*, *leporis*.
- 426 Mk. 2:14-17: καὶ παράγων εἶδεν Λευὶν τὸν τοῦ Ἀλφαίου καθήμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τελῶνιον, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Ἀκολουθε μοι. καὶ ἀναστὰς ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. Καὶ γίνεται κατακεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ συνανέκειντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· ἦσαν γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ. καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων ἰδόντες ὅτι ἐσθίει μετὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ τελωνῶν ἔλεγον τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, Ὅτι μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει; καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς [ὅτι] Οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἰσχύοντες ἰατροῦ ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες· οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς.
- 427 Cf. i. a. App. BC 2.13.47-49.
- 428 Cf. the Greek play on words of Augustus—that in the house of Herodes a swine lived less dangerously than a son (Herodes, who according to the Jewish law would have been supposed to abstain from pork, had both sons of his Jewish wife Mariamme executed)—is only a play on words if a *ῥς* or *ῥς* or *ῥς* for 'son'—but not a *ῥς*—corresponds to the 'swine' *ῥς*.
- 429 It was the Romans who were called 'porridge munchers' as today the Italians are called 'spaghetti munchers': cf. the jocular *multiphagus* in Plautus. This is still preserved today in the slightly altered form of *polentone*, 'polenta muncher', an invective for northern Italians (*polenta* comes from *puls*, pl. *pultes*, presumably via the accusative *pultem*, and is possibly related to the German *Fladen*—flat cake; the English *poultice* demonstrates the same etymology).
- 430 *Alphaios* looks like a metathesis of *Pulcher* (via *Ulpher*—with aspiration dissimilation?).
- 431 An uncertainty that, by the way, we find again in the listing of names in the calling of the apostles: For example in Mt. 10:3 Matthew is the publican, but the son of Alphaeus is Jacob, whereas Levi as the name of an apostle is not mentioned by any Evangelist.
- 432 Augustinus *De adult. coniug.* 2.6. The controversial passage that linguistically does not accord with John and appears in the wrong context was inserted there (7:53-8:11) in view of the verses 7:51 ('Doth our law judge [any] man, before it hear him, and know what he doeth?') and 8:15 ('I judge no man'). But in the manuscripts of the so-called Ferrar group the pericope about the adulteress is located after Lk. 21:38 (following the passage about the poor widow—which shows parallels to Cato's marriage to a widow: see below).
- 433 Jn. 7:53-8:11: ¶ Καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν. Ὁρθρον δὲ πάλιν παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ ἱερόν καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς. ἄγουν δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι γυναῖκα ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ κατελημμένην, καὶ στήσαντες αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Διδάσκαλε, αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ κατελήπται ἐπ' αὐτοφύρῳ μοιχευομένη ἐν δὲ τῷ νόμῳ ἡμῶν Μωϋσῆς ἐνετείλατο τὰς τοιαύτας λιθάζειν. σὺ οὖν τί λέγεις; τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγον πειράζοντες αὐτόν, ἵνα ἔχωσιν κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κάτω κύψας τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν. ὡς δὲ ἐπέμεινον ἐρωτῶντες αὐτόν, ἀνέκυψεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Ὁ ἀναμάρτητος ὑμῶν πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὴν βαλέτω λίθον. καὶ πάλιν κατακύψας ἔγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐξήρχοντο εἰς καθ' εἷς ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ κατελείφθη μόνος καὶ ἡ

- γυνή ἐν μέσῳ οὖσα. ἀνακύψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῇ, Γύναι, ποῦ εἶσιν; οὐδεὶς σε κατέκρινεν; ἢ δὲ εἶπεν, Οὐδεὶς, κύριε. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Οὐδὲ ἐγὼ σε κατακρίνω· πορεύου, [καὶ] ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μηκέτι ἀμάρτανε.]]
- 434 Compare: 'voting stones (pebbles)' *psēphos*, pronunciation *psiphos* / *lithos* 'stone', ΨΗΦΟC / ΛΙΘΟC—respectively Lat. *tessera* / *lithos*, *TESSERA* / ΛΙΘΟC.
- 435 The condemning voting tablets bore a C (*condemno*), the absolving ones an A (*absolvo*).
- 436 Cf. Plut. *Caes.* 10: ἀποφεύγει δ' οὖν τὸ ἔγκλημα, τῶν πλείστων δικαστῶν συγκεχυμένοις τοῖς γράμμασι τὰς γνώμας ἀποδόντων, ὅπως μήτε παρακινδυνεύσωσιν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς καταψηφισάμενοι, μήτ' ἀπολύσαντες ἀδοξήσωσι παρὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις. Jn. 8:6: ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κάτω κύψας τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν bzw. Joh 8:8: καὶ πάλιν κατακύψας ἔγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν. If the misspelling is in the Greek tradition we would have to compare ΚΑΤΑΨΗΦΙCΑ(MENOI) on the one hand with ΚΑΤΩΚΥΨΑC resp. ΚΑΤΑΚΥΨΑC on the other, further ΔΙΚΑCΤΩΝ with ΔΑΚΤΥΛΩI—or in case of a direct misunderstanding of the Latin exemplar: ΚΑΤΩΚΥΨΑC with AC-CVSATORES (AC...TO > ΚΑΤΩ and CVSA...RES > ΚΥΨΑC) resp. IVDICIO with DIGITO (cf. Suet. *Jul.* 74).
- 437 Suet. *Jul.* 6: «In Corneliae autem locum Pompeiam duxit [...]; cum qua deinde diuortium fecit, adulteratam opinatus a Publio Clodio [...]; ibidem 74: «[...] interrogatusque, cur igitur repudiasset uxorem [...]»; Plut. *Caes.* 10: ὁ κατηγορος ἤρωτησε "πῶς οὖν ἀπέπεμψω τὴν γυναῖκα;"
- 438 Mt. 19:7-9; cf. also Mt. 5:31sq; Mk. 10:4-12; Lk. 16:18.
- 439 Cf. Suet. *Jul.* 1: 'At the age of sixteen he lost his father. In the following year he was nominated priest of Jupiter, he broke an engagement made for him while he was still a boy, to marry one Cossutia, who came from an equestrian family but was very rich. Instead he married Cornelia, daughter of that Cinna who had been Consul four times, and later she bore him a daughter named Julia. And under no circumstances would he allow Sulla to force him to divorce her.' Plut. *Caes.* 5: 'Now, in the case of elderly women, it was ancient Roman usage to pronounce funeral orations over them; but it was not customary in the case of young women, and Caesar was first to do so when his own wife died. This also brought him much favor, and earned him the sympathies of the multitude, who looked upon him as a man of great tenderness and kindness of heart. After the funeral of his wife, he went out to Spain as quaestor [...]. When he returned from the province, he married Pompeia as his third wife, already having by Cornelia a daughter who later became the wife of Pompeius the Great.'
- 440 Cf. Cicero's *Cato* and Caesar's *Anticato*. Cato's 'leasing out' of his wife to the elderly Hortensius—who bequeathed her all his possessions—only to remarry her as a wealthy widow, played a major role in this polemic. Cf. Plut. *Cat. Mi.* 25; 52: εἰς ὃ δὴ μάλιστα λοιδορούμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷ Κάτωνι φιλοπλουτίαν προφέρει καὶ μισθαρίαν ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ. τί γὰρ ἔδει παραχωρεῖν δεόμενον γυναικός, ἢ τί μὴ δεόμενον αὐθις ἀναλαμβάνειν, εἰ μὴ δέλεαρ ἔξ ἀρχῆς ὑφείθη τὸ γύναιον Ὀρτησίῳ καὶ νέαν ἔχρησεν ἵνα πλουσίαν ἀπολάβῃ;—'Caesar castigated this deal in the sharpest tone and accused Cato of having debased marriage out of disdainful avarice to a money transaction: "If he needed a wife, why should he give her to somebody else? And if he did not need one, what caused him to take her back? Did not he use the poor woman from the beginning just as a bait for Hortensius? He lent her out while she was young that he might take her back as a rich widow."'
- 441 Plut. *Cic.* 29: πολλὴ δ' ἦν δόξα καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δυσὶν ἀδελφαῖς πλησιάζειν τὸν Κλωδίον, ὧν Τερτίαν μὲν Μάρκιος «ὁ» Πήξ, Κλωδίαν δὲ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ εἶχεν, ἣν Κουαδρανταρίαν ἐκάλουν, ὅτι τῶν ἐραστῶν τις αὐτῇ χαλκοῦς ἐμβάλων εἰς βάλαντιον ὡς ἀργύριον εἰσέπεμψε· τὸ δὲ λεπτότατον τοῦ χαλκοῦ νομίσματος κουα-

δράντην Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα τῶν ἀδελφῶν κακῶς ἤκουσεν ὁ Κλωδῖος.

442 Mk. 12:41-44: Καὶ καθίσας κατέναντι τοῦ γαζοφυλακίου ἐθεώρει πῶς ὁ ὄχλος βάλλει χαλκὸν εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον. καὶ πολλοὶ πλοῦσιοι ἔβαλλον πολλά· καὶ ἐλθοῦσα μία χήρα πτωχὴ ἔβαλεν λεπτὰ δύο, ὃ ἐστὶν κοδράντης. καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἡ χήρα αὕτη ἢ πτωχὴ πλείων πάντων ἔβαλεν τῶν βαλλόντων εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον· πάντες γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύοντος αὐτοῖς ἔβαλον, αὕτη δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὑστερήσεως αὐτῆς πάντα ὅσα εἶχεν ἔβαλεν ὅλον τὸν βίον αὐτῆς.

443 Mk. 2:23-3:6 and parallel passages Mt. 12:1-14, Lk. 6:1-11.

444 Despite the explicit order of Pompeius. Cf. Dio Cass. *HR* 41.6.3-6.

445 Cf. Dio Cass. *HR* 41.17.1.

446 Cf. Dio Cass. *HR* 41.17.1-2: τοσοῦτον τε ἐδέησαν τὰ χρήματα ἃ ὑπέσχετό σφισι τότε γε λαβεῖν, ὥστε καὶ τὰλλά οἱ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἦν πρὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οὓς ἐφοβοῦντο, τροφὴν ἔδοσαν. καὶ ἐπὶ πάσιν τούτοις ὡς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς οὓσι τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν εἰρημικὴν μετημπόσχοιο· οὐδέπω γὰρ αὐτὴν μετελήφεσαν. ἀντίπεπε μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἐσθήτησιν Λούκιός τις Μέτελλος δήμαρχος, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐπέρανε, πρὸς τε τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἦλθε καὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτῶν ἐν τηρήσει ἐποιήσατο· σμικρὸν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ που καὶ τῆς παρηρησίας, οἱ στρατιῶται φροντίσαντες τὴν τε βαλανάγραν διέκοψαν (τὴν γὰρ κλεῖν οἱ ὑπατοὶ εἶχον, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐξόν τισι πελέκεσιν ἀντ' αὐτῆς χρήσασθαι) καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἐξεφόρησαν.

Plut. Caes. 35: Τοῦ δὲ δημάρχου Μετέλλου κωλύοντος αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων χρήματα λαμβάνειν καὶ νόμους τινὰς προφέροντος, οὐκ ἔφη τὸν αὐτὸν ὄπλων καὶ νόμων καιρὸν εἶναι· "σὺ δ' εἰ τοῖς πραττομένοις δυσκοilaίνεις, νῦν μὲν ἐκποδῶν ἀπιθι· παρηρησίας γὰρ οὐ δεῖται πόλεμος· ὅταν δὲ κατάθωμαι τὰ ὄπλα συμβάσεως γενομένων, τότε παρῶν δημαγωγῆσεις." καὶ ταῦτ' ἔφη "λέγω τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ δικαίων ὑφιέμενος· ἐμὸς γὰρ εἶ καὶ σὺ καὶ πάντες ὅσους εἴληφα τῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ στασιασάντων." ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλον εἰπὼν, ἐβάδιζε πρὸς τὰς θύρας τοῦ ταμείου. μὴ φαινομένων δὲ τῶν κλειδῶν, χαλκεῖς μεταπεμφάμενος ἐκκόπτειν ἐκέλευεν. αὐθις δ' ἐπισταμένου τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ τινῶν ἐπαινούντων, διατεινόμενος ἠπειλήσεν ἀποκτενεῖν αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ παύσαιτο παρενοχλῶν· "καὶ τοῦτ' ἔφη "μειράκιον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι μοι δυσκολώτερον ἢ εἰπεῖν ἢ πράξαι." οὗτος ὁ λόγος τότε καὶ Μέτελλον ἀπελθεῖν ἐποίησε καταδείσαντα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ῥαδίως αὐτῷ καὶ ταχέως ὑπηρετεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. Ἐστράτευσε δ' εἰς Ἰβηρίαν, πρότερον ἔγνωκώς τοὺς περὶ Ἀφράνιον καὶ Βάρρωνια Πομπηίου πρεσβευτὰς ἐκβαλεῖν [...].

App. BC 2.41.164: ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπειχθεὶς τὸν τε δῆμον, ἐκ μνήμης τῶν ἐπὶ Σύλλα καὶ Μαρίου κακῶν πεφρικότα, ἐλπίσι καὶ ὑποσχέσει πολλὰς ἀνελάμβανε καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐνσημαινόμενος φιλανθρωπίαν εἶπεν, ὅτι καὶ Λεύκιον Δομίτιον ἐλὼν ἀπαθῆ μεθείη μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων. τὰ δὲ κλεῖθρα τῶν δημοσίων ταμείων ἐξέκοπτε καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἐνὶ Μετέλλῳ κωλύοντι θάνατον ἠπειλεῖ. τῶν τε ἀφαιρούμενων ἐκίνοι χρημάτων, ἃ φασιν ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς πάλαι σὺν ἀρᾷ δημοσίᾳ τεθῆναι, μὴ σαλεύειν ἐς μηδὲν, εἰ μὴ Κελτικὸς πόλεμος ἐπίοι. ὁ δὲ ἔφη Κελτοὺς αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλέστατον ἐλὼν λελευκέναι τῇ πόλει τὴν ἀράν.

447 Cf. **Mk. 2:18-3:6:** Καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι νηστεύοντες. καὶ ἔρχονται καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Διὰ τί οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ τῶν Φαρισαίων νηστεύουσιν, οἱ δὲ σοὶ μαθηταὶ οὐ νηστεύουσιν; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Μὴ δύνανται οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶν νηστεύειν; ὅσον χρόνον ἔχουσιν τὸν νυμφίον μετ' αὐτῶν οὐ δύνανται νηστεύειν. ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος, καὶ τότε νηστεύουσιν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. οὐδεὶς ἐπίβλημα ῥάκουσ ἀγνάφον ἐπιράπτει ἐπὶ ἱμάτιον παλαιόν· εἰ δὲ μή, αἶρει τὸ πλήρωμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ καινὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ χεῖρον σχίσμα γίνεται. καὶ οὐδεὶς βάλλει οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς· εἰ δὲ μή, ῥίξει ὁ οἶνος τοὺς ἀσκοὺς

καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἀπόλλυται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοί· ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινοὺς. Καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς σάββασι παραπορεύεσθαι διὰ τῶν σπορίμων, καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἤρξαντο ὁδὸν ποιεῖν τίλλοντες τοὺς στάχνας. καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἔλεγον αὐτῷ, Ἴδε τί ποιοῦσιν τοῖς σάββασι ὃ οὐκ ἔξεστιν; καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε τί ἐποίησεν Δαυὶδ ὅτε χρεῖαν ἔσχεν καὶ ἐπέινασεν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, πῶς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἀβιαθάρ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως ἔφαγεν, οὓς οὐκ ἔξεστιν φαγεῖν εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἱερεῖς, καὶ ἔδωκεν καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ οὖσιν; καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, Τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο καὶ οὐχ ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τὸ σάββατον· ὥστε κύριός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου. Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν πάλιν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν. καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπος ἐξηραμμένην ἔχων τὴν χεῖρα· καὶ παρετήρουν αὐτὸν εἰ τοῖς σάββασι θεραπεύσει αὐτόν, ἵνα κατηγορήσωσιν αὐτοῦ. καὶ λέγει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ τὴν ξηρὰν χεῖρα ἔχοντι, Ἐγειρε εἰς τὸ μέσον. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Ἐξεστιν τοῖς σάββασι ἀγαθὸν ποιῆσαι ἢ κακοποιῆσαι, ψυχὴν σώσαι ἢ ἀποκτείνειν; οἱ δὲ ἐσιώπων. καὶ περιβλεψάμενος αὐτοὺς μετ' ὀργῆς, συλλυπούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ πωρώσει τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν λέγει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, Ἐκτεῖνον τὴν χεῖρα. καὶ ἐξέτεινεν καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐξελλοθέντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι εὐθὺς μετὰ τῶν Ἱερουσαλιμίων συμβούλιον ἐδίδουν κατ' αὐτὸ ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσιν.

448 Diverse manuscripts have *ἐξηραμμένην* instead of *ἐξηραμμένην*. Cf. Aland & Nestle (181957).

449 Caes. Civ. 3.70: *His tantis malis haec subsidia succurrebant, quominus omnis delectetur exercitus, quod Pompeius insidias timens, credo quod haec praeter spem acciderant eius qui paulo ante ex castris fugientis suos conspexerat, munitionibus adpropinquare aliquamdiu non audebat, equitesque eius angustiis atque his a Caesaris militibus occupatis, ad insequendum tardabantur. ita parvae res magnum in utramque partem momentum habuerunt.*

450 Caes. Civ. 3.105: *Caesar cum in Asiam venisset, reperiebat T. Ampium conatum esse pecunias tollere Epheso ex fano Dianae eiusque rei causa senatores omnes ex provincia evocavisse, ut his testibus in summam pecuniae uteretur, sed interpellatum adventu Caesaris profugisse. ita duobus temporibus Ephesiae pecuniae Caesar auxilium tulit. item constabat Elide in templo Minervae repetitis atque enumeratis diebus, quo die proelium secundum Caesar fecisset, simulacrum Victoriae, quod ante ipsam Minervam conlocatum esset et ante ad simulacrum Minervae spectavisset, ad valvas se templi limenque convertisse. eodemque die Antiochiae in Syria bis tantus exercitus clamor et signorum sonus exauditus est, ut in muris armata civitas discurreret. hoc idem Ptolomaide accidit. Pergamique in occultis ac reconditis templi, quo praeter sacerdotes adire fas non est—quae Graeci adyta appellant—tympana sonuerunt. item Trallibus in templo Victoriae, ubi Caesaris statuam consecraverant, palma per eos dies [in tecto] inter coagmenta lapidum ex pavimento exstitisse ostendebatur.*

451 Padua was the hometown of Livius, who had a conspicuous inclination to omens and miraculous signs. Plutarchus bases the tradition of this anecdote on him.

452 Plut. Caes. 47: *Σημείων δὲ πολλῶν γενομένων τῆς νίκης ἐπιφανέστατον ἱστορεῖται τὸ περὶ Τράλλεις. ἐν γὰρ Ἱερῷ Νίκης ἀνδριάς εἰστήκει Καίσαρος, καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτῷ χωρίον αὐτό τε στερεὸν φύσει καὶ λίθῳ σκληρῷ κατεστρωμένοι ἦν ἄνωθεν· ἐκ τούτου λέγουσιν ἀνατελεῖλαι φοῖνικα παρὰ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος. ἐν δὲ Παταβίῳ Γάιος Κορινθίος, ἀνὴρ εὐδόκιμος ἐπὶ μαντικῇ, Λιβίου τοῦ συγγραφέως πολίτης καὶ γνώριμος, ἐτύγχανεν ἐπ' οἰωνοῖς καθήμενος ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν, ὡς Λιβίος φησι, τὸν καιρὸν ἔγνω τῆς μάχης, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν ὅτι καὶ διηπεραίνεται τὸ χρῆμα καὶ συνίασιν εἰς ἔργον οἱ ἄνδρες. αὐθις δὲ πρὸς τῇ θέᾳ γενόμενος καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατιδὼν, ἀνήλατο μετ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ βοῶν· "νικᾶς ὦ Καίσαρ." ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν παρατυχόντων, περιελὼν τὸν στέφανον ἀπὸ τῆς κε-*

φαλῆς ἐνώμοτος ἔφη μὴ πρὶν ἐπιθήσασθαι πάλιν, ἢ τῇ τέχνῃ μαρτυρῆσαι τὸ ἔργον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Λίβιος οὕτως γενέσθαι καταβεβαιούται.

Dio Cass. HR 41.61.4-5: καὶ ἐν Τράλλεσι φοίνικά τε ἐν τῷ τῆς Νίκης ναῶ ἀναφύναι καὶ τὴν θεὸν αὐτὴν πρὸς εἰκόνα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν πλαγίῳ που κειμένην μεταστραφῆναι, [...] καὶ ἐν Παταοῦν τῆς νῦν Ἰταλίας τότε δὲ ἐτι Γαλατίας ὀριθᾶς τινας οὐχ ὅτι διαγγεῖλαι αὐτὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δεῖξαι τρόπον τινά· Γάιος γάρ τις Κορινθίος πάντα τὰ γενόμενα ἀκριβῶς τε ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐτεκμήρατο καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐξηγήσατο.

- 453 **Mk. 4:30-32:** Καὶ ἔλεγεν, Πῶς ὁμοιώσωμεν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ ἐν τίνι αὐτὴν παραβολῇ θῶμεν, ὡς κόκκῳ σινάπεως, ὃς ὅταν σπαρῆ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, μικρότερον ὂν πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὅταν σπαρῆ, ἀναβαίνει καὶ γίνεται μείζον πάντων τῶν λαχάνων καὶ ποιεῖ κλάδους μεγάλους, ὥστε δύνασθαι ὑπὸ τὴν σκιὰν αὐτοῦ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατασκηνοῦν.
- 454 The consonants carrying the sense are in inverted order: *PhNK* <|> *SNP* (here the *K* of *ΦΟΙΝΙΚΑ* tends to the sibilant because of the attraction of adjectives: cf. English *Phoenician*). Was the word *ΦΟΙΝΙΚΑ*, from a later Aramaic viewpoint, seen as a heterogram and hence inverted to *CINAIPI*? Or was the beginning of the word *ΦΟ*, respectively *Φ*, (*ΦΙΝΙΚΑ* could have stood perfectly in the exemplar) read as *C*, as *sigma lunatum* (with a metathesis of the last two vocals and the confusion of *K* and *I*)?
- 455 But doves were nestling on the offshoot of the other palm tree that Caesar had found at Munda. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 94.10, with an interpretation concerning Octavianus.
- 456 **Mk. 4:1:** Καὶ πάλιν ἤρξατο διδάσκειν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ συνάγεται πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄχλος πλείστος, ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβάντα καθῆσθαι ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἦσαν.
- 457 **Mk. 4:2:** καὶ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς ἐν παραβολαῖς πολλά καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ [...].
- 458 **Mk. 4:3-8:** Ἀκούετε. ἰδοὺ ἐξηλθεν ὁ σπείρων σπείραι. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ σπείρειν ὃ μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ ἦλθεν τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτό. καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ πετρώδες ὅπου οὐκ εἶχεν γῆν πολλήν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξανέτειλεν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς· καὶ ὅτε ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος ἐκαυματίσθη καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ρίζαν ἐξηράνθη. καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας, καὶ ἀνέβησαν αὐτὰ καὶ συνέπνιξαν αὐτό, καὶ καρπὸν οὐκ ἔδωκεν. καὶ ἄλλα ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν καλήν καὶ ἐδίδου καρπὸν ἀναβαίνοντα καὶ ἀξανάμενα καὶ ἔφερον ἐν τριάκοντα καὶ ἐν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐν ἑκατόν.
- 459 **Mk. 4:9-11:** καὶ ἔλεγεν, Ὅς ἔχει ὧτα ἀκούειν ἀκούετω. Καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο κατὰ μόνας, ἠρώτων αὐτὸν οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα τὰς παραβολάς. καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, Ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον δέδοται τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς ἔξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὰ πάντα γίνεται, [...].
- 460 Cf. i. a. Leschhorn, p.211sqg.
- 461 **Mk. 4:12 (Jes. 6:9-10):** ἵνα / βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν, / καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσιν καὶ μὴ συνιώσιν, / μήποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἀφεθῆ αὐτοῖς.
- 462 **Mk. 4:21-22:** Καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, Μήτι ἔρχεται ὁ λύχνος ἵνα ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον τεθῆ ἢ ὑπὸ τὴν κλίνην; οὐχ ἵνα ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν τεθῆ; οὐ γάρ ἐστιν κρυπτὸν ἕαν μὴ ἵνα φανερωθῆ, οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ἀπόκρυφον ἀλλ' ἵνα ἔλθῃ εἰς φανερόν.
- 463 **Mk. 4:26-29:** Καὶ ἔλεγεν, Οὕτως ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς ἄνθρωπος βάλη τὸν σπόρον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ καθυῶδη καὶ ἐγείρηται νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, καὶ ὁ σπόρος βλαστᾷ καὶ μηκύνηται ὡς οὐκ οἶδεν αὐτός. αὐτομάτη ἢ γῆ καρποφορεῖ, πρῶτον χόρτον εἶτα στάχυν εἶτα πλήρη[ς] σίτον ἐν τῷ στάχυϊ. ὅταν δὲ παραδοῖ ὁ καρπός, εὐθὺς ἀποστέλλει τὸ δρέπανον, ὅτι παρέστηκεν ὁ θερισμός.
- 464 Cf. for example Wikenhauser & Schmid (⁶1973).
- 465 Cf. Blass et al. (¹⁷1990), par. 5, especially footnote 10, p. 7-8. Also the fact that in the bilingual manuscripts—like the Codex *D*, Bezae Cantabrigiensis—the Greek has

been corrected on the basis of Latin, it makes one ponder: why did the Latin text have a higher authority? Did one act on an older tradition that still knew that the Greek text was itself a translation of a Latin one?

V. Synoptic Comparison

- 466 Plut. *Caes.* 68; Suet. *Jul.* 85; App. *BC* 2.148; Dio Cass. *HR* 44.51.
- 467 As is known, the conclusion of Mark 16:9-20 is a later addition. This describes the appearance of the risen one, which was at first not believed (16:11); this corresponds to the appearance of Octavianus as the new Caesar, which was at first opposed. That just this is a later addition and alignment with the Gospel of John will give us a hint as to their respective authorship (see below).
- 468 Dio Cass. *HR* 44.51.1.
- 469 Caesar reports only on events up till the death of Pompeius and his arrival in Egypt, that is to say on the decisive years of the change of power in 49 and 48 bc. Even if we add the rest of the *Corpus Caesarianum*—*Bellum Alexandrinum*, *Africanum* and *Hispaniense*—the report on Caesar's murder is still missing.
- 470 In both of Caesar's biographies that have come down to us—those by Plutarchus and Suetonius—the beginning is lost. But the childhood story of Caesar the self-made man was surely not as elaborate as that of daddy's boy and heir, Octavianus.
- 471 Except for the war reports and a few letters, all of Caesar's writings are unfortunately lost. Amongst these were: *De analogia*, an *Anticato* and a poem *iter*, 'The journey' (Suet. *Jul.* 56). Also, none of the small works of his youth have been preserved: *Poems and Speeches* (Plut. *Caes.* 2), *In Praise of Hecules*, a tragedy called *Oedipus* and *Collected Aphorisms*. Their nature was such that Augustus forbade their publication (Suet. *ibid.*). The beginning sections covering the childhood and youth of Caesar is also missing in our received biographies.
- 472 Cf. Gabba (1956).
- 473 The Gospel of John is so named because according to Jn. 24 it was written by the favorite disciple John, who in our hypothesis is Octavianus Augustus himself.
- 474 It is only in the Gospel of John that John the disciple is established as heir at the foot of the cross, he even takes the place of Jesus: '[...] he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son!' (Jn. 19:26) (NB: Jesus does not address her with the expected 'Mother', but with 'Woman', Gr. *gynai*, which means 'Wife' too. This is correct: she was Calpurnia, his wife, becoming mother of the posthumously adopted son Octavianus, the new Caesar, the resurrected Jesus). This fits in with the ideology of Augustus, who saw himself as Caesar's heir, even as the new Caesar: (*h)o neos*. This passage is missing in Mark—it did not suit Marcus Antonius who had ambitions to assume the spiritual heritage as *flamen Divi Iulii*. Also this 'disciple, whom Jesus loved' was faster than Peter and 'did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre' (Jn. 19:26, 20:2-4). This corresponds to the fact that Octavianus—through his fast actions and his overtaking of Antonius—came to possess the spoils of Caesar, i. e. the heritage and Caesar's succession. This is also missing in Mark, and it must be missing, because it was Octavianus' propaganda and it did not correspond to Marcus Antonius' point of view.
- 475 This could explain the false ending of Mark. It is possible that his original ending turned out so much philo-Petrine and anti-Johanine—i. e. pro Antonius and contra Octavianus—that it was later replaced by an ending favorable to John.
- 476 The lion on the coins of Marcus Antonius is linked by commentators not only with the sign of the zodiac of Antonius but also with the emblem of the Gallic city Lugdunum, where he is said to have had coins minted with the lion on the reverse (Masilia demonstrably had a lion on its municipal coat of arms) and with a passage in

Plinius (*Hist. Nat.* viii 21), where it is reported that Antonius won acclaim by publicly appearing in a chariot drawn by a pair of lions. It is conspicuous however that, different from the coins minted in Lugdunum, on this one the lion holds a sword in his paw: according to Plutarchus (*Pomp.* 80) a lion with a sword was engraved in the signet ring of Pompeius, which Theodotos handed over to Caesar in Alexandria. As Caesar's *magister equitum*, Antonius, while Caesar was busy with war and with Cleopatra in Alexandria, had made off with the goods of Pompeius in Rome, especially his mansion which he had reconstructed to be even more luxurious than before (Plut. *Caes.* 51). After Caesar's death Antonius got his treasure together with the files and documents from Caesar's wife Calpurnia (Plut. *Ant.* 15). Amongst these there might have been the signet ring of Pompeius which Antonius might have used after he had obtained the East, i. e. the former sphere of control of Pompeius, during the division of the Empire with the other triumvirs Octavianus and Lepidus. If however, Caesar had given Pompeius' signet ring to Cleopatra, then Antonius should have received it from her.

In any case the lion, the heraldic animal of Marcus Antonius, is the symbol of the Evangelist Mark—as is demonstrated by the lion of Venice. Interestingly, the Venetians have the relics of Mark from Alexandria, the city where Marcus Antonius died and was buried.

- 477 In the case of Octavianus there was additionally the Capricorn as his birth sign, cf. note 231. The attributes of the other Evangelists also have their origin in the Caesar/Octavianus story: the bull of Luke is that of the founder of cities / respectively of Mars Ultor, the angel of Matthew is Victoria. The Tetramorph of Syrian origin was the relational framework (Ez. 1:4sq, Apk. 4:6sq).
- 478 Suet. *Jul.* 37-77, Plut. *Caes.* 15-17.
- 479 App. *BC* 2.14.52-53.
- 480 In Eusebius, *Ekklesiastikē historia* 3.39.15: "Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτῆς Πέτρου γενομένος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μόντοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσεν τοῦ κυρίου οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ ὅς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἡμαρτεν Μάρκος οὕτως ἕνα γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσεν παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς".
- 481 The later reconstruction of the 24 books of the Jews may serve as an illustration. They had been burned when the temple was destroyed, and were dictated by Ezra again, partly collected 'from the hearts of the people', partly obtained from a new revelation. Cf. 2 Ezr. 14:45 (also called 4 Esr.: apocryphon).
- 482 Cf. i. a. Chr. Burchard in *Der Kleine Pauly* (1979), s. v. 'Jesus', Sp. 1345.
- 483 Mk. 15:23-24: καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτῷ ἐσμυρμισμένον οἶνον ὃς δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καὶ σταυροῦσιν αὐτὸν—'And they gave him to drink wine mingled with myrrh: but he received [it] not. And when they had crucified him...'
- 484 Lk. 23:56: ὑποστρέψασαι δὲ ἠτοίμασαν ἀρώματα καὶ μύρα.—'And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments.'
- Jn. 19:39-40: ἦλθεν δὲ καὶ Νικόδημος, ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτὸς τὸ πρῶτον, φέρων μίγμα σμύρνης καὶ ἀλόης ὡς λίτρας ἑκατόν. ἔλαβον οὖν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἔδησαν αὐτὸ ὀθονίοις μετὰ τῶν ἀρωμάτων, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνταφιάζειν.—'And there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound [weight]. Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.'
- 485 Mt. 27:34-35: ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ πιεῖν οἶνον μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον· καὶ γευσάμενος οὐκ ἠθέλησεν πιεῖν. σταυρώσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν—'[...] They gave him vinegar to drink mingled with gall: and when he had tasted [thereof], he would not drink. And they

crucified him [...]. In some manuscripts we see ὄξος, 'vinegar' instead of οἶνον, 'wine'.

486 As we saw in the case of Marcus Antonius, the name of his gens, Antonius, became Simon (Peter), who had—as Papias reports—Mark as 'interpreter'. This is very well understandable: Simon was the 'interpreted' name of Mark (Marcus Antonius).

487 App. BC 2.1.1: ἕτερα ἐμφύλια Ῥωμαίοις τοιάδε ἐγένετο, μέχρι Γάιος Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος Μάγνος ἀλλήλοισ ἐπολέμησαν [...], with a possible influence by App. BC 2.72.299: Ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ὠκονόμει θεὸς ἐς ἀρχὴν τῆσδε τῆς νῦν ἐπεχούσης τὰ πάντα ἡγεμονίας. Vell. 2.48: *Intra breue deinde spatium, belli ciuilibus exarserunt initia [...]*.

488 Mk. 1:1: Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ [υἱοῦ θεοῦ].

489 Archê not only means 'commencement', 'beginning', but above all 'dominion', 'power', and as such is the translation of the Latin *imperium*. *Imperium* is translated with *archê* by, i. a., Nicolaus Damascenus (*Bios Kaisaros* 18.53), Dio Cassius (*HR* 45.2.7) and Appianus (*BC* 2.32.124: τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς τελευταία), but who also uses *êgemonia* (i. a. *BC* 3.18.66). Hence, via *euangelion tês archês*, 'message of victory of the (nascent) Empire', it could have become *archê tou euangeliou*, 'beginning of the Gospel'.

It is interesting to observe how in the respective first appearances of the name in Mark and in Appianus *Jesus Christus* corresponds to *Gaius Caesar* and not *Julius Caesar* as we might think. Caesar also speaks of himself as *Gaius Caesar* (Plut. *Caes.* 46). On the occasion of the last redaction of Mark, *Gaius* was certainly near enough to *Jesus*, as was *Caesar* to *Christus*, to justify the substitution.

490 See above chapter Words and Wonders, *Baptism*. Plut. *Caes.* 30.1-2 and 30.4. Suet. *Jul.* 29. Vell. 2.48.1 and 2.48.5. *Caes. Civ.* 1.11.1 and 1.26.4.

About Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, a fierce opponent of Caesar see note 366. Cf. *Caes. Civ.* 1.2.1: *Haec Scipionis oratio, quod senatus in urbe habebatur Pompeiusque aderat, ex ipsius ore Pompei mitti uidebatur.*

491 Mk. 1:4: ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης [ὁ] βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

492 We have already also seen how the names Pompeius and Johannes (John) correspond to each other—via (*h*)o *Gnaios* > *Johannes*. But since Appianus calls both rivals *Gaius Caesar* and *Pompeius Magnus* at the beginning we have to think here as above with *Gaius Caesar* > *Jesus Christ* (see note 489) of a substitution of *Baptizôn Johannes* for *Pompeius Magnus*. Acoustically and in the writing they are not very far from each other but not overly close either. The transition could have occurred elsewhere so that it was clear to the Evangelist when editing that Magnus was to be replaced by John. Or we would have to give up our hypothesis that Johannes comes from (*h*)o *Gnaios* and rather determine a direct parentage from Magnus: *MAGNVS* > *IQANNHC*; *POMPEIVS MAGNVS* > *BAITIZΩN IQANNHC*.

If however *Pompeius Magnus* was a unit in the exemplar then Mk. 1:1 and 1:4 would have belonged together originally: 'The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, [the Son of God]. John did baptize in the wilderness [...]' would have read: 'The beginning of the civil wars between Gaius Caesar and Pompeius Magnus. This one was in Rome [...]. By inserting the Isaiah-citation Mk. 1:2-3, both components of *Pompeius Magnus* were separated: *Pompeius* got stuck with Jesus as *uiou theou*, 'Son of God', *Magnus* became independent as John and received as surrogate for *Pompeius (h)o baptizôn*, 'the baptist', which was borrowed from Metellus Scipio's *postulabat*, 'demanded'.

If we are seeing things correctly, then 'the baptist' would be the 'arming one' who demands 'disarmament' from his opponent. The sentence would originally have been built like that in order to accentuate the mendaciousness of Pompeius/John.

- 493 Vell. 2.49.4: *Cn. Pompeius consulesque et maior pars senatus, relicta Vrbe ac deinde Italia, transmisere Dyrrachium.*
 Suet. *Jul.* 34: [...] *Brundisium tetendit, quo consules Pompeiusque confugerant quam primum transfretaturi.*
 Caes. *Civ.* 1.6.3-7: *de reliquis rebus ad senatum refertur: tota Italia dilectus habetur; [...] pecunia uti ex aerario Pompeio detur. [...] consules—quod ante id tempus accidit nunquam—[...] ex urbe proficiscuntur [...] totas Italia dilectus habentur, arma imperantur, pecunia a municipiis exiguntur, e fanis tolluntur, omnia diuina humanaque iura permiscuntur.* Caes. *Civ.* 1.10.1: *Acceptis mandatis Roscius cum [L.] Caesare Capuam peruenit ibique consules Pompeiumque inuenit; postulata Caesaris renuntiat.*
 Dio Cass. *HR* 41.6.1: φοβηθεῖς οὖν διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος (καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο ὅτι πολὺ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἂν γε ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ γένοιται, ἐλαττωθήσεται) αὐτὸς τε ἐς Καμπανίαν πρὶν τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπανελθεῖν, ὡς καὶ ῥᾶον ἐκεῖ πολεμήσῃ, προαπῆρε, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἅπασαν μετὰ τῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων ἀκολουθήσαί οἱ ἐκέλευσεν, ἀδειῶν τε σφισι δόγματι τῆς ἐκδημίας δούς, καὶ προειπὼν ὅτι τὸν ὑπομείναντα ἔν τε τῷ ἴσῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ τοῖς τὰ ἐναντία σφίσι πράττουσιν ἔξει.
 App. *BC* 2.36.142: Ὡς οἱ ὕπατοι πυνθανόμενοι τὸν Πομπήιον οὐκ εἶων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γνώμης ἐμπειροπολέμῳ εὐσταθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐξώτρυνον ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ στρατολογεῖν ὡς τῆς πόλεως καταληφθησομένης αὐτίκα.
 App. *BC* 2.37.148: ἐξῆει τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτίκα ἐς τὴν ἐν Καπύη στρατιάν, καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι συνείποντο αὐτῷ· τοὺς ἄλλους δ' ἀπορία τε ἐς πολὺν κατεῖχε, καὶ διενικτέρευον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ μετ' ἀλλήλων. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τὸ πλεον ὁμῶς ἐξῆει καὶ ἐδίωκε τὸν Πομπήιον.
 App. *BC* 2.39.152: Αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Πομπήιος τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἤδη τελῶν τὰ μὲν ἔδωκε τοῖς ὑπάτοις προαπάγειν ἐς Ἥπειρον ἐκ Βρεντεσίου, καὶ διέπλευσαν οἷδε αὐτίκα ἀσφαλῶς ἐς Δυρράχιον· ἦν Ἐπίδαμνόν τινας εἶναι νομίζουσι διὰ τοιάνδε ἄγνοιαν.
 Plut. *Caes.* 34: Οἱ μὲν οὖν ὕπατοι μὴδ' ἄ νόμος ἐστὶ πρὸ ἐξόδου θύσαντες ἔφυγον, ἔφυγον δὲ καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν οἱ πλείστοι, τρόπον τινὰ δι' ἀρπαγῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ὅ τι τύχοιεν ὡσπερ ἀλλοτρίων λαμβάνοντες. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ σφόδρα τὰ Καίσαρος ἡρημένοι πρότερον ἐξέπεσον ὑπὸ θάμβους τότε τῶν λογισμῶν, καὶ συμπαρημέχθησαν οὐδὲν δεόμενοι τῷ ρεύματι τῆς φορᾶς ἐκείνης.
 Plut. *Caes.* 35: Ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ τὴν τε τοῦ Δομιτίου στρατιάν παρέλαβε, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι Πομπηίῳ στρατολογούμενους ἔφθασε καταλαβῶν. πολὺς δὲ γεγωνὺς ἤδη καὶ φοβερός, ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤλαυε Πομπήιον. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐδέξατο τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλ' εἰς Βρεντέσιον φυγῶν, τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους πρότερον ἔστειλε μετὰ δυνάμειος εἰς Δυρράχιον, αὐτὸς δ' ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐπελθόντος Καίσαρος ἐξέπλευσεν [...].
- 494 Mk. 1:5-6: καὶ ἐξεπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα καὶ οἱ Ἱεροσολυμίται πάντες, καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ ἐξομολογούμενοι τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν. καὶ ἦν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καμήλου καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφίν αὐτοῦ [...]. The last sentence is a citation from the second Book of Kings (2 Kings 1:8, cf. Zach. 13:4) and it there signifies Elia; it is missing in the Bezae Cantabrigiensis and the Itala.
- 495 The region of Campania was decisive for the war in that the first colonies were settled there. The first settlers had been veterans of Pompeius, but the basis for the settlements was the *lex Iulia*, Caesar's land laws given during his consulate in the year 59 bc which made them possible. Accordingly Campania did not provide secure support to Pompeius (cf. Caes. *Civ.* 1.14: *Cn. Pompeius pridie eius diei ex urbe profectus iter ad legiones habebat, quas a Caesare acceptas in Apulia hibernorum causa disposuerat. dilectus circa urbem intermittuntur; nihil citra Capuam tutum esse omnibus uidetur. Capuae primum sese confirmant et colligunt dilectumque colorum, qui lege Iulia Capuam deducti erant, habere instituunt; gladiatoresque, quos*

*ibi Caesar in ludo habebat, ad forum productos Lentulus <spe> libertatis confirmat atque iis equos attribuit et se sequi iussit; quos postea monitus ab suis, quod ea res omnium iudicio reprehendebatur, circum familiares conuentus Campaniae custodiae causa distribuit; Dio Cass. HR 41.6.4: see text below): He was forced to move on and go to the two legions in Apulia, which he had obtained from Caesar when he declared he had to wage war in Syria, then he had to withdraw via Brundisium to Dyrrhachium. The quotation in Mark taken from the second Book of the Kings (2 Kings 1:8) could in its part 'about his loins', *osphyn*, cover *asphalês*, 'secure', because Pompeius was not safe there—unless *Apulia* lingers on here.*

Cf. Caes. Civ. 1.14, Dio Cass. HR 41.6.4.

- 496 Caes. Civ. 3.96.3: *Pompeius, iam cum intra uallum nostri uersarentur, equum nactus detractis insignibus imperatoris decumana porta se ex castris eiecit protinusque equo citato Larisam contendit.*

Plut. Caes. 45: ἀπεδύσατο μὲν τὴν ἐναγώνιον καὶ στρατηγικὴν ἐσθήτα, φεύγοντι δὲ πρέπουσαν μεταλαβὼν ὑπεξῆλθεν.

App. BC 2.81.343: καὶ εἰπὼν τὴν τε στολὴν ἐνῆλλαξε καὶ ἵππου ἐπιβάς σὺν φίλοις τέσσαρσιν [...].

- 497 Plut. Caes. 34: Οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑπατοὶ μὴδ' ἄ νόμος ἐστὶ πρὸ ἐξόδου θύσαντες ἔφυγον, ἔφευγον δὲ καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν οἱ πλείστοι, τρόπον τινὰ δι' ἀρπαγῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ὃ τι τύχοιεν ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίων λαμβάνοντες. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ σφόδρα τὰ Καίσαρος ἡρημένοι πρότερον ἐξέπεσον ὑπὸ θάμβους τότε τῶν λογισμῶν, καὶ συμπαρανήχθησαν οὐδὲν δεόμενοι τῷ ῥεύματι τῆς φορᾶς ἐκείνης. οἰκτρότατον δὲ τὸ θέαμα τῆς πόλεως ἦν, ἐπιφερομένου τοσούτου χειμῶνος ὥσπερ νεῶς ὑπὸ κυβερνητῶν ἀπαγορευόντων πρὸς τὸ συντυχὸν ἐκπεσεῖν κομιζομένης.

Dio Cass. HR 41.7.1-3: κάκ τούτου καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως πάντα θορυβώδης σφῶν καὶ παραχώδης ἢ ἀνάστασις ἐγένετο. οἱ τε γὰρ ἐξιόντες (ἦσαν δὲ πάντες ὡς εἶπεν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἱππάδος καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὀμίλου) λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀφωρμῶντο, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ τῶν ἐαλωκότων ἔπασχον· τὴν τε γὰρ πατρίδα καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ διατριβάς ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια τείχη οἰκειότερα τῶν σφετέρων νομίζεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενοι δεινῶς ἔλυποντο. οἱ τε γὰρ πανοικησία ἀμιστάμεινοι τὰ ἱερά καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τὸ τε ἔδαφος τὸ πατρῶν ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν εὐθύς ἐσόμενα ἀπέλιπον, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὕτω τὴν γνώμην, ἂν γε καὶ περισωθῶσιν, εἶχον ὡς κὰν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ τῇ τε Θράκῃ κατοικήσοντας [...].

- 498 One influence could have been carried on from the hastiness in leaving the city, a real 'flight', and could have hidden in the garment of camel's hair: *Triches* are 'hair' but *trechō* means 'run, race, hurry'; *kamēlos* is a 'camel', but also a 'caravan'; and a *kamilos* is a 'hawser': Did Mark here see Pompeius fleeing with all of his baggage or hastily hoisting the anchor and leading away his army, leaving the city behind him like a ship without a captain? The second influence might have been the 'ferrying over', *transfretare* in Latin: Simply perceived as *transferre*, and because *ferre* means 'to carry' and a camel is a 'pack-animal', Mark made 'to transcamel' out of it, a Latin-Aramaism typical for him. Then he applied the 'carrying' on the clothes (*endedumēnos* means 'wore' in this sense), reinterpreted *trans* in *trichas*, 'hair', and thus transformed *transferre* into 'clothed with camel's hair'. Thirdly theoretically *trans fretum*, 'across the strait', could have become *trichas kamēlou* via *trans canalem* also. Nevertheless the 'camel' has more probably evolved from a misunderstood *Campania* resp. *Capua*.

- 499 App. BC 2.36.144: τέρατά τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέπιπτε πολλὰ καὶ σημεῖα οὐράνια· αἶμά τε γὰρ ἔδοξεν ὁ θεὸς ὑσαι καὶ ξόανα ἰδρῶσαι καὶ κεραυνοὶ πεσεῖν ἐπὶ νεῶς πολλοὺς καὶ ἡμίονος τεκεῖν· ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δυσχερῆ προεσήμαινε τὴν ἐς αἰὲ τῆς πολιτείας ἀναίρεσίν τε καὶ μεταβολήν.—'Many portents and signs in the sky took place. It seemed as if God let it rain blood, the statues of the gods issued sweat, lightning

struck several temples and a mule foaled. There were also many other prodigies that betokened the final abolition of the old order of the state and the revolution.'

- 500 App. BC 2.68.283: αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ τῆς αὐτῆς νυκτός τινα τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκφυγόντα οὐ συνελήφθη, καὶ μελισσῶν ἔσμός ἐπὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐκάθισε, ζῦου κωχελοῦς.
- 501 Mk. 1:6: [...] καὶ ἔσθίων ἀκρίδας καὶ μέλι ἄγριον.
- 502 Plut. Pomp. 73: τοὺς δὲ θεράποντας ἀπιέναι πρὸς Καίσαρα κελεύσας καὶ μὴ δεδιέναι [...].
[...] ἐπεὶ δὲ καιρὸς ἦν δεῖπνου καὶ παρεσκεύασεν ὁ ναύκληρος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, ἰδὼν ὁ Φαώμιος οἰκετῶν ἀπορία τὸν Πομπήϊον ἀρχόμενον αὐτὸν ὑπολείπειν προσέδραμε καὶ ὑπέλυσε καὶ συνήλειψε. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκ τούτου περιέπων καὶ θεραπεύων ὅσα δεσπότης δοῦλοι, μέχρι νύμφης ποδῶν καὶ δεῖπνου παρασκευῆς, διετέλεσεν, ὥστε τὴν ἐλευθεριότητα τῆς ὑπουργίας ἐκείνης θεασάμενον ἂν τινα καὶ τὸ ἀφελὲς καὶ ἄπλαστον εἰπεῖν· Φεῦ τοῖσι γενναίοισιν ὡς ἅπαν καλόν.
About the 'stronger' and about Caesar as *chrēstos* cf. Plut. Pomp. 75: τῶν δὲ Μιτυληναίων τὸν Πομπήϊον ἀσπασαμένων καὶ παρακαλούντων εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ κάκείνους ἐκέλευσε τῷ κρατοῦντι πείθεσθαι καὶ θαρρεῖν· εὐγνώμονα γὰρ εἶναι Καίσαρα καὶ χρηστόν.
- 503 Mk. 1:7-8: καὶ ἐκήρυσεν λέγων, Ἔρχεται ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου ὀπίσω μου, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἰκανὸς κύψας λῦσαι τὸν ἰμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ. ἐγὼ ἐβάπτισα ὑμᾶς ὕδατι, αὐτὸς δὲ βαπτίσει ὑμᾶς ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.
- 504 Plut. Caes. 33: Φαώμιος δ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε τῷ ποδὶ κτυπεῖν τὴν γῆν, ἐπεὶ μεγαληγορῶν ποτε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον οὐδὲν εἶα πολυπραγμονεῖν οὐδὲ φροντίζειν ἐκείνους τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς· αὐτὸς γὰρ ὅταν ἐπιή κρούσας τὸ ἔδαφος τῷ ποδὶ στρατευμάτων ἐμπλήσειν τὴν Ἰταλίαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε πλήθει δυνάμειος ὑπερέβαλλεν ὁ Πομπήϊος τὴν Καίσαρος· εἶασε δ' οὐδεὶς τὸν ἄνδρα χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀγγελμάτων πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν καὶ φόβων, ὡς ἐφεστῶτος ἤδη τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πάντα κατέχοντος, εἶξας καὶ συνεκκρουσθεὶς τῇ πάντων φορᾷ ψηφίζεται ταραχὴν ὄραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπε, κελεύσας ἔπεσθαι τὴν γεροῦσιαν καὶ μηδένα μένειν τῶν πρὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ἠρημένων τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.
App. BC 2.37.146: Φαώμιος μὲν Πομπήϊον ἐπισκώπτων τοῦ ποτὲ λεχθέντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, παρεκάλει τὴν γῆν πατάξαι τῷ ποδὶ καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναγαγεῖν· ὁ δὲ "ἔξετε," εἶπεν, "ἂν ἐπακολουθῆτέ μοι καὶ μὴ δεῖν ἡγήσθε τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπολιπεῖν, καὶ εἰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ δεήσειεν."
Dio Cass. HR 41.6.3-4: πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ δημόσια τά τε ἀναθήματα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα ἀναιρεθῆναι προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς ψηφίσασθαι, ἐλπίζων παμπληθεῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν στρατιώτας ἀθροίσειν. τὸσαύτην γὰρ εὐνοιαν αὐτοῦ πάσαι ὡς εἰπεῖν αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεις εἶχον ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσαν αὐτὸν ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν ἐπικινδύνως νοσοῦντα, σωτήρια αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ θύσειν εὐξασθαι. καὶ ὅτι μὲν μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν τοῦτ' αὐτῷ ἔδοσαν, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἀντιλέξειεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅπως ποτὲ ἄλλω, ἔξω τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ πᾶν κράτος λαβόντων, τοιοῦτόν τι ἐψηφίσθη· οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀκριβῆ πίστιν τοῦ μὴ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τοῦ κρείττους φόβον εἶχον.
- 505 Suet. Jul. 30: [...] *transiit in ceteriorem Galliam, conuentibusque peractis Rauennae substitit, bello uindicaturus si quid de tribunis plebis intercedentibus pro se grauius a senatu constitutum esset.*
App. BC 2.32.124: Ὁ δ' ἄρτι τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐκ Βρεττανῶν διεπεπλεύκει καὶ ἀπὸ Κελτῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ῥήνον τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἄλπεια διελθὼν σὺν πεντακισχιλίοις πεζοῖς καὶ ἵππεῦσι τριακοσίοις κατέβαινε ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης, ἢ συναφῆς τε ἦν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς τελευταία.
With respect to the correspondence about a disarmament between Caesar and Pompeius, compare Caes. Civ. 1.8-11 and the parallel tradition in Appianus, Plutarchus and Dio Cassius.

- 506 Mk. 1:9: *Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου.*
- 507 Plut. *Caes. 32*: λέγεται δὲ τῇ προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ τῆς διαβάσεως ὄναρ ἰδεῖν ἔκθεσμον· ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μητρὶ μίγνυσθαι τὴν ἄρρητον μεΐξιν.
- 508 Mk. 1:10-11: *καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος εἶδεν σχιζομένους τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ὡς περιστερὰν καταβαίνον εἰς αὐτόν· καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα.*
- 509 Rufus Festus Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, vv 310-313: *ab arce qua diei occasus est, Veneri marinae consecrata est insula templumque in illa Veneris et penetral cavum oraculumque.*—‘On the side of the fortress, where the day dies, there is an island consecrated to the Venus Marina and within is a temple with a deep crypt and an oracle site.’ It is said that the crypt can still be seen today, but unfortunately it is situated in a restricted military area.
- 510 Suet. *Jul. 7*: [...] *Gadisque uenisset, animaduversa apud Herculis templum Magni Alexandri imagine ingemuit et quasi pertaesus ignauiam suam, quod nihil dum a se memorabile actum esset in aetate, qua iam Alexander orbem terrarum subegisset [...]. Etiam cofusum eum somnio proximae noctis (nam uisus erat per quietem sturpum matri intulisse) coiectores ad amplissimam spem incitauerunt, arbitrium terrarum orbis portendi interpretantes, quando mater, quam subiectam sibi uidisset, non alia esset quam terra, quae omnium parens haberetur.*
- 511 Many authors speak of the ‘Republic’ as being the time of the reign of the nobility, at first of the Patrician, then of the Senatorial oligarchy. This is wrong from the Roman perspective of the time insofar as *res publica* means only ‘state’ and does not refer to a special form of constitution. Not by chance did Caesar point this out when he called Sulla an illiterate, who claimed he had restored the *res publica* by laying down the dictatorship. Caesar made clear that the term *res publica* is an abstract and neutral one, referring neither to its form nor its content. Suet. *Jul. 77*: ‘*nihil esse rem publicam, appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie. Sullam nescisse litteras, qui dictaturam deposuerit.*’ Cf. Morgan (1997).
- 512 About the doves on Caesar’s palm trees cf. note 455.
- 513 App. *BC 2.68.281-69.284*: *θυόμενός τε νυκτὸς μέσης τὸν Ἄρη κατεκάλει καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρόγονον Ἀφροδίτην (ἐκ γὰρ Αἰνείου καὶ Ἴλου τοῦ Αἰνείου τὸ τῶν Ἰουλίων γένος παρενεχθέντος τοῦ ὀνόματος ἠγέιτο εἶναι), νεῶν τε αὐτῇ νικηφόρῳ χαριστήριον ἐν Ῥώμῃ ποιήσειν εὐχέτο κατορθώσας. [...] μικρόν τε πρὸ ἔω πανικὸν ἐνέπεσεν αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ· καὶ τότε περιδραμῶν αὐτὸς καὶ καταστήσας ἀνεπαύετο σὺν ὑπνῷ βαθεῖ· περιεγειράντων δ’ αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων, ὄναρ ἔφασκεν ἄρτι νεῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθιεροῦν Ἀφροδίτην νικηφόρῳ. Καὶ τότε μὲν ἀγνοία τῆς Καίσαρος εὐχῆς οἷ τε φίλοι καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας πυθόμενοι ἤδοντο [...].*
Dio Cass. HR 37.52.2: *δόξης τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ μέγα ποτὲ δυνηθέντας ζηλῶν, οὐδὲν ὀλίγον ἐφρόνει, ἀλλ’ ἠλπίζεν, ἂν τι τότε κατεργάσῃται, ὑπάτος τε εὐθὺς αἰρεθῆσθαι καὶ ὑπερφυᾶ ἔργα ἀποδείξεσθαι, διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς Γαδείροις, ὅτε ἐταμίευε, τῇ μητρὶ συγγίγνεσθαι ὄναρ ἔδοξε, καὶ παρὰ τῶν μάντεων ἔμαθεν ὅτι ἐν μεγάλῃ δυνάμει ἔσται. ὄθενπερ καὶ εἰκόνα Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλέους ἀνακειμένην ἰδὼν ἀνεστέναξε, καὶ κατωδύρατο ὅτι μηδὲν πω μέγα ἔργον ἐπεποιήκει.*
- 514 What was said about Caesar’s dream and Brutus’ oracle explains why in antiquity there was no Oedipus but a King Oedipus.
- 515 App. *BC 2.33.133*: *Ἀντωνίου δὲ καὶ Κασσίου δημαρχοῦντων μετὰ Κουρίωνα καὶ τὴν Κουρίωνος γνώμην ἐπαινοῦντων, ἡ βουλὴ φιλονικότερον ἔτι τὴν Πομπηίου στρατιᾶν φύλακα σφῶν ἠγοῦντο εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Καίσαρος πολεμίαν. καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ, Μάρκελλός τε καὶ Λέντιος, ἐκέλευον τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντωνίου ἐκστῆσαι τοῦ συνεδρίου, μὴ τι καὶ δημαρχοῦντες ὅμως πάθοιεν ἀτοπώτερον. ἔνθα δὴ μέγα βοήσας ὁ Ἀντωνίος ἀνά τε ἔδραμε τῆς ἔδρας σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπεθείαζεν*

αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος οὖσα ὑβρίζοιτο, καὶ περὶ σφῶν, ὅτι γνώμην ἐσφέροντες, ἦν δοκοῦσι συνοίσειν, ἐξαιλύνοντο σὺν ὑβρεῖ, μήτε τινα σφαγὴν μήτε μύσος ἐργασάμενοι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐξέτρεχεν ὥσπερ ἔνθους, πολέμους καὶ σφαγὰς καὶ προγραφὰς καὶ φυγὰς καὶ δημεύσεις καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα αὐτοῖς ἔμελλεν ἔσσεσθαι, προθεσπίζων ἀράς τε βαρείας τοῖς τούτων αἰτίοις ἐπαρώμενος. συνεξέθειον δ' αὐτῷ Κουρίων τε καὶ Κάσσιος· καὶ γὰρ τις ἤδη στρατὸς ἐωρᾶτο ἐκ Πομπηίου περιστάμενος τὸ βουλευτήριον. οἶδε μὲν δὴ τάχει πολλῶ πρὸς Καίσαρα, νυκτὸς αὐτίκα, λαθόντες ἐχώρον ἐπὶ ὀχήματος μισθωτοῦ, θεραπόντων ἐσθήτας ἐνδύντες. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἔτι ᾧδε ἔχοντας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπέδεικνυ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἠρέθιζε λέγων, ὅτι καὶ σφᾶς τοσάδε ἐργασάμενοι ἠγοῦνται πολεμίους καὶ τοιούτους ἀνδρας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τι φθεγξαμένους οὕτως ἐξελαύνουσιν αἰσχροῦς. Ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος ἐκατέρωθεν ἀνέφωκτο καὶ κεκήρυκτο ἤδη σαφῶς [...].

Plut. Caes. 31: οἱ περὶ Λέντλον οὐκ εἶον ὑπατεύοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς Ἀντώνιον καὶ Κορίωνα προπηλακίσαντες ἐξήλασαν ἀτίμως, τὴν εὐπρεπεστάτην Καίσαρι τῶν προφάσεων αὐτοῖ μνηχανησάμενοι καὶ δι' ἧς μάλιστα τοὺς στρατιώτας παρώξυνεν, ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἀνδρας ἐλλογίμους καὶ ἀρχοντας ἐπὶ μισθίων ζευγῶν πεφυγότας ἐν ἐσθήσιν οἰκετικαῖς· οὕτω γὰρ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης σκευάσαντες ἑαυτοὺς διὰ φόβον ὑπέξησαν.

Caes. Civ. 1.5.3-5: *decurritur ad illum extremum atque ultimum senatus consultum [...] itaque [...] et de imperio Caesaris et de amplissimis uiris, tribunis plebis, grauisime acerbissimeque decernitur. profugiunt statim ex urbe tribunis plebis seseque ad Caesarem conferunt. is eo tempore erat Ravennae expectabatque suis lenissimis postulatis responsa [...].* **Caes. Civ. 1.7.1-8.1:** *Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar apud milites contionatur [...]. conclamant legionis xiii, quae aderat, milites [...] sese paratos esse imperatoris sui tribunorumque plebis iniurias defendere. Cognita militum uoluntate Ariminum cum ea legione proficiscitur ibique tribunos plebis, qui ad eum confugerant, conuenit.*

Suet. Jul. 33: *Atque ita traiecto exercitu, adhibitis tribunis plebis, qui pulsi superuenierant, procontione fidem militum flens ac ueste a pectore discissa inuocauit.*

516 **Mk. 1:12-13:** *Καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει εἰς τὴν ἔρημον. καὶ ἦν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρας [καὶ τεσσεράκοντα νύκτας] πειραζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ, καὶ ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι διηκόνουν αὐτῷ.*

517 **Plut. Caes. 32:** αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν μισθίων ζευγῶν ἐπιβάς ἐνός, ἤλυνεν ἑτέραν τινα πρῶτον ὁδόν· εἶτα πρὸς τὸ Ἀρίμινον ἐπιστρέψας, **App. BC 2.35.138:** *καὶ ζεύγους ἐπιβάς ἤλυνεν ἐς τὸ Ἀρίμινον, ἐπομένων οἱ τῶν ἰππέων ἐκ διαστήματος.* **Suet. Jul. 31:** *[...] Dein post solis occasum mulis e proximo pistrino ad uehiculum iunctis occultissimum iter modico comitatu ingressus est.*

It can be reconstructed from the different sources that Caesar had displayed the tribunes of the people, those who hurried to him, to the soldiers in the same miserable condition in which they arrived at Ravenna: they were dressed like slaves and had used a rented cart. But possibly this happened in Ariminum (today Rimini). According to Caesar's account he seems to have delivered his speech to the soldiers in Ravenna on the tidings of the events in Rome (*Civ. 1.7.1: quibus rebus cognitis Caesar apud milites contionatur*), whereas he did not announce the arrival of the people's tribunes until in Ariminum (*Civ. 1.8.1: Cognita militum uoluntate Ariminum cum ea legione proficiscitur ibique tribunos plebis, qui ad eum confugerant, conuenit*). According to that he was brought tidings of the flight of the tribunes of the people before their arrival. He still had time to give the speech to the soldiers and march to Ariminum before they arrived there, where he showed them to the soldiers. This is not questioned by the accounts of Appianus and Plutarchus. It is different in Dio Cassius who has the speech take place only in Ariminum where Caesar prompted Curio and the others who had arrived together with him to report to the troop on the incidents while he further spurred on the people by adding words as

they were required by the momentary situation (Dio Cass. *HR* 41.4.1: see text below).

It is conspicuous that in order to drive to Ariminum Caesar in turn, took a carriage and a harnessed team of mules from a mill. Allegedly he took a separate cart and went secretly for reasons of safety (cf. Plut. *ibid.*). However it looks as though Caesar had taken the mules in order to bring himself more in line with the tribunes—which might correspond to his style (cf. the anecdote about Oppius). Hence it would be possible to conclude that the draught animals of the carts of the people's tribunes were mules too. Which in turn would have suited the circumstances.

- 518 Caes. *Civ.* 1.7.1-8: *Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar apud milites contionatur. omnium temporum iniurias inimicorum in se commemorat; a quibus deductum ac deprauatum Pompeium queritur inuidia atque obtrectatione laudis suae, cuius ipse honori et dignitati semper fauerit adiutorque fuerit. nouum in re publica introductum exemplum queritur, ut tribunicia intercessio armis notaretur atque opprimeretur, quae superioribus annis <sine> armis esset restituta. [...] hortatur, cuius imperatoris ductu viiii annis rem publicam felicissime gesserint plurimaeque proelia secunda fecerint, omnem Galliam Germaniamque pacauerint, ut eius existimationem dignitatemque ab inimicis defendant. conclamant legionis xiiii, quae aderat, milites [...] sese paratos esse imperatoris sui tribunorumque plebis iniurias defendere.*
- 519 Mk. 1:14-15: *Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παραδοθῆναι τὸν Ἰωάννην ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λέγων ὅτι Πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ· μετανοεῖτε καὶ πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.*
- 520 Caes. *Civ.* 1.9.2: *Sibi semper primam fuisse dignitatem uitaeque potioerem. doluisse se, quod populi Romani beneficium sibi per contumeliam ab inimicis extorqueretur ereptoque semenstri imperio in urbem retraheretur, cuius absentis rationem haberi proximis comitiis populus iussisset.*
- 521 Asinius Pollio was at the Rubicon, therefore he was an eye-witness. It is known that he had criticized Caesar's *commentarii*: They were imprecise and not very truthful, because Caesar in many cases may have believed what other individuals reported without scrutiny. And he might have sometimes reported his own acts erroneously, either deliberately or from forgetfulness. This is what led him to believe that Caesar planned to rewrite and correct it (Suet. *Jul.* 56). Here however Caesar reports of his own acts and the speech to the soldiers before the irreversible step which must have been so decisive that he could hardly have forgotten it. He could scarcely have changed it deliberately, because too many had heard it, not only the soldiers but also the people's tribunes and his officers. At the most he could have summarized the speech here (for example: *omnium temporum iniurias inimicorum in se commemorat*), and outlined it elaborately there (for example 1.7.2-6, the whole passage about the veto right of the tribunes from Sulla to Pompeius with an excursus about Saturninus and the Gracchi). Insofar it is justified to assume that the eye-witness Asinius Pollio has not reported a fundamentally different version of this speech of Caesar's. Since Mark is based on Asinius Pollio, as we have seen, in this case the direct comparison between Mark and Caesar is legitimate, even if other sources remain silent here or only report the theatrical part of the speech, namely the display of the people's tribunes who had fled in slave clothing.
- 522 Caes. *Civ.* 1.8.1: *Cognita militum uoluntate Ariminum cum ea legione proficiscitur [...].*
- 523 Caes. *Civ.* 1.8.1: *[Cognita militum uoluntate Ariminum cum ea legione proficiscitur] ibique tribunos plebis, qui ad eum confugerant, conuenit.*
 App. *BC* 2.35.138-141: *καὶ ζεύγους ἐπιβάς ἤλαυνεν εἰς τὸ Ἀρίμινον, ἐπομένων οἱ τῶν ἰππέων ἐκ διαστήματος. δρόμῳ δ' ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ρουβίκωνα ποταμὸν, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἔστη τῷ δρόμῳ καὶ εἰς τὸ ρεῦμα ἀφορῶν περιεφέρετο τῇ γνώμῃ, λογιζόμενος ἕκαστα τῶν ἐσομένων κακῶν, εἰ τὸνδε τὸν ποταμὸν σὺν ὄπλοις περὰ-*

σειε. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν ἀνευγκών· "ἢ μὲν ἐπίσχεσις, ὃ φίλοι, τῆσδε τῆς διαβάσεως ἐμοὶ κακῶν ἄρξει, ἢ δὲ διάβασις πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις." καὶ εἰπὼν οἶά τις ἔνθους ἐπέρα σὺν ὀρμῇ, τὸ κοινὸν τὸδε ἐπειπών· "ὁ κύβος ἀνερρίφθω." δρόμῳ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιών Ἀρίμινον τε αἰρεῖ περὶ ἑὼ καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐχώρει [...].

Plut. Caes. 32: αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν μισθίων ζευγῶν ἐπιβάς ἐνός, ἤλαυνεν ἐτέραν τινὰ πρῶτον ὁδόν· εἶτα πρὸς τὸ Ἀρίμινον ἐπιστρέψας, ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν διορίζοντα τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Γαλατίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας ποταμὸν (Ρουβίκων καλεῖται), καὶ λογισμὸς αὐτὸν εἰσήει, μᾶλλον ἐγγίζοντα τῷ δεινῷ καὶ περιφερόμενον τῷ μεγέθει τῶν τολμωμένων, ἔσχετο δρόμου, καὶ τὴν πορείαν ἐπιστήσας, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ διήνεγκε σιγῇ τὴν γνώμην ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα μεταλαμβάνων, καὶ τροπὰς ἔσχευεν αὐτῷ τότε <τὸ> βούλευμα πλείστας· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῖς παροῦσιν, ὧν ἦν καὶ Πολλίων Ἀσίσιος, συνιδιπόρησεν, ἀναλογιζόμενος ἡλικίῳ κακῶν ἄρξει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἢ διάβασις, ὅσον τε λόγον αὐτῆς τοῖς αὐτῆς ἀπολείψουσι. τέλος δὲ μετὰ θυμοῦ τινος ὡσπερ ἀφείδεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ λογισμοῦ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς εἰς τύχας ἐμβαίνουσιν ἀπόρους καὶ τόλμας προοίμιον ὑπειπών "ἀνερρίφθω κύβος," ὥρμησε πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν, καὶ δρόμῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦδη χρώμενος, εἰσέπεσε πρὸ ἡμέρας εἰς τὸ Ἀρίμινον, καὶ κατέσχε.

Dio Cass. HR 41.4.1: πυθόμενος οὖν ταῦτα ἐκείνος ἔς τε Ἀρίμινον ἦλθεν, ἕξω τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς τότε πρῶτον προχωρήσας, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσε τὸν τε Κουρίωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντας σφίσι τὰ πραχθέντα διηγήσασθαι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου προσπαρώξυνεν αὐτούς, ἐπειπὼν ὅσα ὁ καιρὸς ἀπήτει.

524 Mk. 1:16: Καὶ παράγων παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἶδεν Σίμωνα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σίμωνος ἀμφιβάλλοντας ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ· ἦσαν γὰρ ἀλεῖς.

525 App. BC 2.41.165-42.7: Λέπιδον δὲ Αἰμίλιον ἐφίστη τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν δήμαρχον Μάρκον Ἀντώνιον τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν στρατῷ. ἔς τε τὰ ἕξω Κουρίωνα μὲν ἀντὶ Κάτωνος ἠρέϊτο ἠγεῖσθαι Σικελίας, Κόντον δὲ Σαρδοῦς, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα Γάιον Ἀντώνιον ἔπεμπε καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Γαλατίαν ἐπέτρεπε Λικινίῳ Κράσσῳ. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ νεῶν στόλους δύο γίνεσθαι κατὰ σπουδὴν, ἀμφὶ τε τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ περὶ τὴν Τυρρηνίαν· καὶ ναυάρχους αὐτοῖς ἔτι γιγνομένοις ἐπέστησεν Ὀρτήσιον τε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν. Οὕτω κρατυνάμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄβατον Πομπηίῳ γενέσθαι τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἦει, ἐνθα Πετρήῳ καὶ Ἀφρανίῳ τοῖς Πομπηίου στρατηγοῖς συμβαλὼν ἦττον αὐτῶν ἐφέρετο τὰ γε πρῶτα, μετὰ δὲ ἀγχωμάτως ἀλλήλοισ ἐπολέμουν ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ἰλέρτην.

App. BC 2.46.190-47.192: οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὰ σὺν Κουρίωνι ἐς Λιβύην ἐπιπλεύσαντα Ῥωμαίων δύο τέλη διώλετο ἅπαντα καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἱππέες τε καὶ ψιλοὶ καὶ ὑπῆρέται τοῦ στρατοῦ· Ἰόβας δ' ἐς τὰ οἰκεία ἀνέστρεψε, μέγιστον ἔργον τὸδε Πομπηίῳ καταλογιζόμενος. Καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν Ἀντωνίος τε περὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα ἠττάτο ὑπὸ Ὀκταουίου κατὰ Δολοβέλλα Πομπηίῳ στρατηγούντος, καὶ στρατιὰ Καίσαρος ἄλλη περὶ Πλακεντίαν στασιάσασα τῶν ἀρχόντων κατεβόησεν, ὡς ἔν τε τῇ στρατείᾳ βραδύνοντες καὶ τὰς πέντε μῶνας οὐ λαβόντες, ἦν τινα δωρεὰν αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔτι περὶ Βρεντέσιον ὑπέσχετο. ὧν ὁ Καῖσαρ πυθόμενος ἐκ Μασσαλίας ἐς Πλακεντίαν ἠπεύγετο συντόμως καὶ ἐς ἔτι στασιάζοντας ἐπελθὼν ἔλεγεν ὧδε [...].

App. BC 2.47.195-48.197: [...] χρήσομαι τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ καὶ τοῦ ἐνάτου τέλους, ἐπειδὴ μάλιστα τῆς στάσεως κατήρξε, τὸ δέκατον διακληρώσω θανεῖν." θρήνου δὲ ἀθρόως ἔξ ἅπαντος τοῦ τέλους γενομένου, οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες αὐτοῦ προσπεσόντες ἰκέτευον, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ μολίς τε καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐνδιδοὺς ἐς τοσοῦτον ὅμως ὑφῆκεν, ὡς ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μόνους, οἱ κατάρξαι μάλιστα ἐδόκουν, διακληρώσει καὶ δυνάδεκα αὐτῶν τοὺς λαχόντας ἀνελεῖν. τῶν δὲ δυνάδεκα τῶνδε ἐφάνη τις οὐδ' ἐπιδημῶν, ὅτε ἡ στάσις ἐγένετο· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν ἐμφήμαντα λοχαγὸν ἔκτεινεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. Ἡ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πλακεντίαν στάσις οὕτως ἐλέλυτο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην παρήλθε, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος πεφρικῶς ἠρέϊτο δικτάτορα, οὔτε τι τῆς βουλῆς ψηφίζομένης οὔτε προχειροτονοῦντος ἀρχοντος. ὁ δὲ, εἶτε παραιτησάμενος τὴν

- ἀρχὴν ὡς ἐπίφθονον εἶτε οὐ χρήζων, ἄρξας ἐπὶ ἔνδεκα μόνας ἡμέρας (ὡδὲ γάρ τισι δοκεῖ) ὑπάτους ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀπέφηεν ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ Πούπλιον Ἰσαυρικόν. ἡγεμόνας τε ἐς τὰ ἔθνη περιέπεμπεν ἢ ἐνήλλαττεν, ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καταλέγων, ἐς μὲν Ἰβηρίαν Μάρκον Λέπιδον, ἐς δὲ Σικελίαν Αὔλιον Ἀλβίνον, ἐς δὲ Σαρδῶ Σέξστον Πεδοκαῖον, ἐς δὲ τὴν νεόληπτον Γαλατίαν Δέκμον Βροῦτον.
- 526 Mk. 3:13-19: Καὶ ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ προσκαλεῖται οὓς ἠθέλεν αὐτός, καὶ ἀπῆλθον πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ ἐποίησεν δώδεκα [οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν] ἵνα ᾧσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἵνα ἀποστέλλῃ αὐτοὺς κηρύσσειν καὶ ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν ἐκβάλλειν τὰ δαιμόνια· [καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς δώδεκα,] καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ὄνομα τῷ Σίμωνι Πέτρον, καὶ Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα] Βοανηργές ὃ ἐστὶν Υἱὸς Βροντῆς· καὶ Ἀνδρέαν καὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Βαρθολομαῖον καὶ Ματθαῖον καὶ Θωμᾶν καὶ Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ἀλφαίου καὶ Θαδδαῖον καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν Καναναῖον καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώθ, ὃς καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτόν.
- 527 Mk. 3:16: καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ὄνομα τῷ Σίμωνι Πέτρον. Mark could have read *Appianus' ephisté*, 'he placed him over someone' (he made him director), as *epethéken*, 'he placed before him', 'he imposed on him' (he gave him the name).
- 528 *Vulgata* (Aland & Nestle, ¹⁸1957): *Et imposuit Simoni nomen Petrus: et Jacobum Zebedaei, et Ioannem fratri Iacobi, et imposuit eis nomina Boanerges, quod est Filii Tonitruī.*
- 529 Decimus Iunius Brutus had been adopted by a Postumius Albinus. An *Albinus Bruti f.* appears with C. Pansa on denarii of the year 43 bc (Mömmesen RMW 652).
- 530 Metathesis: *Lepidus* > *Piledus* > *Philippus*. Also *Aemilius* could have helped here: *AEMILIVM* > *ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΝ*.
- 531 Caes. Civ. 1.6.3-5: *Faustus Sulla pro praetore in Mauretanium mittatur [...] de Fausto impedit Philippus tribunus plebis. [...] Philippus et Cotta priuato consilio praetereuntur, neque eorum sortes deiciuntur.*
- 532 Dio Cass. HR 41.18.1: τὸν τε Ἀριστόβουλον οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην, ὅπως τῷ Πομπηίῳ τι ἀντιπράξῃ, ἔστειλε [...].
- 533 Dio Cass. HR 41.15.4-16.1: τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου συνελθόντα, εἰπὼν σίτον τε ἐκ τῶν νήσων μετεπέμψατο [...].
- 534 Mk. 3:20-21: Καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς οἶκον· καὶ συνέρχεται πάλιν [ὁ] ὄχλος, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἄρτον φαγεῖν. καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον κρατῆσαι αὐτόν· ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι ἐξέστη.
- 535 Dio Cass. HR 41.15.2-4: πρὸς τε τὴν Ρώμην ἦλθε, καὶ τῆς γερουσίας οἱ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λογγίνου παρασκευασθείσης [...] καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐτ' ἠτιάσατό τινα οὐτ' ἠπέλιθσέ τι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταδρομὴν κατὰ τῶν πολεμεῖν πολίταις ἐθελόντων οὐκ ἄνευ ἀρῶν ἐποίησατο, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ τε τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμοιότητος σφῶν παραχρῆμα πρὸς τε τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον πεμφθῆναι ἐσηγήσατο.
- Caes. Civ. 1.32.2-9: *ipse ad urbem proficiscitur. coacto senatu iniurias inimicorum commemorat [...] legatos ad Pompeium de compositione mitti oportere, neque se reformidare, quod in senatu Pompeius paulo ante dixisset, ad quos legati mitterentur; his auctoritatem attribui timoremque eorum qui mitterent significari. tenuis atque infirmi haec animi uideri. se uero, ut operibus anteire studuerit, sic iustitia et aequitate uelle superare.*
- 536 Mk. 3:22-28: καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβάντες ἔλεγον ὅτι Βεελζεβοὺλ ἔχει καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια. καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐν παραβολαῖς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, Πῶς δύναται Σατανᾶς Σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλειν; καὶ ἐὰν βασιλεία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῇ, οὐ δύναται σταθῆναι ἢ βασιλεία ἐκείνη· καὶ ἐὰν οἰκία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῇ, οὐ δυνήσεται ἢ οἰκία ἐκείνη σταθῆναι. καὶ εἰ ὁ Σατανᾶς ἀνέστη ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐμερίσθη, οὐ δύναται στήναι ἀλλὰ τέλος ἔχει. ἀλλ' οὐ δύναται οὐδεὶς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ εἰσελθὼν τὰ σκευὴ αὐτοῦ διαρπάσαι, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δῆσῃ, καὶ τότε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διαρπάσει.

- Ἄμην λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πάντα ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἀμαρτήματα καὶ αἱ βλασφημίαι ὅσα ἐάν βλασφημήσωσιν [...].
- 537 **Plut. Caes. 37:** Ἐπανελθόντα δ' εἰς Ῥώμην Καίσαρα Πείσων μὲν ὁ πενθερὸς παρεκάλει πρὸς Πομπηῖον ἀποστέλλειν ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ διαλύσεως, Ἰσαυρικὸς δὲ Καίσαρι χαριζόμενος ἀντεῖπεν. **Dio Cass. HR 41.16.4:** καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ τὰς καταλλαγὰς δῆθεν πρυτανεύουσιντες ἠρέθησαν μὲν, οὐκ ἐξήλθον δέ, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐμνήσθη ποτὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Πίσιων ὁ πενθερὸς αὐτοῦ αἰτίαν ἔσχε.
- 538 **Caes. Civ. 1.33.2-3:** *Probat rem senatus de mittendis legatis; sed qui mitterentur non reperiebantur, maximeque timoris causa pro se quisque id munus legationis recusabat. Pompeius enim discedens ab urbe in senatu dixerat eodem se habiturum loco, qui Romae remansissent, et qui in castris Caesaris fuissent. sic triduum disputationibus excusationibusque extrahitur. subicitur etiam L. Metellus tribunus plebis ab inimicis Caesaris, qui hanc rem distrahat, reliquasque res, quascumque agere instituerit, impediatur. cuius cognito consilio Caesar frustra diebus aliquot consumptis, ne reliquum tempus amittat, infecti iis, quae agere destinaverat, ab urbe proficiscitur atque in ulteriorem Galliam peruenit.*
- 539 **Suet. Jul. 34:** *ire se ad exercitum sine duce et inde reuersurum ad duce[m] sine exercitu.*
- 540 **Caes. Civ. 2.21.5:** *eadem ratione priuate ac publice quibusdam ciuitatibus habitis honoribus Tarracone dicitur pedibusque Narbonem atque inde Massiliam peruenit. ibi legem de dictatore latam seseque dictatorem dictum a M. Lepido praetore cognoscit.*
Dio Cass. HR 41.36.1: ἐν ὁδῷ δὲ ἔτ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος Λέπιδος, οὗτος ὁ καὶ ἐν τῇ τριαρχίᾳ ὑστερον γινόμενος, τῷ τε δήμῳ συνεβούλευσε στρατηγῶν δικτάτορα τὸν Καίσαρα προχειρίσασθαι καὶ εὐθὺς εἶπεν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὰ πάτρια.
- 541 **Plut. Caes. 37:** ἀλλ' ἐν ἡμέραις ἕνδεκα τὴν μὲν μοναρχίαν ἀπειπάμενος, ὑπατοὺς δ' ἀναδείξας ἑαυτὸν καὶ Σερούϊλιον Ἰσαυρικόν [...]; **Dio Cass. HR 41.36.4:** ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δικτατορίας ἀπέλιπε [...].
- 542 **Mk. 8:27-30:** Καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς κώμας Καισαρείας τῆς Φιλίππου· καὶ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐπηρώτα τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ λέγων αὐτοῖς, τίνα με λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ λέγοντες [ὅτι] Ἰωάννην τὸν βαπτιστὴν, καὶ ἄλλοι, Ἠλίαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ὅτι εἰς τῶν προφητῶν. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπηρώτα αὐτούς, Ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνα με λέγετε εἶναι; ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος λέγει αὐτῷ, Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός. καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς ἵνα μηδεὶν λέγωσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ.
- 543 See above, and also **Suet. Jul. 69:** *et nonam quidem legionem apud Placentiam, quanquam in armis adhuc Pompeius esset, totam cum ignominia missam fecit aegreque post multas et supplicis preces, nec nisi exacta de sontibus poena, restituit [...].*
- 544 **Mk. 6:6:** Καὶ περιῆγεν τὰς κώμας κύκλῳ διδάσκων.
- 545 **Caes. Civ. 3.6:** *Caesar ut Brundisium uenit, contionatus apud milites, quoniam prope ad finem laborum ac periculorum esset peruentum, aequo animo mancipia atque impedimenta in Italia relinquerent, ipsi expediti naues conscenderent, quo maior numerus militum posset inponi, omniaque ex uictoria et ex sua liberalitate sperarent, conclamantibus omnibus, imperaret, quod uellet, quodcumque imperauisset, se aequo animo esset facturos, II. Nonas Ianuarias naues soluit. impositae, ut supra demonstratum est, legiones VII. postridie terram attigit.*
App. BC 2.53.217-20: Ὅυτε τῆς ὥρας τὸ χειμέριον, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἐμοὶ συναίρεσθε, οὐθ' ἢ τῶν ἄλλων βραδυτῆς ἢ ἔνδεια τῆς προπούσης παρασκευῆς ἐφέξει με τῆς ὀρμῆς· ἀντὶ γὰρ πάντων ἡγοῦμαι μοι συνοίσειν τὴν ταχεργίαν. καὶ πρῶτους ἡμᾶς, οἱ πρῶτοι συνεδράμομεν ἀλλήλοις, ἀξιῶ θεράποντας μὲν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ παρασκευὴν καὶ πάνθ' ὑπολιπέσθαι, ἵνα ἡμᾶς αἰ παροῦσαι νῆες ὑποδέξωνται, μόνους δ' εὐθὺς ἐμβάντας περᾶν, ἵνα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς διαλάθοιμεν, τῷ μὲν χειμῶνι τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἀντιθέντες, τῇ δ' ὀλιγότῃ τὸλμῃ, τῇ

δ' ἀπορία τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐπορίαν, ἧς ἔστιν ἡμῖν εὐθὺς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κρατεῖν, ἣν εἰδόμεν, ὅτι μὴ κρατήσασιν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἴδιον. ἴωμεν οὖν ἐπὶ θεράπων- τὰς τε καὶ σκευὴ καὶ ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐκείνων, ἕως χειμάζουσιν ἐν ὑποστέγοις. ἴωμεν, ἕως Πομπήιος ἡγείται καμὲ χειμάζειν ἢ περὶ πομπὰς καὶ θυσίας ὑπατικὰς εἶναι. εἰδοῖσι δ' ὑμῖν ἐκφέρω δυνατώτατον ἐν πολέμοις ἔργον εἶναι τὸ ἀδόκητον· φιλότι- μον δὲ καὶ πρῶτιστον δόξαν ἀπενέγκασθαι τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ τοῖς αὐτίκα διωξο- μένοις ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλῆ τὰ ἐκεῖ προετοιμάσαι. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ καὶ τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν πλεῖν ἂν ἢ λέγειν μάλλον ἐβουλόμην, ἵνα με Πομπήιος ἴδῃ, νομίζων ἔτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διατίθεσθαι· τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον εὐπειθὲς εἰδὼς ὅμως ἀναμένω τὴν ἀπόκρισιν."

546 Mk. 6:7-13: καὶ προσκαλεῖται τοὺς δώδεκα καὶ ἤρξατο αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλειν δύο δύο καὶ ἐδίδου αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν ἀκαθάρτων, καὶ παρήγγειλεν αὐ- τοῖς ἵνα μὴδὲν αἴρωσιν εἰς ὁδὸν εἰ μὴ ῥάβδον μόνον, μὴ ἄρτον, μὴ πῆραν, μὴ εἰς τὴν ζῶνιν χαλκόν, ἀλλὰ ὑποδεδεμένους σανδάλια, καὶ μὴ ἐνδύσησθε δύο χιτῶνας. καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, Ὅπου ἐὰν εἰσέλθητε εἰς οἰκίαν, ἐκεῖ μένετε ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθῃτε ἐκεῖθεν. καὶ ὅς ἂν τόπος μὴ δέξηται ὑμᾶς μὴδὲ ἀκούσωσιν ὑμῶν, ἐκπορευόμενοι ἐκεῖθεν ἐκτινάξατε τὸν χοῦν τὸν ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς. Καὶ ἐξεληθόντες ἐκήρυξαν ἵνα μετανοήσιν, καὶ δαιμόνια πολλὰ ἐξέβαλλον, καὶ ἤλει- φον ἐλαίῳ πολλοὺς ἀρρώστους καὶ ἐθεράπευον.

547 App. BC 2.64.267-8: Καὶ τάδε εἰπὼν ἐς Ἄπολλωνίαν εὐθὺς μετῆει καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίαν νυκτὸς ὑπεχώρει λαυθάνων· Γόμφους τε πόλιν μικρὰν οὐ δεχομένην αὐτὸν ἐξεῖλεν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς καὶ ἐπέτρεψε τῷ στρατῷ διαρπάσαι. οἱ δ' ὡς ἐκ λιμοῦ πάντων ἐνεπίμπλαντο ἀθρόως καὶ ἐμεθύσκοντο ἀπρεπῶς, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν οἱ Γερμανοὶ γελοῖότατοι κατὰ τὴν μέθην ἦσαν [...].

Plut. Caes. 40-1: τότε δὲ καὶ τι νόσημα λοιμῶδες ἐλέχθη, τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῆς διαίτης ποιησάμενον ἀρχὴν, ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ περιφέρεσθαι τῇ Καίσαρος, [...] Ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην πορείαν χαλεπῶς ἤνυσεν, οὐδενὸς παρέχοντος ἀγορὰν, ἀλλὰ πάντων κατα- φρονούντων διὰ τὴν ἔναγχος ἦτταν ὡς δ' εἶλε Γόμφους Θεσσαλικὴν πόλιν, οὐ μό- νον ἔθρεψε τὴν στρατιάν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ νοσήματος ἀπῆλλαξε παραλόγως. ἀφθόνῳ γὰρ ἐνέτυχον οἴνῳ, καὶ πίνοντες ἀνέδην, εἶτα χρώμενοι κώμοις καὶ βακχεύοντες ἀνὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκ μέθης, διεκρούσαντο καὶ παρήλλαξαν τὸ πάθος, εἰς ἕξιν ἑτέραν τοῖς σώμασι μεταπεσόντες.

Caes. Civ. 3.80: *Coniuncto exercitu Caesar Gomphos pervenit, quod est oppidum primum uenientibus ab Epiro. [...] Pompeius nondum Thessaliae appropinquabat. Caesar castris munitis scalas musculosque ad repentinam oppugnationem fieri et crates parari iussit. quibus rebus effectis cohortatus milites docuit, quantum usum haberet ad subleuandam omnium rerum inopiam potiri oppiduo pleno atque opu- lento, simul reliquis ciuitatibus huius urbis exemplo inferri terrorem et id fieri cele- riter; priusquam auxilia concurrerent. itaque usus singulari militum studio eodem quo uenerat die post horam nonam oppidum altissimis moenibus oppugnare ad- gressus ante solis occasum expugnauit et ad diripiendum militibus concessit statim- que ab oppido castra mouit et Metropolim uenit, sic ut nuntios expugnati oppidi famamque antecederet.*

548 App. BC 2.54.221-2: Ἀναβοήσαντος δὲ σὺν ὀρμῇ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἄγειν σφᾶς, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἦγεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, πέντε πεζῶν τέλη καὶ ἰππέας λογάδας ἐξακοσίους. καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἀπεσάλειβε κλυδωνίου διαταράσσοντος. χει- μέριοι δ' ἦσαν τροπαί, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἄκοντα καὶ ἀσχάλλοντα κατεκώλυε, μέχρι καὶ τὴν πρῶτην τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέραν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ διατρίψαι. καὶ δύο τελῶν ἄλλων ἐπελθόντων, ὁ δὲ καὶ τάδε προσλαβὼν ἀνήγετο χειμῶνος ἐπὶ ὀλκάδων· [...] ὑπὸ δὲ χειμῶνων ἐς τὰ Κεραύνια ὄρη περιαχθεῖς τὰ μὲν πλοῖα εὐθὺς ἐς Βρεντέσιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν περιέπεμπεν [...].

549 Mk. 4:35-5:2: Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὀψίας γενομένης, Διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέραν. καὶ ἀφέντες τὸν ὄχλον παραλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν ὡς ἦν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ, καὶ ἄλλα πλοῖα ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ γίνεται λαίλαψ μεγάλη ἀνέμου καὶ τὰ κύματα

ἐπέβαλλον εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, ὥστε ἦδη γεμίζεσθαι τὸ πλοῖον. καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἐν τῇ πρύμνῃ ἐπὶ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον καθέδων. καὶ ἐγείρουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Διδάσκαλε, οὐ μέλει σοι ὅτι ἀπολλύμεθα; καὶ διεγερθεὶς ἐπετίμησεν τῷ ἀνέμῳ καὶ εἶπεν τῇ θαλάσῃ, Σιώπα, πεφίμωσο. καὶ ἐκόπασεν ὁ ἀνεμος καὶ ἐγένετο γαλήνη μεγάλη. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Τί δειλοί ἐστε; οὐπω ἔχετε πίστιν; καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, Τίς ἄρα οὗτός ἐστιν ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἀνεμος καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπακούει αὐτῷ; Καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Γερασηνῶν. καὶ ἐξεληθόντος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου εὐθὺς ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν μνημείων ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ [...].

- 550 **Caes. Civ. 3.73:** *Caesar ab superioribus consiliis depulsus omenm sibi commutandam beilli rationem existimavit. itaque uno tempore paesidiis omnibus deductis et oppugnatione dimissa coactoque in unum locum exercitu contionem apud milites habuit [...]* 3.74: *[...] simulque omnes arderent cupiditate pugnandi, cum superioris etiam ordinis nonnulli ratione permoti manendum eo loco et rem proelio committendam existimarent. contre ea Caesar neque satis militis perterritis confidebat spatiumque interponendum ad recreandos animos putabat, relictisque munitionibus magnopere rei frumentariae timebat.* 3.75: *Itaque nulla interposita mora sauciorum modo et aegrorum habita ratione impedimenta omnia silentio prima nocte ex castris Apollonia praemisit ac conquiescere ante iter confectum uetuit.*

App. BC 2.63.264-64.267: ὡς δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἀνασχόμενος ὀλίγους μὲν ἐκόλασεν, αὐτίκα πᾶσιν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν μετριοπάθειαν ὄρμη τοσσηδε ἐνέπιπτεν, ὡς εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἄγειν ἀξιοῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ ἐνέκειντο σφόδρα προθύμως, παρακαλοῦντές τε καὶ ὑπισχνούμενοι διορθώσεσθαι τὸ ἀμάρτημα νίκη καλῇ· κατὰ τε σφᾶς ἐπιστρεφόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἰλαδὸν κατὰ μέρη συνώμνυντο, ἐφορῶντος αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, μὴ ἐπανήξειν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, εἰ μὴ κρατοῖεν. Ὅθεν αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν φίλοι παρεκάλουν ἀποχρήσασθαι τοιαύδε μετανοία καὶ προθυμία στρατοῦ· ὁ δ' ἐς μὲν τὸ πλῆθος εἶπεν, ὅτι μετὰ βελτιόνων καιρῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἄξει, καὶ μεμνήσθαι τῆσδε τῆς προθυμίας διεκελεύσατο, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἀνεδίδασκεν, ὅτι χρῆ καὶ τῶνδε προσελεῖν τὸν φόβον τῆς ἡττης πολὺν αὐτοῖς ἐγγενόμενον καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ φρόνημα ἀκμάζον προκαθελεῖν. ὠμολόγει τε μεταγιγνώσκων πρὸς Δυρραχίῳ στρατοπεδεύσας. ἔνθα ἔστιν ἡ παρασκευὴ πᾶσα Πομπηίῳ, δέον ἀποσπᾶν αὐτὸν ἐτέρωθι ἐς ὁμοίαν ἀπορίαν. Καὶ τάδε εἰπὼν ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν εὐθὺς μετῆει καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίαν νυκτὸς ὑπεχώρει λαυθάνων [...].

- 551 **Mk. 5:12-13:** καὶ παρεκάλεσαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες, Πέμψον ἡμᾶς εἰς τοὺς χοίρους, ἵνα εἰς αὐτοὺς εἰσέλθωμεν. καὶ ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς. καὶ ἐξεληθόντα τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα εἰσῆλθον εἰς τοὺς χοίρους, καὶ ὤρμησεν ἡ ἀγέλη κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς δισχίλιοι, καὶ ἐπνίγοντο ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ.

- 552 **In any case it should be clear that *thalassa* at the Gadarenes as well as the swine do not fit. The former because there is only a lake there and not a sea, and the latter because in the land of the Jews, swine were not bred. Both facts doubtlessly point, together with the name *Legion*, to an originally Roman story.**

- 553 **App. BC 2.70.289:** Στρατιὰ δ' ἦν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πολλῶν ἀμφίλογα εἰπόντων ἐπομένῳ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων τοῖς τὰ πιθανώτατα γράφουσι περὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἀνδρῶν, οἷς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα θαρροῦντες τὰ συμμαχικὰ οὐκ ἀκριβοῦσιν οὐδὲ ἀναγράφουσι ὡς ἀλλότρια καὶ ὀλίγην ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰς προσθήκην χώραν ἔχοντα, Καίσαρι μὲν ἐς δισχιλίους ἐπὶ δισμυρίους, καὶ τούτων ἵππεις ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους, Πομπηίῳ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ διπλάσιον, καὶ τούτων ἵππεις ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους.

Plut. Pomp. 69: ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν μετὰ Καίσαρος δισχίλιοι πρὸς δισμυρίους, οἱ δὲ μετὰ Πομπηίου βραχεῖ πλείονες ἢ διπλάσιοι τούτων.

- 554 **Plut. Caes. 44:** Πομπηίος δ' ὡς κατεῖδεν ἀπὸ θατέρου τοὺς ἵππεις φυγῆ σκεδασθέντας, οὐκέτ' ἦν ὁ αὐτὸς οὐδ' ἐμέμνητο Πομπηίος ὢν Μάγνος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ θεοῦ μάλιστα βλαπτομένῳ τὴν γνώμην εὐκῶς [ἢ διὰ θείας ἡττης τεθαμβημένος], ἄφθογος ὦχετ' ἀπὼν ἐπὶ σκηνήν, καὶ καθεζόμενος ἐκαραδόκει τὸ μέλλον, ἀχρι οὐ

τροπῆς ἀπάντων γενομένης ἐπέβαινον οἱ πολέμοιο τοῦ χάρακος καὶ διεμάχοντο πρὸς τοὺς φυλάττοντας. τότε δ' ὡσπερ ἐνίουσ γενομένοσ, καὶ ταύτην μόνην ὡσ φασὶ φωνὴν ἀφείσ "οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολήν;" ἀπεδύσατο μὲν τὴν ἐναγωνίον καὶ στρατηγικὴν ἐσθήτα, φεύγοντι δὲ πρέπουσαν μεταλαβὼν ὑπεξῆλθεν.

App. BC 2.81.339-343: Πομπήιοσ δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν τροπὴν εἶδεν, ἐκφρων αὐτοῦ γενομένοσ ἀπῆει βάδην ἐσ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ παρελθὼν ἐσ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐκαθέζετο ἄναυδοσ, οἷόν τι καὶ τὸν Τελαμώνιοσ Αἴαντά φασιν ἐν Ἰλίῳ παθεῖν, ἐν μέσοισ πολεμίοισ ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείασ. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὀλίγοι πάνυ ἐσῆσαν ἐσ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τὸ γὰρ κήρυγμα τοῦ Καίσαροσ ἐστάναι τε ἀκινδύνωσ ἐποίει, καὶ παραδραμόντων τῶν πολεμίων διεσκίδνη κατὰ μέρος. ληγούσῃ δὲ τῆσ ἡμέρασ ὁ Καίσαρ τὸν στρατὸν ἀσχετίωσ που περιθέων ἰκέτεωσ προσποιήσαι, μέχρι καὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Πομπηίου λάβοιεν, ἐκδιδάσκων, ὅτι, εἰ συσταίεν αὐθισ οἱ πολέμοιο, μίαν ἡμέραν ἔσονται νεικηκότεσ, εἰ δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἔλοιεν, τὸν πόλεμον ἐνὶ τῷδε ἔργῳ κατωρθωκότεσ ἂν εἶεν. τὰσ τε οὖν χεῖρασ αὐτοῖσ ὤρεγε καὶ πρῶτοσ ἐξῆρχε δρόμου. τοῖσ δὲ τὰ μὲν σώματα ἔκαμνε, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ὁ τε λογισμὸσ καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ συντρέχων ἐκούφιζεν. ἤωρει δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων εὐπραξία καὶ ἐλπίσ, ὅτι καὶ τὸν χάρακα αἰρήσουσι καὶ πολλὰ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἤκιστα δ' ἐν ἐλπίσιν ἢ εὐτυχίαισ ἀνθρωποὶ καμάτων αἰσθάνονται. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῷδε προσπεσόντεσ ἐπεχείρουσ σὺν πολλῇ πρὸσ τοὺσ ἀπομαχομένοσ καταφρονήσαι, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιοσ μαθὼν ἐξ ἀλλοκότου σιωπῆσ τοσοῦτοσ ἀπέρρηξεν· "οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα ἡμῶν;" καὶ εἰπὼν τὴν τε στολὴν ἐνήλλαξε καὶ ἵππου ἐπιβάσ σὺν φίλοισ τέσσαρσιν οὐκ ἀνέσχε δρόμου, πρὶν ἀρχομένησ ἡμέρασ ἐν Λαρίσση γενέσθαι.

Caes. Civ. 3.96: *Pompeius, iam cum intra uallum nostri uersarentur, equum nactus detractis insignibus imperatoriis decumana porta se ex castris eiecit protinusque equo citato Larisam contendit. neque ibi constitit, sed eadem celeritate paucos suos ex fuga nactus nocturno itinere non intermisso comitatu equitatum XXX ad mare peruenit nauemque frumentariam conscendit, saepe, ut dicebatur, querens tantum se opinionem fefellisse, ut a quo genere hominum uictoriam sperasset, ab eo initio fugae paene proditus uideretur.*

555 Mk. 5:14-20: καὶ οἱ βόσκοτεσ αὐτοὺσ ἔφυγον καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν εἰσ τὴν πόλιν καὶ εἰσ τοὺσ ἀγρούσ· καὶ ἦλθον ἰδεῖν τί ἐστί τὸ γεγονόσ καὶ ἔρχονται πρὸσ τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ θεωροῦσιν τὸν δαιμονιζόμενον καθήμενον ἱματισμένοσ καὶ σωφρονοῦντα, τὸν ἐσχηκότα τὸν λεγιῶνα, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν. καὶ διηγήσαντο αὐτοῖσ οἱ ἰδόντεσ πῶσ ἐγένετο τῷ δαιμονιζομένῳ καὶ περὶ τῶν χοίρων. καὶ ἤρξαντο παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων αὐτῶν. καὶ ἐμβαίνοντοσ αὐτοῦ εἰσ τὸ πλοῖον παρεκάλει αὐτὸν ὁ δαιμονισθεῖσ ἵνα μετ' αὐτοῦ ᾗ. καὶ οὐκ ἀφήκεν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ λέγει αὐτῷ, "Ἰταγε εἰσ τὸν οἶκόν σου πρὸσ τοὺσ σουσ καὶ ἀπάγγειλον αὐτοῖσ ὅσα ὁ κύριοσ σοι πεποίηκεν καὶ ἠλέησέν σε. καὶ ἀπῆλθεν καὶ ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν ἐν τῇ Δεκαπόλει ὅσα ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦσ, καὶ πάντεσ ἐθαύμαζον.

556 Plut. Caes. 46: Ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ὡσ ἐν τῷ χάρακι τοῦ Πομπηίου γενομένοσ τοὺσ τε κειμένοσ νεκροὺσ ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων εἶδε καὶ τοὺσ ἔτι κτεινομένοσ, εἶπεν ἄρα στενάξασ· "τοῦτ' ἐβουλήθησαν, εἰσ τοῦτό μ' ἀνάγκησ ὑπηγάγοντο, ἵνα Γάιοσ Καίσαρ ὁ μεγίστοσ πολέμοιοσ κατορθώσασ, εἰ προηκάμην τὰ στρατεύματα, κἂν κατεδικάσθην." ταῦτά φησι Πολλίων Ἀσίνιοσ (*HRR II 68*) τὰ ῥήματα Ῥωμαῖστί μὲν ἀναφθέγγασθαι τὸν Καίσαρα παρὰ τὸν τότε καιρόν, Ἑλληνιστί δ' ὑφ' αὐτοῦ γεγράφθαι· τῶν δ' ἀποθανόντων τοὺσ πλείστουσ οἰκέτασ γενέσθαι, περὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τοῦ χάρακοσ ἀναιρεθέντασ, στρατιώτασ δὲ μὴ πλείουσ ἐξακισχιλίων πεσεῖν. Whether Caesar had really spoken in Latin and Asinius wrote down his words in Greek, as Plutarchus remarks, is doubted by many commentators, because Asinius composed his *Historiae* in Latin. Hence it is assumed that it was vice-versa, that Caesar spoke Greek and Asinius reproduced his words in Latin. Then a copyist would have interchanged Latin and Greek because Plutarchus for his part has translated Asinius' quotation into the Greek.

- 557 **Mk. 9:30-32:** καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν ἵνα τις γνοῖ· ἐδίδασκεν γὰρ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀποκτανθεὶς μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστήσεται. οἱ δὲ ἠγνούν τὸ ῥῆμα, καὶ ἐφοβούντο αὐτὸν ἐπερωτῆσαι.
- 558 **Mk. 9:30:** Κάκειθεν ἐξελθόντες παρεπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας [...].
- 559 **Mk. 8:31:** Καὶ ἤρξατο διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅτι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν γραμματέων καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστήναι.
- 560 **Mk. 8:32-33:** καὶ παρησιᾶ τὸν λόγον ἐλάλει. καὶ προσλαβόμενος ὁ Πέτρος αὐτὸν ἤρξατο ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ ἐπιστραφεὶς καὶ ἰδὼν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ἐπετίμησεν Πέτρῳ καὶ λέγει, Ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου, Σατανᾶ, ὅτι οὐ φρονεῖς τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
- 561 **App. BC 2.33.131-2:** καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι, Μάρκελλός τε καὶ Λέντλος, ἐκέλευον τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκστῆναι τοῦ συνεδρίου, μὴ τι καὶ δημαρχοῦντες ὁμῶς πάθουεν ἀτοπώτερον. ἔνθα δὴ μέγα βοήσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνά τε ἔδραμε τῆς ἔδρας σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπεθείαζεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἱερά καὶ ἄσυλος οὕσα ὑβρίζουτο, καὶ περὶ σφῶν, ὅτι γνώμην ἐσφέροντες, ἦν δοκοῦσι συνοίσειν, ἐξελαύνουτο σὺν ὕβρει, μῆτε τινα σφαγὴν μῆτε μύσος ἐργασάμενοι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐξέτρεχεν ὡσπερ ἔνθους, πολέμους καὶ σφαγὰς καὶ προγραφὰς καὶ φυγὰς καὶ δημεύσεις καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα αὐτοῖς ἐμελλεν ἐσεσθαι, προθεσπίζων ἀράς τε βαρείας τοῖς τούτων αἰτίοις ἐπαρώμενος.
- 562 **Caes. Civ. 1.6.8: omnia diuina humanaque iura permiscetur.**
- 563 **App. BC 2.35.139-41:** δρόμῳ δ' ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ρουβίκωνα ποταμόν, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἔστη τοῦ δρόμου καὶ ἐς τὸ ρεῦμα ἀφορῶν περιεφέρετο τῇ γνώμῃ, λογιζόμενος ἕκαστα τῶν ἐσομένων κακῶν, εἰ τόνδε τὸν ποταμὸν σὺν ὄπλοις περάσειε. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν ἀνευγκῶν· ἡ μὲν ἐπίσχεσις, ὡ φίλοι, τῆσδε τῆς διαβάσεως ἐμοὶ κακῶν ἄρξει, ἡ δὲ διάβασις πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις." καὶ εἰπὼν οἶά τις ἐνθους ἐπέρα σὺν ὀρμῇ, τὸ κοινὸν τόδε ἐπειπὼν· "ὁ κύβος ἀνερρίφθω." δρόμῳ δ' ἐντεύθεν ἐπὼν Ἀρίμινόν τε αἰρεῖ περὶ ἑῷ καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐχώρει [...].
- Plut. Caes. 32:** πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ διήνεγκε σιγῇ τὴν γνώμην ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα μεταλαμβάνων, καὶ τροπὰς ἔσχεν αὐτῷ τότε <τὸ> βούλευμα πλείστας· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῖς παροῦσιν, ὧν ἦν καὶ Πολλίων Ἀσίμιος, συνδιηπόρησεν, ἀναλογιζόμενος ἡλικίων κακῶν ἄρξει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἢ διάβασις, ὅσον τε λόγον αὐτῆς τοῖς αὐθις ἀπολείψουσι. τέλος δὲ μετὰ θυμοῦ τινος ὡσπερ ἀφείς ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ λογισμοῦ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς εἰς τύχας ἐμβαίνουσιν ἀπόρους καὶ τόλμας προοίμιον ὑπειπὼν "ἀνερρίφθω κύβος," ὥρμησε πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν, καὶ δρόμῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη χρώμενος, εἰσέπεσε πρὸ ἡμέρας εἰς τὸ Ἀρίμινον, καὶ κατέσχε.
- Suet. Jul. 31-2: consecutusque cohortis ad Rubiconem flumen, qui prouinciae eius finis erat, paulum constitit, ac reputans quantum moliretur, conuersus ad proximos: «etiam nunc,» inquit, «regredi possumus; quod si ponticulum transierimus, omnia armis agenda erunt.» cunctanti ostentum tale factum est. quidam eximia magnitudine et forma in proximo sedens repente apparuit harundine canens; ad quem audiendum cum praeter currissent plurimi etiam ex stationibus milites concurrissent interque eos et aeneatores, rapta ab uno tuba prosiliuit ad flumen et ingenti spiritu classicum exorsus pertendit ad alteram ripam. tunc Caesar: «eatur,» inquit, «quo deorum ostenta et inimicorum iniquitas uocat. iacta alea est,» inquit. atque ita traiecto exercitu [...].**
- 564 **Mk. 8:34-9:1:** Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν ὄχλον σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Εἴ τις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖτω μοι. ὃς γὰρ ἐὰν θέλῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ σῶσαι ἀπολέσει αὐτήν· ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπολέσει τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου σώσει αὐτήν. τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖ ἄνθρωπον κερδῆσαι τὸν κόσμον ὅλον καὶ ζημιωθῆναι τὴν

ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ; τί γὰρ δοῖ ἄνθρωπος ἀντάλλαγμα τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ; ὅς γὰρ ἐὰν ἐπαισχυνθῆ με καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ τῇ μοιχαλίδι καὶ ἀμαρτωλῷ, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπαισχυνθήσεται αὐτὸν, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων. Καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, Ἄμην λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰσὶν τινες ὧδε τῶν ἐστηκότων οἵτινες οὐ μὴ γεύσονται θανάτου ἕως ἂν ἴδωσιν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐληλυθυῖαν ἐν δυνάμει.

565 App. BC 2.74.310: "[...] πρὸ δὲ πάντων, ὡς ἂν εἰδείην ὑμᾶς ἔγωγε ὧν συνετίθεσθε μεμνημένους τε καὶ νίκην πάντως ἢ θάνατον αἰρουμένους, καθέλετέ μοι προϊόντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τὰ τεῖχη τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τάφρον ἐγγώσατε, ἵνα μηδὲν ἔχωμεν, ἂν μὴ κρατῶμεν, ἴδωσι δ' ἡμᾶς ἀσταθμεύτους οἱ πολέμοι καὶ συνῶσιν, ὅτι πρὸς ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων σταθμεῦσαι."

App. BC 2.81.344: ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἐπηπείλησε παρατάσων, ἐν τῷ Πομπηίου χάρακι ἐστάθμευσε, καὶ αὐτὸς τε τὴν ἐκείνου βρώμην καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐδαΐσαντο.

566 Caes. Civ. 3.96: *In castris Pompei uidere licuit trichilas structas, magnum argenti pondus expositum, recentibus caespitibus tabernacula constrata, Luci etiam et Lentuli et nonnullorum tabernacula protecta hedera multaque praeterea, quae nimiam luxuriam et uictoriae fiduciam designarent, ut facile exixtimari posset nihil eos de euentu eius diei timuisse, qui non necessarias conquirerent uoluptates. at hi miserimo ac patientissimo exercitu Caesaris luxuriam obiciebant, cui semper omnia ad necessarium usum defuissent.*

Plut. Pomp. 72: Αἰρούντες δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐθεῶντο τὴν ἄνοιαν καὶ κουφότητα τῶν πολεμίων. πᾶσα γὰρ σκηνὴ μυρσίαις κατέστεπτο καὶ στρωμαῖς ἀνθιναῖς ἡσκητο καὶ τραπέζαις ἐκπωμάτων μεσταῖς· καὶ κρατῆρες οἴνου προῦκειντο, καὶ παρασκευὴ καὶ κόσμος ἦν τεθυκότων καὶ πανηγυριζόντων μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς μάχην ἐξοπλιζομένων. οὕτω ταῖς ἐλπίσι διεφθαρμένοι καὶ γέμοντες ἀνοήτου θράσους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐχώρουν.

567 Plut. Caes. 55: Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς θριάμβους <τοῖς> στρατιώταις τε μεγάλας δωρεὰς ἐδίδου, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀνελάμβανε ἐστιάσει καὶ θέαις, ἐστιάσας μὲν ἐν δισμυρίοις καὶ δισχιλίοις τρικλίνιοις ὁμοῦ σύμπαντας, θέας δὲ καὶ μονομάχων καὶ ναυμαχῶν ἀνδρῶν παρασχών ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἰουλίᾳ πάλαι τεθνεώση.

Plut. Caes. 57: αὐθις ἀνελάμβανε τὸν δῆμον ἐστιάσει καὶ σιτηρεσίαις, τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικὸν ἀποικίας [...].

Suet. Jul. 38: *populo praeter frumenti denos modios ac totidem olei libras trecenos quoque nummos, quos pollicitus olim erat, uiritim diuisit et hoc amplius centenos pro mora. annuam etiam habitationem Romae usque ad bina milia nummum, in Italia non ultra quingenos sestertios remisit. adiecit epulum ac uiscerationem et post Hispaniensem uictoriam duo prandia; nam cum prius parce neque pro liberalitate sua praebitum iudicaret, quinto post die aliud largissimum praebuit.*

Vell. 2.56.2: *Caesar omnium uictor regressus in urbem, quod humanam excedat fidem, omnibus qui contra se arma tulerant ignouit, magnificentissimisque gladiatorii muneris, naumachiae et equitum peditumque, simul elephantorum certaminis spectaculis epulique per multos dies dati celebratione repleuit eam.*

Plin. NH ix 171: *Murenarum uivarium privatim excogitavit ante alios C. Hirrius, qui cenis triumphalibus Caesaris dictatoris sex milia numero murenarum mutua appendit. nam permutare quidem pretio noluit aliave merce.*

Plin. NH xiv 97: *non et Caesar dictator triumphi sui cena vini Falerni amphoras, Chii cados in convivia distribuit? idem Hispaniensi triumpho Chium et Falernum dedit, epulo uero in tertio consulatu suo Falernum, Chium, Lesbium, Mamertinum, quo tempore primum quattuor genera uini adposita constat.*

568 Mk 6:30-44: Καὶ συνάγονται οἱ ἀπόστολοι πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτῷ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησαν καὶ ὅσα ἐδίδαξαν. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Δεῦτε ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ κατ' ἰδίαν εἰς ἔρημον τόπον καὶ ἀναπαύσασθε ὀλίγον. ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ ἐρχόμενοι καὶ οἱ

ὑπάγοντες πολλοί, καὶ οὐδὲ φαγεῖν εὐκαίρουν. καὶ ἀπῆλθον ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ εἰς ἔρημον τόπον κατ' ἰδίαν. καὶ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ὑπάγοντας καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν πολλοὶ καὶ πεζῇ ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων συνέδραμον ἐκεῖ καὶ προῆλθον αὐτούς. καὶ ἐξελθὼν εἶδεν πολὺν ὄχλον καὶ ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ' αὐτούς, ὅτι ἦσαν ὡς πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα, καὶ ἤρξατο διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς πολλά. Καὶ ἦδη ὥρας πολλῆς γενομένης προσελθόντες αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεγον ὅτι Ἔρημός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος καὶ ἦδη ὥρα πολλή· ἀπόλυσον αὐτούς, ἵνα ἀπελθόντες εἰς τοὺς κύκλῳ ἀγρούς καὶ κώμας ἀγοράσωσιν ἑαυτοῖς τί φάγωσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Δότε αὐτοῖς ὑμεῖς φαγεῖν. καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Ἀπελθόντες ἀγοράσωμεν δηναρίων διακοσίων ἄρτους καὶ δώσωμεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν; ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Πόσους ἄρτους ἔχετε; ὑπάγετε ἴδετε. καὶ γίνονται λέγουσιν, Πέντε, καὶ δύο ἰχθύας. καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτοῖς ἀνακλίνειν πάντας συμπόσια συμπόσια ἐπὶ τῷ χλωρῷ χόρτῳ. καὶ ἀνέπεσαν πρᾶσαι πρᾶσαι κατὰ ἑκάτον καὶ κατὰ πεντήκοντα. καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους καὶ τοὺς δύο ἰχθύας ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐλόγησεν καὶ κατέκλασεν τοὺς ἄρτους καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς [αὐτοῦ] ἵνα παρατιθῶσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοὺς δύο ἰχθύας ἐμέρισεν πᾶσιν. καὶ ἔφαγον πάντες καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν, καὶ ἦσαν κλάσματα δώδεκα κοφίνων πληρώματα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων. καὶ ἦσαν οἱ φαγόντες [τοὺς ἄρτους] πεντακισχίλιοι ἄνδρες.

Mk 8:1-9: Ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις πάλιν πολλοῦ ὄχλου ὄντος καὶ μὴ ἐχόντων τί φάγωσιν, προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς μαθητὰς λέγει αὐτοῖς, Σπλαγχνίζομαι ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχλον, ὅτι ἦδη ἡμέραι τρεῖς προσμένουσίν μοι καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν τί φάγωσιν· καὶ ἐὰν ἀπολύσω αὐτοὺς νήστευσι εἰς οἶκον αὐτῶν, ἐκλυθήσονται ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ· καὶ τινας αὐτῶν ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἤκασιν. καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι Πόθεν τούτους δυνήσεται τις ὧδε χορτάσαι ἄρτων ἐπ' ἐρημίας; καὶ ἠρώτα αὐτούς, Πόσους ἔχετε ἄρτους; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν, Ἑπτὰ. καὶ παραγγέλλει τῷ ὄχλῳ ἀναπεσεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἄρτους εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ἵνα παρατιθῶσιν, καὶ παρέθηκαν τῷ ὄχλῳ. καὶ εἶχον ἰχθύδια ὀλίγα· καὶ εὐλόγησας αὐτὰ εἶπεν καὶ ταῦτα παρατιθέναι. καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν, καὶ ἦσαν περισσεύματα κλασμάτων ἑπτὰ σπυρίδας. ἦσαν δὲ ὡς τετρακισχίλιοι. καὶ ἀπέλυσεν αὐτούς.

Jn. 2:1-11: Καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ γάμος ἐγένετο ἐν Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ ἦν ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκεῖ· ἐκλήθη δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν γάμον. καὶ ὑστερήσαντος οἴνου λέγει ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν, Οἶνον οὐκ ἔχουσιν. [καὶ] λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, γύναι; οὐπω ἦκει ἡ ὥρα μου. λέγει ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς διακόνοις, Ὅ τι ἂν λέγῃ ὑμῖν ποιήσατε. ἦσαν δὲ ἐκεῖ λίθιναι ὑδρῖαι ἕξ κατὰ τὸν καθαρισμόν τῶν Ἰουδαίων κείμεναι, χωροῦσαι ἀνὰ μετρητὰς δύο ἢ τρεῖς. λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Γεμίσατε τὰς ὑδρῖας ὕδατος. καὶ ἐγέμισαν αὐτὰς ἕως ἄνω. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Ἀντλήσατε νῦν καὶ φέρετε τῷ ἀρχιτρικλίνῳ· οἱ δὲ ἠνεγκαν. ὡς δὲ ἐγεύσατο ὁ ἀρχιτρικλίνος τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον γεγεννημένον καὶ οὐκ ᾔδει πόθεν ἐστίν, οἱ δὲ διάκονοι ᾔδεισαν οἱ ἠντληκότες τὸ ὕδωρ, φωνεῖ τὸν νυμφίον ὁ ἀρχιτρικλίνος καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Πᾶς ἄνθρωπος πρῶτον τὸν καλὸν οἶνον τίθησιν καὶ ὅταν μεθυσθῶσιν τὸν ἐλάσσω· σὺ τετήρηκας τὸν καλὸν οἶνον ἕως ἄρτι. Ταύτην ἐποίησεν ἀρχὴν τῶν σημείων ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ ἐφάνερωσεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ.

- 569 Compare the given citation from Plutarchus where the preparations for the feast in the camp of Pompeius are described, astonishingly for us, the luxury is called 'sacrifice': [...] καὶ παρασκευὴ καὶ κόσμος ἦν τεθυκότων καὶ παινηγυριζόντων μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς μάχην ἐξοπλιζομένων—'[...] and everything prepared and put in array, in the manner rather of people who had offered sacrifice and wanted to celebrate a feast, than of soldiers who had armed themselves to go out to battle'. Besides one repeatedly finds the similarly sounding word *θέας* for 'spectacle' in the depiction of the triumphal feasts in Rome because they were accompanied by such. Back in Rome after the Spanish campaign one finds *ἐστιάσεις* for feedings: *αὐθις ἀνελάμβανε τὸν δῆμον*

ἐστιάσει καὶ σιτηρεσίους—'...and so he tried anew to win over the people by feedings and donations of grain'.

As so often in Mark, however, the 'fish' could be based on a mistaken perception of a Latin word, in this case *uisus*, 'meat', from which 'distribution of meat', *uiseratio* is derived (cf. Suet. *Jul. 38: adiecit epulum ac uiscerationem*—see note 567). Did Mark read 'meat', *uisus*, as *piscis*, 'fish', here?

570 *Caes. Civ. 3.104, 106. App. BC 2.84-6*: Ὁ μὲν δὴ διὰ τάδε ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔπλει· ἄρτι δ' ἐκπεσούσης ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου Κλεοπάτρας, ἣ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνήρχε, καὶ στρατὸν ἀμφὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἀγειρούσης, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀδελφὸς ἀμφὶ τὸ Κάσσιον τῆς Αἰγύπτου ταῖς Κλεοπάτρας ἐσβολαῖς ἐφήδρευε, καὶ πῶς κατὰ δαίμονα ἐς τὸ Κάσσιον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸν Πομπήιον κατέφερε. θεασάμενος δὲ στρατὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πολὺν ἔστησε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ εἶκασεν, ὅπερ ἦν, παρεῖναι τὸν βασιλέα. πέμψας τε ἔφραζε περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς φιλίας. ὁ δὲ ἦν μὲν περὶ τρισκαίδεκα ἔτη μάλιστα γεγυῶς, ἐπετρόπευον δ' αὐτῷ τὴν μὲν στρατιάν Ἀχιλλᾶς, τὰ δὲ χρήματα Ποθεινὸς εὐνούχος· οἱ βουλήν προτίθεντο περὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου, καὶ παρὸν ὁ Σάμιος Θεόδοτος ὁ ῥήτωρ, διδάσκαλος ὢν τοῦ παιδός, ἀθέμιστον εἰσηγεῖτο ἔργον, ἐνεδρεῦσαι καὶ κτείνειν Πομπήιον ὡς χαριουμένους Καίσαρι. κυρωθείσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης σκάφος εὐτελὲς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπέμπετο, ὡς τῆς θαλάσσης οὐσης ἀλιτειοῦς καὶ μεγάλαις ναυσὶν οὐκ εὐχεροῦς, ὑπηρεταὶ τε τινες τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐνέβαινον ἐς τὸ σκάφος. καὶ Σεμπρόνιος, ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος τότε μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ, πάλαι δὲ αὐτῷ Πομπηίῳ στρατευσάμενος, δεξιὰν ἔφερε παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἐς φίλον τὸν παῖδα διαπλεύσαι. [...] καὶ ὅς αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπένευσεν, ἀποστραφέντα δ' εὐθὺς ἐπάταξε πρῶτος, εἶθ' ἕτεροι. καὶ τὸ μὲν γύναιον τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ οἱ φίλοι ταῦτα μακρόθεν ὄρωντες ἀνῶμωζόν τε καὶ χεῖρας ἐς θεοὺς ἐκδίκους σπονδῶν ἀνίσχοντες ἀπέπλεον τάχιστα ὡς ἐκ πολεμίας. Πομπηίου δὲ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμνόντες οἱ περὶ Ποθεινὸν ἐφύλασσαν Καίσαρι ὡς ἐπὶ μεγίσταις ἀμοιβαῖς (ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡμίνατο ἀξίως τῆς ἀθεμιστίας), τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμά τις ἔθαψεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος καὶ τάφον ἠγειρεν εὐτελεῖ [...].

Plutarchus is consistent with Appianus to a large extent (Plut. *Pomp. 76-80*), only the name of the murderer is *Septimius* instead of *Sempronius*, and he names a second one, the centurio *Salvius*. Cf. Plut. *Pomp. 78-80*: Ταῦτα κυρώσαντες ἐπ' Ἀχιλλᾶ ποιοῦνται τὴν πράξιν. ὁ δὲ Σεπτίμιόν τινα πάλαι γεγυῶτα Πομπηίου ταξίχαρον παραλαβὼν, καὶ Σάλβιον ἕτερον ἑκατοντάρχη καὶ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ὑπηρετας, ἀνήχθη πρὸς τὴν Πομπηίου ναῦν. [...] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ πελαζούσης τῆς ἀλιάδος φθάσας ὁ Σεπτίμιος ἐξανέστη καὶ Ῥωμαῖστὶ τὸν Πομπηίου αὐτοκράτορα προσηγόρευσε. [...] ἀσπασάμενος οὖν τὴν Κορινθίαν προαποθρηνοῦσαν αὐτοῦ τὸ τέλος, καὶ δύο ἑκατοντάρχας προεμβῆναι κελεύσας καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἕνα Φίλιππον καὶ θεράποντα Σκύθην ὄνομα, [...] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τὸν Πομπηίου τῆς τοῦ Φιλίππου λαμβανόμενον χεῖρός, ὅπως ῥᾶον ἐξανασταίη, Σεπτίμιος ὄπισθεν τῷ ξίφει διελαύνει πρῶτος, εἶτα Σάλβιος μετ' ἐκείνου, εἶτα Ἀχιλλᾶς ἐσπᾶσαντο τὰς μαχαίρας. [...] τοῦ δὲ Πομπηίου τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνουσι, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῶμα γυμνὸν ἐκβαλόντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλιάδος τοῖς δεομένοις τοιοῦτου θεάματος ἀπέλιπον. παρέμεινε δὲ αὐτῷ Φίλιππος, ἕως ἐγένοντο μεστοὶ τῆς ὄψεως· εἶτα περιλούσας τῇ θαλάσῃ τὸ σῶμα καὶ χιτωνίῳ τινὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ περιστείλας, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχων, ἀλλὰ περισκοπῶν τὸν αἰγιαλὸν εὗρε μικρὰς ἀλιάδος λείψανα, παλαιὰ μὲν, ἀρκοῦντα δὲ νεκρῶ γυμνῶ καὶ οὐδὲ ὄλω πυρκαϊάν ἀναγκαίαν παρασχεῖν. [...] Τοῦτο Πομπηίου τέλος. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον Καίσαρ ἐλθὼν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἄγους τοσοῦτου καταπεπλησμένην τὸν μὲν προσφέροντα τὴν κεφαλὴν ὡς παλαμναῖον ἀπεστράφη, τὴν δὲ σφραγίδα τοῦ Πομπηίου δεξάμενος ἐδάκρυσεν· ἦν δὲ γλυφὴ λέων ξιφῆρης. Ἀχιλλᾶν δὲ καὶ Ποθεινὸν ἀπέσφαξεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς μάχη λειφθεὶς περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἠφανίσθη. Θεόδοτον δὲ τὸν σοφιστὴν ἢ μὲν ἐκ Καίσαρος δίκη παρήλθε· φυγῶν γὰρ Αἴγυπτον ἐπλανᾶτο ταπεινὰ πράττων καὶ μισούμενος· Βροῦτος δὲ Μάρκος, ὅτε Καίσαρα κτείνας ἐκράτησεν, ἐξευρών αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ πᾶσαν αἰκίαν αἰκισάμε-

νος ἀπέκτεινει. τὰ δὲ λείψανα τοῦ Πομπηίου Κορινθία δεξαμένη κομισθέντα, περὶ τὸν Ἀλβανὸν ἔθηκεν.

Plut. Caes. 48: εἰς δ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπὶ Πομπηίῳ τεθηκότι καταχθεῖς, Θεόδοτον μὲν ἀπεστράφη, τὴν Πομπηίου κεφαλὴν προσφέροντα, τὴν δὲ σφραγίδα δεξάμενος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κατεδάκρυσεν.

Dio Cass. HR 42.5, 7, 8. Liv. Per. 112: Cn. Pompeius cum Aegyptum petisset, iussu Ptolemaei regis, pupilli sui, auctore Theodoto praefectore, cuius magna aput regem auctoritas erat, et Pothino occisus est ab Archelao, cui id facinus erat delegatum, in navicula antequam in terram exiret. Cornelia uxor et Sex. Pompei<us> filius Cyprum refugerunt. Caesar post tertium diem insecutus, cum ei Theodotus caput Pompei et anulum obtulisset, infensus est et inlacrimavit.

- 571 **Mk. 6:14-29:** Καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης, φανερὸν γὰρ ἐγένετο τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτίζων ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐνεργοῦσιν αἱ δυνάμεις ἐν αὐτῷ. ἄλλοι δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι Ἥλιος ἐστίν· ἄλλοι δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι προφήτης ὡς εἷς τῶν προφητῶν. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἔλεγεν, Ὅν ἐγὼ ἀπεκεφάλισα Ἰωάννην, οὗτος ἤγέρθη. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἀποστείλας ἐκράτησεν τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτὸν ἐν φυλακῇ διὰ Ἡρωδιάδα τὴν γυναῖκα Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐγάμησεν· ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὁ Ἰωάννης τῷ Ἡρώδῃ ὅτι Οὐκ ἔξεστίν σοι ἔχειν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου. ἡ δὲ Ἡρωδιάς ἐνείχεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἠθέληεν αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνειν, καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο· ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης ἐφοβείτο τὸν Ἰωάννην, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ἄνδρα δίκαιον καὶ ἅγιον, καὶ συνετήρει αὐτόν, καὶ ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ πολλὰ ἠπόρει, καὶ ἠδέως αὐτοῦ ἤκουεν. Καὶ γενομένης ἡμέρας εὐκαίρου ὅτε Ἡρώδης τοῖς γενεσίοις αὐτοῦ δείπνον ἐποίησεν τοῖς μεγιστᾶσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ εἰσελθούσης τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἡρωδιάδος καὶ ὀρχησαμένης ἤρσεν τῷ Ἡρώδῃ καὶ τοῖς συνανακειμένοις εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ κορασίῳ, Αἰτήσόν με ὃ ἐάν θέλῃς, καὶ δώσω σοι· καὶ ὤμοσεν αὐτῇ [πολλά], Ὅ τι ἐάν με αἰτήσῃς δώσω σοι ἕως ἡμίσεως τῆς βασιλείας μου. καὶ ἐξελλοῦσα εἶπεν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῆς, Τί αἰτήσωμαι; ἡ δὲ εἶπεν, Τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτίζοντος. καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα εὐθὺς μετὰ σπουδῆς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἠτήσατο λέγουσα, Θέλω ἵνα ἐξαυτῆς δῶς μοι ἐπὶ πίνακι τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ. καὶ περίλυπος γενόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τοὺς ἀνακειμένους οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἀθετῆσαι αὐτὴν· καὶ εὐθὺς ἀποστείλας ὁ βασιλεὺς σπεκουλάτορα ἐπέταξεν ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀπεκεφάλισεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ καὶ ἤνεγκεν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πίνακι καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν τῷ κορασίῳ, καὶ τὸ κοράσιον ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῆς. καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἦλθον καὶ ἦραν τὸ πτώμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸ ἐν μνημείῳ.

- 572 **Dio Cass. HR 42.7.2-3:** καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐκέτι περίοντα κατέλαβε, τῇ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρεια αὐτῇ μετ' ὀλίγων πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, πρὶν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ τοῦ Πηλουσίου ἐλθεῖν, προσπλεύσας, καὶ τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρέας θορυβουμένους ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου θανάτῳ εὐρών, οὐκ ἐθάρσησεν εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀνορμισάμενος ἀνείχε μέχρις οὗ τὴν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου εἶδεν. οὕτω δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν ἡπειρον θαρσύνωντος προσέσχευεν, ἀναγκτήσεως δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους γενομένης αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγαπητῶς ἐς τὰ βασίλεια προκατέφυγε, τῶν δὲ διὰ στρατιωτῶν τινες τὰ ὄπλα ἀφηρέθησαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ λοιποὶ ἀνωρμίσαντο αὐθις, ἕως πάσαι αἱ νῆες ἐπικατήχθησαν.

Caes. Civ. 3.106-7: Caesar paucos dies in Asia moratus cum audisset Pompeium Cyprum visum, coniectans eum Aegyptum iter habere propter necessitudines regni reliquasque eius loci opportunitates cum legione una, quam se ex Thessalia sequi iusserat, et altera, quam ex Achaia a Q. Fufio legato evocaverat, equitibusque DCCC et navibus longis Rhodiis x et Asiaticis paucis Alexandriam pervenit. in his erant legionariorum milia tria CC; reliqui vulneribus ex proeliis et labore ac magnitudine itineris confecti consequi non potuerant. sed Caesar confisus fama rerum gestarum

infirmis auxiliis proficisci non dubitaverat aequae omnem sibi locum tutum fore existimans. Alexandriae de Pompei morte cognoscit atque ibi primum e navi egrediens clamorem militum audit, quos rex in oppido praesidii causa reliquerat, et concursum ad se fieri videt, quod fasces anteferrentur. in hoc omnis multitudo maiestatem regiam minui praedicabat. hoc sedato tumultu crebrae continuis diebus ex concursu multitudinis concitationes fiebant conpluresque milites in viis urbis omnibus partibus interficiebantur. Quibus rebus animadversis legiones sibi alias ex Asia adduci iussit, quas ex Pompeianis militibus confecerat. ipse enim necessario etesiis tenebatur, qui navigantibus Alexandria flant adversissimi venti.

573 Mk. 8:10-13: *Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά. Καὶ ἐξῆλθον οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ ἤρξαντο συζητεῖν αὐτῷ, ζητοῦντες παρ' αὐτοῦ σημεῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, πειράζοντες αὐτόν. καὶ ἀναστεινάξας τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ λέγει, Τί ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη ζητεῖ σημεῖον; ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, εἰ δοθήσεται τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ σημεῖον. καὶ ἀφεῖς αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἐμβὰς ἀπήλθεν εἰς τὸ πέραν.*

574 Caes. Civ. 3.107-112: *interim controversias regum ad populum Romanum et ad se, quod esset consul, pertinere existimans, atque eo magis officio suo convenire, quod superiore consulatu cum patre Ptolomaeo ex lege et senatus consulto societas erat facta, ostendit sibi placere regem Ptolomaeum atque eius sororem Cleopatram exercitus, quos haberent, dimittere et de controversiis iure apud se potius quam inter se armis disceptare. Erat in procuratione regni propter aetatem pueri nutricius eius, eunuchus nomine Pothinus. is primum inter suos queri atque indignari coepit regem ad causam dicendam evocari; deinde adiutores quosdam consilii sui nactus ex regis amicis exercitum a Pelusio clam Alexandriam evocavit atque eundem Achillam, cuius supra meminimus, omnibus copiis praefecit. hunc incitatum suis et regis inflatione pollicitationibus, quae fieri vellet, litteris nuntiisque edocuit. in testamento Ptolomaei patris heredes erant scripti ex duobus filiis maior et ex duabus <filiabus> ea quae aetate antecedebat. haec uti fierent, per omnes deos perque foedera quae Romae fecisset, eodem testamento Ptolomaeus populum Romanum obtestabatur. tabulae testamenti unae per legatos eius Romam erant adlatae, ut in aerario ponerentur—hae cum propter publicas occupationes poni non potuissent, apud Pompeium sunt depositae—alterae eodem exemplo relictas atque obsignatas Alexandriae proferebantur. De his rebus cum ageretur apud Caesarem, isque maxime vellet pro communi amico atque arbitro controversias regum componere, subito exercitus regis equitatusque omnis venire Alexandriam nuntiatur. [...] interim filia minor Ptolomaei regis vacuum possessionem regni sperans ad Achillam sese ex regia traiecit unaque bellum administrare coepit. sed celeriter est inter eos de principatu controversia orta, quae res apud milites largitiones auxit; magnis enim iacturis sibi quisque eorum animos conciliabat. haec dum apud hostes geruntur, Pothinus, [nutricius pueri et procurator regni, in parte Caesaris,] cum ad Achillam nuntios mitteret hortareturque, ne negotio desisteret neve animo deficeret, indicatis deprehensisque internuntiis a Caesare est interfectus. haec initia belli Alexandrini fuerunt.*

Plut. Caes. 48-9: *Τὸν δ' αὐτόθι πόλεμον οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλ' ἔρωτι Κλεοπάτρας ἄδοξον αὐτῷ καὶ κινδυνώδη γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς αἰτιῶνται, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν εὐνοῦχον Ποθεινόν, ὃς πλεῖστον δυνάμενος, καὶ Πομπηῖον μὲν ἀνηρηκῶς ἔναγχος, ἐκβεβληκῶς δὲ Κλεοπάτραν, κρύφα μὲν ἐπεβούλευε τῷ Καίσαρι—καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασιν αὐτὸν ἀρξάμενον ἔκτοτε διανυκτερεύειν ἐν τοῖς πότοις ἐνεκα φυλακῆς τοῦ σώματος—φανερῶς δ' οὐκ ἦν ἀνεκτός, ἐπίφθονα πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς ὕβριν εἰς τὸν Καίσαρα λέγων καὶ πράττων. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ στρατιώτας τὸν κάκιστον μετρομένους καὶ παλαιότατον σίτον ἐκέλευεν ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ στέργειν ἐσθιόντας τὰ ἀλλότρια, πρὸς δὲ τὰ δεῖπνα σκεύεσιν ἐχρήτο ξυλίνοις καὶ κεραμεοῖς, ὡς τὰ χρυσὰ καὶ ἀργυρὰ πάντα Καίσαρος ἔχοντος εἰς τι χρέος. ὤφειλε γὰρ ὁ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος τότε πατὴρ Καίσαρι χιλίας ἑπτακοσίας πεντήκοντα μυριάδας, ὧν*

τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀνῆκε τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ὁ Καῖσαρ, τὰς δὲ χιλίας ἤξιον τότε λαβῶν διαθρέψαι τὸ στράτευμα. τοῦ δὲ Ποθεινοῦ νῦν μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι καὶ τῶν μεγάλων ἔχθεσθαι πραγμάτων κελεύοντος, ὕστερον δὲ κομιεῖσθαι μετὰ χάριτος, εἰπὼν ὡς Αἰγυπτίῳ ἐλάχιστα δέοιτο συμβούλων, κρύφα τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας μετεπέμπετο. Κάκεινῃ παραλαβοῦσα τῶν φίλων Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν Σικελιώτην μόνον, εἰς ἀκάτιον μικρὸν ἐμβάσα, τοῖς μὲν βασιλείοις προσέσχευεν ἤδη συσκοτάζοντος· ἀπόρου δὲ τοῦ λαθεῖν ὄντος ἄλλως, ἢ μὲν εἰς στρωματόδεσμον ἐνδύσα προτείνει μακρὰν ἑαυτήν, ὃ δ' Ἀπολλόδωρος ἰμάντι συνδήσας τὸν στρωματόδεσμον εἰσκομίζει διὰ θυρῶν πρὸς τὸν Καῖσαρα. καὶ τούτῳ τε πρώτῳ λέγεται τῷ τεχνήματι τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀλῶναι λαμυρᾶς φανείσης, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὁμιλίας καὶ χάριτος ἤττων γενόμενος, διαλλάξει πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς συμβασιλεύουσιν. ἔπειτα δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς ἐστιωμένων ἀπάντων, οἰκείτης Καίσαρος κουρέυς, διὰ δειλίαν ἢ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπερέβαλεν οὐδὲν ἑὼν ἀνεξέταστον, ἀλλ' ὠτακουστῶν καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν, συνῆκεν ἐπιβουλήν Καίσαρι πραττομένην ὑπ' Ἀχιλλᾶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ Ποθεινοῦ τοῦ εὐνούχου. φωράσας δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ, φρουρὰν μὲν περιέστησε τῷ ἀνδρῶνι, τὸν δὲ Ποθεινὸν ἀνείλεν· ὃ δ' Ἀχιλλᾶς φυγῶν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον περιίστησιν αὐτῷ βαρὺν καὶ δυσμεταχειρίστον πόλεμον, ὀλιγοστῶ τσαύτην ἀμυνομένῳ πόλιν καὶ δύναμιν. [...] τέλος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀποχωρήσαντος, ἐπελθὼν καὶ συνάψας μάχην ἐνίκησε, πολλῶν πεσόντων αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ βασιλέως ἀφανοῦς γενομένου. καταλιπὼν δὲ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν βασιλεύουσαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ τεκοῦσαν υἱόν, ὃν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς Καισαρίωνα προσηγόρευον, ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ Συρίας.

Ve11. 2.53: Pompeius profugiens cum duobus Lentulis consularibus Sextoque filio et Faunio praetorio quos comites ei fortuna adgregauerat, aliis, ut Parthos, aliis, ut Africam peteret, in qua fidelissimum partium suarum haberet regem Iubam, suadentibus, Aegyptum petere proposuit memor beneficiorum quae in patrem eius Ptolemaei, qui tum puero quam iuueni propior regnabat Alexandriae, contulerat. Sed quis in aduersis beneficiorum seruat memoriam? Aut quis ullam calamitosis debere putat gratiam? Aut quando fortuna non mutat fidem? Missi itaque ab rege qui uenientem Cn. Pompeium—is iam a Mytilenis Corneliam uxorem receptam in nauem fugae comitem habere coeperat—consilio Theodoti et Achillae exciperent hortarenturque ut ex oneraria in eam nauem quae obuiam processerat transcenderet: quod cum fecisset, princeps Romani nominis imperio arbitrioque Aegyptii mancipii, C. Caesare P. Seruilio consulibus iugulatus est. Hic post tres consulatus et totidem triumphos domitumque terrarum orbem sanctissimi atque praestantissimi uiri, in id euecti super quod ascendi non potest, duodesexagesimum annum agentis, pridie natalem ipsius, uitae fuit exitus, in tantum in illo uiro a se discordante fortuna ut, cui modo ad uictoriam terra defuerat, deesset ad sepulturam. [...] Ve11. 2.54: Non fuit maior in Caesarem quam in Pompeium fuerat regis eorumque, quorum is auctoritate regebatur, fides. Quippe cum uenientem eum temptassent insidiis ac deinde bello lacessere auderent, utriusque summorum imperatorum, alteri superstiti, meritas poenas luere suppliciiis.

- 575 **Mk. 7:24-30:** Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναστὰς ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὰ ὄρια Τύρου. καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς οἰκίαν οὐδένα ἠθέλει γινῶναι, καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθη λαθεῖν· ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἀκούσασα γυνὴ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἧς εἶχε τὸ θυγάτριον αὐτῆς πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, ἐλθοῦσα προσέπεσει πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ· ἢ δὲ γυνὴ ἦν Ἑλληνίς, Συροφουνίκισσα τῷ γένει· καὶ ἠρώτα αὐτὸν ἵνα τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐκβάλη ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς. καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτῇ, Ἔφες πρῶτον χορτασθῆναι τὰ τέκνα, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν καλὸν λαβεῖν τὸν ἄρτον τῶν τέκνων καὶ τοῖς κυναρίοις βαλεῖν. ἢ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Κύριε, καὶ τὰ κυνάρια ὑποκάτω τῆς τραπέζης ἐσθλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ψιχίων τῶν παιδίων. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ, Διὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὑπαγε, ἐξεληλυθεν ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου τὸ δαιμόνιον. καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς εὗρεν τὸ παιδίον βεβλημένον ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐξεληλυθός.

576 Cf. *Bellum Alexandrinum*, incipit: «*Bello Alexandrino conflato, Caesar Rhodo, atque ex Suria Ciliciaque omnem classem accersit, ex Creta sagittarios, equites Nabataeorum Malcho evocat: tormenta undique conquiri, et frumentum mitti, auxiliaque adduci iubet.*» Indeed, Mithridates Pergameneus who was hurrying to his aid from Cilicia was supposed to come via Syria and he got further reinforcement there from the Nabatean Malchus who already supported Cleopatra. In the Alexandrian war Mithridates was able to intervene decisively in favor of Caesar. Caesar in turn goes from Egypt to Pontus, towards Pharnaces, again via Syria: cf. also *Bell. Alex.* 65: «*Quum in Suriam Caesar ex Aegypto venisset...*».

That *Tyros* can stand for *Syria* is substantiated by the variants of *Syrophoini(ki)ssa* which is sometimes also called *Tyrophoinissa* in other manuscripts. Theoretically the 'region of Tyrus', *ta (h)oria Tyrou*, could also be the lake *Mareotis*. Alexandria was situated between this lake and the open sea. Some Gospel manuscripts write in fact *methoria Tyrou*. But *methoria* could resolve into to *me ta horia*—and we would be again at the *cohortes*.

577 *Mk. 8:14-21*: Καὶ ἐπελάθοντο λαβεῖν ἄρτους καὶ εἰ μὴ ἓνα ἄρτον οὐκ εἶχον μεθ' ἐαυτῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ. καὶ διεστέλλετο αὐτοῖς λέγων, Ὁρᾶτε, βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ τῆς ζύμης Ἡρώδου. καὶ διελογίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὅτι Ἄρτους οὐκ ἔχουσι. καὶ γνοὺς λέγει αὐτοῖς, Τί διαλογίζεσθε ὅτι ἄρτους οὐκ ἔχετε; οὐπω νοεῖτε οὐδὲ συνίετε; πεπωρωμένην ἔχετε τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν; ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες οὐ βλέπετε καὶ ὧτα ἔχοντες οὐκ ἀκούετε; καὶ οὐ μνημονεύετε, ὅτε τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους ἔκλασα εἰς τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους, πόσους κοφίνους κλασμάτων πλήρεις ἦρατε; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Δώδεκα. Ὅτε τοὺς ἑπτὰ εἰς τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους, πόσων σπυρίδων πληρώματα κλασμάτων ἦρατε; καὶ λέγουσιν [αὐτῷ], Ἑπτὰ. καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, Οὐπω συνίετε;

578 *Plut. Caes. 49-50*: ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ Συρίας. Κάκειθεν ἐπιὼν τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐπυνθάνετο Δομίτιον μὲν ὑπὸ Φαρνάκου τοῦ Μιθριδάτου παιδὸς ἠττημένον ἐκ Πόντου πεφευγέναι σὺν ὀλίγοις, Φαρνάκην δὲ τῇ νίκῃ χρώμενον ἀπλήστως, καὶ Βιθυνίαν ἔχοντα καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, Ἀρμενίας ἐφίεσθαι τῆς μικρᾶς καλουμένης, καὶ πάντας ἀνίστασθαι τοὺς ταύτη βασιλεῖς καὶ τετράρχας. εὐθὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τρισὶν ἡλαυε τάγμασι, καὶ περὶ πόλιν Ζήλαν μάχην μεγάλην συνάψας αὐτὸν μὲν ἐξέβαλε τοῦ Πόντου φεύγοντα, τὴν δὲ στρατιάν ἄρδην ἀνείλε· καὶ τῆς μάχης ταύτης ὀξύτητα καὶ τὸ τάχος ἀναγγέλλων εἰς Ῥώμην πρὸς τινα τῶν φίλων Μάτιον ἔγραψε τρεῖς λέξεις· "ἦλθον, εἶδον, ἐνίκησα." Ῥωμαῖστί δ' αἱ λέξεις, εἰς ὅμοιον ἀπολήγουσαι σχῆμα ῥήματος, οὐκ ἀπίθανον τὴν βραχυλογίαν ἔχουσι.

App. BC 2.91.381-4: Τοσάδε μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐργασάμενος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ διὰ Συρίας ἐπὶ Φαρνάκην ἠπεύγετο. ὁ δὲ ἤδη μὲν εἴργαστο πολλὰ καὶ περιεσπάκει τινὰ Ῥωμαίων χωρία καὶ Δομίτιῳ Καίσαρος στρατηγῷ συνενεχθεὶς ἐς μάχην ἐνευκλήκει πάνν λαμπρῶς, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα ἐπαρθεὶς Ἀμισὸν πόλιν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ Ῥωμαίζουσαν ἐξηνδραπόδιστο καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν τομίας ἐπεποίητο πάντας· προσιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐταράσσετο καὶ μετεγίγνωσκε καὶ ἀπὸ σταδίων διακοσίων γενομένων πρέσβεις ἔπεμπεν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, στέφανόν τε χρύσειον αὐτῷ φέροντας καὶ ἐς γάμον ὑπ' ἀνοίας ἐγγυῶντας Καίσαρι τὴν Φαρνάκου θυγατέρα. ὁ δ' αἰσθόμενος ὧν φέρουσι, προῆλθε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐβάδιζε λεσηνεύων τοῖς πρέσβεσι, μέχρι προσπελάσας τῷ χάρακι τοῦ Φαρνάκου καὶ τοσόνδε εἰπὼν· "οὐ γὰρ αὐτίκα δώσει δίκην ὁ πατροκτόνος;" ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνεπήδησε καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώτης βοῆς τρέπεται τε τὸν Φαρνάκην καὶ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινε, σὺν χιλίοις που μάλιστα ὧν ἵππευσιν τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῷ συνδραμοῦσιν· ὅτε καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν· "ὦ μακάριε Πομπήιε, τοιούτοις ἄρα κατὰ Μιθριδάτην τὸν τοῦδε πατέρα πολεμῶν ἀνδράσι μέγας τε ἐνομήσθης καὶ μέγας ἐπεκλήθης." ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην περὶ τῆσδε τῆς μάχης ἐπέστειλεν· "ἐγὼ δὲ ἦλθον, εἶδον, ἐνίκησα." Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Φαρνάκης μὲν ἀγαπῶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν Βοσπόρου, τὴν δεδομένην οἱ παρὰ Πομπηίου, συνέφυγεν [...]. *Dio Cass. HR 42.45-8*.

Suet. *Jul.* 35: *ab Alexandria in Syriam et inde Pontum transiit urgentibus de Pharnace nuntiis, quem Mithridatis Magni filium ac tunc occasione temporum bellantem iamque multiplici successu praeferocem, intra quintum quam adfuerat diem, quatuor quibus in conspectum uenit horis, una profligauit acie; crebro commemorans Pompei felicitatem, cui praecipua militiae laus de tam inbelli genere hostium contigisset.* Suet. *Jul.* 37: *Pontico triumpho inter pompae fercula trium uerborum praetulit titulum «veni vidi vici» non acta belli significantem sicut ceteris, sed celeriter confecti notam.*

Vell. 2.55: [...] *nam uictus ab eo Pharnaces uix quidquam gloriae eius adstruxit [...].*

- 579 Mk. 7:31-37: *Καὶ πάλιν ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῶν ὀρίων Τύρου ἦλθεν διὰ Σιδῶνος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὀρίων Δεκαπόλεως. καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτῷ κωφὸν καὶ μογιλάλον καὶ παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἵνα ἐπιθῇ αὐτῷ τὴν χεῖρα. καὶ ἀπολαβόμενος αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου κατ' ἰδίαν ἔβαλεν τοὺς δακτύλους αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ὕδατα αὐτοῦ καὶ πτύσας ἤψατο τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐστέναξεν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Εἴφαθα, ὃ ἐστίν, Διανοίχθητι. καὶ [εὐθέως] ἠνοιγήσαν αὐτοῦ αἱ ἀκοαί, καὶ ἐλύθη ὁ δεσμὸς τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐλάλει ὀρθῶς. καὶ διεστείλατο αὐτοῖς ἵνα μηδενὶ λέγωσιν· ὅσον δὲ αὐτοῖς διεστέλλετο, αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον περισσότερον ἐκήρυσσον. καὶ ὑπερπερισσῶς ἐξεπλήρουντο λέγοντες, Καλῶς πάντα πεποιήκειν, καὶ τοὺς κωφοὺς ποιεῖ ἀκούειν καὶ [τοῦς] ἀλάλους λαλεῖν.*
- 580 Mark's choice of words—'through the midst of the coasts of Decapolis'—leaves open the possibility that this 'midst', *meson*, stands for a more original *meros*, 'part', (cf. Mt. 2:22: *ta merē tēs Galilaias*, 'the region of Galilee', actually 'the parts of Galilee'). These 'parts' could be something different than the 'coasts of Decapolis, the region', namely 'parts of legions', the 'units', the 'troops'. And in both cases: Here in Mark it could have been the units that Caesar received from Deiotaros, and in Matthew it could have been the troops that Caesar concentrated in the Cisalpinga before the outbreak of the civil war. This strengthens the conjecture that we have to sense a *cohortium* behind the *tôn horiôn*.
- 581 Suet. *Jul.* 24: *Qua fiducia ad legiones, quas a re publica acceperat, alias priuato sumptu addidit, unam etiam ex Transalpinis conscriptam, uocabulo quoque Gallico (Alauda enim appellabatur), quam disciplina cultuque Romano institutam et ornata postea uniuersam ciuitate donauit.*
Tac. *Ann.* 11.24: *tunc solida domi quies et aduersus externa floruius, cum Transpadani in ciuitatem recepti, cum specie deductarum per orbem terrae legionum additis provincialium validissimis fesso imperio subuentum est.*
- 582 Suet. *Jul.* 41: *Senatum suppleuit [...].* Suet. *Jul.* 80: *Peregrinis in senatum allectis libellus propositus est: «Bonum factum! Ne quis senatori nouo curiam monstrare uelit», et illa vulgo canebantur: «Gallos Caesar in triumphum ducit, idem in curiam; Galli bracas deposuerunt, latum clauum sumpserunt.»*
Suet. *Jul.* 76: *Eadem licentia spreto patrio more magistratus in pluris annos ordinauit, decem praetoris uiris consularia ornamenta tribuit, ciuitate donatos et quosdam e semibarbaris Gallorum recepit in curiam.*
- 583 Suet. *Jul.* 58: *at idem obsessione castrorum in Germania nuntiata per stationes hostium Gallico habitu penetrauit ad suos.*
- 584 Plut. *Caes.* 26: *ἔδοξε δὲ κατ' ἀρχάς τι καὶ σφαλῆναι, καὶ δεικνύουσιν Ἀρβέρνοι ξιφίδιον πρὸς ἱερῷ κρεμάμενον, ὡς δὴ Καίσαρος λάφυρον· ὁ θεασάμενος αὐτὸς ὕστερον ἐμειδίασε, καὶ τῶν φίλων καθελεῖν κελευόντων οὐκ εἴασεν, ἱερὸν ἠγούμενος.*
- 585 Mk. 8:26: *καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκον αὐτοῦ λέγων, Μηδὲ εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσέλθης.*

586 Plut. Caes. 51: καὶ κακῶς ἤκουσεν, ὅτι τῶν στρατιωτῶν στασιασάντων καὶ δύο στρατηγικοὺς ἀνδρας ἀνελόντων, Κοσκώνιον καὶ Γάλβαν, ἐπετίμησε μὲν αὐτοῖς τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἀντὶ στρατιωτῶν πολίτας προσαγορευῆσαι, χιλίας δὲ διένειμεν ἐκάστῳ δραχμὰς καὶ χώραν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπεκλήρωσε πολλήν.

App. BC 2.92.386-94.396: πυθόμενος δ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ στάσιν εἶναι καὶ Ἀντωνίων τὸν ἵππαρχον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγορὰν στρατιᾷ φυλάσσειν, πάντα μεθεῖς ἐς Ῥώμην ἠπέιγετο. ὡς δ' ἦλθεν, ἡ μὲν στάσις ἢ πολιτικὴ κατεπαύετο, ἕτερα δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀνίστατο τοῦ στρατοῦ, ὡς οὔτε τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα σφίσι ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἔργῳ λαβόντες οὔτε ἐνόμως ἔτι βραδύνοντες ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ ἀφεθῆναι τε πάντες ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἤξιον. ὁ δ' ἐπηγγέλλετο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀόριστά τινα ἐν Φαρσάλῳ, καὶ ἕτερα ἀόριστα, ὅταν ὁ ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεμος ἐκτελεσθῇ· τότε δ' ἔπεμπεν ἄλλας ὀρίζων ἐκάστῳ χιλίας δραχμὰς. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑποσχέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτίκα διδοῖναι πάντα ἐκέλευον· καὶ περὶ τῶνδε Σαλούστιον Κρίσπον πεμφθέντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὀλίγου καὶ διέφθειραν, εἰ μὴ διέφυγε. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ τέλος μὲν ἄλλο στρατιωτῶν, οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ Ἀντωνίου παρεφύλασσαν, περιέστησε τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐξόδοις, δείσας περὶ ἀρπαγῆς· αὐτὸς δέ, πάντων δεδιότων καὶ παραινούτων αὐτῷ τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ φυλάσσειν, μᾶλα θρασέως αὐτοῖς ἔτι στασιάζουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἄρειον πεδίον ἐπήλθεν οὐ προμηνύσας καὶ ἐπὶ βήματος ὤφθη. οἱ δὲ σὺν θορύβῳ τε ἀνοπλοὶ συνέτρεχον καί, ὡς ἔθος, ἄφνω φανέντα σφίσι ἐσπάζοντο αὐτοκράτορα. κελεύσαντος δ' ὅτι θέλοιεν εἰπεῖν, περὶ μὲν τῶν δωρεῶν ἐς ὄμνιν εἰπεῖν αὐτοῦ παρόντος οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησαν ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκπλήξεως, ὡς δὲ μετριώτερον, ἀφεθῆναι τῆς στρατείας ἀνεβόησαν, ἐλπίσαντες στρατοῦ δεόμενον ἐς τοὺς ὑπολοίπους πολέμους αὐτὸν ἐρεῖν τι καὶ περὶ τῶν δωρεῶν. ὁ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἀπάντων δόξαν οὐδὲ μελλήσας ἀπεκρίνατο· "ἀφίημι." καταπλαγέντων δ' αὐτῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης γενομένης ἐπέειπε· "καὶ δώσω γε ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἅπαντα, ὅταν θριαμβεύσω μεθ' ἐτέρων." ἀδοκῆτου δ' αὐτοῖς ἅμα καὶ τοῦδε καὶ φιλανθρωποῦ φανέντος, αἰδῶς αὐτίκα πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτεν καὶ λογισμὸς μετὰ ζήλου, εἰ δόξουσι μὲν αὐτοὶ καταλιπεῖν σφῶν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐν μέσοις τοσοῖσδε πολεμίοις, θριαμβεύσουσι δ' ἀνθ' αὐτῶν ἕτεροι καὶ σφεῖς τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ κερδῶν ἐκπεσοῦνται, μεγάλων ἔσεσθαι νομιζομένων, ἐχθροὶ τε ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε Καίσαρος ἔσονται καὶ τῶν πολεμίων. δείσαντες οὖν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠσύχαζον ἐξ ἀπορίας, ἐλπίζοντες ἐνδώσειν τι καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα καὶ μεταγνώσεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν χερσὶ χρεῖαν. ὁ δ' ἀθησύχαζε καὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν παρακαλούντων ἐπιφθέγξασθαι τι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄλλο καὶ μὴ βραχεῖ καὶ αὐστηρῶ λόγῳ πολλὰ συνεστρατευμένους ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, ἀρχόμενος λέγειν πολίτας ἀντὶ στρατιωτῶν προσεῖπεν· ὅπερ ἐστὶ σύμβολον ἀφειμένων τῆς στρατείας καὶ ἰδιωτενόντων. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες ἔτι ἀνέκραγον μετανοεῖν καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτῷ συστρατεύεσθαι. ἀποστρεφόμενοι τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἀπίοντος ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, οἱ δὲ σὺν ἐπιείξει πλέοι βοῶντες ἐνέκειντο παραμείναι τε αὐτὸν καὶ κολάζειν σφῶν τοὺς ἀμαρτόντας. ὁ δ' ἔτι μὲν τι διέτριψεν, οὔτε ἀπιῶν οὔτε ἐπανιῶν, ὑποκρινόμενος ἀπορεῖν· ἐπανελθὼν δ' ὁμῶς ἔφη κολάσειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα, ἄχθεσθαι δ', ὅτι καὶ τὸ δέκατον τέλος, ὃ προετίμησεν αἰεὶ, τοιαῦτα θορυβεῖ. "καὶ τόδε," ἔφη, "μόνον ἀφίημι τῆς στρατείας· δώσω δὲ καὶ τῶδε ὁμῶς τὰ ὑπεσχημένα ἅπαντα, ἐπανελθὼν ἐκ Λιβύης. δώσω δὲ καὶ γῆν ἅπασιν ἐκτελεσθέντων τῶν πολέμων, οὐ καθάπερ Σύλλας, ἀφαιρούμενος ἐτέρων ἢν ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς ἀφαιρεθεῖσι τοὺς λαβόντας συνοικίζων καὶ ποιῶν ἀλλήλοις ἐς αἰεὶ πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ δήμου γῆν ἐπινέμων καὶ τὴν ἔμαυτοῦ, καὶ τὰ δέοντα προσωνοῦμενος." κρότου δὲ καὶ εὐφημίας παρὰ πάντων γενομένης, τὸ δέκατον ὑπερήλγει τέλος, ἐς μόνον αὐτὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδιαλλάκτου φανέντος· καὶ σφᾶς αὐτὸν ἤξιον διακληρώσαι τε καὶ τὸ μέρος θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπερεθίζειν ἔτι δεόμενος ἀκριβῶς μετανοοῦντας, συνηλλάσσετο ἅπασιν καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεμον ἐξῆι.

Dio Cass. HR 42.52-5.

Suet. Jul. 67: *nec milites eos pro contione, sed blandiore nomine commilitones appellabat [...].*

Suet. Jul. 70: *decimanos autem Romae cum ingentibus minis summoque etiam urbis periculo missionem et praemia flagitantes, ardente tunc in Africa bello, neque adire cunctatus est, quanquam deterrentibus amicis, neque dimittere; sed una uoce, qua 'Quirites' eos pro militibus appellarat, tam facile circumegit et flexit, ut ei milites esse confestim responderint et quamuis recusantem ultro in Africam sint secuti; ac sic quoque seditiosissimum quemque et praedae et agri destinati tertia parte multauit.*

587 Mk. 12:1-12: *Καὶ ἤρξατο αὐτοῖς ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλεῖν, Ἄμπελῶνα ἄνθρωπος ἐφύτευσεν καὶ περιέθηκεν φραγμὸν καὶ ὤρυξεν ὑπολήμιον καὶ ὤκοδόμησεν πύργον καὶ ἐξέδετο αὐτὸν γεωργοῖς καὶ ἀπεδήμησεν. καὶ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς τοὺς γεωργοὺς τῷ καιρῷ δοῦλον ἵνα παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν λάβῃ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τοῦ ἀμπελώνος· καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἔδειραν καὶ ἀπέστειλαν κενόν. καὶ πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄλλον δοῦλον· κάκεῖνον ἐκεφαλίωσαν καὶ ἠτίμασαν. καὶ ἄλλον ἀπέστειλεν· κάκεῖνον ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους, οὓς μὲν δέροντες, οὓς δὲ ἀποκτείνοντες. ἔτι ἓνα εἶχεν υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν· ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν ἔσχατον πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγων ὅτι Ἐντραπήσονται τὸν υἱόν μου. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ γεωργοὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς εἶπαν ὅτι Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ κληρονόμος· δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἡμῶν ἔσται ἡ κληρονομία. καὶ λαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ ἀμπελώνος. τί [οὖν] ποιήσῃ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελώνος; ἐλεύσεται καὶ ἀπολέσει τοὺς γεωργοὺς, καὶ δώσει τὸν ἀμπελῶνα ἄλλοις. οὐδὲ τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην ἀνέγνωτε, / Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, / οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας· / παρὰ κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη / καὶ ἔστιν θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν; / Καὶ ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν κρατῆσαι, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν ὄχλον, ἐγινωσαν γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν παραβολὴν εἶπεν. καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἀπήλθον.*

588 Suet. Jul. 42: *de pecuniis mutuis disiecta nouarum tabularum expectatione, quae crebro mouebatur, decreuit tandem, ut debitores creditoribus satis facerent per aestimationem possessionum, quanti quasque ante ciuile bellum comparassent, deducto summae aeris alieni, si quid usurae nomine numeratum aut perscriptum fuisset; qua condicione quarta pars fere crediti deperibat.*

Dio Cass. HR 42.50.4: ὁθενπερ καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἀξιούντος τοῦ πλήθους γενέσθαι οὐκ ἐποίησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ ὀφείλω· Dio Cass. HR 42.51.1-3: τοῖς τε γὰρ πολλοῖς ἐχαρίσατο τὸν τε τόκον τὸν ἐποφειλούμενόν σφισιν ἔξ ὀπρὸς τὸν Πομπηίου ἐξεπολεμώθη πάντα, καὶ τὸ ἐνοίκιον ὅσον ἐς πεντακοσίας δραχμῶν ἦν ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐνὸς ἀφείς, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς τιμήσεις τῶν κτημάτων, ἐν οἷς τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν δανεισμάτων κατὰ τοὺς νόμους γίνεσθαι ἔδει, πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἀξίαν ἐπαναγαγόν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ πλήθει τῶν δεδημοσιωμένων πολὺ πάντα ἐπεύωμιστο.

589 Mk. 12:13-17: *Καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν πρὸς αὐτόν τινὰς τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ τῶν Ἑρωδιανῶν ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀγρεύσωσιν λόγῳ. καὶ ἐλθόντες λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Διδάσκαλε, οἴδαμεν ὅτι ἀληθὴς εἶ καὶ οὐ μέλει σοι περὶ οὐδενός· οὐ γὰρ βλέπεις εἰς πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διδάσκεις· ἔξεστιν δοῦναι κῆνσον Καίσαρι ἢ οὐ; δῶμεν ἢ μὴ δῶμεν; ὁ δὲ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Τί με πειράζετε; φέρετέ μοι δηνάριον ἵνα ἴδω. οἱ δὲ ἤνεγκαν. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Τίνος ἡ εἰκὼν αὕτη καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ, Καίσαρος. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Τὰ Καίσαρος ἀπόδοτε Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ. καὶ ἐξεθαύμαζον ἐπ' αὐτῷ.*

590 Dio Cass. HR 42.51.4-5: τούτους τε οὖν ταῦτα πράξας ἀνηρτήσατο, καὶ τῶν προσεταιριστῶν τῶν τε συναγωνιστῶν τοὺς μὲν βουλευτὰς ἱερωσύνας τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς ταῖς τε ἐς τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους ἐκείνου χρόνον καὶ ταῖς ἐς νέωτα (ἵνα γὰρ πλείους αὐτῶν ἀμείψηται, στρατηγούς τε δέκα ἐς τὸ ἐπιὸν ἔτος ἀπέδειξε καὶ ἱερέας ὑπὲρ τὸ νενομισμένον· τοῖς τε γὰρ ποιντίφιξι καὶ τοῖς οἰωνισταῖς, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, τοῖς τε πεντεκαίδεκα καλουμένοις ἓνα ἐκάστοις προσένειμε, καίπερ αὐτὸς βουλευθεὶς πάσας τὰς ἱερωσύνας λαβεῖν ὥσπερ ἐψήφιστο), τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας τοῦ

τέλους τοὺς τε ἑκατοντάρχους καὶ τοὺς ὑπομείνας ἄλλοις τέ τισι καὶ τῷ καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριόν τινας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλῶτων καταλέξει.

Suet. Jul. 42: *Cuncta collegia praeter antiquitus constituta distraxit.*

- 591 **Suet. Jul. 76: *Tertium et quartum consulatum titulo tenus gessit, contentus dictaturae potestate decretae cum consulatibus simul [...].***

Dio Cass. HR 42.55.4: ταῦτά <τε> ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ δικτάτωρ μὲν ὄντως αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον ἦρξεν, ὑπατοὶ δὲ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ αὐτοῦ ἀποδειχθέντες ὁ τε Καλῆμος καὶ ὁ Οὐατίμιος ἐλέγοντο εἶναι, ἐποίησε [...].

- 592 **Suet. Jul. 35: *Dehinc Scipionem ac Iubam reliquias partium in Africa refoventis deiecit.***

Vell. 2.55: *Nusquam erat Pompeius corpore, adhuc ubique uiuebat nomine. Quirpe ingens partium eius fauor bellum excitaauerat Africum quod ciebat rex Iuba et Scipio, uir consularis, ante biennium quam extingueretur Pompeius, lectus ab eo socer, eorumque copias auxerat M. Cato, ingenti cum difficultate itinerum locorumque inopia, perductis ad eos legionibus: qui uir, cum summum ei a militibus deferretur imperium, honoratori parere maluit. Admonet promissae breuitatis fides quanto omnia transcursu dicenda sint. Sequens fortunam suam Caesar peruectus in Africam est, quam, occiso Curione, Iulianarum duce partium, Pompeiani obtinebant exercitus. Ibi primo uaria fortuna, mox pugnavit sua, inclinataeque hostium copiae; nec dissimilis ibi aduersus uictos quam in priores clementia Caesaris fuit.*

Dio Cass. HR 42.56-43.13.

App. BC 95-100.397: Διαβαλὼν δ' ἐκ Ῥηγίου τὸν πορθμὸν ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης ἐς Λιλύβαιον ἦλθε. καὶ πυθόμενος Κάτωνα μὲν τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ πολέμου ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῶν τιμὴ μέρει φρουρεῖν ἐν Ἰτύκῃ μετὰ τῶν τριακοσίων, οὓς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ προβούλους ἐπεποίητο τοῦ πολέμου καὶ σύγκλητον ἐκάλουν, τὸν δ' αὐτοκράτορα Λεύκιον Σκιπίωνα καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐν Ἀδρυμητῷ στρατοπεδεύειν, διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα.; [409-412]: οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐς ὕπνον ἀπίων ἐνήλλαξέ τι τῶν συνήθων, πλὴν ὅτι υἱὸν ἠσπάσατο φιλοφρονέστερον. τὸ δὲ ξιφίδιον τῇ κλίνῃ τὸ σύνθηες οὐχ εὐρών παρακείμενον ἐξεβόησεν, ὅτι προδιδοῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων τοῖς πολεμίοις· τίμῃ γὰρ ἔφη χρῆσασθαι προσόντων, ἀν νικτὸς ἐπίωσι; τῶν δὲ αὐτὸν παρακαλούντων μηδὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν βουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀναπαύεσθαι χωρὶς ξιφιδίου, ἀξιοπιστότερον ἔτι εἶπεν· "οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μοι θέλοντι καὶ δι' ἐσθῆτος ἑμαυτὸν ἀποπνίξει καὶ ἐς τὰ τεῖχη τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπαράξει καὶ ἐς τράχηλον κυβιστήσῃ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα κατασχόντα ἐκτρίψῃ;" πολλὰ τε ὅμοια εἰπὼν παρήγαγεν αὐτοὺς παραθεῖναι τὸ ξιφίδιον. ὡς δὲ ἐτέθη, Πλάτωνος αἰτήσας τὴν περὶ ψυχῆς συγγραφὴν ἀνεγίνωσκε. Καὶ ἐπεὶ τέλος εἶχε τῷ Πλάτῳ ὁ λόγος, ἀναπαύεσθαι τοὺς περὶ θύρας ὑπολαβῶν ἔτρωσεν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὰ στέρνα· προπεσόντων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν σπλάγχων καὶ στόνου τινὸς ἐξακουσθέντος ἐσέδραμον οἱ περὶ θύρας· καὶ οἱ ἰατροὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα ἔτι σῶα ὄντα ἐνέθηκαν ἔνδον καὶ τὰς πληγὰς ἐπιρράψαντες ἐπέδησαν. ὁ δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν αὐθις ὑπεκρίνετο καὶ κατεμέμφετο μὲν ἑαυτῷ πληγῆς ἀσθενούς, χάριν δ' ὠμολόγει τοῖς περισώσασι καὶ καταδαρθεῖν ἔφη δεῖσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ ξίφος ἔχοντες ὤχοντο καὶ τὰς θύρας ὡς ἠρεμοῦντι ἐπέκλεισαν· ὁ δ' ὕπνου δόξαν αὐτοῖς παρασχὼν τὰ δεσμά ταῖς χερσὶ μετὰ σιγῆς ἀπερρήγνυ καὶ τὰς ῥαφὰς τοῦ τραύματος ἀνέπτυσσεν, οἷα θηρίον τὸ τε τραῦμα καὶ τὴν γαστέρα εὐρύντων ὄνυξι καὶ δακτύλοις ἐρευνῶν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα διαρρίπτων, μέχρι ἐτελεύτησεν, ἔτη μὲν ἀμφὶ πεντήκοντα γεγονώς, ὁμολογούμενος δὲ τὴν τε γνώμην, ἐς ὃ τι κρίνειε, πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιμονώτατος φῦναι καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἢ πρέπον ἢ καλὸν οὐκ ἔθεσι μᾶλλον ἢ μεγαλοψύχους λογιμοῖς ὀρίσαι. [...] τοιόσδε μὲν δὴ Κάτων ἦν, καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰτυκαῖοι λαμπρῶς ἔθαπτον· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔφη μὲν οἱ φθονῆσαι Κάτωνα καλῆς ἐπιδείξεως [...].

Plut. Caes. 52-4: Τῶν δὲ περὶ Κάτωνα καὶ Σκιπίωνα μετὰ τὴν ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μάχην εἰς Λιβύην φυγόντων κάκει, τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰόβα βοηθοῦντος αὐτοῖς, ἠθροικώτων δυνάμεις ἀξιολόγους, ἔγνω στρατεύειν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπ' αὐτούς· [...] οἱ γὰρ Νομάδες, ἐπιφανόμενοι πολλοὶ καὶ ταχεῖς ἐκάστοτε, κατεῖχον τὴν χώραν· καὶ ποτε τῶν Καί-

σαρος ἰππέων σχολὴν ἀγόντων (ἔτυχε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀνὴρ Λίβυς ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὄρχησιν ἅμα καὶ μοναυλῶν θαύματος ἀξίως), οἱ μὲν ἐκάθητο τερπόμενοι, τοῖς παισὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἐξαίφνης δὲ περιελθόντες ἐμβάλλουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ κτείνουσι, τοῖς δ' εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον προτροπάδην ἐλαυνομένοις συνεισέπεσον. εἰ δὲ μὴ Καῖσαρ αὐτός, ἅμα δὲ Καῖσαρι Πολλίων Ἀσίμιος, βοηθοῦντες ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἔσχον τὴν φυγὴν, διεπέπρακτ' ἂν ὁ πόλεμος. [...] οἱ μὲν «οὖν» ταῦτα περὶ τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης ἀναγγέλλουσιν· οἱ δ' οὐ φασι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γενέσθαι, συντάττοντος δὲ τὴν στρατιάν καὶ διακοσμοῦντος ἄψασθαι τὸ σύνηθες νόσημα· τὸν δ' εὐθὺς αἰσθόμενον ἀρχομένου, πρὶν ἐκταράττεσθαι καὶ καταλαμβάνεσθαι παντάπασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους τὴν αἴσθησιν ἤδη σειομένην, εἰς τινα τῶν πλησίον πύργων κομισθῆναι καὶ διαγαγεῖν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ. τῶν δὲ πεφευγόντων ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὑπατικῶν καὶ στρατηγικῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ἑαυτοὺς διέφθειραν ἀλίσκομενοι, συχνοὺς δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔκτεινε ἀλόντας.

Plut. Caes. 17: ἡ δὲ τῶν πόνων ὑπομονὴ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος δύναμιν ἐγκαρτερρεῖν δοκοῦντος ἐξέπληττει, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἔξιν ὦν ἰσχνός, καὶ τὴν σάρκα λευκὸς καὶ ἀπαλός, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν νοσώδης, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιληπτικοῖς ἐνοχος (ἐν Κορδύβῃ πρῶτον αὐτῷ τοῦ πάθους ὡς λέγεται τούτου προσπεσόντος), οὐ μαλακίας ἐποίησατο τὴν ἀρρωστίαν πρόφασιν, ἀλλὰ θεραπείαν τῆς ἀρρωστίας τὴν στρατείαν, ταῖς ἀτρύτοις ὁδοιπορίας καὶ ταῖς εὐτελεσί διαίταις καὶ τῷ θυραυλεῖν ἐνδελεχῶς καὶ τάλαιπωρεῖν ἀπομαχόμενος τῷ πάθει καὶ τὸ σῶμα τηρῶν δυσάλωτοι.

Suet. Jul. 45: *Fuisse traditur excelsa statura, colore candido, teretibus membris, ore paulo pleniore, nigris uegetisque oculis, ualitudine prospera, nisi quod tempore extremo repente animo linqui atque etiam per somnum exterreri solebat. comitali quoque morbo bis inter res agendas correptus est.* **Suet. Jul. 57:** *Armorum et equitandi peritissimus, laboris ultra fidem patiens erat. in agmine nonnumquam equo, saepius pedibus anteibat, capite detecto, seu sol seu imber esset [...].*

Cf. also Maggi & Reggi (1986).

- 593 **Mk. 9:14-29:** Καὶ ἐλθόντες πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς εἶδον ὄχλον πολὺν περὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γραμματεῖς συζητοῦντας πρὸς αὐτούς. καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐξεθαμβήθησαν καὶ προστρέχοντες ἠσπάζοντο αὐτόν. καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτούς, Τί συζητεῖτε πρὸς αὐτούς; καὶ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ εἰς ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου, Διδάσκαλε, ἦνεγκα τὸν υἱόν μου πρὸς σέ, ἔχοντα πνεῦμα ἄλαλον· καὶ ὅπου ἐάν αὐτὸν καταλάβῃ ῥήσσει αὐτόν, καὶ ἀφρίζει καὶ τρίζει τοὺς ὀδόντας καὶ ξηραίνεται· καὶ εἶπα τοῖς μαθηταῖς σου ἵνα αὐτὸ ἐκβάλωσιν, καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτοῖς λέγει, ὦ γενεὰ ἀπίστος, ἕως πότε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔσομαι; ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν; φέρετε αὐτὸν πρὸς με. καὶ ἦνεγκαν αὐτὸν πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα εὐθὺς συνεσπάραξεν αὐτόν, καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκκλίετο ἀφρίζων. καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, Πόσος χρόνος ἐστὶν ὡς τοῦτο γέγοιεν αὐτῷ; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἐκ παιδιόθεν· καὶ πολλάκις καὶ εἰς πῦρ αὐτὸν ἔβαλεν καὶ εἰς ὕδατα ἵνα ἀπολέσῃ αὐτόν· ἀλλ' εἴ τι δύνη, βοήθησον ἡμῖν σπλαγχισθεὶς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Τὸ εἶ δύνη, πάντα δυνατὰ τῷ πιστεύοντι. εὐθὺς κράξας ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ παιδίου ἔλεγεν, Πιστεύω· βοήθει μου τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἐπισυντρέχει ὄχλος, ἐπετίμησεν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀκαθάρτῳ λέγων αὐτῷ, Τὸ ἄλαλον καὶ κωφὸν πνεῦμα, ἐγὼ ἐπιτάσσω σοι, ἔξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ μηκέτι εἰσέλθῃς εἰς αὐτόν. καὶ κράξας καὶ πολλὰ σπαραξας ἐξῆλθεν· καὶ ἐγένετο ὡσεὶ νεκρός, ὥστε τοὺς πολλοὺς λέγειν ὅτι ἀπέθανεν. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἤγειρεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀνέστη, καὶ εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς οἶκον οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν, Ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Τοῦτο τὸ γένος ἐν οὐδενὶ δύναται ἐξελεῖν εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ.

- 594 **Mk. 14:33-35:** καὶ ἤρξατο ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Περίλυπός ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου· μείνατε ὧδε καὶ γρηγορεῖτε. καὶ προελθὼν μικρὸν ἐπιπτεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ προσήχετο ἵνα εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν παρέλθῃ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα [...].

- 595 **Plut. Cic. 39:** ἐκ δὲ τούτου διετέλει τιμῶν καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος, ὥστε καὶ γράφαντι λόγον ἐγκώμιον Κάτωνος ἀντιγράφων τὸν τε λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν βίον ὡς μάλιστα τῷ Περικλέους ἑοικότα καὶ Θηραμένους ἐπαινεῖν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κικέρωνος λόγος Κάτων, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρος Ἀντικάτων ἐπιγέγραπται.
- Plut. Cat. Mi. 25; Cat. Mi. 52:** ὁ μὲν οὖν Πομπήϊος οὔτε δύναμιν ἔχων ἐτοίμην, οὔθ' οὓς κατέλεγε τότε προθύμους ὄρων, ἐξέλιπε τὴν Ῥώμην, ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἐπεσθαι καὶ συμφεύγειν ἐγνωκώς, τὸν μὲν νεώτερον υἱὸν εἰς Βρεττίους ὑπεξέθετο πρὸς Μουνατίον, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον εἶχε σὺν ἑαυτῷ. τῆς δ' οἰκίας καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων κηδεμόνος δεομένων, ἀνέλαβε πάλιν τὴν Μαρκίαν, χηρεύουσαν ἐπὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς· ὁ γὰρ Ὀρτήσιος θηήσκων ἐκείνην ἀπέλιπε κληρονόμον. εἰς ὃ δὴ μάλιστα λωιδροούμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷ Κάτωνι φιλοπλουτίαν προφέρει καὶ μισθαρίαν ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ. τί γὰρ ἔδει παραχωρεῖν δεόμενον γυναικός, ἢ τί μὴ δεόμενον αὐθις ἀναλαμβάνειν, εἰ μὴ δέλεαρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑφείθη τὸ γύναιον Ὀρτησίῳ καὶ νέαν ἔχρησεν ἵνα πλουσίαν ἀπολάβῃ; [...] εἰ δ' ἄλλη πῃ μὴ καλῶς πέπρακται τὰ περὶ τὸν γάμον, ἐπισκεπτέον. ἐγγυησάμενος γοῦν τὴν Μαρκίαν ὁ Κάτων καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐπιτρέψας ἐκείνη καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας, αὐτὸς ἐδίωκε Πομπήϊον. Ἀπ' ἐκείνης δὲ λέγεται τῆς ἡμέρας μῆτε κεφαλὴν ἔτι κείρασθαι μῆτε γένηα, μῆτε στέφανον ἐπιθέσθαι, πένθους δὲ καὶ κατηφείας καὶ βαρύτητος ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς τῆς πατρίδος ἐν σχήμα υἱκίωντων ὁμοίως καὶ νικωμένων ἄχρι τελευτῆς διαφυλάττει.
- App. BC 2.99.413-414:** Μαρκία γέ τοι τῇ Φιλίππου συνῶν ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἀρεσκόμενος αὐτῇ μάλιστα καὶ παῖδας ἔχων ἐξ ἐκείνης ἔδωκεν ὅμως αὐτὴν Ὀρτησίῳ τῶν φίλων τινί, παίδων τε ἐπιθυμοῦντι καὶ τεκνοποιῶντι γυναικὸς οὐ τυγχάνοντι, μέχρι κάκεινῳ κησασαν ἐς τὸν οἶκον αὐθις ὡς χρήσας ἀνεδέξατο. [...] Κικέρωνος δὲ ποιήσαντος ἐγκώμιον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιγράφαντος Κάτων, ἀντέγραψε κατηγορίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐπέραψεν Ἀντικάτων.
- 596 **Mk. 12:38-40:** Καὶ ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ ἔλεγεν, Βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων τῶν θελώντων ἐν στολαῖς περιπατεῖν καὶ ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ πρωτοκλισίας ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις, οἱ κατεσθίοντες τὰς οἰκίας τῶν κληρῶν καὶ προφάσει μακρὰ προσευχόμενοι· οὗτοι λήψονται περὶ σῶστερον κρίμα.
- 597 **App. BC 2.101.418-102.425. Plut. Caes. 55. Suet. Jul. 37.**
- 598 **Mk. 11:7-11:** καὶ φέρουσιν τὸν πῶλον πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἐπιβάλλουσιν αὐτῷ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ πολλοὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ἔστρωσαν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ἄλλοι δὲ στιβάδας κόψαντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν. καὶ οἱ προάγοντες καὶ οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἔκραζον, Ἰωσαννά· Ἰὺλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου· Ἰὺλογημένη ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δαυὶδ· Ἰωσαννά ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις. Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα εἰς τὸ ἱερόν [...].
- 599 **Suet. Jul. 51:** *Ne provincialibus quidem matrimoniis abstinuisse uel hoc disticho apparet iactato aequae a militibus per Gallicum triumphum: / Urbani seruate uxores: moechum caluom adducimus; / Aurum in Gallia effutuisti, hic sumpsisti mutuum.*
- 600 **Hirt. Gal. 8.50-51:** *Ipse hibernis peractis contra consuetudinem in Italiam quam maximis itineribus est profectus, ut municipia et colonias appellaret, quibus M. Antonii, quaestoris sui, commendaverat sacerdotii petitionem. [...] Exceptus est Caesaris adventus ab omnibus municipiis et coloniis incredibili honore atque amore. tum primum enim veniebat ab illo universae Galliae bello. nihil relinquebat, quod ad ornatum portarum, itinerum, locorum omnium, qua Caesar iturus erat, excogitari poterat. cum liberis omnis multitudo obviam procedebat, hostiae omnibus locis immolabantur, tricliniis stratis fora templa occupabantur, ut vel spectatissimi triumphii laetitia praecipere posset. tanta erat magnificentia apud opulentiores, cupiditas apud humiliores.*
- 601 **Hirt. Gal. 8.52:** *Cum omnes regiones Galliae togatae Caesar percucurrisset, summa celeritate ad exercitum Nemetocennam rediit legionibusque ex omnibus hibernis ad fines Treverorum evocatis eo profectus est ibique exercitum lustravit.*

Mk. 11:1: καὶ περιβλεψάμενος πάντα, ὀφίας ἤδη οὔσης τῆς ὥρας, ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα.

602 Suet. Jul. 35: *Dehinc Scipionem ac Iubam reliquias partium in Africa refouentis deuicit, Pompei liberos in Hispania.*

Vell. 2.55: *Victorem Africani belli Caesarem grauius excepit Hispaniense—nam uictus ab eo Pharnaces uix quidquam gloriae eius adstruxit,—quod Cn. Pompeius, Magni filius, adulescens impetus ad bella maximi, ingens ac terribile conflauerat, undique ad eum adhuc paterni nominis magnitudinem sequentium ex toto orbe terrarum auxiliis confluentibus. Sua Caesarem in Hispaniam comitata fortuna est, sed nullum umquam atrocius periculosiusque ab eo initum proelium adeo ut plus quam dubio Marte descenderet equo consistensque ante recedentem suorum aciem, increpita prius fortuna quod se in eum seruasset exitum, denuntiaret militibus uestigio se non recessurum: proinde uiderent quem et quo loco imperatorem deserturi forent. Verecundia magis quam uirtute acies restituta et a duce quam a milite fortius. Cn. Pompeius, grauis uulnere inuentus inter solitudines auias, interemptus est; Labienum Varumque acies abstulit.*

Plut. Caes. 56: Συντελεσθέντων δὲ τούτων ὑπατος ἀποδειχθεὶς τὸ τέταρτον, εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πομπηίου παῖδας, νέους μὲν ὄντας ἔτι, θαυμαστὴν δὲ τῷ πλήθει στρατιὰν συνειλοχότας καὶ τόλμην ἀποδεικνυμένους ἀξιόχρεων πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν, ὥστε κίνδυνον τῷ Καίσαρι περιστῆσαι τὸν ἔσχατον. ἡ δὲ μεγάλη μάχη περὶ πόλιν συνέστη Μοῦνδαν, ἐν ἣ Καῖσαρ ἐκθλιβομένους ὄρων τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κακῶς ἀντέχοντας, ἐβόα διὰ τῶν ὄπλων καὶ τῶν τάξεων περιθέων, εἰ μὴδὲν αἰδοῦνται, λαβόντας αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίσαι τοῖς παιδαρίοις. μόλις δὲ προθυμῶς πολλῇ τοὺς πολεμίους ὠσάμενος, ἐκείνων μὲν ὑπὲρ τρισμυρίου διεφθείρε, τῶν δ' ἑαυτοῦ χιλίους ἀπώλεσε τοὺς ἀρίστους. ἀπὼν δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν, ὡς πολλάκις μὲν ἀγωνίσαιτο περὶ νίκης, νῦν δὲ πρῶτον περὶ ψυχῆς. ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐνίκησε τῇ τῶν Διονυσίων ἐορτῇ, καθ' ἣν λέγεται καὶ Πομπηῖος Μάγνος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξελεθῆναι διὰ μέσου δὲ χρόνος ἐνιαυτῶν τεσσάρων διήλθε. τῶν δὲ Πομπηίου παίδων ὁ μὲν νεώτερος διέφυγε, τοῦ δὲ πρεσβυτέρου μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας Δεΐδιος ἀνήνεγκε τὴν κεφαλὴν. Τοῦτον ἔσχατον Καῖσαρ ἐπολέμησε τὸν πόλεμον· ὁ δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καταχθεὶς θρίαμβος ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο Ῥωμαίους ἠνίασεν. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο φύλου ἡγεμόνας οὐδὲ βαρβάρους βασιλεῖς κατηγονησμένοι, ἀνδρὸς δὲ Ῥωμαίων κράτιστον τύχαις κεχηρμένον παῖδας καὶ γένος ἀρδην ἀνηρηκότα ταῖς τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιπομπεύειν συμφοραῖς οὐ καλῶς εἶχεν, ἀγαλλόμενον ἐπὶ τούτοις ὧν μία καὶ πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπολογία τὸ μετ' ἀνάγκης πεπραχθαι, καὶ ταῦτα πρότερον μὴτ' ἄγγελον μῆτε γράμματα δημοσίᾳ πέμψαντα περὶ νίκης ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων, ἀλλ' ἀπωσάμενον αἰσχύνη τὴν δόξαν.

App. BC 2.103.426-104.33: Αὐτὸς δὲ ἤδη τέταρτον ὑπατεύων ἐπὶ τὸν νέον Πομπηῖον ἐστράτευεν εἰς Ἰβηρίαν, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ λοιπὸς ἦν ἐπὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος· τῶν τε γὰρ ἀρίστων ὅσοι διεπεφεύγεσαν ἐκ Λιβύης, ἐκεῖ συνέδραμον, καὶ στρατὸς ὁ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Λιβύης τε καὶ Φαρσάλου τοῖς ἡγεμόσι συνήλθεν, ὁ δὲ ἐξ Ἰβήρων τε καὶ Κελτιβήρων, ἔθνος ἀλκίμου καὶ χαίροντος αἰεὶ μάχαις. πολὺς δὲ καὶ δούλων ὄμιλος ἐστρατεύετο τῷ Πομπηίῳ· καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος εἶχον ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ γνώμην ἔτοιμον ἀγωνίσασθαι μετὰ ἀπογνώσεως. [...] Δι' ἃ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἐβράδυνεν, ἔσπε πού τι αὐτῷ κατασκευαστέον προσηλάσας ὁ Πομπηῖος ὠνειδίσειεν εἰς δειλίαν. καὶ τὸ ὄνειδος οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξέτασσε παρὰ πόλιν Κορδύβην, σύνθημα καὶ τότε δοὺς Ἀφροδίτην· ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Πομπηῖος Εὐσέβειαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνιόντων ἤδη τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοῦ τὸ δέος ἤπτετο καὶ ὄκνος ἐπεγίγνετο τῷ φόβῳ, θεοὺς πάντας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἰκέτευε, τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνίσχων, μὴ ἐνὶ πόνῳ τῷδε πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ ἔργα μῆναι, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπιθέων παρεκάλει τό τε κράνος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφαιρῶν εἰς πρόσωπον ἐδυσώπει καὶ προύτρεπεν. οἱ δὲ οὐδ' ὡς τι μετέβαλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους, ἕως ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἀρπάσας τινὸς ἀσπίδα καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσιν εἰπὼν· ἔσται

τοῦτο τέλος ἐμοί τε τοῦ βίου καὶ ὑμῖν τῶν στρατειῶν," προύδραμε τῆς τάξεως ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τοσοῦτοι, ὡς μόνους αὐτῶν ἀποσχεῖν δέκα πόδας καὶ διακόσια αὐτῷ δόρατα ἐπιβληθῆναι καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκκλίνει, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀναδέξασθαι. τότε γὰρ διή τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων προθέων ἕκαστος ἵστατο παρ' αὐτόν, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας ἐμπεισῶν μετὰ ὀρμῆς ὅλην ἠγωνίζετο τὴν ἡμέραν, προύχων τε καὶ ἠττώμενος αἰεὶ παρὰ μέρος, μέχρις ἐς ἑσπέραν μολὶς ἐνίκησεν, ὅτε καὶ φασὶν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι πολλὰκις μὲν ἀγωνίσαιτο περὶ νίκης, νῦν δὲ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς.

Dio Cass. HR 43.28-41.

603 Mk. 10:35-45: Καὶ προσπορεύονται αὐτῷ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης οἱ υἱοὶ Ζεβεδαίου λέγοντες αὐτῷ, Διδάσκαλε, θέλομεν ἵνα ὁ ἐὰν αἰτήσωμέν σε ποιήσης ἡμῖν. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Τί θέλετέ [με] ποιῆσω ὑμῖν, οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ, Δὸς ἡμῖν ἵνα εἰς σου ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ εἰς ἐξ ἀριστερῶν καθίσωμεν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ σου. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Οὐκ οἶδατε τί αἰτεῖσθε. δύνασθε πλεῖν τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω ἢ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ, Δυνάμεθα. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω πίεσθε καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθήσεσθε, τὸ δὲ καθῆσαι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἢ ἐξ ἐκωνύμων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν δοῦναι, ἀλλ' οἷς ἠτοίμασται. Καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ δέκα ἤρξαντο ἀγανακτεῖν περὶ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωάννου. καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς, Οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν τῶν ἐθνῶν κατακυριεύουσιν αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι αὐτῶν κατεξουσιάζουσιν αὐτῶν. οὐχ οὕτως δὲ ἔστιν ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν θέλῃ μέγας γενέσθαι ἐν ὑμῖν, ἔσται ὑμῶν διάκονος, καὶ ὅς ἂν θέλῃ ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι πρῶτος ἔσται πάντων δούλος· καὶ γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν.

604 Cf. App. BC 2.104.430: σύνθημα καὶ τότε δούς Ἀφροδίτην· ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος Εὐσέβειαν.

605 Vell. 2.56: Caesar omnium uictor regressus in urbem, quod humanam excedat fidem, omnibus qui contra se arma tulerant ignouit [...].

Suet. Jul. 76: non enim honores modo nimios recepit: continuum consulatum, perpetuam dictaturam praefecturamque morum, insuper praenomen Imperatoris, cognomen Patris patriae, statuum inter reges, suggestum in orchestra; sed et ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est: sedem auream in curia et pro tribunali, tensam et ferculum circensi pompa, templa, aras, simulacra iuxta deos, puluinar, flaminem, lupercos, appellationem mensis e suo nomine; ac nullos honores ad libidinem cepit et dedit.

Plut. Caes. 57: Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τύχην τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐγκεκλιότες, καὶ δεδεγμένοι τὸν χαλινόν, καὶ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων καὶ κακῶν ἀναπνοῆν ἠγοῦμενοι τὴν μοναρχίαν, δικτάτορα μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξαν διὰ βίου· τοῦτο δ' ἦν ὁμολογουμένη [μὲν] τυραννίς, τῷ ἀνυπευθύνῳ τῆς μοναρχίας τὸ ἀκατάπαυστον προσλαβούσης· τιμὰς δὲ τὰς πρώτας Κικέρωνος εἰς τὴν βουλὴν γράψαντος, ὧν ἀμῶς γέ πως ἀνθρώπινον ἦν τὸ μέγεθος, ἕτεροι προστιθέντες ὑπερβολὰς καὶ διαμιλλώμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξεργάσαντο καὶ τοῖς πραοτάτοις ἐπαχθῆ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ λυπηρὸν γενέσθαι διὰ τὸν ὄγκον καὶ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῶν ψηφισομένων, οἷς οὐδὲν ἦττον οἴονται συναγωνίσασθαι τῶν κολακευόντων Καίσαρα τοὺς μισοῦντας, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστας κατ' αὐτοῦ προφάσεις ἔχουσι καὶ μετὰ μεγίστων ἐγκλημάτων ἐπιχειρεῖν δοκῶσιν. ἐπεὶ τὰ γ' ἄλλα, τῶν ἐμφυλίων αὐτῷ πολέμων πέρας ἐσχηκότων, ἀνέγκλητον «ἐαυτὸν» παρέιχε· καὶ τό γε τῆς Ἐπεικειᾶς ἱερὸν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου δοκοῦσι χαριστήριον ἐπὶ τῇ πραότητι ψηφίσασθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἀφῆκε πολλοὺς τῶν πεπολεμηκότων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς, ὡς Βρούτῳ καὶ Κασίῳ, προσέθηκεν· ἐστρατήγῳ γὰρ ἀμφοτέροι· καὶ τὰς Πομπηίου καταβεβλημένας εἰκόνας οὐ περιεΐδεν, ἀλλ' ἀνέστησεν, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ Κικέρων εἶπεν, ὅτι Καῖσαρ τοὺς Πομπηίου στήσας ἀνδριάντας τοὺς ἰδίους ἔπηξε. τῶν δὲ φίλων ἀξιούντων αὐτὸν δορυφορεῖσθαι καὶ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο παρεχόντων ἑαυτοῦς, οὐχ ὑπέμεινε, εἰπὼν ὡς βέλτιόν ἐστιν ἅπαξ ἀποθανεῖν ἢ αἰεὶ προσδοκᾶν. τὴν δ' εὐνοίαν ὡς κάλλιστον ἅμα καὶ βεβαιότατον ἑαυτῷ

περιβαλλόμενος φυλακτήριον, αἰθῆς ἀνελάμβανε τὸν δῆμον ἐστιάσει καὶ σιτηρεσίαις, τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικὸν ἀποικίας [...].

App. BC 2.106.440-107.444: ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο, τὰ ἐμφύλια πάντα καθελών, ἐπὶ φόβου καὶ δόξης, οἷας οὐ τις πρὸ τοῦ ὄθην αὐτῷ τιμαὶ πᾶσαι, ὅσαι ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων, ἀμέτρως ἐς χάριν ἐπειροῦντο, θυσῶν τε πέρι καὶ ἀγώνων καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἐν πᾶσιν ἱεροῖς καὶ δημοσίοις χωρίοις, ἀνὰ φυλὴν ἐκάστην καὶ ἐν ἔθνεσιν ἅπασιν, καὶ ἐν βασιλεῦσιν, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίοις φίλοι. σχήματά τε ἐπεγράφετο ταῖς εἰκόσι ποικίλα, καὶ στέφανος ἐκ δρυὸς ἢ ἐπ' ἐνίαις ὡς σωτήρι τῆς πατρίδος, ᾧ πάλα τοὺς ὑπερασπίσαντας ἐγέραιρον οἱ περισωθέντες. ἀνερρήθη δὲ καὶ πατὴρ πατρίδος, καὶ δικτάτωρ ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἠρέθη καὶ ὑπατος ἐς δέκα ἔτη, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἱερὸς καὶ ἄσυλος εἶναι καὶ χρηματίζειν ἐπὶ θρόνων ἐλεφαντίνων τε καὶ χρυσέωι, καὶ θύειν μὲν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ θριαμβικῶς ἠμφιεσμένον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, αἷς αὐτὸς ἡμέραις ἐν παρατάξεσιν ἐνίκα, ἱερέας δὲ καὶ ἱερείας ἀνὰ πενταετὲς εὐχὰς δημοσίας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τίθεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς καθισταμένας ὁμνύναι μηδεὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ὀριζομένων ἀντιπράξειν. ἐς τε τιμὴν τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ τὸν Κυϊντίλιον μῆνα Ἰούλιον ἀντὶ Κυϊντίλιου μετωνόμασαν εἶναι. καὶ νεὼς ἐψηφίσαντο πολλοὺς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καθάπερ θεῷ καὶ κοινὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἐπιεικειάς, ἀλλήλους δεξιουμένων· οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὲν ὡς δεσπότην, εὐχοντο δὲ σφίσι ἐπιεικῆ γενέσθαι. Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ βασιλέα προσεπεινὸν ἐπενόουν, μέχρι μαθῶν αὐτὸς ἀπηγόρευσε καὶ ἠπειλόησεν ὡς ἀθέμιστον ὄνομα μετὰ τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἀράν. σπεῖραι δ' ὅσαι στρατηγίδες αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἔτι ἐσωματοφυλάκουν, ἀπέστησε τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ μετὰ τῆς δημοσίας ὑπηρεσίας ἐπεφαίνετο μόνως.

Dio Cass. HR 44.4-7: ἐγένετο δὲ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτῷ μετ' ἐκεῖνα ὅσα εἴρηται τοσάδε καὶ τοιάδε· καθ' ἐν γὰρ, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα ἅμα μῆτε ἐσηνέχθη μῆτε ἐκυρώθη, λελέξεται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα φαίνεσθαι τε αὐτὸν αἰεὶ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τὴν στολήν τὴν εἰσινίκιον ἐνδεδυκότα, καὶ καθέζεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ δίφρου πανταχῇ πλὴν ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν, ἐψηφίσαντο· τότε γὰρ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ δημαρχικοῦ βήθρου καὶ μετὰ τῶν αἰεὶ δημαρχούντων θεᾶσθαι ἔλαβε. σκυλά τε τινα ὄπιμα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου νεῶν ἀναθεῖναι οἱ ὥσπερ τινα πολέμιον αὐτοστράτηγον αὐτοχειρίᾳ [ποῖ] πεφονευκότι, καὶ τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις δαφνηφοροῦσιν αἰεὶ χρῆσθαι, μετὰ τε τὰς ἀνοχὰς τὰς Λατίνας ἐπὶ κέλητος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τοῦ Ἄλβανου ἐσελαύνειν ἔδωσαν. πρὸς τε τούτοις τοιούτοις οὐσι πατέρα τε αὐτὸν τῆς πατρίδος ἐπωνόμασαν καὶ ἐς τὰ νομίσματα ἐνεχάραξαν, τὰ τε γενέθλια αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ θύειν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τοῖς τε ναοῖς τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πᾶσιν ἀνδριάντα τινα αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἐκέλευσαν, καὶ ἐπὶ γε τοῦ βήματος δύο, τὸν μὲν ὡς τοὺς πολίτας σεσωκότος τὸν δὲ ὡς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ πολιορκίας ἐξηρημένου, μετὰ τῶν στεφάνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις νενομισμένων ἰδρύσαντο. νεῶν τε Ὀμοιοῖας καινῆς, ὡς καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ εἰρηνοῦντες, οἰκοδομήσαι, καὶ πανήγυριν αὐτῇ ἔτησίαν ἄγειν ἔγνωσαν. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐδέξατο, τὰ τε ἔλη οἱ τὰ Πομπήνια χῶσαι καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὸν τῆς Πελοποννήσου διορίζαι βουλευτήριόν τε τι καινὸν ποιῆσαι προσέταξαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ Ὀστύλιον καίπερ ἀνοικοδομηθὲν καθηρέθη, πρόφασιν μὲν τοῦ ναὸν Εὐτυχίας ἐνταῦθ' οἰκοδομηθῆναι, ὃν καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος Ἰππαρχήσας ἐξεποίησεν, ἔργω δὲ ὅπως μῆτε ἐν ἐκεῖνῳ τὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ὄνομα σώζοιτο καὶ ἕτερον ἐκ καινῆς κατασκευασθῆν Ἰούλιον ὀνομασθεῖν, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὸν τε μῆνα ἐν ᾧ ἐγεγέννητο Ἰούλιον κακ τῶν φυλῶν μίαν τὴν κλήρω λαχοῦσαν Ἰουλίαν ἐπεκάλεσαν. καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν τιμητὴν καὶ μόνον καὶ διὰ βίου εἶναι, τὰ τε τοῖς δημάρχους δεδομένα καρποῦσθαι, ὅπως, ἂν τις ἢ ἔργω ἢ καὶ λόγῳ αὐτὸν ὑβρίσῃ, ἱερὸς τε ἢ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄγει ἐνέχρηται, τὸν δὲ δὴ υἱόν, ἂν τινα γεννήσῃ ἢ καὶ ἐσποιησῆται, ἀρχιερέα ἀποδειχθῆναι ἐψηφίσαντο. ὡς δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἔχαιρε, δίφρος τε οἱ ἐπίχρυσος, καὶ στολὴ ἢ ποτε οἱ βασιλῆς ἐκέχρητο, φρουρά τε ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων καὶ ἐκ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐδόθη· καὶ προσέτι καὶ εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον, τὴν τε τύχην αὐτοῦ ὁμνύναι, καὶ τὰ πραχθησόμενα αὐτῷ πάντα κύρια ἔξειν ἐνόμισαν. κακ τούτου καὶ πενταετηρίδα οἱ ὡς ἥρωι, ἱεροποιοῦς τε ἐς τὰς τοῦ Πανὸς γυμνοπαιδίας, τρίτην τινα ἑταιρίαν [ἦν]

- Ἰουλιανὸν ὀνομάσαντες, κἀν ταῖς ὀπλομαχίαις μίαν τινὰ αἰὲν ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ ἀνέθεσαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτοις ἠρέσκετο, οὕτω δὴ ἔς τε τὰ θέατρα τὸν τε δῖφρον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπίχρυσον καὶ τὸν στέφανον τὸν διάλιθον καὶ διάχρυσον, ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς τῶν θεῶν, ἐσκομίζεσθαι κἀν ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις ὄχον ἐσάγεσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ τέλος Δία τε αὐτὸν ἀντικρὺς Ἰούλιον προσηγόρευσαν, καὶ ναὸν αὐτῷ τῇ «τὸν Ἐπεικειά» αὐτοῦ τεμενισθῆναι ἔγνωσαν, ἱερέα σφίσι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὡς περὶ τινὰ Διάλιον προχειρισάμενοι. καὶ ἅ γε μάλιστα τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐξέφηνεν, ἅμα τε ταῦτα ἐψηφίζοντο καὶ τάφον αὐτῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου ποιησασθαι ἔδωσαν· τὰ τε δόγματα τὰ περὶ τούτων γιγνόμενα ἔς μὲν στήλας ἀργυρᾶς χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν ἐνέγραψαν, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὑπέθεσαν, δηλοῦντές οἱ καὶ μάλα ἐναργῶς ὅτι ἄνθρωπος εἶη.
- 606 Mk. 12:28-34:** Καὶ προσελθὼν εἰς τῶν γραμματέων ἀκούσας αὐτῶν συζητούντων, ἰδὼν ὅτι καλῶς ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτόν, Ποία ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη πάντων; ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι Πρώτη ἐστίν, Ἄκουε, Ἰσραὴλ, κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἷς ἐστίν, καὶ ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου. δευτέρα αὕτη, Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. μείζων τούτων ἄλλη ἐντολὴ οὐκ ἐστίν. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ γραμματεὺς, Καλῶς, διδάσκαλε, ἐπὶ ἀληθείας εἶπες ὅτι εἷς ἐστίν καὶ οὐκ ἐστίν ἄλλος πλὴν αὐτοῦ· καὶ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς συνέσεως καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος καὶ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν τὸν πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτὸν περισσώτερόν ἐστιν πάντων τῶν ὀλοκαυτωμάτων καὶ θυσιῶν. καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἰδὼν [αὐτόν] ὅτι νουεχῶς ἀπεκρίθη εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Οὐ μακρὰν εἶ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐκέτι ἐτόλμα αὐτὸν ἐπερωτῆσαι.
- 607 Mt. 5:43-45:** Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη, Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου. ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς, ὅπως γένησθε υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους.
- 608 App. BC 1.4.15:** στασιώτην τε μέγιστον, ᾧ διὰ μεγαλοῦργίαν πολεμικὴν Μέγας ἐπόνυμον ἦν, οὗτος δὴ μάλιστα πολέμου κράτει σαφῶς καθελών, οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ θαρροῦντος εἰς οὐδὲν εἶτι ἀντειπεῖν, δεύτερος ἐπὶ Σύλλα δικτάτωρ ἐς τὸ διηνεκὲς ἦ ρέθη· καὶ στάσεις αὐθις κατεπαύοντο πάσαι [...].
- 609 Mk. 13:1-2:** Καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ λέγει αὐτῷ εἰς τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, Διδάσκαλε, ἴδε ποταποὶ λίθοι καὶ ποταπαὶ οἰκοδομαί. καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Βλέπεις ταύτας τὰς μεγάλας οἰκοδομάς; οὐ μὴ ἀφεθῆ ὡδε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον ὃς οὐ μὴ καταλυθῆ.
- 610 Mk. 13:7:** [...] πολέμους καὶ ἀκοὰς πολέμων [...].
- 611 App. BC 1.5.18:** [...] τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀλλήλοις τῶν στασιωτῶν ἀντιπαρεχόντων καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ἀμελοῦντων καὶ φίλων καὶ ἀδελφῶν· τοσοῦτον ἐκράτει τῆς ἐς τὰ οἰκεία εὐνοίας ἢ ἐς τὰ ἀντίπαλα φιλονικία.
- 612 Mk. 13:12:** καὶ παραδώσει ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν εἰς θάνατον καὶ πατὴρ τέκνον, καὶ ἐπαναστήσονται τέκνα ἐπὶ γονεῖς καὶ θανατώσουσιν αὐτούς [...].
- 613 Mk. 13:6:** πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου λέγοντες ὅτι Ἐγὼ εἰμι, καὶ πολλοὺς πλανήσουσιν.
- 614 App. BC 1.5.19:** προϊόντες τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὡς ἰδιωτικὸν σφῶν κτῆμα διενείμαντο ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν τρεῖς οἶδε ἄνδρες, Ἀντώνιος τε καὶ Λέπιδος καὶ ὅτῳ πρότερον μὲν Ὀκτάουιος ὄνομα ἦν, Καῖσαρι δὲ πρὸς γένους ὦν καὶ θετὸς ἐν διαθήκαις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενος Καῖσαρ ἐκ τούδε μετωνομάζετο.
- 615 Mk. 13:3:** Καὶ καθημένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ Ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν κατέναντι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπηρώτα αὐτὸν κατ' ἰδίαν Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἀνδρέας, [...]. *Antonius and Lepidus should have divided into 'Peter' (Petrus) and 'James' (Jacobus) here—we can leave open who is who for the moment—whereas 'John' (Johannes) stands for Octavianus as usual. 'Andrew' (Andreas) cannot possibly be Cu-*

rio this time—as we assumed was the case with the disciples at the Rubicon/Jordan river—he having long since died. This time ‘Andrew’ could be *Asinius*, who intervened as peacemaker in the fight for succession between Antonius and Octavianus (he was consul in 40 bc; Vergilius celebrated him in verse in the 4th eclogue as restorer of the *Saturnia regna*). Both names have the same number of letters, the same word beginning, the same word ending and both contain a ‘n’ in the core: *ASINIVS* > *ANΔPEAC*. But then one would have to wonder whether the disciple, who forms a pair together with Simon at the Jordan, is not Asinius as well, who like Curio was at the Rubicon; we could at least ask if that was not the reason why Asinius became Andrew here. Other possibilities for Andrew are pseudo-Marius *Amatius* and *Ahenobarbus* who also played a role in the controversy over succession (for numismatical evidence of the latter cf. Alföldi (1973) p. 111-112, pl. xiii, 1-4).

616 Mk. 13:8: ἀρχὴ ὁδίνων ταῦτα.

617 App. BC 2.72.299: Ἄλλὰ τάδε μὲν ὠκονόμει θεὸς ἐς ἀρχὴν τῆσδε τῆς νῦν ἐπεχούσης τὰ πάντα ἡγεμονίας.

618 App. BC 4.8.31-12.48.

619 App. BC 4.12.48-13.51: ἅμα δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς αἱ τε πύλαι κατεείχοντο καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τῆς πόλεως ἔξοδοί τε καὶ λιμένες ἢ ἔλη καὶ τέλματα ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐς φυγὴν ὑποπτον ἦν ἢ ἐς λαθραίους καταφυγὰς· τὴν τε χώραν ἐπέτέτραπτο τοῖς λοχαγοῖς ἐρευνᾶν περιθέουσι, καὶ ἐγένετο πάντα ὁμοῦ. Εὐθὺς οὖν ἦν ἀνά τε τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀνά τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἕκαστός πη συνελαμβάνετο, ἀνδρολήψια αἰφνίδια πολλὰ καὶ τρόποι τῶν φόνων ποικίλοι τῶν τε κεφαλῶν ἀποτομαὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ χάριν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν φυγαί τε ἀπρεπεῖς καὶ σχήματα ἄτοπα ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν περιφανοῦς. κατέδυνον γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐς φρέατα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς ὑπονόμους τάφρους ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα, οἱ δὲ ἐς καπιώδεις ὑπωροφίας ἢ τῶν τεγῶν ταῖς κεραμίσι βυομέναις ὑπεκάθητο μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης. ἐδεδοίκεσαν γὰρ οὐχ ἦσσαν τῶν σφαγῶν οἱ μὲν γυναῖκας ἢ παῖδας οὐκ εὐμένως σφίσι ἐχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐξελευθέρους τε καὶ θεράποντας, οἱ δὲ καὶ δανεισμάτων χρήστας ἢ χωρίων γείτονας ἐπιθυμία τῶν χωρίων. Cf. also 4.13-51, passim.

620 Mk. 13:14-17: Ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως ἐστηκότα ὅπου οὐ δεῖ, ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω, τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη, ὁ [δὲ] ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος μὴ καταβάτω μηδὲ εἰσελθᾶτω ἀραι τὴν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν μὴ ἐπιστρεφᾶτω εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ἀραι τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ. οὐαὶ δὲ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις.

621 App. BC 4.15.60: τῶν δὲ ἐκφυγόντων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ ναυαγίων ἀπώλλυντο, ἐς πάντα σφίσι τῆς τύχης ἐπιβαρούσης, οἱ δὲ ἐπανήχθησαν ἐκ παραλόγων ἐπὶ τε ἀρχὰς τῆς πόλεως καὶ στρατηγίας πολέμων καὶ θριάμβους.

App. BC 4.16.63: (οὐ γὰρ ἀξιαφήγητον ἀναίρεσις ἀπλῆ καὶ φυγὴ ἢ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τισι συγγόντων ὑστερον ἐπάνοδος ἢ ἐπανελθόντων ἀφανῆς καταβίωσις) [...].

622 Mk. 13:20: καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκόλωβωσεν κύριος τὰς ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σὰρξ· ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς οὓς ἐξελέξατο ἐκόλωβωσεν τὰς ἡμέρας.

623 Mk. 13:22: καὶ τότε ἐάν τις ὑμῖν εἴπῃ, Ἴδε ὧδε ὁ Χριστός, Ἴδε ἐκεῖ, μὴ πιστεύετε· ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφήται καὶ δώσουσιν σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾶν, εἰ δυνατόν, τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς.

624 Mk. 13:11: καὶ ὅταν ἄγωσιν ὑμᾶς παραδιδόντες, μὴ προμεριμνᾶτε τί λαλήσητε, ἀλλ' ὃ ἐάν δοθῇ ὑμῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦτο λαλεῖτε: [...].

625 Suet. Jul. 60: *Proelia non tantum destinato, sed ex occasione sumebat ac saepe ab itinere statim [...].*

626 Mk. 13:24-25: Ἄλλὰ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν ἐκείνην / ὁ ἥλιος σκοτισθήσεται, / καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς, / καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες ἔσονται ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πίπτοντες, / καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς σαλευθήσονται.

627 Verg. Georg. 1.466-8; 487-8: *ille etiam extincto miseratus Caesare Romam, / cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine textit, / impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula*

noctem. [...] non alias caelo ceciderunt plura sereno / fulgura, nec diri totiens arsere cometae.

628 Cf. Botermann, p. 204 and passim.

629 Mk. 14.

630 Mk. 16.

631 Mk. 10:17-27; 28-31.

632 Plut. *Ant.* 16 and parallel traditions.

633 Mk. 10:35-45.

634 Mk. 12:18-27; Suet. *Aug.* 18.

635 Mk. 10:46-52.

636 Plut. *Caes.* 65 and parallel tradition.

637 This enables one to draw a conclusion about the open question as to which person stands behind the apostle Bartholomew: if *Bartimaeus* comes from *Artemidoros*, then *Bartholomew* could be either a doublet of it, or it could have been derived from *Antonius* (respectively *Aristobulus*) with a corresponding generation of the initial *B* (see also below, note 649, *Bethania* from *Antonius*).

638 Suet. *Jul.* 68; Mk. 9:42-50.

639 Plut. *Pomp.* 53 and parallel traditions.

640 Mk. 5:21-43.

641 Mk. 1:40-45; 2:1-12; 2:13-17.

642 Plut. *Caes.* 45 and parallel tradition. The peg for inserting the excursus at this place, after the *healing of the possessed* (i.e. after Dyrrhachium and Pharsalos), would have been the new wife of Pompeius, Cornelia. She was a musician, and hence this could have been the reason for Caesar's ridicule of Pompeius' horsemen, who were from the young aristocracy, in his speech to his soldiers before the battle of Pharsalos as dancers. So the 'dancers' would have evoked Cornelia and Cornelia Julia.

643 Mk. 9:2-13.

644 Plut. *Caes.* 14.

645 Mk. 14:1-2.

646 Dio Cass. *HR* 44.15.2.

647 Mk. 14:3-9.

648 Plut. *Caes.* 61: *γυμνοί*; Plut. *Ant.* 12: *ἀλημιμένοι λίπα*.

649 *Antonius* (no doubt in the Greek accusative, as is often the case) should be compared with *Bethania* here (in the dative, but the *iota subscriptum* is not necessarily written): *ANTONIA* > *BHΘANIA*; note the resemblance of the two decisive initial letters: *AN* > *BH*. Whether 'made of ivory', *eburneum*, should be compared with *myrou nardou*, 'spike oil', is one of the hypotheses.

650 Caesar was conscious of what the offer of the laurel-wreathed diadem meant for him, because he finally stood up angrily from the platform, tore the toga from his neck and shouted that he would offer his throat to everyone who demanded it. Plut. *Ant.* 12: *ἀνέστη μὲν οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀχθεσθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, καὶ τὸ ἰμάτιον ἀπάγων ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου τῷ βουλομένῳ παρέχειν τὴν σφαγὴν ἐβόα*. A different description is given in Plut. *Caes.* 60 where the same saying is put in Caesar's mouth in another occasion (during the reading of the honouring resolutions of the Senate in the Venus-temple): *ὥστε κάκεινον ἐννοήσαντα παραχρῆμα μὲν οἴκαδε τραπεῖσθαι καὶ βοᾶν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἀπαγαγόντα τοῦ τραχήλου τὸ ἰμάτιον, ὡς ἔτοιμος εἶη τῷ βουλομένῳ τὴν σφαγὴν παρέχειν [...]*. Cf. also App. *BC* 2.109.454.

651 Mk. 14:10-11; App. *BC* 2.111.464-112.469 and parallel tradition.

652 App. *BC* 2.120.503, 121.508, 141.591.

653 Mk. 14:12-26; Plut. *Caes.* 63 and parallel tradition.

654 Mk. 14:30.

655 App. *BC* 2.124.520; Dio Cass. *HR* 44.7.4.

- 656 App. *BC* 2.144.602.
 657 App. *BC* 2.114.476.
 658 Plut. *Caes.* 58.
 659 Suet. *Jul.* 79.
 660 Mk. 14:27.
 661 Plut. *Caes.* 60, 61, the first sentence respectively, and parallel tradition; Mk. 14:27. The presence of the name *Galilaea* in this pericope, which as we have seen points to *Gallia*, could have produced an overdetermination of the name *Petrus*. In the accounts there repeatedly is talk about how both Brutus had already been particularly favored by Caesar earlier, the one, Decimus Brutus, being given his succession in Gallia Transalpina, the other, Marcus Brutus, that in Gallia Cisalpina (App. *BC* 2.111.465; 2.124.518). Thus, surprisingly, behind this 'Peter' could not only stand *Simon Petrus*, i. e. *Antonius* (with or without *Lepidus*) but also *Brutus*. This is not insurmountable in terms of the writing and the sound: *BRVTVS* > *ΠΕΤΡΟΣ*. This suspicion is substantiated by the presence of *Brutus* as *Petrus* in the next pericope.
 662 Suet. *Jul.* 78; Plut. *Caes.* 60, *Ant.* 12; App. *BC* 2.107.446, 2.109.454-455; Dio Cass. *HR* 44.8.
 663 Mk. 14:32-36: *Καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς χωρίον οὗ τὸ ὄνομα Γεθσημανί καὶ λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, Καθίσατε ὧδε ἕως προσεύξωμαι. καὶ παραλαμβάνει τὸν Πέτρον καὶ [τὸν] Ἰάκωβον καὶ [τὸν] Ἰωάννην μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἤρξατο ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Περίλυπός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου· μείνατε ὧδε καὶ γρηγορεῖτε. καὶ προελθὼν μικρὸν ἔπιπτεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ προσήχετο ἵνα εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν παρέλθῃ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα, καὶ ἔλεγεν, Ἀββα ὁ πατήρ, πάντα δυνατά σοι· παρένεγκε τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· ἀλλ' οὐ τί ἐγὼ θέλω ἀλλὰ τί σὺ.
 664 We have seen already the other possible bowdlerized translations of *CAPITOLIVM*—'place of skull' (< *KPANIOY TOIION* < *CAPI TOLIVM*) and 'oil-garden' (< *CAMPVS OLEI*).
 665 Mk. 14:32-36.
 666 Plut. *Caes.* 62 and parallel tradition.
 667 Dio Cass. *HR* 44.13; Plut. *Brut.* 13.
 668 Mk. 14:35.
 669 Plut. *Caes.* 63; Mk. 14:41-42.
 670 Mk. 14:43-51; Plut. *Caes.* 66 and parallel tradition.
 671 App. *BC* 2.117.491. Plut. *Caes.* 66: *εἰσιόντος δὲ Καίσαρος ἡ βουλή μὲν ὑπεξανέστη θεραπεύουσα, τῶν δὲ περὶ Βρούτου οἱ μὲν ἐξόπισθεν τὸν δίφρον αὐτοῦ περιέστησαν, οἱ δ' ἀπήτησαν ὡς δὴ Τίλλῳ Κίμβρῳ περὶ ἀδελφοῦ φυγάδος ἐντυχάνοντι συνδεησόμενοι, καὶ συνεδέοντο μέχρι τοῦ δίφρου παρακολουθοῦντες. ὡς δὲ καθίσας διεκρούετο τὰς δεῖσεις καὶ προσκειμένων βιαιότερον ἠγανάκει πρὸς ἑκάστον, ὁ μὲν Τίλλιος τὴν τῆβεννον αὐτοῦ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις συλλαβὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου κατήγεν, ὅπερ ἦν σύνθημα τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. Plut. *Brut.* 17: *Καίσαρι δ' εἰσιόντι μὲν ἡ σύγκλητος ὑπεξανέστη, καθεζόμενοι δ' εὐθὺς ἐκείνοι περιέσχον ἀθρόοι, Τίλλιον Κίμβρον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν προβάλλοντες, ὑπὲρ ἀδελφοῦ φυγάδος δεόμενοι, καὶ συνεδέοντο πάντες, ἀπτόμενοί τε χειρῶν καὶ στέρνια καὶ κεφαλὴν καταφιλοῦντες. ἀποτριβομένου δὲ τὰς δεῖσεις τὸ πρῶτον, εἶθ' ὡς οὐκ ἀνίεσαν ἐξανισταμένου βία, Τίλλιος μὲν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶν ἐκ τῶν ὤμων κατέσπασε τὸ ἱμάτιον [...].*
 672 Mk. 14:44.
 673 Mk. 14:51-52.
 674 App. *BC* 2.117.492, 2.119.499. Moreover, the story about the foreign slave who hurried to Caesar in vain before the assault, could have contributed to the origin of the picture of a youth, which is reported by Plutarchus at the end of *Caes.* 64. Another cause could have been the report about the slaves, who carried Caesar's body home after the assault (cf. Nicolaus Damascenus).**

- 675 Plut. *Brut.* 14.
 676 App. *BC* 2.121.508-122.511.
 677 Plut. *Ant.* 13.
 678 It is known that the Romans did not divide the night into hours, but into four *vigiliae*, 'night watches' or 'vigils', so that the time *ἔτι πρὸ ἡμέρας*, 'still before dawn', mentioned by Appianus, fell in one of the night watches, in the *quarta* or maybe even in the *tertia vigilia*. And his summons will have reached the senators in the *secunda vigilia* (nobody slept on this night anyway). So Mark's repeated hints to the 'second crowing' of the cock and also to the 'third denial' could be caused by Latin statements regarding time in his exemplar (which may have been more accurate than Appianus'). In his currently still unpublished manuscript *Taubenflug und Hahenschrei—'Ornithologisches' zum Markusevangelium. II. Der Hahn* (Dove's flight and cock-crowing—'Ornithological issues' about the Mark-Gospel. II. The Cock) Gert Lüderitz, Tübingen, has not only demonstrated that there were no cocks in Jerusalem—keeping them was forbidden—and that Mark's 'cock-crowing', *alektorophōnia* (13:35: there Mark gives the names of all the four nightwatches) corresponds to the Latin *gallicinium* and hence it is a time span—the *tertia vigilia*, the 'third nightwatch'—but he also proved, that the *secundis galliciniis*, 'at the second cock-crowing', was used as an equivalent for the *quarta vigilia*, 'in the third nightwatch'. So Mark's 'the second time the cock crew' (14:72) has to be understood as an utterance in respect of the time: 'before the fourth nightwatch'.
- 679 Plut. *Caes.* 68; App. *BC* 2.147.613; Mk. 14:66-72.
 680 Mk. 14:53-65.
 681 App. *BC* 2.118.498.
 682 The translation of *aulē* with 'palace' is inconsistent in so far as two pericopes further (15:16) Mark himself explains *aulē* as *praetorium*.
 683 Suet. *Jul.* 83: *postulante ergo Lucio Pisone socero testamentum eius aperitur recitaturque in Antoni domo, quod Idibus Septembribus proximis in Lauicano suo fecerat demandaueratque uirgini Vestali maxime. Quintus Tubero tradit heredem ab eo scribi solitum ex consulatu ipsius primo usque ad initium ciuilis belli Cn. Pompeium, idque militibus pro contione recitatum. sed nouissimo testamento tres instituit heredes sororum nepotes, Gaium Octauium ex dodrante, et Lucium Pinarium et Quintum Pedium ex quadrante reliquo[s]; in ima cera Gaium Octauium etiam in familiam nomenque adoptauit; plerosque percussorum in tutoribus fili, si qui sibi nasceretur, nominauit, Decimum Brutum etiam in secundis heredibus.*
 684 About this problem cf. Schmitthenner (1973).
 685 The *domō* in Mark's *oikodomō* probably comes from a *domus*, which may have stood in the original exemplar instead of *familia*.
 686 Cic. *ad Att.* 16.15.3: *quamquam enim in praesentia belle iste puer retundit Antonium, tamen exitum expectare debemus. at quae contio! nam est missa mihi. iurat 'ita sibi parentis honores consequi liceat', et simul dextram intendit ad statuam. μηδὲ σωθείην ὑπὸ γε τοιούτου!*
 687 Mk. 14:61-62: *πάλιν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπηρώτα αὐτὸν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ εἰμι, ἰ καὶ ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔκ δεξιῶν καθήμενον τῆς δυνάμεως ἰ καὶ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.*
 688 The addition *ὁ Χριστὸς* is missing in Φ pc k—cf. Aland & Nestle (181957).
 689 Cic. 13. *Phil.* 11.24.
 690 Suet. *Jul.* 82: *Fuerat animus coniuratis corpus occisi in Tiberim trahere, bona publicare, acta rescindere, sed metu Marci Antoni consulis et magistri equitum Lepidi destiterunt.*
 App. *BC* 2.128.535, 134.559; Dio Cass. *HR* 44.35.1.
 691 Mk. 14:65.

- 692 Dio Cass. *HR* 44.5.3. This information about the inheritance of Caesar's position as *pontifex maximus* is only mentioned by Dio Cassius and so it is questionable; cf. Schmitthenner (1973), p.9: '[...] the chapters of Cass. Dio 44.4-7 stand in a historiographic tradition that combines reality, plans, and—one must add—things foisted with libelous intention specifically to motivate the hatred which led to the murder.' Even if it was falsely rumored that Caesar wanted to make his heir *pontifex maximus*, the rumor was nevertheless still around in Dio Cassius' time (and nobody was wondering about it, because the later emperors were all *pontifex maximus* themselves). Because it is precisely about the hatred that led to the murder in the examined passage of Mark, the information could have stood in Mark's exemplar—but in this case as an addition by Octavianus, because the allusion '...or even only adopted ones?...' is all-too much in the interest of Octavianus to have been planned by Caesar.
- 693 App. *BC* 2.135.563-4: *Τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου σὺν ἀνατάσει τε καὶ ὀρμῇ βαρυτέρα, γίγνεται δόγμα, ἡσυχάζοντων ἤδη καὶ ἀγαπώντων ἀπάντων, φόνου μὲν οὐκ εἶναι δίκας ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, κύρια δὲ εἶναι τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ ἐγνωσμένα, "ἐπεὶ τῇ πόλει συμφέρει."* ἐβιάσαντο γὰρ τότε ἐς ἀσφάλειαν οἱ τῶν περιωσζομένων οἰκέτοι προστεθῆναι μάλιστα, ὡς οὐ δικαίως φυλασσόμενα μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ χρεῖαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοῖς ἐς τοῦτο ἐνέδωκεν.
- 694 Mk. 15:1-5.
- 695 App. *BC* 2.130.542-131.547: *ᾧ δὲ ἔτι ἐχόντων, ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου προῆλθον· καὶ γὰρ τινες αὐτοῦς ἐκ πολλοῦ συνδραμόντες ἐκάλουν. ὡς δὲ ὤφθησαν ἐκ μετεώρου καὶ σιγῇ κεκραγῶτων μόλις ἐγένετο, [...] ἐπιβουόντων δ' ἐτέρων τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐπεξιέναι καὶ τῶν πλεόνων περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης παρακαλούντων, τοῖς μὲν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔφη· "περὶ τούτου σκοποῦμεν, ὡς ἔσται τε καὶ γενομένη διαμενεῖ· δυσεύρετον γὰρ ἦδη τὸ ἀσφαλές αὐτῆς, ὅτι μὴδὲ Καίσαρα ὤνησαν ὄρκοι τοσοῖδε καὶ ἀραί." ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἐπεξιέναι παρακαλοῦντας ἐπιστραφεῖς ἐπήγει μὲν ὡς εὐοκότερα καὶ εὐσεβέστερα αἰρουμένους καὶ "αὐτὸς ἄν," ἔφη, "συνετασσομένη ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πρῶτος ἐβόων, εἰ μὴ ὑπάτος ἦν, ὃ τοῦ λεγομένου συμφέρειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δικαίου μέλει· ὧδε γὰρ ἡμῖν οἱ ἔνδον παραινοῦσιν. οὕτω δέ που καὶ Καίσαρ αὐτός, οὗς εἶλε πολέμῳ τῶν πολιτῶν, διὰ τὸ συμφέρον τῆς πόλεως περισσῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπέθανε." Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παρὰ μέρος τεχνάζοντος [...].*
Suet. Jul. 75: Acie Pharsalica proclamavit, ut ciuibus parceretur, deincepsque nemini non suorum quem uellet unum partis aduersae seruare concessit. Nec ulli perisse nisi in proelio reperientur [...].
- 696 Mk. 15:6-8: *Κατὰ δὲ ἑορτὴν ἀπέλυεν αὐτοῖς ἓνα δέσμιον ὃν παρητοῦντο. ἦν δὲ ὁ λεγόμενος Βαραββᾶς μετὰ τῶν στασιαστῶν δεδεμένος οἵτινες ἐν τῇ στάσει φόνον πεποιήκεισαν. καὶ ἀναβὰς ὁ ὄχλος ἤρξατο αἰτεῖσθαι καθὼς ἐποίει αὐτοῖς.*
- 697 Mk. 15:9-15: *ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς λέγων, Θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ἐγίνωσκεν γὰρ ὅτι διὰ φθόνον παραδεδώκεισαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς ἀνέσεισαν τὸν ὄχλον ἵνα μᾶλλον τὸν Βαραββᾶν ἀπολύσῃ αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος πάλιν ἀποκριθεὶς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, Τί οὖν [θέλετε] ποιήσω [ὃν λέγετε] τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων; οἱ δὲ πάλιν ἔκραξαν, Σταύρωσον αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, Τί γὰρ ἐποίησεν κακόν; οἱ δὲ περισσῶς ἔκραξαν, Σταύρωσον αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος βουλόμενος τῷ ὄχλῳ τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Βαραββᾶν, καὶ παρέδωκεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν φραγελλώσας ἵνα σταυρωθῇ.*
- 698 Cf. in connection with this the sense of *invidia* in Suetonius, where it does not mean 'envy', but 'jealousy, hatred'—*Suet. Jul. 84: Inter ludos cantata sunt quaedam ad miserationem et invidiam caedis eius accomodata, ex Pacuvi Armorum iudicio «Men servasse, ut essent qui me perderent?»*
- 699 Mk. 15:34: *καὶ τῇ ἐνάτῃ ὥρᾳ ἐβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, Ἐλωι ελωι λεμα σαβαχθανι; ὃ ἔστιν μεθερμηνεύμενον Ὁ θεός μου ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με;*

- 700 The lection *ελωι* is borrowed from the Septuagint (Ps. 22:2); the variants that can be ascertained in the manuscripts—*ηλι*, *λαμα*, *σαβαφθανι*, *ζαφθανι* etc. (cf. Aland & Nestle¹⁸1957)—show on the one hand how unstable and how secondary the Aramaic reading is and on the other hand, how they revolve around the Latin text of Pacuvius (*φ*, *β*, for *v*; *z*, *z*), for *s(e)t*; etc.). Interestingly we can detect on the basis of the comparison between Mark and Pacuvius that the first word *mene* was fully written in Mark's exemplar and not abbreviated to *men*.
- 701 Mk. 15:40-41: Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι, ἐν αἷς καὶ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ Ἰωσήτος μήτηρ καὶ Σαλώμη, αἱ ὅτε ἦν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ καὶ διηκόνουν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ αἱ συναναβάσαι αὐτῷ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.
- 702 Mk. 15:39: Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ κεντυρίων ὁ παρεστηκὼς ἔξ ἐναντίας αὐτοῦ ὅτι οὕτως ἔξέπνευσεν εἶπεν, Ἀληθῶς οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος υἱὸς θεοῦ ἦν.
- 703 Cic. *Phil.* 3.2.3-5, 3.4.8-9, 4.2.1, 5.16.43, 12.4.9: *C. Caesar adulescens, paene potius puer, incredibili ac divina quadam mente atque virtute, cum maxime furor arderet Antoni, [...] nec postulantibus nec cogitantibus nobis, quia non posse fieri videbatur, firmissimum exercitum ex invicto genere veteranorum militum comparavit, patrimoniumque suum [...] in rei publicae salutis conlocavit [...] Cui quidem hodierno die, patres conscripti [...] tribuenda est auctoritas, ut rem publicam non modo a se susceptam sed etiam a nobis commendatam possit defendere. [...] Quod autem praesidium erat salutis libertatisque vestrae, si C. Caesaris fortissimorum sui patris militum exercitus non fuisset? Cuius de laudibus et honoribus qui ei pro divinis et immortalibus meritis divini immortalesque debentur. [...] Quis tum nobis, quis populo Romano optulit hunc divinum adulescentem deus? [...] C. Caesarem deorum beneficio natum ad haec tempora. Caesaris [...] incredibilis ac divina virtus. Cf. Alföldi (1973), p. 120: 'C'est le ton solennel de la sotériologie hellénistique qu'on retrouve dans ces plaidoyers [...]. Par ces louanges, Cicéron se mettait malgré lui à l'unisson de la monarchie naissante.'*
- 704 Suet. *Jul.* 52: *Dilexit et reginas, [...] sed maxime Cleopatram, cum qua et conuiuia in primam lucem saepe protraxit et eadem naue thalamego paene Aethiopia tenus Aegyptum penetrauit, nisi exercitus sequi recusasset, quam denique accitam in urbem non nisi maximis honoribus praemiisque auctam remisit filiumque natum appellare nomine suo passus est. Suet. Jul. 79: Quin etiam uaria fama percrebruit migraturum Alexandream uel Ilium, translatis simul opibus imperii exhaustaque Italia dilectibus et procuratione urbis amicis permissa [...].* About Cleopatra's frustrated hope for the nomination of her son Caesarion in Caesar's will cf. Nicolaus Damascenus 20.68.
- 705 With respect to Caesar's sexual dalliances in Gallia, about which his soldiers had sung at the Gallic triumph cf. note 599 and Suet. *Jul.* 51. The fact that a Gaius Julius Vindex could emerge later in Aquitania and call Gauls and Romans to a rebellion against the hated Nero, surely has to do with the seed Caesar had spread in Gallia (the first name-bearer had become a Roman citizen under Caesar). That Caesar's specialty was just such love affairs with married women is evident in the list in Suet. *Jul.* 50.
- 706 Suet. *Jul.* 52: *Heluius Cinna Tr. Pl. plerisque confessus est habuisse se scriptam paratamque legem, quam Caesar ferre iussisset cum ipse abesset, ut ei uxores liberorum quaerendorum causa quas et quot uellet ducere licet.*
- 707 Suet. *Jul.* 84: *[...] matronae etiam pleraeque ornamenta sua, quae gerebant, et liberorum bullas atque praetextas.*
- 708 Dio Cass. *HR* 44.51.1-2: *[...] βωμόν δέ τινα ἐν τῷ τῆς πυρᾶς χωρίῳ ἰδρυσάμενοι (τὰ γὰρ ὀσπᾶ ἀυτοῦ οἱ ἐξελεύθεροι προανείλοντο καὶ εἰς τὸ πατρῶον μνημεῖον κατέθεντο) θύειν τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ κατάρχεσθαι τῷ Καίσαρι ὡς καὶ θεῷ ἐπεχείρουν.*

οί οὖν ὑπατοὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἀνέτρεψαν, καὶ τινὰς ἀγανακτήσαντας ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκόλασαν, [...].

App. BC 3.2.2-3.9: Ἀντώνιον μὲν ἡ βουλή δι' αἰτίας εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπιταφίοις τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑφ' ὧν δὴ μάλιστα ὁ δῆμος ἐρεθισθεὶς ὑπερεῖδε τῆς ἄρτι ἐπειφησιμένης ἀμνηστίας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν σφαγέων σὺν πυρὶ ἔδραμον· ὁ δὲ αὐτὴν χαλεπαίνουσαν ἐνὶ τοιῷδε πολιτεύματι ἐς εὐνοίαν ἑαυτοῦ μετέβαλεν. Ἀμάτιος ἦν ὁ Ψευδομάριος· Μαρίου γὰρ ὑπεκρίνετο υἱὸς εἶναι καὶ διὰ Μάριον ὑπερήρεσκε τῷ δήμῳ, γιγνόμενος οὖν κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὑπόκρισιν συγγενὴς τῷ Καίσαρι, ὑπερήλγει μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τεθνεώτος καὶ βωμῶν ἐπωκοδόμει τῇ πυρᾷ καὶ χεῖρα θρασυτέρων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε καὶ φοβερός ἦν αἰεὶ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν· ὧν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι διεπεφεύγεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὅσοι παρ' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος εἰλήφεσαν ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν, ἀπεληλύθεσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας, Βρούτος μὲν ὁ Δέκμος ἐς τὴν ὁμορον τῆς Ἰταλίας Κελτικῆν, Τρεβώνιος δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν περὶ Ἰωνίαν, Τίλλιος δὲ Κίμβερ ἐς Βιθυνίαν· Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βρούτος ὁ Μάρκος, ὧν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῇ βουλῇ διέφερον, ἤρηντο μὲν καὶ οἶδε ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἔτος ἡγεμονεύειν, Συρίας μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ Μακεδονίας ὁ Βρούτος, ἔτι δὲ ὄντες ἀστικοὶ στρατηγοὶ ... ὑπ' ἀνάγκης καὶ διατάγμασιν οἷα στρατηγοὶ τοὺς κληρούχους ἐθεράπευον, ὅσοις τε ἄλλοις ἐπεινύουν, καὶ τὰ κληρουχίματα συγχωροῦντες αὐτοῖς πιπράσκειν, τοῦ νόμου κωλύοντος ἐντὸς εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἀποδίδοσθαι. Τούτοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀμάτιος, ὅτε συντύχοι, καὶ ἐνεδρεύσειν ἐλέγετο. τῷδε οὖν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιβαίνων οἷα ὑπατοῦ συλλαμβάνει καὶ κτείνει τὸν Ἀμάτιον χωρὶς δίκης, μάλα θρασέως· καὶ ἡ βουλή τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἐθαύμαζεν ὡς μέγα καὶ παράνομον, τὴν δὲ χρεῖαν αὐτοῦ προσεποιούντο ἥδιστα· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ποτὲ χωρὶς τοιαύδε τόλμης ἀσφαλῆ τὰ κατὰ Βρούτον καὶ Κάσσιον ἔσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ἀματίου στασιῶται καὶ ὁ ἄλλος δῆμος ἐπ' ἐκείνους πόθῳ τε τοῦ Ἀματίου καὶ ἀγανακτῆσαι τοῦ γεγονότος, ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτὸ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπεπράχει ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τιμώμενος, οὐκ ἠξίουσαν σφῶν καταφρονεῖν· τὴν ἀγορὰν οὖν καταλαβόντες ἐβῶν καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐβλασφήμουν καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκέλευον ἀντὶ Ἀματίου τὸν βωμῶν ἐκθεοῦν καὶ θύειν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρι πρώτους. ἐξελαυνόμενοι δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἐπιπεμφθέντων ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον τε ἠγανάκτων καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν καὶ ἔδρας ἔνιοι τῶν Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντων ἐπεδείκνυν ἀνηρημένων. ὡς δὲ τις αὐτοῖς εἶπε καὶ τὸ ἐργαστήριον, ἔνθα οἱ ἀνδριάντες ἀνεσκευάζοντο, δείξειν, εὐθὺς εἶποντο καὶ ἰδόντες ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ἕως ἑτέρων ἐπιπεμφθέντων ἐξ Ἀντωνίου ἀμυνόμενοι τε ἀνηρέθησαν ἔνιοι καὶ συλληφθέντες ἕτεροι ἐκρεμάσθησαν, ὅσοι θεράποντες ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐλεύθεροι κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ κατερρίφθησαν.

709 Dio Cass. HR 47.19.2: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀπέειπον μὲν μηδεμίαν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ θεοῦ τινος ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντος, ἐν ταῖς τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκφοραῖς πέμπεσθαι, ὅπερ ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου καὶ τότε ἔτι ἐγίγνετο.

710 App. BC 2.148.616-617: ἔνθα βωμὸς πρῶτος ἐτέθη, νῦν δ' ἐστὶ νεὼς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, θείων τιμῶν ἀξιουμένον· ὁ γὰρ τοι θετὸς αὐτῷ παῖς Ὀκτάουιος, τό τε ὄνομα ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα μεταβαλὼν καὶ κατ' ἔχνος ἐκεῖνου τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσιών, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐπικρατοῦσαν ἔτι νῦν, ἐρριζωμένην ὑπ' ἐκεῖνου, μειζρόνως ἐκρατύνετο καὶ τὸν πατέρα τιμῶν ἰσοθέων ἠξίωσεν [...].

711 Mk. 15:42-47; 16:1-8: Καὶ ἡδη ὀψίας γενομένης, ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευὴ ἡ ἔστιν προσάββατον, ἔλθων Ἰωσήφ [ὁ] ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας εὐσχήμων βουλευτῆς, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν προσδεχόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τολμήσας εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον καὶ ἠτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος ἐθαύμασεν εἰ ἡδη τέθηκεν καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν κεντυρίωνα ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτὸν εἰ πάλοι ἀπέθανεν· καὶ γνοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κεντυρίωνος ἐδωρήσατο τὸ πτώμα τῷ Ἰωσήφ. καὶ ἀγοράσας σινδῶνα καθελὼν αὐτὸν ἐνεκάλυψε τὴν σινδῶνα καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν μνημείῳ ὃ ἦν λελατομμένον ἐκ πέτρας καὶ προσεκύλισεν λίθον ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τοῦ μνημείου. ἡ δὲ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰωσήτος ἐθεώρουν ποῦ τέθειται.

Καὶ διαγενομένοι τοῦ σαββάτου Μαρία ἢ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἢ [τοῦ] Ἰακώβου καὶ Σαλώμη ἠγόρασαν ἀρώματα ἵνα ἐλθοῦσαι ἀλείψωσιν αὐτόν. καὶ λίαν πρῶτὴ τῆ μιᾶ τῶν σαββάτων ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου. καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς ἑαυτάς, Τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου; καὶ ἀναβλέψασαι θεωροῦσιν ὅτι ἀποκεκύλισται ὁ λίθος· ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα. καὶ εἰσελθοῦσαι εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον εἶδον νεανίσκον καθήμενον ἐν τοῖς δεξιῶις περιβεβλημένον στολὴν λευκὴν, καὶ ἐξεθαμβήθησαν. ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐταῖς, Μὴ ἐκθαμβεῖσθε· Ἰησοῦν ζητεῖτε τὸν Ναζαρητὸν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον· ἠγέρθη, οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε· ἴδε ὁ τόπος ὅπου ἔθηκον αὐτόν. ἀλλὰ ὑπάγετε εἴπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ ὅτι Προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν· ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε, καθὼς εἶπεν ὑμῖν. καὶ ἐξελθοῦσαι ἐφύγον ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου, εἶχεν γὰρ αὐτὰς τρόμος καὶ ἐκστασις· καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν εἶπεν· ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ.

712 Suet. *Jul.* 85: cf. note 37.

713 Regarding Piso, Calpurnia's father, who was the real undertaker of Caesar, cf. the already quoted passages of Appianus; for Atia as the testamentary co-appointee cf. Nicolaus Damascenus 17.48: ἐπισκήψεει δὲ καὶ Ἀτία τῆ μητρὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ταφῆς ἐπιμεληθῆναι.

714 The short ending of Mark stands in the manuscripts, which place it directly after 16:8 and it reads: ΑΛΛΩΣ ἸΠάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς (εφανεῖ) ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλεν δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας. ἀμήν.]]—Theologians translate it like this, e.g.: 'All that was ordered they reported briefly to those around Peter. Then Jesus himself also sent from the rise to the setting through them the holy and everlasting message of the eternal salvation.' This text design and this translation do not make much sense in respect of the language and the content, which could be the reason why this passage is often suppressed. They are based on the assumption that among others δύσεως means 'setting of the sun' and that it is not a form of δύω, 'to come up', (that εφανεῖ after ὁ Ἰησοῦς is missing in most manuscripts and was still added sometimes should make one sit up and take notice). Or also the fact that τὸ ἱερὸν should be interpreted as an adjective, 'holy', and not rather as a substantive, 'holy area, temple'.

715 Cf. Plut. *Ant.* 15; Dio Cass. *HR* 44.53.

716 Apollonia was an important point at the Via Egnatia, in the South of Illyria, today the village Poian in Albania.

717 Τὸ ἱερὸν could therefore, not only because of its spelling, simply stand for *Rome*.

718 Cf. Zanker, p. 43, ill. 25b; p. 64, ill. 44b; p. 219, ill. 168b.

719 Re-examining it, we find that very few details are missing—for example that 'Simon a Cyrenian' according to Mark was 'coming out of the country' and that he was 'the father of Alexander and Rufus' (Mk. 15:21: Καὶ ἀγγαρεύουσιν παράγοντά τινα Σίμωνα Κυρηναῖον ἐρχόμενον ἀπ' ἀγροῦ, τὸν πατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ρούφου, ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ). We have seen in the chapter 'Crux', that *Simon a Cyrenian* stands for *Antonius per praeconem*, 'Antonius by the Herald'. Suetonius (*Jul.* 76) gives as one of the reasons which led to Caesar's murder that he no longer handed over important offices to top-ranking Romans but to his servants and freedmen, amongst which was the command of the three legions he had left in Alexandria: 'to Rufio, who grew up in his house, son of a freedman'. Was it written in Mark's exemplar that the father of Rufio, who was in command in Alexandria, served Antonius as a herald?

720 Suet. *Aug.* 6. As for Augustus' 'pantry': *Bethlehem* means 'house of bread', thus having literally the same meaning as 'pantry' in English (itself from Latin *panis*, 'bread').

721 Suet. *Aug.* 2 and 4.

722 Suet. *Aug.* 21.4-5. Parthians on bended knee during the return of the *signa*, can be seen on coins, cf. i. a. *B.M.C.* 4549, *Imp.* 40, *R.I.C.* 122, also *B.M.C.* 4525, *Imp.*

- 14, *R.I.C.* 99; kneeling Armenian: *B.M.C.* 4547, *Imp.* 43, *R.I.C.* 119, as well *B.M.C.* p.62 note, *Imp.* p.5 note, *R.I.C.* 103; kneeling Gaul, offering a standard: *B.M.C.* 4678, *Imp.* 127, *R.I.C.* 175.
- 723 Suet. *Aug.* 94.3.
 724 Suet. *Aug.* 94.4.
 725 Suet. *Aug.* 94.4-5; Lk. 2:22-35.
 726 Suet. *Aug.* 94.6-7; Lk. 2:41-52.
 727 Suet. *Aug.* 70.1-2; Mk. 16:14; Lk. 24:30.
 728 Suet. *Jul.* 42.2: *neue ii, qui pecuariam facerent, minus tertia parte puberum ingenuorum inter pastores haberent.* Caesar's contempt for the shepherds is a noticeable guideline of his writings. In the civil war he repeatedly accuses Pompeius of recruiting even herdsmen. Since the slave insurgency the herdsmen-slaves did not only epitomize barbarism and all that was abhorred, but they were the enemy par excellence to the family farmers the Romans were and still wanted to be. From the populares' point of view, there was also the fact that the great land owners could only maintain their latifundia through the use of slaves, and by giving up agriculture and turning to pasture farming. But thereby grain became scarce, the cities were full of starving proletarians whereas recruits for the army were missing which could only be provided effectively by free, small farmers. The main device of the legionary was the spade and not the crook. Caesar's settlement of colonies was aimed at increasing the number of free farmers and disposing of the herdsmen-slaves—and thus reducing the city proletariat. The regulation that the cattle-breeders had to have at least one third of their herdsmen composed of freemen, made cattle-breeding less attractive and induced the free herdsmen to switch over to agriculture. For in the long term, pasturing could only be managed as a family business. But if the family grew, the scarce land had to be husbanded more intensively; thus pasturing was restricted to areas that were absolutely unsuitable for agriculture.
- 729 Suet. *Jul.* 43.4.
 730 Suet. *Jul.* 42.3.
 731 Suet. *Jul.* 6, Lk. 1:28. We have to compare *Amitae meae* and *Ave Maria, gratia plena* with *maternum genus* and also *dominus tecum* with *cum diis coniunctum*. N.B.: Luke is not as close to the original text as is Mark.

Final Observations—History

- 732 About Asinius Pollio cf. André (1949) and Feldman (1953), p. 73-80.
- 733 Φ A A O Y I O C
 C A O Y A O C
 II A O Y A O C
- It is conspicuous that *Flavius* in the scholarly Greek writing contains the complete graphism of *Saulus* and *Paulus*: $\Phi + I = C + II$ —the other elements are identical, there is only a metathesis of the Liquida A.
- This would explain why Paulus has two names, *Saulus/Paulus*, which would originate from two different lections in the manuscripts.
- 734 Suet. *Vesp.* 4.4: [...] *ipse potissimum delectus est ut et industriae expertae nec metuendus ullo modo ob humilitatem generis ac nominis.*
- 735 Cf. Hahn (1906).
- 736 For the poor writing occurring to somebody like Augustus, cf. Suet. *Aug.* 88.
- 737 Hieronymus about *herodiani* (Mt. 22:16, Mk. 3:6): [...] *qui Herodem Christum esse credebant [...]*, cf. Migne PL xxiii.178; cf. Pers. 5.179sqq.
- 738 Cf. note 183.