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Reading and Copying Latin Texts in a Greek-speaking Area The Ways of Diffusion of Latin Literary Culture in Constantinople

RÉSUMÉ-. Dans cet article, je tente d'identifier les canaux par lesquels la culture littéraire latine a pu se diffuser à Constantinople, spécialement durant le règne de Justinien (527-565), dont le latin était la langue maternelle. J'explorerai quatre domaines: I. Les témoignages révélant une connaissance des textes latins chez les auteurs byzantins des IV^e, V^e, VI^e et même VII^e siècles. II. La place du latin dans le système éducatif de Constantinople. III. L'activité d'écrivains d'origine grecque qui ont utilisé le latin. IV. La circulation de textes latins dans un environnement hellénophone. Je porterai mon attention sur ce dernier point, les trois autres servant seulement d'introduction à ce sujet.

MOTS-CLÉS-. Justinien, Constantinople, bilinguisme, enseignement (du latin), littérature latine

ABSTRACT-. In this paper I will try to identify the ways of diffusion of Latin literary culture in Constantinople, especially during Justinian's reign (527-565), whose first language was Latin. I will explore four fields: I. Evidence of the knowledge of Latin texts among Byzantine writers of the 4th, 5th, 6th, and even 7th centuries AD. II. The place of Latin in the learning system of Constantinople. III. The activity of writers of Greek origin using Latin. IV. The circulation of Latin texts in a Greek-speaking area. I will focus on this last point, the three other being only an introduction to this issue.

KEYWORDS-. Justinian, Constantinople, bilingualism, teaching (of Latin), Latin literature

The early Byzantine Empire can be presented in some ways as the translation in Greek of the Roman Empire—"translation" in the etymological meaning of the word. The Byzantines called themselves "Romans" because they believed that they were the direct and legitimate heirs of the Roman Empire.¹ This awareness is like a "return into the homeland" because the Romans were well acquainted with the Greek roots of their culture.² It is a very specific round trip: Greece towards Rome and Rome towards Greece. Founded by Constantine in 324 AD as a Roman city, but achieved in the 6th century, during Justinian's reign (527-565), Constantinople tried to emerge as a new Rome in the Greek world, and, after the fall of the Western Roman Empire, as the only authoritative version of the *Imperium Romanum*. Rome was a bilingual city.³ Justinian as speaker of Latin was one of the last emperors in this position. Constantinople had to be the same. Although the new city was only a copy, compared with the model, which remained unique, the Roman nature of Byzantium was obvious for everyone. I remain indeed in favour of my thesis: Latin represented

(1) CAVALLO 2006, p. 11.

(2) For a general overview, see BICKEL 1961, p. 244-249; BALDWIN 1976; HORSFALL 1993; CAMERON 2009.

(3) ROBINS 1993, p. 30-31.

in the Greek East a reality more important than one generally believes. Joseph Geiger has the same opinion in his article *Some Latin Authors from the Greek East*.⁴ In this paper I will try to identify the ways of diffusion of Latin literary culture in Constantinople, especially during Justinian's reign, whose first language was Latin.⁵ I will explore four fields: I. Evidence of the knowledge of Latin texts among Byzantine writers of the 4th, 5th, 6th, and even 7th centuries AD; II. The place of Latin in the learning system of Constantinople; III. The activity of writers of Greek origin using Latin; IV. The circulation of Latin texts in a Greek-speaking area. I will focus on this last point, the three other being only an introduction to this issue. I will not take into account the alleged influence of Latin writers like Vergil or Ovid on Greek late authors like Nonnos of Panopolis and others because it is a too controversial topic.⁶

At the beginning of this paper, it is useful to mention the main factors that contributed to the diffusion of Latin in Constantinople and to the circulation of Latin texts in the *Pars Orientis*. Scholars have emphasized the practical aspect of the use of Latin in the Greek East.⁷ Latin was the language of law, civil bureaucracy, and army, whereas Greek was the language of business and culture, a *lingua franca* of ordinary life.⁸ The populace also knew local languages, such as demotic in Egypt. The knowledge of Latin was a condition of progress to a higher social level, especially after Diocletian's "Latinization" of the imperial public administration.⁹ Scholars doubt today that there was an aggressive linguistic imperialism from Diocletian's reign. However, there is no reason to deny that the prestige of Latin increased during the 4th century, but it's difficult to say why. The importance of Latin for career advancement in the administration led to the appearance of new didactic tools, because the traditional Greek schools were unable to develop a teaching of Latin and in Latin. In Roman Egypt,¹⁰ we have a lot of didactic papyrus fragments containing tools for the study of Latin: tables of declensions and conjugations, bilingual editions of Latin authors such as Virgil and Cicero. As Rafaela Cribiore has pointed out,¹¹ the same tools (alphabet writing, literary passages, glossaries, grammatical treatises, ...) were used to learn both Greek and Latin, but the hands of papyri containing Latin exercises demonstrate that Latin was studied at a more advanced level. The *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana* were the climax of those methods: they offered to the Greek-speaking students the possibility to study Latin quickly and effectively.¹² After Diocletian there seems to have been a re-hellenization of the Greek East. The archives of Flavius Abinnaeus, *praefectus alae* at Dionysias in the Fayum in Egypt between 342 and 351 AD, show how powerful the Greek language was as a formal or 'official' language: they contain only two documents in Latin.¹³ As James Adams points out in his book *Bilingualism and the Latin language*, "Latin was available as a sort of 'super-high' language which could be employed either to make obvious the location of supreme power, or in appeal to a supreme authority".¹⁴ However, the presence of Latin in the Greek-speaking East has been too much reduced to the practical aspects. The interest in Latin

(4) GEIGER 1999.

(5) PECERE 1990; CAVALLO 2013, p. 376-379.

(6) About the knowledge and use of Latin models by Greek poets of the 3rd to the 6th centuries AD, AGOSTI 2019. See also MUGUÉLEZ CAVERO 2008, p. 23, 26, 51, 90, 95; CAMERON 2016, p. 24.

(7) About the linguistic Latinization of the East, characterized by continuities, interruptions, and role reveals, GARCEA 2019, who identifies an evolution with six steps: imperfect bilingualism, Constantin's linguistic 'nationalism', cases of multilingualism, 'duallinguism' under Theodosius II, constitution of an interlanguage under Justinian, unilingualism.

(8) MILLAR 2006, p. 97-107.

(9) CAMERON 2016, p. 23.

(10) About the practice of Latin in Late Egypt, see FOURNET 2019.

(11) CRIBIORE 2007.

(12) DICKEY, 2016, p. 178-182 ("overview of the ancient Latin-learning materials").

(13) ADAMS 2003, p. 555-558; FOURNET 2019, p. 75-76.

(14) ADAMS 2003, p. 555.

language and literature also had a less ignoble purpose. “Latin language of power, Greek language of culture”: the expression comes from Gilbert Dagron.¹⁵ It is a right opinion, but probably too restrictive. Latin was also a language of culture in Constantinople. As we will see, even texts which were not a part of the school canon were read and commented in Constantinople. Furthermore, Latin texts which were very widespread in schools, such as Vergil and Terence, could also be read with a literary aim, not only as purely didactic exercises. Therefore, Latin can also be regarded as a literary language in Constantinople. The phenomenon of copying and reading Latin texts outside the didactic environment was boosted by the ruling classes of Late Antiquity: they took into account the establishment of a link (which we can call a “class-link”) between the old Rome and the new one. A way to reach this aim was the diffusion in the Greek East of texts regarded by the members of the aristocratic families as the vehicles of common values which formed the bedrock of society. In this Vergil was of course the first author, but he was not alone.

I. EVIDENCE OF KNOWLEDGE OF LATIN AUTHORS IN BYZANTINE TEXTS OF THE 5TH, 6TH, AND 7TH CENTURIES AD

We have a lot of literary attestations of translations, quotations and reminiscences of Latin classical texts in authors of the early Byzantine period, especially during the reigns of Anastasius, Justin I, and Justinian (491-565), the years of the “wandering poets”.¹⁶ I will give a representative sample.

Johannes Stobaeus in the 5th century AD has composed for his son an anthology of about 500 Greek authors. Although his choices mainly concern Greek literature, he mentions some Romans, including Caesar Augustus, Scipio Minor and, many times, Cato the Elder.¹⁷ It is true that he could have found those names in Greek sources like Plutarch or Cassius Dio, but it would be surprising if he had not consulted Latin texts.

The first author of Late Antiquity who made intensive use of Latin authors was John Lydus, an erudite and state official in Constantinople during the reigns of Anastasius, Justin I, and Justinian I. He had a professorship of Latin at the imperial university, probably during the summer 545 AD.¹⁸ The use of Latin is especially striking in his *De magistratibus*. Lydus had evidently read poets like Vergil, Horace, and Lucan¹⁹ with commentaries, and prose writers like Sallustius and even rare texts like Suetonius and Apuleius.²⁰ I give here only one example: John Lydus quotes Juvenal’s fifth satire in the *De magistratibus* I, 20 to illustrate the value of the gifts for the Romans. The testimony of Lydus is particularly interesting because he was part of the bureaucratic framework of Justinian’s Constantinople. He was an officer of the praetorian prefecture and was aware of the existence of two opposite trends about the official use of languages. Indeed, between 531 and 541 AD, there was an opposition between Tribonian, supporter of Latin, and John the Cappadocian, Justinian’s minister, who imposed the use of Greek to the administration of the praetorian prefecture of the East.²¹ John

(15) DAGRON 1969.

(16) CAMERON 2016.

(17) HORSFALL 1993, p. 81

(18) SCHAMP 2009, p. 267 and n. 55.

(19) MIGUÉLEZ CAVERO 2008, p. 197-198, 213; CAMERON 2016, p. 24.

(20) About Apuleius, see STRAMAGLIA 2003, p. 142 and n. 99. John the Lydian quotes works of Apuleius now lost and uses them in the *de ostentis*, especially for the astronomical part (BRUGNOLI 1961-1965, p. 18-19, and n. 22), which is an indication of the presence in Constantinople of rare works of this Latin writer. Apuleius is quoted in the *Geoponica* (see the references in the *index nominum* of Beck’s edition, Leipzig, 1895, p. 531).

(21) John Lydus, *De magistratibus*, 3.68. See STEIN 1949, p. 438-439; WILSON 1996, p. 58.

Lydus, who taught at the school of Constantinople after the great grammarian Priscian and held Latin as the “ancestral language” of Byzantium,²² is representative of a caste of learned officers at the time of Justinian who tried to assimilate the East with Romanity.

A little bit later, Johannes Malalas, a monk from Antioch, author of the oldest Byzantine universal chronicle preserved (which covers the history of mankind from Adam to Justinian), also shows a good knowledge of Latin writers, especially Vergil. He quotes (12, p. 285 Bonn) two verses of the *Aeneid* (IV.302-3) first in Latin, then in a Greek translation which successfully reproduces Vergil's alliterative skills.²³ He speaks about Aeneas' shield in book eight, and he quotes Servius about Dido's chronology. He also knows Juvenal and mentions the circumstances of his exile.²⁴ If we compare John Malalas with John the Lydian, Malalas' Latin sources are less numerous. However, the inclusion of translated or paraphrased Latin passages demonstrates the prestige which Latin literature and Latin language enjoyed in Greek letters during Justinian's reign.

The last example is the anonymous treatise *Περὶ πολιτικῆς ἐπιστήμης* known from a Vatican palimpsest (*Vaticanus Graecus* 1298) and attributed to Menas Patricius, according to Carlo Maria Mazzucchi.²⁵ This treatise was written at the beginning of the 5th century AD by an author who was extremely aware of contemporary political problems. He shows a knowledge of Cicero, whose *De republica* is the model of this treatise, but also of Cato the Elder, Livy, Seneca,²⁶ and, what is perhaps more surprising, Juvenal—in fact Persius. There was indeed a confusion between Persius and Juvenal, as Bücheler has already seen in Friedländer's commentary to Juvenal.²⁷ The mistake is interesting because it shows that both poets were diffused together in the Greek East in general and in sixth-century Constantinople more particularly. The same happened also in the West, as it is shown by the bifolium of Juvenal (5th century AD) inserted in *Vaticanus Latinus* 5750 (*CLA* I 30)²⁸ and also probably by the codex corrected in 402 AD by Triphonianus Sabinus,²⁹ where the text of Persius is deprived of the choliambic prolog.

We don't know how those authors had access to Latin texts: directly or indirectly? They may have used translations: the *Aeneid* was paraphrased in Greek by a freedman Polybios, Sallust was translated into Greek by a sophist called Zenobios, the *Georgics* by another sophist or a poet called Arrianos.³⁰ But it is also possible that the Greek writers used the original Latin texts, because there are texts for which we have no evidence of a translation, like Juvenal. Direct use of Latin texts by Greek-speaking readers is also attested, as we will see, by papyri with Greek marginalia.

II. THE PLACE OF LATIN IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN CONSTANTINOPLE

It is surprising that Constantine the Great (324-337) founded in his new city neither a library *utriusque linguae* nor a university where the two languages of the Roman Empire would be taught. The only evidence of Latin literature in the new foundation are two of the statues in the Gymnasium

(22) DMITRIEV 2018.

(23) BALDWIN 1987.

(24) GENGLER 2019.

(25) MAZZUCCHI 1978; 2002².

(26) CAMERON 1985, p. 251, n. 66.

(27) PECERE 2016, p. 243.

(28) PECERE 2016, p. 234, 243-244.

(29) *PLRE* II, Fl. Iulius Tryphonianus Sabinus 19, p. 970. See PECERE 1986, p. 52-53; 1990, p. 384-385; 1991, p. 69-70; 2016, p. 244-246.

(30) ROCHETTE 2019, p. 298.

of Zeuxippus, restored by Constantine: one of Virgil and another of Apuleius,³¹ as we know from the ephrasis of the poet Christodoros of Coptos, writing in the 5th century AD, inserted in the second book of the Palatine Anthology.³² We must wait until the reign of Theodosius II to find in Constantinople an institutionalization of the higher education which had probably already been supported by the impulse of the emperor Julian some years before. A decree of Theodosius II of 27th February 425 AD, preserved in the *Codex Theodosianus*,³³ reorganized the high level teaching in Constantinople and gave an important place to Latin.³⁴ It created 31 professorships with almost a parity between Greek and Latin. Ten *grammatici* and three *rhetores* would teach Latin grammar and rhetoric, while five sophists and ten grammarians would teach Greek. Moreover, the decree also provides one professorship for Greek philosophy and two teachers of law in order to educate the young people *profundior scientia atque doctrina*, according to the words of the decree itself. The priority of Latin is evident: Latin remained the language of law of the imperial civil and military administration, the two domains in which the pupils of the new university would be trained. The codification of law required a professional knowledge of Latin. There is another testimony of the importance of Latin. A map of the Empire was executed by Theodosius II in order to be displayed in the university. Although we have only an indirect knowledge of this map, we know that it was a Latin and Roman one with a legend in Latin. The *Liber de mensura orbis terrae* composed in 825 AD by Dicuil ends with 12 verses from which we hear that a map has been executed by order of Theodosius II in 435 AD according to the map of Agrippa and Augustus in order to decorate a public institution, probably the university.³⁵ A Latin and Roman map in Constantinople was not shocking in the first half of the 5th century AD because the city was the heiress of ancient Rome and preserved its ancient traditions and, with them, the use of Latin. Indeed the importance of Latin in Theodosius' Constantinople can be illustrated by the comparison with the situation of Greek in the West at the same time. We have a decree of 23 May 376 AD which fixes the remuneration of the *rhetores* and the *grammatici* in Trier, Germany.³⁶ The remuneration of Greek grammarians is very low, and the text adds about Greek teachers *si qui dignus repperiri potuerit*, a sentence which evidently shows that Greek was starting to disappear from the West.

Furthermore, by publishing the *Codex Theodosianus* in 438, Theodosius II set in motion the diffusion of the legal book in Latin,³⁷ which would reach its peak with Justinian's publication of the *Codex Iustinianus* in 529 AD, one the greatest achievements of Justinian's reign, and the *Digest* and *Institutes* in 533 AD. The famous *codex Florentinus* of the Pandects (Laur. S.N. =CLA III 295)³⁸ was probably written in Constantinople, although this hypothesis is not accepted by all the scholars

(31) Virgil (*Anth. Pal.*, II, 1, 414-416), "second Homer" (KELDELLIS 2007, p. 281-282), and Apuleius (*Anth. Pal.*, II, 1, 303-305) (BRUGNOLI 1961-1965, p. 14-16; GAISSE 2008, p. 14, 27-28) are the only Latin authors present in the gymnasium of Constantinople, with Caesar (*Anth. Pal.*, II, 1, 92-96) and Pompey the Great (*Anth. Pal.*, II, 1, 398-406) (KALDELLIS 2007, p. 378-381), next to more than 70 historical or mythical Greek figures. See SCARCIA 1964, p. 13-18 (esp. 14); STUPPERICH 1982.

(32) See FERRARO 1961-1965; STRAMAGLIA 2003, p. 142 and n. 97; MIGUÉLEZ CAVERO 2008, p. 32.

(33) *CTh*, XIV.9.3: *Habeat igitur auditorium specialiter nostrum in his primum, quos Romanae eloquentiae doctrina commendat [...] oratores quidem tres numero, decem uero grammaticos, Dat. III kal. mart. Constantinopoli Theodosio a. XI et Valentiniano cons.* See MARROU 1965, p. 442-443. See also *CTh*, VI.21.0: *De professoribus, qui in urbe Constantinopolitana docentes ex lege meruerint comitiuam.*

(34) FUCHS 1926, p. 1-8; LEMELRE 1971, p. 63-64.

(35) WOLSKA-CONUS 1973, p. 274-279 (esp. 276). More generally, TRAINA 2013, 2015.

(36) *CTh*, XIII.3.11. See MARROU 1965, p. 442; KASTER 1984.

(37) MILLAR 2006, p. 84-93.

(38) AMMIRATI 2015, p. 14, 70, 86, n. 1, 96, 98 n. 5. See also BALDI 2010; VAN BOCHOVE 2019, p. 209-215.

(some suggest Ravenna or Neaples).³⁹ Paleographical criteria can be helpful on this point. The Latin part of the codex is written in the so-called BR uncial,⁴⁰ while the Greek part shows a particular stylized graeco-latin writing. We will come back to this point later.

During the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries AD, a lot of grammarians of Greek origin have composed Latin grammars for Greek-speaking people aiming to learn Latin.⁴¹ Fl. Sosipater Charisius,⁴² Diomedes,⁴³ Dositheus⁴⁴ during the second part of the 4th century AD and, last but not least, the great Priscian⁴⁵ (6th century AD) from Caesarea (of Mauretania or, less probably, of Palestine) whose *Ars*, intended for Greek-speaking pupils learning Latin in Constantinople, would remain the reference work for Latin language learning throughout the Middle Ages.⁴⁶ Furthermore, some grammarians worked in the *Pars Orientis* on commentaries about the language and the metrics of Latin writers read in schools, such as Terence. Evanthius,⁴⁷ who died in Constantinople in 358, composed a commentary on Terence that is now lost, and Rufinus of Antioch wrote a commentary on the metrics of the same writer.⁴⁸

Towards whom was this teaching of Latin in the Greek-speaking East directed?⁴⁹ Intended for a Greek-speaking elite, the Eastern Latin teaching was based on political considerations. This powerful elite attempts to recover the unity of a balanced Empire with both languages, Greek and Latin, as it was during the Late Republic and the Early Empire when the Roman ruling class was fluent both in Greek and in Latin. It is likely that Macrobius' treatise *De differentiis et societatis Graeci Latinique verbi*, whose aim was not didactic, was dedicated to Q. Aurelius Symmachus,⁵⁰ one of the leaders of the pagan aristocrats at Rome, an intellectual working to conciliate the two parts of the Empire.⁵¹ Moreover, the *Institutiones* of Priscian were dedicated to a man who represented the ideal of the learned man of Justinian's time, *Iulianus consul ac patricius*, who was perfectly fluent in Greek and in Latin, as Priscian points out in his preface (*non minus Graecorum quam Latinorum in omni doctrinae genere perfulgentem*).⁵²

Who is this *Iulianus consul ac patricius*? His identification is problematic.⁵³

1. According to a hypothesis by Vollmer, he would be the owner of the codex of the *Thebaid* of Statius described as *vir clarissimus*, as we will see later.

(39) AMMIRATI 2015, p. 94-104. On the graphical and morphological characteristics of the Latin books written in Constantinople, see BIANCONI 2014, p. 329-332; NOCCHI MACEDO 2019.

(40) RADICIOTTI 1997, p. 140 and n. 89.

(41) KASTER 1988, p. 237-379; 464-465; SÁNCHEZ-OSTIZ 2009b; DICKEY 2016, p. 182 ("texts surviving via the medieval manuscript tradition"). See also CAMERON 2004, p. 523.

(42) KASTER 1988, n° 200, p. 392-394; SCHENKEVELD 2007.

(43) KASTER 1988, n° 47, p. 270-272; SCHENKEVELD 2007.

(44) KASTER 1988, n° 53, p. 278.

(45) KASTER 1988, n° 126, p. 346-348.

(46) ROBINS 1993, p. 87-110.

(47) KASTER 1988, n° 54, p. 278-279; SCHAMP 2009, p. 260.

(48) KASTER 1988, n°130, p. 351-352.

(49) BARATIN 2014, esp. the conclusion p. 53-54. I quote Baratin's conclusion (p. 53-54): "ces auditeurs, parmi lesquels se recrutent les futurs agents de l'administration impériale, sont certainement dans leur majorité hellénophones, mais ils aspiraient, comme la minorité latinophone, à la maîtrise des deux langues qui leur assurera la possibilité d'être présents dans tous les secteurs de l'administration, et notamment les plus élevés... Derrière cet auditoire de Priscien, il y a peut-être encore une dernière ligne visée, celle des Latins d'Italie intéressés par le renouvellement de la culture latine."

(50) PLRE I, p. 865-870.

(51) COURCELLE 1948, p. 4-5; CAMERON 2011, p. 236-237.

(52) About the preface, ROBINS 1993, p. 90-91.

(53) PLRE II, Iulianus 26, p. 641.

2. He would have a family link with *Anicia Iuliana*,⁵⁴ relative of Symmachus iunior (Quintus Aurelius Memmius Symmachus iunior)⁵⁵ and Boethius (Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius iunior).⁵⁶ Furthermore, Priscian, who met Symmachus in Constantinople during a visit in the city,⁵⁷ dedicated three small grammatical treatises to him.⁵⁸
3. He would be a poet of the Anthology, described as an Egyptian and as ex-consul and ex-praefectus, probably *Praefectus Orientis* in 530-531 AD.⁵⁹ This Iulianus, supporter of Priscian, would be an officer in Constantinople and author of epigrams belonging to Agathias' circle. In two poems (*AP*, VII.594-595), Iulianus addresses Theodorus,⁶⁰ who recalls Flavius Theodorus,⁶¹ Priscian's pupil and editor of the *Institutiones* of his teacher.⁶² Three poems of Iulianus (*AP*, VII.561-562 and IX.661) are dedicated to a young rhetor Crateros,⁶³ maybe the recipient of Eutyches' grammar, a pupil of Priscian⁶⁴. The grammatical treatise *De idiomatibus* (*GLK*, IV, 566-572) transmitted by the *Parisinus Latinus 7530*⁶⁵ and dedicated to *Iulianus scholasticus* (*GLK*, IV, 572: *Feliciter Iuliano scolastico Sardonio...*)⁶⁶ belongs to the same social and intellectual environment.⁶⁷

If those links are genuine, we are in a very strong circle of people knowing each other and having good reasons to be interested in Latin texts.

It is difficult to determine exactly the role of the teaching of Latin in the diffusion and transmission of Latin texts in the *Pars Orientis*. Whatever it was, Constantinople was not the only city in the Greek world in which Latin was studied and taught. We can guess that the Syrian city of Antioch,⁶⁸ where Ammianus Marcellinus and Ioannes Malalas are born, could provide a teaching of Latin and that the famous law school of Beirut attracted a lot of people aiming to do a great career in the civil administration—to the great displeasure of the rhetor Libanios, who lamented because pupils left his school for ones where they could learn Latin.⁶⁹ We can also think about Gaza in Palestine, which was a great intellectual center during the 5th and 6th centuries AD,⁷⁰ and of course about Egypt, where many literary centers can be identified. Latin was taught in the schools of Alexandria in the 5th century AD. According to his biograph, Zacharias Scholasticus, Severus, the future patriarch of Antioch, was sent in Egypt from Sozopolis in order to study grammar and

(54) *PLRE* II, Anicia Iuliana 3, p. 635-636.

(55) *PLRE* II, Q. Aurelius Memmius Symmachus iunior 9, p. 1044-1046.

(56) *PLRE* II, Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius iunior 5, p. 233-237. See COURCELLE 1948, p. 304-312.

(57) The date of Symmachus' journey to Constantinople is not known with precision.

(58) PECERE 2014, p. 178; GARCEA 2019, p. 61.

(59) BALLAIRA 1989, p. 81-85.

(60) The identification of Theodoros is very difficult. There are many possibilities. See SCHULTE 1990, p. 77.

(61) *PLRE* II, Fl. Theodorus 63, p. 1098-1099.

(62) BIANCONI 2014, p. 328-329.

(63) About Crateros, SCHULTE 1990, p. 56-58.

(64) *PLRE* II, Eutyches 2, p. 445; KASTER 1988, n° 57, p. 282-283.

(65) This manuscript was studied by HOLTZ 1975.

(66) HOLTZ 1975, p. 116.

(67) PECERE 2018-2019, p. 28.

(68) WILSON 1996, p. 28-30.

(69) GEIGER 2014, p. 139.

(70) WILSON 1996, p. 30-33; GEIGER 2014, p. 108. According to STEIN 1949, p. 713, the historian Procopius from Caesarea in Palestina, whose mother tongue was certainly Greek (STEIN 1949, p. 175 and 713), should have possessed Latin even before his stay in the West. See RUBIN 1954, col. 51.

rhetoric in both Greek and Latin.⁷¹ However, we don't know if the scholars working in Alexandria were interested in Latin texts.⁷²

III. THE ACTIVITY OF LATIN WRITERS OF GREEK ORIGIN

I will leave aside the two well-known writers of Greek origin who chose to write in Latin: Claudius Claudianus from Alexandria⁷³ and Ammianus Marcellinus from Antioch.⁷⁴ There is an important bibliography about them. I will only mention a characteristic of both: they aim unifying a Latin and a Greek tradition with the emergence of an original *tertium quid* (something new which is the synthesis of two elements). On the one hand, Ammianus places his historical work in the Tacitean tradition by choosing an annalistic framework. However, a lot of aspects in his work are reminiscent of Greek historiography. On the other hand, an analysis of some literary features allow us to characterize Claudian as a *poeta doctus* who can be recognized in the traditions of Greek as well as Roman poetry. Claudian composed a *Gigantomachia* and seven epigrams in Greek.⁷⁵ His inspiration comes not only from great models such as Vergil or Ovid, but also from writers who were not read in the schools, such as Lucan, Statius, Silius Italicus, and above all Juvenal who became a school author only after Servius.

Latin writers active themselves in Constantinople include the Illyrian historian Count Marcellinus,⁷⁶ Justinian's chancellor and the author of a continuation of Jerome's Latin translation of Eusebius' *Chronicle*. The grammarian and poet Fl. Cresconius Corippus⁷⁷ was from Africa (formerly a schoolmaster in Carthage) and composed the *Johannis*, an epic poem on Justinian's wars against the Moors in which the influence of many Latin poets is perceptible.⁷⁸ Priscian, who has already been mentioned for his teaching and grammatical writings, was also a poet. He composed the *De laude Anastasii imperatoris* in 512 AD. The poem (312 hexameters) is preceded by a *praefatio* of 22 iambic trimeters, and the use of trimeters in the preface is probably evidence of the influence of the Greek environment in which Priscian moved.

IV. THE CIRCULATION OF LATIN LITERARY TEXTS IN CONSTANTINOPLE⁷⁹

The existence of libraries in the *Pars Orientis* definitely promoted the circulation of Latin texts in the Greek world. The first state library in Constantinople is attested by a decree of Valens and Gratian of 8 May 372 AD addressed to the prefect of Constantinople Clearchus (*PLRE*, I, p. 212).⁸⁰ This text provides the designation of three Latin *antiquarii* and four Greek ones *ad bibliothecas*

(71) CAMERON 2016, p. 23-24. According to Marinus' *Vita Procli* (8 [see the note 5 p. 86 of the edition CUF, by H.-D. Saffrey and A.-Ph. Segonds, Paris, 2001]), Proclus studied Latin in Alexandria in order to follow his father into the practice of law. He abandoned soon this orientation to study philosophy.

(72) HALL 1997; CAMERON 2011, p. 637-644; ROCHETTE 2012, p. 325-327.

(73) GEIGER 2014, p. 147. See SÁNCHEZ-OSTIZ 2010, p. 1038-1039.

(74) GEIGER 2014, p. 139.

(75) CAMERON 1970, p. 7, 13-14, 27.

(76) *PLRE* II, Marcellinus 9, p. 710-711.

(77) KASTER 1988, n° 37, p. 261-263. See STACHE 1976, p. 7-19; CAMERON 2004, p. 524.

(78) ZARINI 2019.

(79) SÁNCHEZ-OSTIZ 2009a; CAVALLO 2013, p. 373-380; TRONCARELLI 2012b, p. 97-103; BIANCONI 2014, p. 322 and n. 16 (with bibliography).

(80) *CTh.*, XIV.9.2. See CAVALLO 1992, p. 100-101; BIANCONI 2014, p. 323-324; BIANCONI 2015, p. 804-805.

et codices componendos uel pro uetustate reparandos. This text, which confirms the creation of a stable copy workshop inside the imperial library, certainly shows a consideration for Latin books in an institutional framework. However, the decree doesn't provide public access to the books. The important point for our topic is that the Latin books are separated from the Greek ones and that different persons are in charge of the two categories of books, just like in the decree of Theodosius II about the teaching of Greek and Latin. Furthermore, it seems that there was about 360 AD a permanent professorship for Latin language in Constantinople. Hieronymus says that when the grammarian Evanthius, known for a commentary on Terentius, died, another grammarian has been called from Africa. His name is not certain: maybe Chrestus.⁸¹

We know that Theodosius II (401-450) was passionate about writing. He transcribed a copy of Solinus's book *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, copied, according to the subscription written in the hand of the emperor himself and according to some medieval testimonies, *studio et diligentia Theodosii inuictissimi principis*.⁸² This copy was maybe deposited in the imperial library. According to some Byzantine sources, the emperor felt more interest in the transcription of books than in spectacles. He copied in Greek the Holy Scriptures and received the nickname *kalligraphos*. He was able to write both Greek and Latin. Theodosius was certainly not an isolated figure in his times. We have digraphic texts on papyrus or parchment with Greek and Latin on the same page. This mastery of Greek and Latin writings appears mostly during Justinian's reign (527-565), a brilliant epoch in many respects. We have an example. A bilingual scribe called Petrus wrote a copy of Thucydides, as we can infer from a short subscription of a Florentine Manuscript Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 69, 2 (10th century AD). *Deo gratias Petrus scripsit*.⁸³ It is difficult to reconstruct the personality of this Petrus.⁸⁴ We can suppose that he was a scribe originally educated in Latin. He served this small circle of learned people who has run away from Gothic Italy or Vandal Africa to escape the invasions. The members of this small circle gravitated around the *gens Anicia*.

Furthermore, Constantinople, which was a cosmopolitan capital,⁸⁵ included scribes who were able to write Latin. A considerable proportion of the city's population spoke Latin: the traditional senatorial aristocracy, Latin speakers from Africa, refugees and veterans from the Balkan provinces of Illyricum. Latin was also known in religious communities. In Eastern monasteries of late antiquity, where various linguistic groups would have been represented,⁸⁶ books were written in many languages.⁸⁷ One of them was the monastery of Holy Marcel Acemetes where, during the 4th and the 5th centuries AD, the community of the monks was divided in three linguistic groups

(81) HEMMERDINGER 1966, p. 175; LEMERLE 1971, p. 64, n. 55; KASTER 1988, n° 27, p. 253.

(82) JAHN 1851, p. 342; ZETZEL 1981, p. 215; PECERE 1990, p. 378-379; 2015, p. 124 and n. 4; CAMERON 2011, p. 434; BIANCONI 2014, p. 323.

(83) PECERE 2014, p. 184, n. 147, 2015, p. 125-126; BIANCONI 2014, p. 329.

(84) See the very interesting remarks of CAVALLO 2002, p. 177-183 (and table 2). He says (p. 179-180): "... la mano a monte, quella di *Petrus*, è mano di età tardoantica, educata alle scritture giuridiche latine, imperanti in epoca giustiniana, ma evidentemente capace di scrivere anche in greco, nella specie di quella *koinè* grafica greco-latina che venne allora a formarsi proprio ad uso dei libri di diritto... *Petrus* era forse di originaria formazione latina, tra quegli individui spostatisi in Oriente dall'Italia gota o dall'Africa vandalica a causa di guerre e invasioni; egli in ogni caso scriveva libri in Oriente, con ogni verisimiglianza a Costantinopoli e per quella ristretta società colta, tipica dell'età di Giustiniano, intrisa nel contempo di diritto (si trattava per lo più di funzionari) e di studi letterari sia greci sia latini; uomini di dottrina giuridica, sì, ma pure committenti di trascrizioni di testi nelle due lingue".

(85) CROKE 2005, p. 73-76.

(86) MILLAR 2009, p. 101-103; RAPP 2019.

(87) About the high degree of culture of monks in Constantinople, CAVALLO 2006, p. 131-132. See also MILLAR 2009, p. 100-103. About cases of multilingualism in Constantinople, GARCEA 2019, p. 49-52. Scholars credited the historian Procopius with an extensive knowledge of languages including Latin (CAMERON 1985, p. 191, 221-222).

(Greek, Latin, and Syriac) and had close links with Rome and the Western part of the Empire.⁸⁸ It can be supposed that secular scriptoria also wrote Latin books with mainly secular and juridical contents. In the 7th century AD, a Greek scribe called Theodoros kalligraphos could write Latin. He was the leader of a workshop ἐργαστήριον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἰωαννοφωκᾶν, a place that Guglielmo Cavallo identifies with the church of Holy James ἐν τῷ Διππύῳ which included a chapel dedicated to Holy Phocas.⁸⁹

There is no reason to doubt that the circulation of Latin literary texts in Constantinople during Justinian's reign was important. I will not repeat the arguments used by Elias Avery Lowe to prove that Latin manuscripts were copied by Greek scribes in Constantinople during the 5th and 6th centuries AD.⁹⁰ Few scholars have been convinced by the demonstration of the great paleographer who found "Greek symptoms" in 20 testimonies, 16 papyri written in Egypt, two preserved in Verona (a palimpsest), one in Florence—the famous manuscript of the Pandects—and one in Lyons.⁹¹ Lowe came to the conclusion that there was a Greek-Latin scriptorium in Constantinople which produced the manuscripts he collected. It is not surprising to detect Greek influences in Latin papyri written in Egypt, which was a Greek-speaking country. It is no more surprising to discover the same influences in Verona and Lyons, where bilingual Greek-Latin texts were written (we can mention the famous *codex Bezae* in Lyons).⁹² In any case, we have many indications showing that the circulation of Latin texts mostly developed in a circle of friends gravitating around Anicia Juliana, the daughter of Flavius Anicius Olybrius and Placidia the Younger and therefore great granddaughter of Theodosius the Great, August during some months in 472 AD, and composed of members of important aristocratic families who emigrated towards the East for political, religious or diplomatic reasons. Latin studies flourished in this milieu. Evidence comes from two passages of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*, I.8.9 (p. 30, 18-19 Mynors): *qui vobis inter alios codices diuina gratia suffragante de Africana parte mittendus est* and I.29.2 (p. 74, 12-13): *quem inter alios de Africae partibus cito nobis credimus esse dirigendum*.

From the subscriptions in the manuscripts, now collected in Wallenwein's *Corpus subscriptionum*,⁹³ we learn that Latin texts were not only copied, but also corrected in Constantinople.⁹⁴ The verb *emendare* is recurrent in the subscriptions with the meaning "to revise",⁹⁵ especially a literary work intended for publication, according to the definition of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*.⁹⁶ This phenomenon of copying and correcting Latin texts started at the 4th century and reached its peak during the 6th century AD. In 1851, the German philologist Otto Jahn devoted a study to the subscriptions of manuscripts of the Late Roman Empire and attributed almost all of them to pagans

(88) CAVALLO 1978, p. 231 and n. 204; RADICIOTTI 1998, p. 170, n. 43.

(89) CAVALLO 1992, p. 102; BIANCONI 2014, p. 325.

(90) LOWE 1961. About Lowe's theory, see CAMERON 2004, p. 522-523 and n. 106.

(91) PECERE 1991, p. 78-79.

(92) RADICIOTTI 1998, p. 157-159.

(93) WALLENWEIN 2017.

(94) PECERE 1986; RADICIOTTI 1998, p. 174 and n. 55.

(95) ZETZEL 1980, p. 42: "The basic meaning of *emendatio* is clear: it is the removal of *menda*, flaws in the text. But the word can be used of anything from the correction of an author's rough draft to the proofreading of a copy against its exemplar; it may include both of what we would describe as *recensio* and *emendatio*: the process of judging among attested readings or the invention of a better one. The word itself is no help in that regard. Moreover, if we simply take it as the rough equivalent of the English "edit," we are no better off, since "edition" in English has an equally broad semantic range. In fact, it will be shown that an ancient emendator did not feel limited to the correction of the text; he might add notes, and he could either correct the text or simply supply a variant reading." See also ARNS 1953, p. 70-71 (about the use of *emendare* in Jerome's letters); PECERE 1991, p. 66-67.

(96) PECERE 1991, p. 66-67.

of high social level.⁹⁷ He interpreted this phenomenon of copying Latin texts as a pagan reaction against Christianity and thought that the subscribers, nostalgic for the Roman past, intended to preserve texts which represented their sympathies towards paganism. In fact, it is difficult to know what the motivations of those aristocratic scribes were: were they pagan or Christian? It is difficult to say. Alan Cameron in his book *The Last Pagans of Rome* has used the subscriptions to suggest “that this new preoccupation with the accuracy of the written word has Christian rather than pagan roots”.⁹⁸ Anyway, classical Latin literature (Vergil, Horace, Cicero) was a common inheritance of pagans and Christians.

The study of the subscriptions allows us to establish a list, certainly incomplete, of the Latin texts not only copied, but also revised in Constantinople.⁹⁹

1. **Apuleius.** A scholar called Gaius Crispus Sal(l)ustius has worked on the text of Apuleius in Rome in 395 AD and then, two years later, in Constantinople when he arrived to occupy a public office.¹⁰⁰

Ego Sallustius legi et emendavi Romae felix Olib<r>io et Probino / u(iris) c(larissimis) cons(ulibus) in foro Martis controuersiam declamans¹⁰¹ oratori Endelechio, / rursus Constantinopoli [sic] recognoui¹⁰² Caesario et Attico cons(ulibus).¹⁰³

This subscription which we read in two manuscripts of Apuleius’ *Metamorphoseis* (at the end of book IX), the *Laurentianus* (*Laur. Plut.*) 68.2¹⁰⁴ (f. 171^v) and the *Vaticanus Ottobonianus Latinus* 2047, preserved in the Vatican,¹⁰⁵ shows that Sallustius, whose family belonged to the

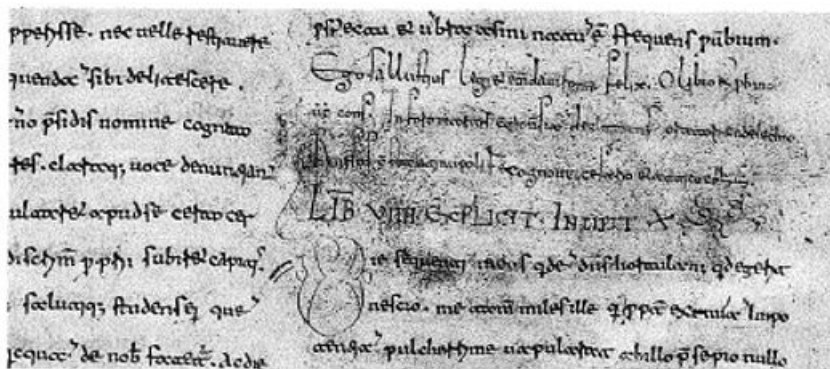


Fig. 1 : Florence, BML, plut. LXVIII 2, fol. 171^v (Wallenwein 2017, p. 140).

(97) JAHN 1851.

(98) CAMERON 2011, p. 469.

(99) CAVALLO 1978, 217-219; CAVALLO, 1997, p. 211-215, who points out that, while the Greek books with subscriptions are intended for school use, the Latin books are “di committenza privata e per uso privato”.

(100) *PLRE* I, p. 800. See PECERE 1984 (see also the “Note di aggiornamento” of Graverini, p. 186-187); PECERE 1986, p. 30-34 and notes; CAVALLO 1992, p. 101; ZETZEL 1981, p. 213-214; STRAMAGLIA 2003, p. 129-132.

(101) About this expression which means “to study rhetoric”, MARROU 1932, p. 94-95.

(102) The verb *recognoscere*, which is a technical term in legal documents, seems to be here a synonym of *emendare*. See PECERE 1986, p. 238-239 n. 288.

(103) DI PIRO 2003, p. 162. See also GAISSER 2008, p. 45-48.

(104) This manuscript, called F, contains the *Apology*, the *Metamorphoseis*, and the *Florida*. Written near the end of the 11th century in a beautiful hand (but the codex has suffered much from the ravages of time), it preserves eleven subscriptions. Eight subscriptions are identical (*Ego Sallustius legi et emendavi Romae felix*) and another is very similar (*Ego Sallustius emendavi Romae felix*). Another subscription gives Sallustius’ full name (*Gaius Crispus Sallustius*) and another adds the dates and the places of his work. See PECERE 1982, p. 109-111.

(105) This manuscript dates from the later portion of the 14th century and contains the *Declamations* of Quintilian, the *Apologia*, the *Metamorphoseis* (from *periculi confinio* in IV.10), the *Florida*, Valerius Maximus and Macrobius’ *Saturnalia*.

recent senatorial aristocracy,¹⁰⁶ emended the same copy of Apuleius, the first time in Rome, during Olybrius and Probinus' consulate in 395 AD, and the second time at Constantinople, during Caesarius and Atticus's consulate two years later (397 AD).¹⁰⁷

2. **Solinus.** The *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* of Solinus were copied by the emperor Theodosius II himself,¹⁰⁸ who was proud of his calligraphy,¹⁰⁹ as we have seen: *studio et diligentia domni Theodosii inuictissimi principis.*

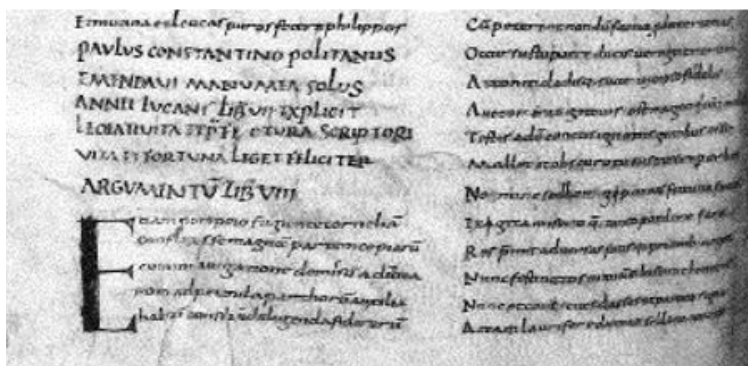


Fig. 2 : Paris, BN, lat. 7502, fol. 192v (Wallenwein 2017, p. 229).

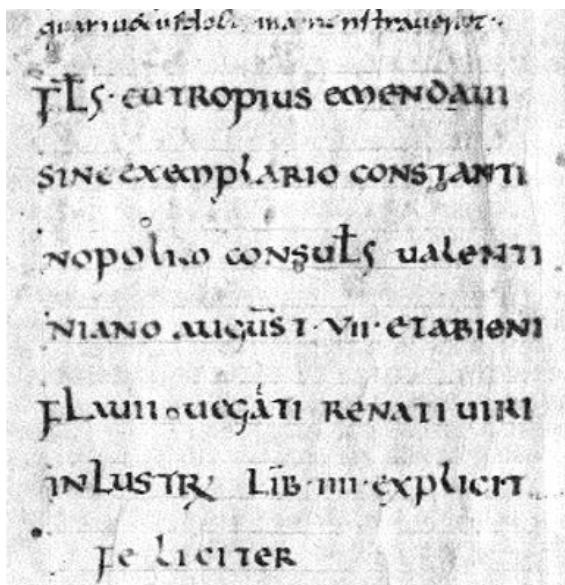


Fig. 3 : München, BSB, Clm 6368, fol. 43v (Wallenwein 2017, p. 274).

(106) About the *Sallustii*, pagans in the time of Julian, *PLRE I*, p. 796-798. The Sallustius of the subscription is probably the son of the homonymous correspondent of Symmachus who was urban prefect in 384 or 387 (*PLRE I*, p. 797).

(107) PECERE 1984; 1986, p. 30-34; 2015, p. 125. According to Marrou (1932, p. 65-67), the young Crispus Sallustius would have received from his master of rhetoric, the rhetor Severus Sanctus Endelechius (*PLRE I*, p. 975, and MARROU 1932, p. 94), the task of *emendare* a part of the literary production of Apuleius. Endelechius was a rhetorician and poet who taught in Rome at the end of the 4th century AD. He was a friend of Paulinus of Nola.

(108) ZETZEL 1981, p. 215.

(109) CAVALLO 1992, p. 101.

3. **Lucan.** The poet Lucan was copied by Paulus (*Paulus Constantinopolitanus emendauit manu mea solus*),¹¹⁰ maybe the Latin grammarian who became later bishop of the Novatians of Constantinople (419-438 AD).¹¹¹
4. **Vegetius.** The *Epitome rei militaris* of Vegetius was corrected in 450 AD by an unidentified Flavius Eutropius (subscription at the end of book IV: *Fl. Eutropius emendauit sine exemplario Constantinopolim consulibus Valentiniano Augusto VII et Abieno*).¹¹²
5. **Priscian.** Priscian's *Institutiones* were edited in 526-527 AD by one of his pupils, Flavius Theodorus.¹¹³ The subscriptions are collected in the *Prosopography of Later Roman Empire II* (Fl. Theodorus 63, p. 1098) and in the book of Guglielmo Ballaira.¹¹⁴ Priscian, who taught Latin in Constantinople, had a pupil called Flavius Theodorus who occupied a political office and was also active as editor. Who was he exactly? We find at the end of the book VIII in the *Leninopolitanus F v. Classicus 7*:¹¹⁵ *Flauianus Theodorus Dionisi ut memorialis Sacri scrinii epistularum et adiutor quaestoris sacri palatii scripsi Artem Prisciani eloquentissimi grammatici doctoris mei manu mea in urbe Roma Constantinopoli die tertio idus Ianuarias Mauortio consule indictione quinta* [527].¹¹⁶ Those titles refer to the office of the *quaestor sacri palatii*, an officer who helped the emperor in legislative matters, a very powerful minister of justice. The officer Flavius Theodorus was also a scribe and an 'antiquarian' (*antiquarius*),¹¹⁷ probably for Greek and Latin texts. There were other antiquarians in Constantinople with the same competences, and scriptoria which produced Greek and Latin texts. In 527 AD the same Theodorus copied the *de Praedicamentis* of Boethius, as we hear from the subscription of a lost manuscript (*San-Germanensis* 481) known only from an abstract by Montfaucon:¹¹⁸ *Theodorus Mauortio consule, Indictione V propria manu excipserat ex authentico Flauiani, qui Flauianus Prisciani discipulus fuerat*.
6. **Boethius.** The *De hypotheticis syllogismis* of Boethius was revised by an unknown man who used a manuscript of the Ravenate Marcus Novatus Renatus,¹¹⁹ an aristocrat linked to the *gens Anicia*.¹²⁰ This man was in possession of a corpus of writings of Boethius in a codex written by the hand of Flavius Theodorus, who was therefore in charge not only of the edition of the *Institutiones* of his teacher Priscian, but also of a corpus of Boethius' writings.¹²¹ As Pecere

(110) JAHN 1851, p. 361; ZETZEL 1981, p. 223; TARRANT 1983, p. 217, n. 12; CAMERON 2011, p. 474.

(111) PLRE II, Paulus 8, p. 850. See BARDY 1949, p. 147; PECERE 2018-2019, p. 30, n. 156.

(112) PLRE II, Fl. Eutropius 5, p. 445. See CAVALLO 1992, p. 101; ZETZEL 1981, p. 216.

(113) CAVALLO 1992, p. 101.

(114) BALLAIRA 1989, p. 57-64. See also JAHN 1851, p. 355-359; ZETZEL 1981, p. 220-221; PECERE 2019.

(115) PASSALACQUA 1978, p. 132, n° 298.

(116) ZETZEL 1981, p. 220-221. See COURCELLE 1948, p. 311, n. 3; PECERE 2014, p. 179, n. 126.

(117) ZETZEL 1981, p. 220: *contra codicem Renati v.c. correxi, qui confectus ab eo est Theodoro antiquario qui nunc Palatinus est*. See PECERE 2014, p. 184 and n. 146; BIANCONI 2014, p. 328, n. 44.

(118) SCHEPFS 1888, p. 24.

(119) PLRE II, p. 939. He is perhaps identical with a Renatus who may have been in Constantinople in c. 510, when he discussed theology with Severus of Antioch. See Severus of Antioch, *Contra impium grammaticum*, 29 (translated in Latin from the Syriac text by J. Lebon, CSCO 102, *Scriptores Syri*, 51, p. 72, 23-27): *olim, cum in regia Constantini ciuitate essem ego [sc. 508-511], duos uiros ex Occidente allocutus sum; nomen primo Petronius, alteri autem Renatus, et illius quidem Romam, huius autem Rauennam ciuitatem esse dicebant. facta autem inter nos fusa de dogmate colloquutione – nam Graeca quoque lingua callebant –, cum dicerent se confiteri Christum in duabus naturis et in duabus formis, quarum una quidem passionibus et iniuriis succumbit, altera autem coruscatur miraculis, ut dicit tomus Leonis, tamque audacem diuisionem dissimularent, addebant: "unum eundemque dicimus Filium et Dominum et Christum"*. See LEBON 1909, p. 46, n. 3; PECERE 2014, p. 172 and n. 86; BIANCONI 2014, p. 328.

(120) PAGALLO 1958, p. 69-71; ZETZEL 1981, p. 223.

(121) TRONCARELLI 2008-2009, 2012a, p. 198-199; PECERE, 2014, p. 168-182.

writes,¹²² “il codex boeziano vergato da Teodoro a Costantinopoli, divenuta nel VI secolo centro di studi latini grazie alla vitale presenza di colti e potenti aristocratici occidentali, era il tipico prodotto librario allestito da uno scriba allenato a scrivere sia in greco che in latino”.

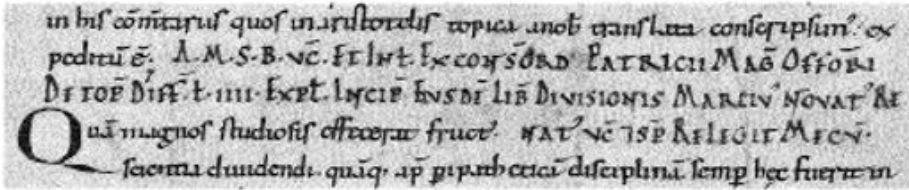


Fig. 4.: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 830, p. 353 (Wallenwein 2017, p. 163).

7. **Statius.** From a subscription at the end of the book IV of Statius’ *Thebaid* in the *Parisinus Latinus* 8051 (P) (*codex Puteanus*)¹²³ we learn that it is a copy of a codex of a *Iulianus, uir clarissimus* (CODEX IULIANI V C FINIT LIBER QVARTVS STATII POETAE),¹²⁴ maybe the same as the enigmatic *Iulianus consul ac patricius* to whom the *Institutiones* of Priscian are dedicated.¹²⁵
8. **Terence.** An illustrated copy of the comedies (the family Σ divided into two branches γ and δ), probably produced in Antioch at the time of Libanius (who affected complete ignorance of Latin), was dedicated to Calliopius and issued by him.¹²⁶ We have a lot a manuscripts of Terence with the subscriptions *Calliopius recensui* or *Calliopius recensui nouissima*¹²⁷ which could indicate a revision of the copy of Terence by Calliopius. Terence was one of the authors read in schools both in the West and in the East. At Constantinople, Terence was commented by the grammarian Evanthius, but his commentary is lost. The identity of Calliopius is doubtful. Calliopius is a Greek name widespread in Asia Minor.¹²⁸ This data could support the hypothesis the *scholasticus Calliopius* would be a man linked to Libanius’ school at Antioch. The problem is that there are several Calliopius in Libanius’ circle. Paul Petit identifies him with Calliopius V,¹²⁹ a member of a great family of Antioch and *magister epistolarum* of Theodosius in 388 AD. He was likely to have a solid knowledge of Latin allowing him to read a difficult author like Terence and to correct the text in his copy.¹³⁰

The names appearing in the subscriptions were members of a senatorial circle of some friends, mostly linked with the pagan circles and having prestigious responsibilities as *comites domesticorum*, consuls, or other functions in the imperial bureaucracy or the provincial administration. Their culture was essentially Latin, but they knew also Greek. It is not without importance to remember that the illustrated archetype of our manuscripts of Terence was made in sixth-century Constantinople, perhaps for readers such as these.¹³¹

(122) PECERE 2014, p. 182.

(123) <<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc67312x>>.

(124) ZETZEL 1981, p. 226.

(125) CAVALLO 1992, p. 101.

(126) REEVE 1983, p. 413-414; PECERE 2018-2019, p. 25-28; BIANCONI 2019, p. 484-485.

(127) WALLENWEIN 2017, p. 269-273. We find also (in branch γ) *feliciter Calliopro or feliciter Calliopro bono scholastico*.

About the meaning of *scholasticus* (a simple epithet comparable to *doctus* or *litteratus*), see KASTER 1988, p. 388.

(128) PECERE 2018-2019, p. 26 and n. 126.

(129) PETIT 1994, n° 54, p. 59-60. See also PETIT 1956, p. 85-86.

(130) KASTER 1988, p. 388-389.

(131) CAVALLO 1992, p. 103.

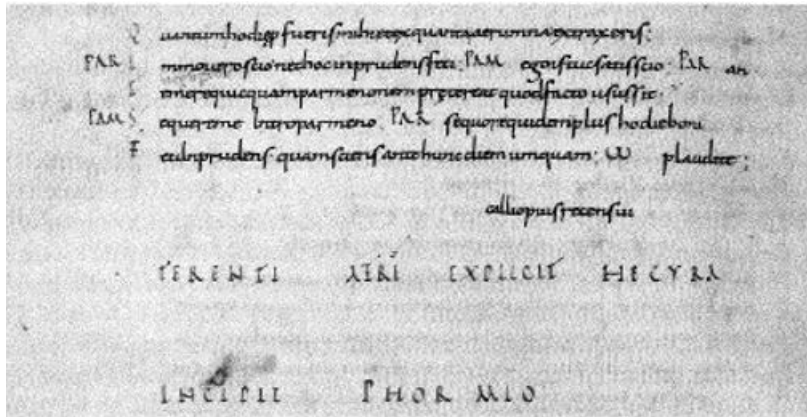


Fig. 5 : Paris, BN, lat. 7899, fol. 147^v (Wallenwein 2017, p. 269).

Now I would like to complete this presentation with a discussion of some papyrological items. In the 4th century AD and beyond there seems to have been a growing interest in learning Latin among Greek-speakers in Egypt. The reasons for this interest are not very clear: maybe the expanded use of Latin in law courts in the East during and after the reign of Diocletian. The most important texts in circulation were Virgil and Cicero with facing Greek word-for-word translation as a help in reading them. Marco Fressura has collected such papyri in a corpus of *Vergilius Latinograecus*,¹³² and Maria Chiara Scappaticcio has made a reedition of all the Virgilian papyri.¹³³ Other writers were also read in Egypt: Sallust, Terence, Aesop, Juvenal, Livy, Lucan. Furthermore, some Latin papyri, studied by Kathleen McNamee,¹³⁴ present Greek annotations or marginalia. I give only some examples: P. Ryl. I 61 (MERTENS-PACK³ 2923), Cicero's second Catilinarian (II, 14-15) with literal Greek translation (Fig. 6a), P. Ryl. III 477 (MERTENS-PACK³ 2919), *divinatio in Caecilius* (33-37; 44-46) with "Greek and Latin notes that gloss, translate, and explain the text."¹³⁵ (Fig. 6b), PSI I 110 (MERTENS-PACK³ 2932)¹³⁶ Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* (10, 4-5; 11, 6-7) with a few glosses in Greek, studied by Rodolfo Funari (Fig. 7).¹³⁷ The poets are also represented: Terence, Juvenal, and Seneca.

(132) FRESSURA 2017.

(133) SCAPPATICCIO 2013.

(134) McNAMEE 2007, p. 57-58, and 473-492.

(135) McNAMEE 2007, p. 58, and p. 473-478 (text).

(136) <<http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;1;110>>.

(137) FUNARI 2007; 2008, p. 51-62. See McNAMEE 2007, p. 490.

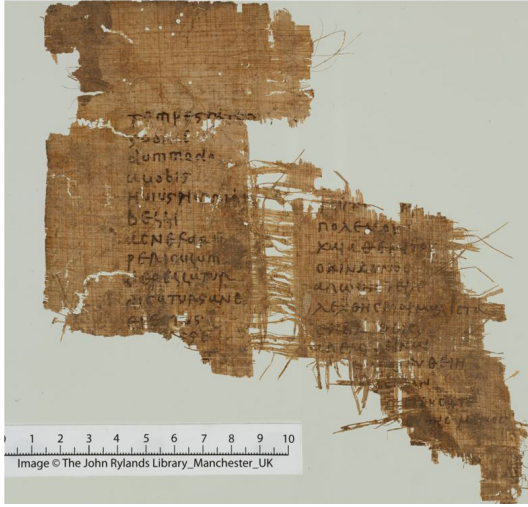


Fig. 6a P. Ryl. I 61 *recto*. "The Copyright of the University of Manchester."

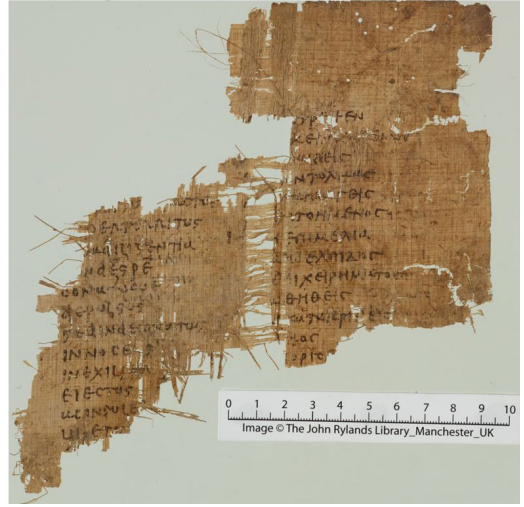


Fig. 6a P. Ryl. I 61 *verso*.

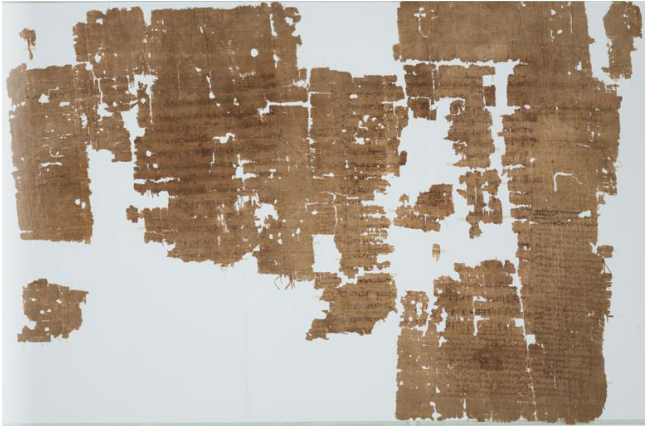


Fig. 6b P. Ryl. III 477 *recto*. "The Copyright of the University of Manchester."

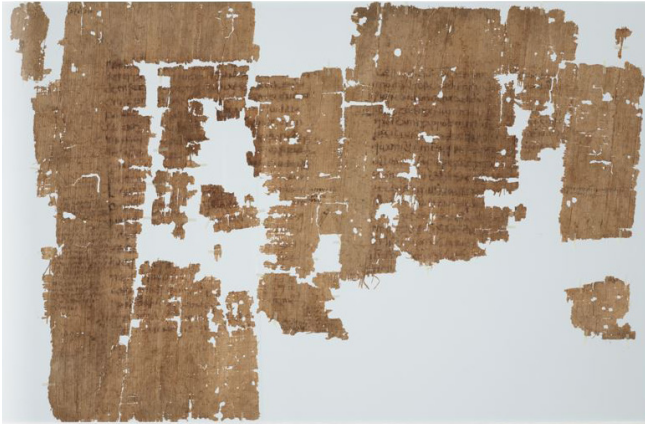


Fig. 6b P. Ryl. III 477 *verso*.

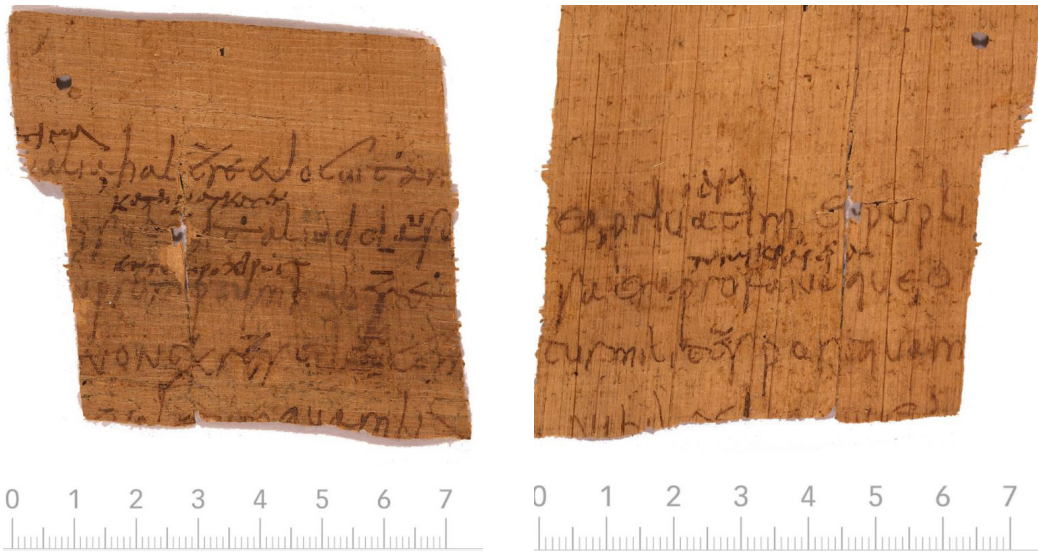


Fig. 7. PSI I 110. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, PSI I 110. Su concessione del MiC.

1. Terence, *Andria*, 489-499, 513-514, 573-582.—P. Vindob. L 103 (CLA X 1537).¹³⁸ (Fig. 8)

P. Vindob. L 103 is a fragment of a bifolium of a papyrus codex with some difficult-to-read verses of Terence’s *Andria*. Scholars think that this fragment comes from a codex used in an Egyptian educational institution where Latin was taught, since Terence was an important writer read in Roman schools.¹³⁹ In col. II line 8 there are Greek letters under a Latin word (between two lines). The sequence of letters is difficult to decipher: maybe ΔΙΗΠΙΛΗΘΟΣ, which doesn’t make sense.



Fig. 8 P. Vindob. L 103. © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung.

(138) MERTENS-PACK³ 2933.100. See McNAMEE 2007, p. 490. We have also P. Oxy. XXIV 2401 (MERTENS-PACK³ 2934. See McNAMEE 2007, p. 490-491).

(139) DANESE 1989.

Some scholars have proposed to read δι' ελλ(ε)ίψεως, since the ellipse is a figure frequently used by Terence. This interlinear gloss would indicate the presence of an ellipse using words which one can find in the grammatical texts as Apollonius Dyscolos in Greek or Donatus and Priscian in Latin (*per ellipsin*). Jean Soubiran has convincingly proposed another solution.¹⁴⁰ He reads ΔΗΠΠΙΑΗ, a gloss not of the word above, but of the word below which is *interminatus*. The Greek word would be a form of the verb διαπειλέω “to threaten”. From such a reading, as Soubiran concludes, we can infer that P. Vindob L 103 was used by pupils who knew Greek better than Latin.

2. Juvenal, Satire VII, 149-198.—P. Ant. (CLA Suppl. 1710).¹⁴¹ (Fig. 9)

More interesting is the fragment of Juvenal found in Antinoe which “has a jumbled combination of Greek and Latin marginalia”.¹⁴² We know that Juvenal was a popular poet in Constantinople. The grammarian Priscian took from Juvenal many examples to illustrate his grammatical explanations. Juvenal was also quoted by John Lydus, Ioannes Malalas, and the anonymous treatise Περὶ πολιτικῆς ἐπιστήμης. Furthermore, the poet Corippus often imitates Juvenal. Therefore, Juvenal was read, studied, quoted and transmitted in the Greek world. The diffusion of the text of Juvenal among the Greek-speaking elites has been confirmed by a papyrus found in Antinoe. This fragment, first published by C.H. Roberts,¹⁴³ was recently re-evaluated by Gabriel Nocchi Macedo.¹⁴⁴



Fig. 9 Juvenal of Antinoe. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

I give a short description and a contextualization.

The fragment is written in a juridical uncial of the BR type,¹⁴⁵ according to the classification of E.A. Lowe, a writing used in the chanceries for the juridical manuscripts, especially during

(140) SOUBIRAN 1991.

(141) MERTENS-PACK³ 2925. See McNAMEE 2007, p. 479-490.

(142) McNAMEE 2007, p. 58.

(143) ROBERTS 1935.

(144) NOCCHI MACEDO 2016a; 2016b.

(145) RADICIOTTI 1998, p. 178, n. 64. See also PECERE 1990, p. 377-378; AMMIRATI 2015, p. 56, 70 and 94, n. 3; SCAPPATICIO 2015, p. 482-498; DEL CORSO (in press).

Justinian's reign.¹⁴⁶ This fragment from Antinoë could be a direct testimony of the activity of copying and of commenting texts of Latin authors in Constantinople, as Lowe thinks. Moreover, it offers accents and quantity marks added in all likelihood by a second hand as well as interlinear and marginal annotations both in Greek and in Latin due to other hands (Roberts identifies 5 different hands). Since these annotations are rather spontaneous and disorganized, they correspond to simple notes rather than textual comments.

The context in which this codex was produced is very interesting. The BR-uncial is a particular type of the Latin script used in the production of legal books during the age of Justinian.¹⁴⁷ From this fact we can infer that even non-legal manuscripts in this writing were produced in places which played an active role in studying and transmitting legal knowledge. We think immediately of the juridical activity around the imperial court in Constantinople. The codex of Juvenal could have originated in the circle of cultivated high functionaries active in the application of legal reforms introduced by the emperor and interested in the Latin letters. But this is only a hypothesis: there are other possibilities. We cannot exclude Egypt, Palestine or even Byzantine Italy as possible places of production of the Antinoë fragment. The possibility of the Juvenal fragment having been produced in Antinoë should not be excluded either, because the city of Antinoë could have possessed scribal scriptoria able to provide a cultivated elite with beautifully written books containing both Christian and pagan texts. Anyway obviously the Juvenal fragment was used in a context of the study of Latin language and letters on a rather advanced level. We know that Latin was taught in Antinoë because we have another evidence of learning Latin by Greek-speakers in this city: the P. Ant. Inv. I, fr. I, a Latin alphabet with the Greek letter names studied by Johannes Kramer (Fig. 10).¹⁴⁸ According to

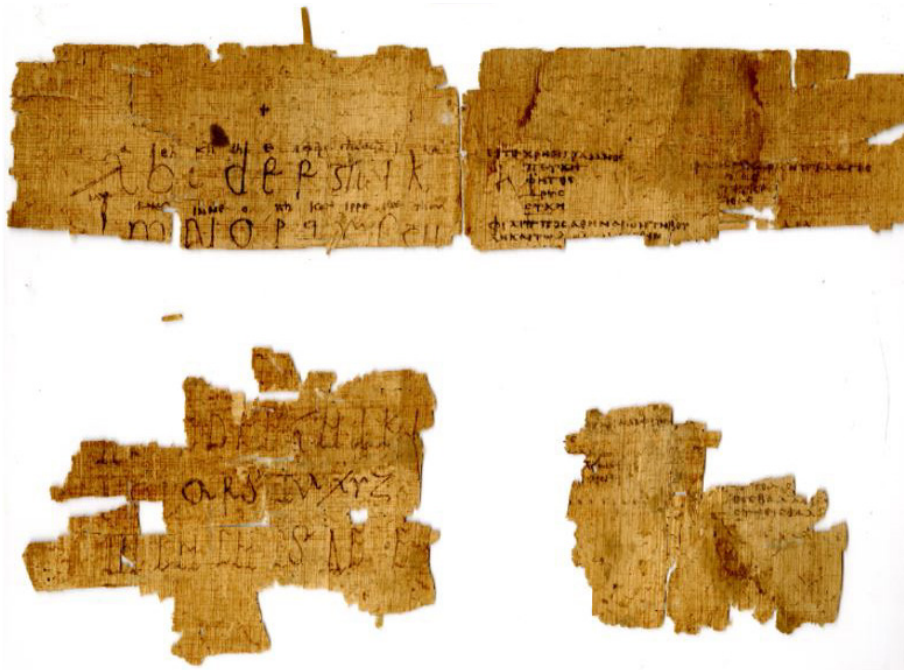


Fig. 10. P. Ant. Inv. I, fr. I, a Latin alphabet with the Greek letter names. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

(146) BERNARDINELLO 1982; RADICIOTTI 1998, p. 183, n. 76.

(147) AMMIRATI 2015, p. 86-88.

(148) KRAMER 2001, n° 1, p. 33-39.

him, the Latin alphabet was intended for professional scribes (“spezialisierte Berufsschreiber”) to have a model at their disposal in case they should write Latin.

3. Seneca, *Medea*, 663-704. – *P. Mich. Inv. 4969, fr. 36*.¹⁴⁹ (Fig. 11)

Recently the available evidence has increased with a new discovery, a papyrus (a page of a vellum codex dated probably to the 4th century AD) with about forty verses of Seneca’s *Medea*, and some annotations in Greek. The fragment was published by Markus and Schwendner.¹⁵⁰ There are indeed *marginalia* on the fragment written by more than one hand. On the recto, some traces could be read as $\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\rho\iota[\xi$, a latin word written with Greek letters, a common practice in textbooks and glossaries.



Fig. 11. P. Mich. Inv. N° 4969, fr. 36. University of Michigan Library, Papyrology Collection.

Hair side (recto)

4 arsita[
 θην iamsatis[
 parciteiusso [
]α νουτρι[ξ
 NUTRIX
]επ
 8 []auctanimush[

Flesh side (verso)

44 [.....]querelictisperuigil· colchi[
 δρακω
 [.....]primuncantibusserpens
 καυ[

Furthermore, over the word *serpens* (l. 45 verso) we find in large Greek letters the word $\delta\rho\alpha\kappa\omega$.

It is the first papyrus of Seneca found in Egypt. The context in which this text was used is not easy to specify. The traditional interpretation places such papyri in a didactic context. However, Seneca

(149) MERTENS-PACK³ 2933.01.

(150) MARKUS-SCHWENDNER 1997.

was not a school author. It is difficult to say who in Egypt was reading a difficult poetic text such as Seneca's *Medea*. A possibility is that Seneca was read and studied by scholars, since in the East Latin was also the concern of the elites, as we have seen, even the pagan elites. I have in mind the study by Rudolf Keydell according to whom Quintus of Smyrna was inspired by Seneca's *Agamemnon* in book XIV of his *Posthomerica*.¹⁵¹ But scholars have not been convinced by Keydell's thesis: R.G. Tarrant in his commentary on the *Agamemnon* says that the knowledge of Seneca's tragedies by a Greek of the 4th century AD is difficult to believe.¹⁵² However, such papyri of Latin authors with Greek annotations provide a proof that there were in Egypt, and more generally in the East, readers (maybe scholars) able to read and study difficult Latin texts.

SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS

After the foundation of Constantinople, Latin, the language of the civil administration, was also a language of culture, spoken and studied in learned and well-to-do environments of the *Pars Orientis*. In Constantinople, Latin-speaking people constituted neither a colony nor a ghetto. They were bilingual and were interested in both literatures: Greek and Latin. They are also involved in the social life of the city. Latin texts were copied, read, studied, and translated in the Greek world, but it is not easy to establish in which proportion because the evidence is mainly indirect and fragmentary. The papyrological discoveries in Egypt show that early in the imperial period Latin texts were already widespread in the Greek world.¹⁵³ The oldest papyrus fragment of a text of Cicero is a fragment of a roll with *In Verrem* 2.3-4 (P. Iand V 90),¹⁵⁴ from the first century AD. Of course, in a so early time, those texts are likely to have belonged to Romans established in Egypt. We also have glossaries with Latin and Greek items showing that the Greeks began early to be interested in Latin. The early papyrus glossaries all have the Latin in transliteration, which suggests that their users were not interested in reading, but rather in the spoken language. However, being interested in the Latin language does not mean that one can read difficult literary texts written in the language of the Romans. It's one thing to have a knowledge of business English, it's another to be able to read the text of Shakespeare. The knowledge of Latin literature by the Greeks will appear later, from the 4th century AD.

The presence in Constantinople of learned people coming from the Western part of the Empire prompted the diffusion of Latin texts in the Greek-speaking East. Latin texts found readers in aristocratic families: some of their members came to Constantinople to escape the political crisis in the West brought on by the barbarian invasions. Some of them started collecting Latin texts and initiating a learned tradition which reached its peak during the reign of Justinian, whose linguistic politics stimulated the use of Latin,¹⁵⁵ although he was obliged to write some of his *Novellae* in Greek in order to be understood in the Greek-speaking part of his empire.¹⁵⁶ The last *Novellae* in Latin appeared during the reigns of Justin II (565-578) and Tiberius I (578-582). In the circle of the *Anicii*¹⁵⁷ we find Cassiodorus, Martius Renatus Novatus,¹⁵⁸ Fl. Rufius Petronius Nicomachus

(151) KEYDELL, 1949-1950.

(152) TARRANT 1976, p. 22.

(153) SCHUBERT 2013, p. 265-268.

(154) MERTENS-PACK³ 2920. See FIORETTI 2016.

(155) VAN BOCHOVE 2019, p. 201-202.

(156) *Novellae* 7.1.

(157) MOMIGLIANO 1960, p. 232-235.

(158) PECERE 2014, p. 180.

Cethegus,¹⁵⁹ whose presence in Constantinople is attested during the debates on the affair of the Three Chapters from 550 to 553 AD, and Flavius Theodorus.¹⁶⁰ This last man describes very well the profile of this learned elite interested to Latin texts. He is an imperial officer, a pupil of Priscian, he makes a copy of his *Ars*, and he is very close to Boethius. In this description, four elements are linked: law, power, Latin, and paganism.¹⁶¹ Like John Lydus, the poets Paulus Silentarius¹⁶² and Agathias, as well as Menas Patricius,¹⁶³ Flavius Theodorus is representative of the ruling class which gave a decisive impulse to promote Latin in Constantinople as a literary language and led in promoting Latin literary texts as respectable. At the beginning of the 6th century AD, Constantinople was a city in which both languages were well understood. Justinian attempted to restore the boundaries of the ancient Roman Empire and sought to revive Latin as the imperial language. The emperor encouraged to preserve Latin in administrative usage and literature. However Greek was the *lingua franca* of the Empire.¹⁶⁴ The loss of linguistic competence in Latin may have happened at the end of the 6th century AD. The pope Gregory the Great, who sometimes protests ignorance of Greek, says in a letter dated 597 AD that it is difficult to obtain in Constantinople a good translation from Greek to Latin and from Latin to Greek.¹⁶⁵

The fragment of Juvenal from Antinoopolis is representative of the readership of Latin literature in the Byzantine period on a somewhat advanced level. It reveals the interest of Greek-speaking readers in perfecting their education by studying a relatively difficult text. The owner and/or reader of the Juvenal of Antinoë are likely to belong to the same cultural elite as the one I have noted above: a scholar or, more probably, a well-educated administrative high functionary who was also interested in Latin legal books written in the same BR-uncial as the Juvenal.

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(159) *PLRE* II, p. 281-282.

(160) CAVALLO 1992, p. 101; PECERE 2014, p. 182.

(161) About the close link between bureaucracy and higher education in Byzantium, CAVALLO 2006, p. 69-70.

(162) DE STEFANI 2006.

(163) *PLRE* II, Menas 5, p. 755.

(164) POGGI 1990.

(165) *Epist.* 7.27 (CCSL 140: 485.60-63). See HEMMERDINGER 1966, p. 177; DAGRON 1969, p. 36.

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