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ALCUIN'S EPITAPH OF HADRIAN I.

A Study In Carolingian Epigraphy.

Alcuin is the author of many metrical inscriptions (tituli) for the altars and walls of churches and monasteries, and for epitaphs and book dedications. None of his biographers has paid proper attention to this aspect of his many-sided activities. But even in the role of epigrapher, the versatile Anglo-Saxon is deserving of our interest. Edmond Le Blant initiated the critical appraisal of Alcuin's epigraphic work, but since 1856 the subject has been neglected. There is sufficient material available to speak not only of the much discussed Scriptorium of Tours but also of the Epigraphic School of Tours. The best-known inscription of the school is the epitaph of Pope Hadrian I (772-807), placed on his tomb at Rome upon the request of Charlemagne. 

J. B. de Rossi concludes that the lapidary workmanship and the style of the inscription are without equal among contemporary epigraphic products of Rome or elsewhere. Its well-executed Roman square capital is fashioned after older Roman inscriptions, many of which were undoubtedly still extant at Tours during the time of Alcuin (766-804). The metrical epitaph consists of thirty-nine elegiacs and one dateline. There are never more than forty full-sized capitals to a verse. The space-saving ligatures of two letters (litterae coniectae) are identical with those in inscriptions of the early Roman empire. In addition to the ordinary capital T, we thus encounter the archaic form of the letter as used during the empire, the heightened T, which extends above the upper rim of the letters so that its transverse line is above the preceding and the following capitals. The same form of the letter is used for the ligature of T and B, in which case the rounded arch of B is below the right branch of the elevated crossbeam of the letter, while the normal-sized T is used for the ligature of T and B. Other space-saving devices are the insertion of a small capital in the cavity of a rounded, large capital (litterae insertae) such as V in Q and C, and A in C, and finally the small capitals A, O, I, suspended halfway between two normal-sized letters. The nomina sacra of the inscription are identical with those occurring in manuscripts from the Scriptorium of Tours.

The significance of the use by the engraver of two different ways of writing seems to have escaped the attention of de Rossi. The name is written KAROLVS (v. 24) and CAROLVS (v. 17). The occurrence of the second spelling in an inscription which originated, literally and technically, upon the request of the Frankish king, possesses more than a merely epigraphic meaning. The monogram spelling resembles the legend on the coins of Charlemagne. The public display of such a nomina nostri was an exclusive royal prerogative, a fact which was undoubtedly known to the engraver of the inscription.

The question that interests us is the disputed authorship of the inscription. Some scholars ascribe it to Charlemagne, relying on v. 17:

POST PATREM LACRIMANS KAROLVS HAEQ CARMINA SCRIBIS.


others assume Alcuin's authorship or reserve their judgment. Ooniio Marucchi⁷ ascribes it to the king, Arthur Kleinclauss⁸ to Alcuin. The Hildesheimian Inning⁹ suggested the authorship of Alcuin on the basis of seven locations in the epitaph for which he adduced parallels from the poems of Alcuin. L. Duchesne¹⁰ mentioned Alcuin with reservation, while K. K. Rand¹¹ concluded with de Rossi that the Anglo-Saxon is indeed the author of Hadrian's epitaph. Ernst Dümmler¹² who noticed three stylistic parallels between the inscription and Alcuin's poetry, but not those previously listed by Inning, did not incluide the metrical inscription among the poems of Alcuin. His edition of the epitaph is not based on the epigraphic evidence, but on the transmission in manuscripts. One of these contains a revision of the original text. Dümmler accordingly reads v. 14:

_Urbis et orbis honor, incolyta Roma, tuas,
while the inscription offers:

**VRBS CAPVT ORBIS HONOR INCLYTA ROMA TVAS.**

The scribe of the manuscript used by Dümmler in this instance thus revised Alcuin's words after the epitaph of Hadrian I composed by Alcuin's friend Theodulph of Orléans,¹³ *Super Sepulchrum Hadriani Papae*, v. 9:

_Tu decus ecclesiae, fax splendens urbis et orbis._

**The following edition of Hadrian's epitaph**¹⁴ **endeavors to prove the authorship of Alcuin on the basis of the numerous parallels between the inscription and Alcuin's poetry.**¹⁵

*The Epitaph of Pope Hadrian I (772-795)*
(today in the Portico of St. Peter's at Rome)

1 _Hic pater ecclesiae, Romae decus, inclytus auctor_ Hadrianus requiem papam beatas habet.
2 _Vivit vita Deus, pietas lex, gloria Christus,_ Pastor apostolica, triumphans ad amnis bonum.
3 _Nobilis ex magna genius jam gentis parentum,_ Sed sacris longe nobiles meritis,
4 _Exornare studens devoto pectore pastor,_ Semper ubique suo templo sacra Deo,
5 _Ecclesias donis, populos et dogmata sacro_ Imbuti et cunctis pandit ad astra viam.
6 _Pauperibus largus, nulli pietate secundus,_ Et pro plebe sacris peregilt in precisus,
7 _Doctrinis, opibus, munis exercent arces,_ Urbis capit orbis honor, inclyta Roma, tuas.
8 _Mors cui nil nocuit, Christi quae morte perempta est,_ Iamue sed vitae mox morienter crat.
9 _Pietat prae cunctis Karolus haece carmina scripsi,_ Tu nihilo dulcis amor, te modo plano, pater.
10 _Tua memor esto mei, sequitur te mens mea sempere,_ Cum Christo tenes regna beata poli.
11 _Te clerum, populos magna dilexit amore,_ Omnibus annis amor, optime praeul, eras.
12 _Nomina munio simul titulis, clarissime, nostri,_ Hadrianus Karolus, rex ego tuque pater.
13 _Quisque legas versus, devoto pectore supplices,_ "Amor est mitis," dic, "misere Deus."
14 _Haece tua nunc tenesque requies, carissime, membra,_ Cum sanctis anima gaudeas alma Dei.

---

¹² M. G. H., Poetae, I, pp. 112-13.
¹³ Ibid., pp. 480-90, no. XXVI.
¹⁴ See de Rossi (note 4), pp. 478-80, and the facsimile of the inscription provided by him; L. Duchesne (note 12), p. 253; Fedor Schneidler and Walter Hottenrath, _Die Epigraphen der Füße und andere stilistisch-sprachliche Inschriften_ (Ténes sur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters, VI (Rome, 1933)); Ferdinand Gregorovius, _Le Tombe dei Papi_ (sec. ed. ital. riu. et ampl. da C. Hülsen, Rome, 1831); H. Leclercq, _"Epitaphe d'Hadrien Ier_ , _Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie_, VI (Paris, 1923), 1944-7; also XIII (1937), 1956-64; an English trans-
ULTIMA quippe tuas donec terta clamet in aures, 30
Principe cum Petro surge videere Deum.
Auditorum cris vocem, scio, indicis almanum:
Intra nunc domini gaudia magna tua?
Tunc memor est tuo nati, pater optimus, posso:
'Cum patre', dixit, 'natus peragit et iste meus.'
35 O pete regna, pater felix, coelestia Christi;
Inde tuam praebere auxiliare gregem.
Dum sol igniono rutulis splendescat ab ase,
Laus tua, sancte pater, semper in orbe manet.
Sedit beatae-memoriae Hadrianus papa.
40 Annum XXIIIIII mensis X dies XVII obit VII Kalendas Ianuarias.

Romeae decus; II, 19:
Aime, salus orbis, Romeae decus, indicus fames.
cf. Alcain in Poem on York, v. 455 (p. 179):
Incipta fama viri nec solum luce Britannos
Insitutis populo.
2 incipitus auctor] Alcain, Epit. Pauli Monachi Turonensis, CXIII, 17 (p. 344), cited by Iannii:
Mox Martinus amor rapuit ne indicus auctor;
Crescere Pipponem dux videt indicus auctor;
in Poem addressed to Paulinus of Aquileia, XVII, 14 (p. 239), cited by Iannii:
O laus Amissiae, patriae decus, indicus auctor;
Epit. Civicatis Papiae, M. G. H., Poetae, I, p. 102, n. 11, 1, 3:
Et pater et pastor, patriae decus, indicus auctor;

Exsoneare obvius Christi studia superlata;
devotum poetae] Alcain, ibid., v. 526 (p. 191):
Pauperibus britannis devotum poetae gense;
Alcain, LXVIII, 22 (p. 287): Sedulius, Carm. Pasch., V, 350;
Iuvencus, Ewlog. Libri Quattuor, I, 610; Diehl, 611, 1 (Rome).

8 Semper ubique] A favorite location of Alcain; cf. CXIII, 30 (p. 344), cited by Iannii:
Vosque valete ne semper ubique deo;
Atque dies nostras praebens rege semper ubique
(XCIX, 12, 11):
Semper ubique vale, die die, duleisseme David,
David amor Flaccet, semper ubique vale
(XXXVII, 7, 8, p. 292).

Alcain in the Poem on York, v. 275 (p. 175):
Exstituit ecclesiae domi quod exornat optimus;
ibid., v. 1226, p. 196:
Ecclesiae alius donis ornatus optimis.

10 Alcain in the Poem on York, v. 552, p. 206:
Ambit et pristis utrumque verenter ab annis;
LUITPOLD WALLACH.

11 Pauperibus largus) Alcuin, Versus ad Leonem Papam, XV, 6 (p. 238):
Pauperibus largus, clarus honor pio;
Ad Fratricinem, XLVI, 14 (p. 239):
Pauperibus largus seu misericors pater;
in the Poem on York, v. 209 (p. 175):
Pauperibus largus, parceus sibi, dives in annis;
Sibid., v. 1018 (p. 192):
Pauperibus largus, sibiitem sed semper egenus;
Pauperibus largus, misericors sanctissime pater;
epitaph of Marea, Diehl, 989, 9 (Rome):
Pauperibus largus viriusti, muta reservinga;
synagogue of Tours, ed. de Rossi, II, 1, p. 67, no. 24, 3-4:
Pauperibus largus distribuere munis;
synagogue of Verdun, Diehl, 1135, 7 (Rome):
Largus pauperibus dives tibi carus amicus;
Diehl, 1678, 11 (Vienne):
Semper devota aula, pauperibus larga;
epitaph Siconis principis of 932, M. G. H., Poetae, II, 648, no. 2, 36:
Largus et in cunctis pauperibusque piae;
epitaph of Hugo Lussumensis episcopus (d. 1038), M. G. H., Scrip-
tores, XXIV, v. 179, 25:
Pauperibus largus fuerat vidique meritus;
Pseudo-Turpin, epitaph of Roland, M. G. H., Poetae, I, p. 110, 10:
Largus pauperibus, prodigus hospitibus.

12 Alcuin, CIX, 24, 11 (p. 340), cited by Iamning:
Vir bonus et prudens, nulli pietate secundus;
Alcuin, Vita Willibrordi, II, 4, 3 (p. 210):
Vir bonus et prudens, nulli pietate secundus;
Dümmler:
Vir magnus bello, nulli pietate secundus;
epitaph of Louis the Pious of 840, M. G. H., Poetae, II, p. 664, 5:
Hic fidus, fortis, nulli pietate secundus;
cf. Fortunatus, IV, 9, 11-13:
Egregius, nulli de nobilitate secundus;
Virgil, Aen., XII, 441: nulli veterum virtute secundus.

13 Alcuin, XXV, 1, 1-3 (p. 245), cited by Iamning:
Salve, Roma potens, mundi decus, inocla mater;
Ut caput orbis, honor magnus, Leo papa valens.

XXI, 5 (p. 248), cited by Iamning:
Urbs, caput orbis, habet te maxima Roma magnificum;

XLV, 31, 63 (p. 253), IX, 37 (p. 230):
Roma, caput mundi, mundi decus, aurea Roma;
Vita Willibrordi, I, 22 ed. Wilhelm Levison, M. G. H., Scrip-
tores, Rerum Merovingicarum, VII, p. 130, 7: Roma urbs, orbis caput;
cf. Ovid, Fasti, V, 93: hic, uti nunc Roma est, orbis caput; Amor, I, 15, 26: Roma triumphali datur caput orbis ortis; Met, XIV, 458:
Trist., III, 5, 46: The Roman Church is called by Hadrian in
letters to Charlemagne: caput totius mundi; see Codex Caroliniae,
ed. Gundelach, M. G. H., Epistolae Meroving. et Karolini Aevi, I, 72,

14 Alcuin) Virgil, Aen., VI, 781; Prudentianus, Contra orationem
Synnachii, I, 553; II, 307; Alcuin was familiar with Pruden-
tianus; see CXXXIII, 13 (p. 359):
Car Tyrio corpus inhaes est tertioro ostro.

15 Alcuin, XXII, 3, 7 (p. 319):
Sed quem Christus amat, illi mors nulla nocet;
cf. L. Cre., 15, 64-65: Diehl, 64, 7 (Rome): nii tibi morte nocet;
Diehl, 244, 9 (Rome): non multum, mors dura, necesse;
Diehl, 170, 7 (Salerno): sed tibi nil potuit mors hanc tamen nave nocere);
Epi.<e>oph, Mariae episcopi Aventinensis, ed. Th. Mommsen, M. G. H., Anec.
Ant., XI, p. 227:
Mors infesta non quamvis ex lege parentis,
Moribus instructus nulli nocere potest;
C. L. E., 1301, 8 (Ansa, Logunensis): mors nihil est;
Epist. Grizoeli of 807, M. G. H., Poetae, I, p. 43, 37:
Mors tibi non nocet;
cf. Lucretius, III, 830 on the folly of the fear of death:
Nihil igitur mors est ad nos neque pertinent ilium.

16 Alcuin, IX, 147 (p. 232):
Sed magis ad studium vitae melioris abundat;

CVII, 2, 13 (p. 334): invene vitae; CXIX, 22, 3 (p. 327): vitae
melioris amator; cf. Alcuin in Epi.<e>oph, 266, p. 424, 33 (M. G. H.,
Epistolae, IV): novi ... et renovetur vita nova in melius (i.e.,
after death).
17 Alcuin, in the Poem on York, vv. 1633-4, p. 206:
_Hecos idcirco cui propriis de patribus atque
Regibus et sanctis rurallia curiae moribus scripsi;_ 
cf. C. L. E., 1885, 25 (Rome); hos tibi dat versus laebris sine_ 
fine petrunus; Egidhard, Vita Caroli, ch. XIX, reporta: Nuntiata_ 
sibi Adriano Romani pontificis obitu, quem in animes præcliaram_ 
habeat, sive fieri aci frustram aut filium amissum caretissimam._ 
On references in the letters of Alcuin on the death of Hadrian see_ 
Bernhard Simson, Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reiches unter Karl_ 

18 _Alcuin, LV, 1, 10 (p. 286):_ 
Dulceis amor laevrmiss absensm plangit amicum;_ 
Tu requies mentem, _tu mihi dulcis amor;_ 
IX, 191 (p. 234):
_Tessum plango tuos easum, carissime frater._

19 _Alcuin, XXIX, 3-4 (p. 248):_ 
_Tu mihi dulcis amor, cordis tuorum amor in coro,_ 
Tu memori cive mibi, tu sine fine vale;_ 
_Tu mihi dulcis amor_ (already cited by Lanning) is a favorite loca-
_ tion of Alcuin; see XLI, I (p. 253), XXXV, 3 (p. 251), XC, 6_ 
(p. 313). Cf. Bode, Vita S. Cuthberti, XLV, 946, ed. Werner_ 
Jager, Palaevatra, 198 (Leipzig, 1933); Hoc te, dulcis amor;_ 
Sedullus, Hymnus, I, 2: _Dulceis amor; Ovid, Fasti, V, 633: _dulcii_ 
... amore._

19 _Alcuin, Versus ad Lemanum Apostolicum, XLIV, 1 (p. 259):_ 
_Quo mens sequitur, carissime Candido, triste;_ 
Ad Amicorem, LII, 3 (p. 295):
_Quo mens sequitur, magno cum corde amore;_ 
Versus ad Carolum Imp., XLV, 17 (p. 257):
_Quo mens sequitur, sequitur quaque amnem amoris;_ 
Iherminus Maurus, Alcuin's pupil, repeats this locution in his Car-
_orolls, M. G. H., Postae, I, p. 188, no. XXXV, 7, p. 170, no. VI, 16;_ 
cf. Virgil, Aen., X, 182: _mentes omnium sus sequant._

20 _Alcuin, Versus ad Carolum Imp., XLV, 14 (p. 257):_ 
_Cum Christo tecum regna beata poli;_ 
Alcuin in letter to Beatus of Liebana, cf. Wilhelm Levison, _England_ 
_and the Continent in the Eighth Century_ (Oxford, 1946), p. 203, 18;
_Cum sanctis teces regna beata poli;_ 
cf. Ovid, Ep., I, 106: _regna tenere postest;_ Ep., XII, 24: _regna_ 
beata.

21 _Alcuin, LXIX, 170 (p. 292):_ 
_Vulnus foedatum, aut regna beata poli;_ 
Dichter, 1042, 2 (Milan): 
_Aurelius penetrae regna beatae poli._

21 _Cf. C. L. E., III, 210, 3 (Madura): non immerito magno dilecti-
amore; Virgil, Aen., I, 344: et magno miserarum dilectus amore._
LUITPOLD WALLACH.

Tune gaudens: 'Intra, nimirum me serve Adelis
Aeterni aeternus regna bonta patria.'
Tune memori estae me et die . . .

LXXXVIII, 2, 9-10 (p. 309), Ad Corpus Sancti Vedasti:
Audite, residentes tuos: non audite alim:
'Intra mo nos domini gaudio sancta tui.'

cf. Ovid, Met., VI, 548: Audite nesci ester et si deus ullus in illo est;
cf. Lactanpiquoy, "Notes sur l'épigraphie de l'abbaye de S. Vaast.
Les Inscriptions d'Alcuin," Commission départementale des
Monuments Historiques du Pas-de-Calais, Bulletin, N.S. VII
(1841); Alcuin imitates Fortunatus, V, 2, 87-69:
Ecce tu, domini modo gaudio lavator innu
Froque labore brevi magus parata tibi.
Audite auris vocem, Martine, beatae,
Scil Fortunati sit memoria ipsi tue.

Cf. Psalm. 94, 8.

32 Cf. Matth. 25, 21 (Luc. 19, 17); Ovid, Amor., II, 9, 44: Gaudia magna feram.

33 Alcuin, Verba ad Paulinum, XX, 40 (p. 214):
Qua memori esti tui nunti, tu posse per illum;
pater optime) Alcuin, CH, 14 (p. 329) and in letter to Hadrian
of 794, M. G. H., Epistolae, IV, 27, p. 16, 15.

34 Alcuin, XX, 41 (p. 241):
Ut tibi cum sanctis tribuant caelestis regna;
also X, 19 (p. 238); LXII, 4 (p. 275); v. 594, p. 101; cf. Ovid,
Ex Posto, IV, 8, 59: caelestis regna;
C. L. E., 671, 3: confessus Christum caelestia regna potest;
cf. C. L. E., 1400, 1 (Rome).

35 Alcuin, Epist. Monachis Pauli Umorensis, CXIII, 9-10 (p. 344):
Auxiliare pis, te procer, et proculus;
also LV, 6, 7 (p. 204), CIX, 10, 1 (p. 338), L, 36 (p. 283), II, 34,
82 (p. 220), IX, 178 (p. 233).

37 Alcuin, XCV, 7 (p. 320):
Sola translationis radii domini splendidavit in altis;
Alcuin's source is Juvenecus, Evang. Libri Quattuor, IV, 140-51, 108:
Abacoendt turris umbria radios sol,
Amidet sueurum lunaris gratia lucis
Ignisqueque ruent stellas caelumque relinquunt;
.... ad aee;
Juvencus, III, 1:
Federat in terras resumeb ibar ignomine sol.

38 Alcuin, Ad Leonem apostoliscum urbis Romae, XLIII, 11-12 (p. 255):
Ut laus et merces maneat tibi, sancte sacerdos,
Tempore perpetuo pacis in orbe sacro;
XXI, 33 (p. 243):
Sic tua laus crescit, merece sic magna manebit
Pastori summo sedis apostolicae;

ALCUIN'S EPIPHANY OF HADRIAN I.

IV, 10 (p. 221):
Diei: Two laus mecum semper, dilecte, manebit.
Since Alcuin connects sol (v. 37) and laus (v. 88), it seems that
he imitates Fortunatus, Ad Justiniun apophan Apustos (p. 278,
47):

Hec tua laus, princeps, cum sole susurrat in ore;
Hrabanus Maurus, M. G. H., Postae, II, p. 101, no. III, 17, addressing
Pope Gregory IV (877-844), seems to copy Alcuin:
Ut tua laus maneat, mercede et gloria semper.

40 Bernhard Simson, Jahrbücher des Frankischen Reiches unter Karl
dem Grossen, II (Leipzig, 1883), p. 108, note 2, assumes that VIII
Kal. Ian. is the correct date.

The numerous parallels in Hadrian's epigraph with the phraseology
and the diction in Alcuin's metrical inscriptions and in
his occasional poetry which we adduce in the notes of the
commentary provide, as we hope, ample evidence that Alcuin is
indeed the author of the inscription whose unity of composition
and spontaneity of expression cannot be the work of a versifier
who imitated the style of Alcuin's poetry.

Alcuin's interpretations of death, immortality, and resurrection
pose a problem.\footnote{On the contents of epitaphs see now Richmond Lattimore, Themes
in Greek and Latin Epitaphs (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature,
XXVIII, nos. 1-2 [Urbana, 1942]), pp. 301-40; especially pp. 309-
11, on heretical concepts in Christian inscriptions.}

Death is pictured as the separation of body and soul by which another life (16) better than the earthly is introduced; death therefore does not cause harm to man (16).
The body is held in the tomb (21), while the soul makes for the stars (19), spits us et saet (see below), joining with the Saints (28). He believes in the immortality of the soul, and the disintegration of the body in dust, as may also be deduced
from his own epitaph, where the traveler (\textit{stator}) is asked
(CXXIII, 9-10, p. 350):

Quaspropter potius animam curare meminit
Quam carnem, quoniam haec manet, illa perit.

References in Hadrian's and Alcuin's epitaphs reveal their author's belief in an immortal soul freed of its body. "The soul
returns to the judgment of Him who gave it," Alcuin wrote to his friend Arno of Salsburg;\footnote{Alcuin, Epist. 239, p. 364, 20-23 (M. G. H., Epistolae, IV, ed.
Ernest Dümmler): Spiritus revertatur ad indicium illius qui dedi eum.}
thought of Judgment Day... lest He finds me unprepared."

His vision of an incorporeally immortal soul is a remnant of ancient Greek thought that is contrary to the orthodox Christian point of view of a corporeal resurrection of the flesh from the dust of the grave. But the heretical concept is also found in other epitaphs of the early Middle Ages. Both concepts of resurrection appear in a rather incongruous fashion simultaneously in Alcuin's epitaph written by himself shortly before 804. Not only the resurrection of the soul (see above), but also the resurrection of the body is mentioned in the same epitaph (GXIII, 21, p. 350):

Qui iacens in tumulo, terrae de pulvere surge.

The idea of the harmlessness of death (15) and the belief in the immortality of the soul determine Alcuin's expression of consolation in Hadrian's epitaph. They make it rather futile to deplore the loss of the departed; instead the consolatio is directed toward the living. This results in the panegyric and didactic praise of the virtues of Hadrian (3-6, 11-12), and the laudatory description of his achievements (7-9, 13-14). The inscription appears accordingly as a biographical encomium whose climax in the concluding laudatio of v. 38:

LAVS TUA SANCTE PATER SEMPER IN ORBE MANET,

is inspired by Virgil's famous phrase (Ecl. V, 78 = Aen., I, 690):

Semper honoris nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt,

a verse which is literally quoted by Alcuin in the epic poem on his native York (v. 1595, p. 285).

The extremely literary character of Hadrian's epitaph is obvious from the use made of Roman and Christian literary

Huius vero Indici terrae totius contramurum... a me minus paratum

dies illa per omnia invesiat.

On the classical laudatio see Marcel Durry, "Laudatio funebria et Rhetorique," Revue de Philologie, LXIVIII (1942), p. 105-114; cf. Konrat Ziegler, "Panegyrikos," R. E., XVIII, 1 (1949), cols. 559-581; on consolatio see Skelch in R. E., IV, cols. 383 ff.; thus far, the literary genres in medieval epitaphs and in the panegyric Latin poetry from Fortunatus to Alcuin have not been investigated; they continue frequently the corresponding classical traditions.

sources. The influence of Porphyrius (1), Iuvenetus (37), and Prudentius (14), is surpassed by that of Fortunatus21 (4, 5-6, 11, 14, 31-33), a favorite author of Alcuin. There are a few quotations and possible traces of Virgil and Ovid. A faint echo of the Fourth Eclogue22 (29), for the Middle Ages the messianic eclogue which foretold the birth of Christ and the return of Saturn's golden age of peace, seems to be contained in verse 29 in connection with the belief in the resurrection.

*Formulae of Medieval Epigraphy are the traditional hic... requiescunt (1-2), Promptus in omnem bonum (4), Pater dolorum largus (11), Invioli pietate sequens (11); literary tope are the obligation to top noble birth by a nobler life (5-6), the harmlessness of death (15) as the portal leading to a better life (16), and the incorporeal resurrection of the immortal soul (27-30).

A third source of Alcuin seems to be a syllogon (or several collections) of inscriptions which furnished him with some of those locations for which parallels from Carolingian epitaphs, prior and posterior to Hadrian's, are adduced in our commentary (4, 11, 15, 30). Wilhelm Levison23 has already called attention to the use made by Alcuin of the Syllaga Cantabrici,24 a collection of papal epitaphs and inscriptions. Alcuin was, in all probability, also familiar with the Syllaga of Tiber (cf. 11). The use of the location Syllogon cultor, for instance, which occurs in Roman and Christian inscriptions, becomes understandable if we assume Alcuin's possible familiarity with some syllogon. Compare the following examples:

Alcuin, Inscriptio in Monasterio Nobilissimi, XXIX, 22, 3-4 (p. 327):

Syllogon cultor, vitae melioris amator,

Providus ingenio, causto in eloquio;

Versus ad Leonem Papam, XV, 5-6 (p. 338):

*Justitiae cullor, versa et pietatis amator,*
*Pauperibus largus, clarus honore pie.*

*Versus ad Paulinum (of Aquileia), XVII, 15 (p. 239):*

*Justitiae cultor, sacrae pietatis amator;*

*Versus ad Leonem Apostolicum, XI, 3 (p. 254):*

*Justitiae cullor, sancte et pietatis amator,*

Firmus in officis, versus in eloquuis;

In the Poem on York, v. 138 (p. 178):

Qui fuit ore simul verax et pectore prudent,
*Justitiae cultor, versus pietatis amator.*

The last verse is identical with the third in a poem by Alcuin's teacher Aelbert or Huna of York attached to a letter addressed to Lullus of Mayence.²⁴

The unknown Carolingian author of the epic poem Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa²⁵ says of his hero:

*Justitiae cultor, cultores diligent omnes.*

The original source of *Justitiae cultor* is Lucan, Pharsalia II, 389:

*Justitiae cultor, rigidi servator honesti,*

a passage frequently referred to in Roman and Christian epitaphs. It appears in the *Syloge of Toms* (Diehl 1195, 9-10):

*Justitiae cultor, vitae servator honestae,*

*Pauperibus dives, sed sibi pauper erat.*

Occasionally, the passage from Lucan is connected with Martial, IX, 84, 4:

*Ille tuae cultor notus amicitiae,*

²⁴ Pietatius amator is often used as Verseschells, also by Paul the Deacon, *M.G.H., Poetae,* I, p. 58, no. XXXIV, 16; Fortunatus, III, 22, 5; Dracontius, *De Deo,* III, 16; *Justitiae cultor,* see also in Diehl, 1011, 7; 1083, 6; Fortunatus, VI, 1a, 21; Epit. Marit. Episc. Aquitaniae, ed. Th. Mommaen, *M.G.H., Anct. Antt.,* XI, p. 297.

²⁵ M. O. H., Poetae, I, p. 201, note 1.


Alcuin’s Epitaph of Hadrian I.

as in the following epitaphs of two Roman senators: Diehl, 243, 7-8:

*purus amicitiae cullor, servator honesti,*
*eloquio miseros vel pietate iuvans;*

Diehl, 185, 11-12:

*fides amicitiae custos, ambitor honesti,*
*justitiae cultor, pacis amator erat.*

The identification of cultor with amator in the last inscription is traceable to another interpretation of the passage from Lucan with the help of Ovid, *Ars Amatoria,* I, 732:

Qui fuerat cultor, factus amator erat,
as for instance in Diehl, 1024, 3:

*Cultor iustitiae, doctrine et pacis amator,*

and in the examples adduced from Alcuin's poetry.

Alcuin employs *justitiae cultor* not only for epigraphic but also for merely literary purposes. In the same way he used the epigraphic formula *spiritus astra petit* (Diehl, 990, 3), *Vita Wililibrordi,* II, 28, 4 (p. 816):

*Spiritus astra petit meritis vivacebus alta;*

in the Poem on York, v. 739 (p. 186):

... sub quo

*Spiritus astra petit sancti terrae relinguens.*

Alcuin's method conforms to the custom followed by Carolingian writers of fashioning dedicatory verses, for instance, after the inscriptions of a syllage. A good example is found in the *Versus Godescalci in Carolum, M.G.H., Poetae,* I, p. 94, no. VII, 2, 6-9:

⁶ Praeclatus multis, humilis pietate superbus,
Providius ac sapiens, studiosus in arte librorum.

⁸ *Justitiae custos rectus versusque fidelis,*
*Pauperibus largus, miseras solacia praestans.*

Ernst Dümmler, the editor of these verses, overlooks the fact that vv. 6 and 9 are from the epitaph of Pope Felix IV (Diehl, 986, 3, 5) and v. 8 is from that of Boniface III (Diehl, 592, 9-10):

*Justitiae custos, rectus patiensque benignus,*
*Cultus in eloquvis et pietate placens.*
ARISTOTLE'S ANALYSIS OF THE NATURE OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

This essay is a study of the notion of ὁράος in the light of Aristotle's treatment of the subject in the Politics and in the form of an examination of the analysis made by him of that notion. It seems hardly necessary to defend at length the view that this topic is one of considerable interest and importance. Two reasons for holding the view, however, are the following. First, our historical texts make it clear that ὁράος is a fundamental and persistent feature of Greek politics of the classical period. It follows, therefore, that we cannot expect to acquire an adequate grasp of the nature of Greek public life without first understanding the phenomenon which we call ὁράος. Second, it appears to be the case that the meaning of the word ὁράος, in so far as it can be at all precisely delimited, contains an element which is not adequately represented by any of the English equivalents which have been suggested. This is not so small a point as it might seem. The use of the word “revolution,” as in Jowett’s translation, for instance, and in most translations of Thucydides, is, I believe, thoroughly misleading. The connotation of ὁράος is distinctly narrower than that of social and economic disintegration which has been acquired in modern times by the word “revolution.” If we say that “revolution” is a correct description of the events known collectively as the French Revolution and as the Russian Revolution, I do not think we can apply the term to the kind of events referred to by the Greeks as ὁράος, even though such events were frequently due, as Aristotle saw, to conflicts of an economic and social rather than of a purely political character.

It may be claimed, in conclusion, that, if translators have failed adequately to represent the meaning of the word, commentators have failed sufficiently to stress the importance of the notion of ὁράος as discussed by Aristotle. The majority ¹ confine

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