'Ex Africa semper aliquid novi', a predictable and congenial conference theme. Now 'aliquid novi' is a phrase that crops up elsewhere in interesting connections, e.g. in the opening sentence of Quintus Cicero's Electioneering Handbook (Comm. Pet. 1.1) and in the Vulgate version of Acts 17.21 where Paul upbraids Athenian neophilia. But at the risk of spoiling the fun, we should remember that this proverb, both in Pliny (NH 8.42) and in its original formulation by Aristotle (HA 606b 20), refers to wild animals that are particularly lustful! A less familiar observation by Vitruvius (8.3.4), 'Africa parens et nutrix ferarum bestiarum', clarifies the sentiment. Better still (i.e. worse), the Greek version¹ has a variant reading kakov for kainon, thereby transmogrifying the aphorism into 'always something bad out of Africa'. But I think we will draw a discreet veil over that one!

As far as we know, the Romans did not set foot in South Africa. My optimistic qualification derives from recent newspaper reports² of a Roman ship off the Brazilian coast near Rio. Certainly, land excavation of the farm at Wadi Lamout³ has shown that the Romans grew cereals over 100 miles into the desert beyond the present southern limits of cultivation. This sort of discovery justifies the attitude of Sallust (Jug. 18) who contrasts the barbarous indigenous peoples of Africa with the civilising influence of immigrants from Europe, a remark some modern politicians would do well to consider.

I admit, of course, that this trend may not have been immediately obvious to (say) Vespasian who as governor of Africa was pelted with turnips by the people of Hadrumetum (Suetonius, Vesp. 4.3).

Despite all this, the northern Garamantes tribe remained (in Virgil's words, Ecl. 8.44) 'extremi', and in the well-turned phrase of Sitwell,⁴ 'The Romans advanced inland with more vigour and effectiveness; but even their best efforts, when drawn on the map of Africa as a whole, make up little more than a decorative red edging to a very large white tablecloth.' Until Augustus, remarks the elder Pliny,⁵ Greek-inspired nonsense caused many to believe in the fabled city of Lixus on the Morocco coast as much grander than Carthage. Not that Pliny is any soberer, with his tales of headless Blemmyae, speechless Troglodytes, and Himantopodes with feet like leather thongs — 'Romana credulitas', indeed, material for a dozen Star Treks!
To Pliny, Africa was a continent still being opened up. In his lifetime, Suetonius Paulinus went where no Roman had gone before, across the Atlas mountains. Not that Africa seemed uniquely mysterious. Around this time, Agricola’s circumnavigation was first proof that Britain, whose very existence many doubted before Caesar, was an island. But in any age, faraway places with strange-sounding names exert a powerful attraction on men’s minds. Roman commentators on Ennius often emphasized details of African flora and fauna, whilst the monograph on Africa and its peoples by King Juba II of Mauretania was mined by Pliny for its elephant lore. Ennius found the large and efficient farms of Africa a suitable theme for ‘satura’, whilst his Delikatessen verses (Hedyphagetica) kicked off with praise of the sea-weasel of Clupea in a passage quoted by the African Apuleius.

Thanks to the Punic Wars, Africa came early into the Roman consciousness and stayed there. From Naevius and Ennius down to Corippus, war in Africa is a theme of life and letters. It evoked one of Ennius’ notorious experiments in alliteration, ‘Afrique terribilis tamtit horrida terru tumultu.’ As Porcius Licinius remarked, ‘Poenico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu/intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram’ (words that surely influenced that famous Horatian sentiment at Ep. 2.1.156–7, ‘Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis/intulit agresti Latio’). Aulus Gellius (17.21) chose the second Punic War as terminus for his own trivial survey of history. Suetonius found the Life of Terence, Africa’s first major contribution to Roman literature, a convenient place to make the point (Vit. Ter. 1) that trade between Rome and Africa did not begin until after 146. Along with the senate-commissioned Latin translation of Mago’s books on agriculture, this gives context to an otherwise obscure joke of the contemporary satirist Lucilius, ‘quanti vellet quam canicas ac pultem e Magonis manu’.

It is hard to say who invents more myths, conquerors about the conquered or the conquered about the conquerors. Thanks again both to war and geography, the Romans developed a repertoire of stereotypes about Africans. These did not depend upon colour or racial inferiority, but national characteristics — there is a difference. I hardly need to dilate here upon Livy and ‘Punica fides’, except to note that Statius (Silv. 4.5.45–8) is still going on about it in a poem to L. Septimius Severus, a native of Lepcis and perhaps an ancestor of the emperor, whilst the egregious Historia Augusta has it at least three times in its Life of the Gordians.

‘But to be insulted by that quantité négligeable Statius is a compliment to any sensible person, and the HA can always be relied upon to improve the shining hour. Many Romans also considered Africans to be oversexed: ‘gens Numidarum in Venerem praecepit’, muttered Livy, whilst Justin was surprised by Hannibal’s unAfrican sexual restraint with respect to female captives. This supposed African characteristic engendered cognate
stories about Massinissa having children at the age of 86, of the tendency of African women towards multiple births, and such African heroines as Dido, Callirhoe, and Sophonisba. Such images and fancies help to illuminate many a later item, from the tribulations endured over his marriage by Apuleius to the strident demands for chaste living from Augustine (who had safely sown his own wild oats) to the scabrous epigrams of Luxorius.

Naturally, not all Romans indulged these prejudices, nor were they aimed uniquely at Africans. Plautus’ *Poenulus*, a post-war play (c. 189), gives Hanno a burst of mock Phoenician gibberish (930–49), but is more markedly kind to its Punic protagonist (the titular diminutive notwithstanding) than is many a post-war English comedy about Germans. Some later generalisations do put Africa unfairly in the spotlight. In this hall of learning (the University of Rhodes, Grahamstown), it is piquant to ad­duce a law of AD 370 ordering the prefect of Rome to deport university students for hooliganism and wild parties; the rescript singles out Africans as prime culprits. Augustine, who (Conf. 3.3) talks of a wild student gang called the Wreckers which he tried to avoid in Carthage but which tempted him by offers to be friends, says he found no student rowdies at Rome but there was a worse problem: they would not pay their fees (Conf. 5.12). We can juxtapose the narrator-hero of Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* who learned Greek at home, perfected his Latin at Rome, then plunged into some hair-raising (not to say asinine) adventures in Thes­aly. Now just as Oxford can provoke students and visitors with its buildings and reputation, so also Carthage, endlessly celebrated as a centre of learning from Apuleius (Flor. 20) to Paulinus of Nola (Carm. 19.141–52) to Augustine to Salvian (De gub. dei 7.16.67–8) to Florentinus in the Africa of Thrasamund, must have been a catalyst for the unruly passions of student iconoclasm. And we are all inclined to be patriots in foreign countries; young sensibilities must have been stirred in Rome by the Septizonium erected by Septimius Severus with the sole purpose of striking the eyes of visitors from Africa.

But African students had no monopoly on rowdiness or patriotism. Their Eastern counterparts were a wild bunch as we know from the anecdotes of Eunapius and Libanius, not to mention Evelyn Waugh’s immortal de­scription of Oxonian bloods as ‘the sound of the upper-classes baying for broken glass.’ Likewise, the confluence of contradictory one-liners about Africans and their culture from other provincial quarters. Ausonius offered this double-edged compliment to Septimius Severus: ‘Punica origo illi, set qui virtute probaret non obstare locum, cum valet ingenium’ (14.21.3–4 Peiper). But another Gaul, Sidonius Apollinaris, opined that ‘urbium cives Africana­rum, quibus ut est regio sic mens ardentior’ (Ep. 8.11). As we all know, the French are given to breathtaking generalisations about other cultures, nor do they often find merit in other than their own. It means something, then, to find Eumenius (Pan. Lat. 8.14.2) dubbing Fronto...
‘Romanae eloquentiae non secundum sed alterum decus,’ a phrase that is almost Franco-African cant Latin since Salvian (De gub. 7.16.67) calls Carthage ‘a second Rome, as it were,’ whilst the bilingualism of the deceased Pomponianus is commended in a epitaph27 from Thamugad in terms that include ‘nostro alteri fonti’. Sidonius also, more than once (Epp. 5.5.1; 9.13.1), uses Fronto as a point of literary comparison, whilst his own admirer Claudianus Mamertus hails him as a Frontonian.28

African cultural pride and self-confidence grew over the centuries.29 Its language and civilisation were first Punic, then Greek. Carthage’s destruction in 146 BC was a cultural as well as a military and commercial turning point, as was that of Corinth in the same year. The princes of Numidia got books in Punic and Greek from its libraries. Micipsa patronised philosophers, whilst Hiempsal wrote Greek-styled mythical history in Punic.30 Punic was the language of Apuleius’ stepson (Apol. 98), also the first language of Septimius Severus and of Augustine (Conf. 1.14.23). Language was both a political and theological issue in the Donatist circumcellion movements of late Roman and Vandal Africa, with the rank and file ostentatiously speaking only Punic against the Latin of both their own leaders and government opponents.31 Septimius Severus was also said to have retained an African accent until old age.32 But it was not only African emperors whose intonation was regarded as notably provincial; the Spanish-born Hadrian was laughed at in the senate for rustic intonations,33 and Quintilian (1.1.13) was exercised over the need to inculcate a good accent in boys.

Perfection in Greek and Latin became the hallmark of an educated man; Africa had long been a multilingual continent. Fronto shows off with a few Greek letters.34 Apuleius kicks off his novel with a statement of his bilingual learning; elsewhere (Apol. 82; 98.8; Flor. 18), he boasts of his wife’s Hellenism, flatters his audience about theirs, and ridicules his opponent for having no Greek. Various inscriptions35 emphasise the bilingualism of their subjects. Augustine laments having to learn Greek, though generously admits his sentiment is due to problems he had with foreign languages and supposes Greek boys felt the same way about Virgil.36 Fulgentius of Ruspe knew Homer and Menander by heart before learning Latin and so spoke Greek ‘ut quasi cotidie inter Graecos habitare putaretur’.37 Other late African luminaries such as Priscian and Corippus were confident enough of their Greek to go off to Constantinople to live and work. Africa produced no Cassiodorus or Isidore to systematise and transmit the Latin heritage.38 By the seventh century the intellectual life of Africa was still vigorous, but was now conducted in Greek, notably by Maximus Confessor and Sophronius. Had assimilation gone too far?

Africa, then, like the poet Ennius had three hearts. Its devotion to the language of the Romans is well summed up by Champlin (17): ‘Africa far
outstrips the older Latin-speaking provinces in its enthusiasm.' To what extent there was a linguistic 'tumor Africus' is very uncertain, and Frontonian 'elocutio novella' still provokes debate. Africa certainly enriched Latin with its own vocabulary and syntax. Sallust (Jug. 18.9) singled out 'mapalia', a word for native dwellings, one taken over by Livy (29.31), Virgil (Georg. 3.340), and others (cf. Festus 132.9 Lindsay), becoming 'lingua franca' in the expression 'mera mapalia'. Juba the metrician admixed characteristic African idioms like 'minus ab' with Graecisms. African Latin, indeed, became a matter of patriotism. The grammarian Nonius Marcellus (19.30 Liudsay) can write such a definition as 'vafrum' est callidum et quasi valde Afrum et urbanum'. The Christian Minucius Felix exploits a rarish verb 'effigiare' seemingly invented by his pagan compatriot Apuleius. African writers of various stripes made a point of mentioning each other, e.g. Augustine Apuleius and Fulgentius both Apuleius and Martianus Capella. In Domitian's time, Florus whined that he had been deprived of the poetry prize because of his anti-African prejudice; no doubt he was just a poor loser. Statius (Silv. 4.5.45–6) felt the Lepcis-born Severus needed to be praised in these terms: 'non sermo Poenus, non habitus tibi,/externa non mens: talus, talus'. Champlin (17) sees here 'the tension between two levels of a single civilisation, at a time when Africans were clamouring for attention. In such a climate (he goes on) it is not to be wondered that Fronto's work should reveal almost nothing of his African heritage. The attitude in itself is an African one.' Champlin's point can be extended. As well as being trilingual, Africa was also, like Britain or France, a 'maeëdoine' of regional accents and dialects. More than one epigram in the Latin Anthology (e.g. 131, 285) ridicules Berbers for trying to write verse. From this very hinterland came Corippus, himself a furious denouncer of Berber ways, no doubt exacerbated by the problem of fitting their curious names into his Latin hexameters. We should not take these epigrams too solemnly; they are no more serious than jokes between Cockneys and Glaswegians.

The emperor Septimius Severus again provides a turning point. He no doubt used his regional accent for political purposes as do British socialist prime ministers, notably Harold Wilson. Roman Africa produced much history but few historians. An exception was the fourth-century Aurelius Victor. Victor did not feel the need to obtrude African details into his De Caesaribus, and indeed says that the country engendered few talents. But the ones it did rose to the highest level and were correspondingly honoured by their countrymen. Victor we can call a man of quiet patriotic pride. For the militant approach, there is no better example than Augustine's ridiculing of Pelagius as a Scottish porridge eater, which seems hard both on Scotland and porridge.

The various importances placed on language pinpoint the diverse con-
tributions made by Africa to Latin literature, not least its abundance of philologists. Big African names include Terentianus Maurus, Nonius Marcellus, Marius Victorinus, and Priscian. But there were many more. A good number were in the orbit of Augustine, e.g. Maximus who argued for paganism against the great man (Epp. 16–17) and Nebridius who went with him to Milan where he died young (Conf. 8.6.13).

Terence, of course, was Africa's first big name. But he was only one of many Republican playwrights, and Africa was not identified with dramaturgy; Suetonius' biography makes no connections between provenance and genre. The first Roman to equate Africa with a particular literary activity is Juvenal (7.147–8), 'nutricula causidicorum/Africa'. His claim surprises some commentators; Ferguson calls it vivid but unexpected. Others point to the litigious element in African life evinced by Fronto and Apuleius. But these two luminaries are a bit late for Juvenal. If taken seriously, it might be a crack at the Hadrianic lawyer Salvius Julianus. But I fancy the satirist is having a joke rather than stressing a trend. 'Causidicus' is often contemptuous in him and other writers, and 'nutricula' looks like a comic diminutive. Indeed, it seems to me that Juvenal is parodying Vitruvius' 'Africa parens et nutrix ferarum bestiarum.' Whatever the truth, Juvenal would have had mixed feelings about the fact that the first people to cite and exploit his poetry were the African Christians Tertullian and Lactantius, though he would have relished the frequent echoes in African verse inscriptions.

On the basis of the Hippo Regius inscription, Suetonius has been pronounced African by Syme and others. But it is not difficult to conjure up reasons why this city might honour someone who was not a native. He could have been their advocate on some occasion; or he might have retired there.

African origins for Aulus Gellius were both proposed and rejected in the 19th century. Until recently, this had meited away to the point where Marache could write that 'le faux problème de l'africitas a totalement disparu.' But now that distinguished polymath Alan Cameron has without any argument reinstated him as an African. Irritatingly, the question may have been settled in the lost notice (NA 8.13) where he argued that the word 'eupsones, quod homines Afri dicunt, non esse verbum Poenicum, sed Graecum'. This balancing of rival claims to an African cant term may suggest the interests of a native, and Gellius was drawn at Rome to the tuition and company of the Africans Sulpicius Apollinaris and Fronto. Given my own published enthusiasm for Gellius, I should love to claim him for Africa here, but a Scottish verdict remains the only reasonable one. Happily, there is no question about the African origins of Cornelius Fronto, the consular tutor and friend of emperors. Thanks to the recent superb study by Edward Champlin, much can here be left unsaid.
until the 19th century, his letters have provoked much derision for their alleged trivial content and laboured style. 'Fronto lost his reputation by being discovered,' is the choicest comment. A good deal of this vituperation is misplaced. Most of the letters were real notes between real people, not belles lettres; as far as we know, Fronto neither collected nor intended them for publication. As to his prose, it can certainly be euphuistic but should be adjudged a brave failure at worst,\(^{67}\) representing a sensible attempt to create a style somewhere between sterile classicism and the recent experiments, often brilliant but sometimes extreme, of Tacitus; Fronto's 'eloquio novella' requires a level head.

We still need an emotional history of the Romans, along the lines of Kenneth Dover on Greek popular morality and Peter Brown for the sensibilities of late antiquity. Fronto would adorn such a volume. A dossier of letters between him and Marcus Aurelius (74–6 Van den Hout = Haines 1. 192–8) contains virtually nothing but reciprocal news of illness and endurance of misfortune. The following one is bizarrely amusing, a wonderful reminder of how the ancients lived their lives even at the highest levels of society:

'My sister was seized suddenly with such pain in her private parts that it was terrible to see her. Then my mother in her excitement banged her side against a wall corner, thus causing us as well as herself great pain. Then when I went to lie down, I found a scorpion in my bed, but killed it before lying on it. If you are better, I am relieved. Thank the Gods, my mother is now better.'

Fronto was a good man as well as a good writer and he helped to form the morality of a good emperor, Marcus Aurelius. He is twice on record (128.15, 166.30 Van den Hout = Haines 1. 280; 1.154) as lamenting the lack of a Latin word for the Greek philostorgus, denoting the quality of affection or compassion. Is this a warmer African morality taking the colder Roman to task? At any event, Marcus duly records the point in his Meditations (1.11), crediting Fronto with the moral lesson.

One can reject the nonsense of socialist realism and still accept that literature and life are usually better correlated than divorced. Fronto provides an excellent and far reaching example of this. He refines (199.23–200.1 Van den Hout = Haines 2.216) Juvenal's 'bread and circuses' aphorism,\(^{68}\) commending Verus for using the policy as a safety-valve. Obviously one did not have to be an African to make this point. But Fronto can be better understood from the fact that, whilst not lacking in circuses,\(^{69}\) Africa had seven times as many amphitheatres, including the fourth largest in the world, that at Julia Caesarea (Cherchel) in Mauretania, whose arena was bigger than that of the Colosseum.\(^{70}\) This enhances later African literature on the games, from the denunciations of Tertullian's De spectaculis to the Vandal recreation of Roman pleasures\(^{71}\) that gave Luxorius a poetic theme, to the plethora of circus fans' curse tablets from Carthage and Hadrumetum.\(^{72}\)
Fronto poses a cosmic question: to what extent did he think of himself as African, or as a Roman who happened to be born in Africa? A timeless issue, recently well put in the British film *White Mischief* (1988) set in wartime Kenya, with one colonialist (John Hurt) going native and most of the others behaving as if Africa wasn't there. Or take the African-born French writer Albert Camus who actually came from Fronto's home town of Cirta, now Constantine. Camus' Parisian-conditioned attitude towards his birthplace is one of cultural and emotional ambivalence. Contrasting Constantine with Oran he observed, 'Constantine offre moins d'agrément, mais la qualité de l'ennui y est plus fine.'

The paucity of references to Africa in Fronto has often been remarked, but it is simply that his extant letters give him little scope for mentioning the place. It is offset by his fragmentary speech *Pro Carthaginiensibus* which appears to have offered a résumé of local history. Africa crops up in the correspondence only for rhetorical purposes in recollections of Scipios and Punic Wars victories (e.g. 123, 26 Van Den Hout = Haines 2:151). In a Greek letter, Fronto laughingly calls himself 'a Libyan of the Libyan nomads.' Yet his birthplace Cirta is obtruded as the place where Jugurtha beat the Romans (206, 13 Van Den Hout = Haines 2:21). Ambivalence seems the right word for Fronto as for Camus.

Much has been written about Apuleius, and I don't need to bore this audience with a plot summary of the *Metamorphoses*. What is worth tracing here is the African Nachleben of the work. The egregious HA makes Septimius Severus rebuke Clodius Albinus for his addiction to Apuleian fiction. A nice triptych: one African denouncing another for his devotion to a third. Later writers who adduce the novel, the Africans Augustine (*De civ. dei* 18.17) and Fulgentius (*Berm. Ant.* 116, 1-2; 122, 3 Helm-Préaux), call it *Asinus Aureus* rather than *Metamorphoses* (the apparent title of the ms.). Does this betoken a particular African approach?

The lost works of Apuleius run the whole gamut: essays on arithmetic, astronomy, music, and various sciences; a symposium; an erotic anthology; a second novel (*Hermagoras*); an *Eptome Historiarum*; and light verse. In the words of Walsh, 'No one seriously regrets the loss of much of this, but the catalogue indicates the author's phenomenal intellectual energy.' I personally wish it had all survived; more of Apuleius would increase modern esteem of the literary calibre of the second century.

Other African authors, e.g. Lactantius, would approach Apuleian virtuosity. The emperor Hadrian had set the tone to this. Hadrian went down well in Africa for his many benefices and the fact that his advent there produced the first rain in 5 years. The young Apuleius might just have set eyes on Hadrian, and later no doubt knew his work, as did Fronto.

Africa has more than its fair share of lost or fragmented writers. Part of our modern pleasure consists in teasing out this evidence. From his pupil
Cellius and elsewhere, we catch a glimpse of the scholarship and verses of Sulpicius Apollinaris; another of his pupils was the future emperor Pertinax, himself a grammarian. And whilst the epic poet Clemens is to us only a name from his friend Apuleius (Flor. 1.7), his existence is one of many welcome reminders that modern complaints about the dearth of poetry either ignore what is lost or unwisely assume its poor quality.81

Around the year 200, Christian Latin literature bursts onto the scene in the powerful voice of Tertullian. Henceforth, African literature progresses in double tandem, Christian and pagan, prose and poetry, with the Christian not always outshining but eventually outlasting its rival, and this is the way we will look at it.

Henri Pirenne84 called Africa the intellectual powerhouse of Latin Christianity. Tertullian memorably remarked that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. Now it happens that up to the year 300 all but one of the genuine Acta martyrum come from Africa. As T.D. Barnes85 remarks, ‘These areas can hardly have lacked martyrs altogether. One must deduce that no one there was concerned to produce literature.’ It seems clear to me what the catalyst was, the same one that is responsible for the glories of Russian literature: suffering.

The early Christian writing of Africa is not of a piece. Tertullian, Arnobius, and Lactantius go together as the unholy trinity of sledgehammer propaganda. Any normal person soon finds Tertullianesque tirading distasteful. But he is also a goldmine of secular social history, being for easy instance our first source for the existence of ideological cartoons in Roman art. As stylist and knowledgeable Christian, Arnobius cuts a poor figure; perhaps his earlier pagan performances were better.87 Lactantius is Tertullian recycled, but the Christian Cicero powerfully deploys the weapons of sarcasm and black humour in the gloating De mortibus persecutorum, whilst his lost pagan works (e.g. a Symposium and a verse narrative of his trip to Nicomedia) look fun and the extant poem Phoenix (if his) interestingly combines pagan, Christian, and Oriental elements.88

Minucius Felix opened a new era in Latin apologetics. Von Albrecht has marshalled the arguments that establish him as (in Barnes’ words) an African writing for Africaas. I can add two more examples of an obtruded African content: Terence is quoted under the rubric ‘comicus sermo’ (21.2), a recognisable crowd pleaser, whilst the deification of Juba (21.9, ‘Mauris voltibus’) is put on a par with that of Romulus. Not for Felix the bludgeons of Tertullian. He prefers the daggers of irony, sweet reason, and classical reminiscence.89 Given my own origins and present whereabouts, I must single out one nugget of wisdom and quiet humour: ‘Britannia (18.3) sole deficitur sed circumfluens mari tepore recreatur.’

Cyprian is doubly novel, being the first bishop of upper class origin and a pioneer in recording the daily life of a working cleric in a working church.
His reputation was early clinched in the fourth century, when a list of his writings was placed second only to the Bible in authority. His extraordinary acceptance of dreams as divine admonition is seen by some as a feature of African Christianity that made it unique. One does not have to like Augustine to appreciate his *Confessions* as (in Robert Browning’s words) the first example of inner biography, a work which opens new paths in terms of ancient literary traditions. An early and powerful example of Gulag literature is Victor Vitensis’ *History of the Vandal Persecution*, a work every bit as shattering as that of Solzhenitsyn. Very different to both is Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe (mid-fifth to early sixth century) and almost certainly the same Fulgentius who had penned some remarkable works of late paganism: the *Mythologiae* in the spirit of fellow-African Martianus Capella, an allegorical explanation of the *Aeneid*, and an *Expositio sermonum antiquorum* in which African authors bulk large and which abounds in marvellous fabrications of sources, the jewel in the crown being the Jokebook of Tacitus. Also manifest is the way in which bishop Fulgentius and friends adapted pagan literary life to the new faith, notably by symposia on Christian topics. A colloquium on his own letters (*Ep. 6.1*) shows that Christian humility still had some way to go. All this is parallel to the literary life of late Gaul as described by Sidonius (notably in *Carm.* 23.439 f. and *Ep.* 9.13.4) and others, albeit Gallic society was more isolated and hothouse than African — something that hasn’t changed!

There is much pleasurable-looking lost work. I should very much like to find the writings of the Donatist Tichonius, extolled for his learning by Gennadius, especially his *De bello intestino*. Not just to counter Augustine. The title is splendidly belligerent, as befits a sectarian mixed up with the rebellious peasants who went around shouting *Laudes Deo* and converting people with special cudgels called ‘Israels’. Pagan prose does not quite have the diverse richness of its Christian rival. The third century is pretty thin, though some assign to Africa Julius Censorinus whose *De die natali* (brought out in 238) is indispensable for Roman attitudes to time. There was also Gargilius Martialis, an expert in husbandry and veterinary science. The fourth century is not much better, save for the rare African-born historian Aurelius Victor who rose from humble country stock to prefect of Rome. Recently relocated to the fifth century is Macrobius, thought by most competent scholars to be African. His three known works are certainly all characteristic. A fragmentary essay on Greek and Latin words is another tribute to African bilingualism. The *Dream of Scipio*, destined to have immense later influence, takes us back to Cyprian as well as Cicero, whilst the *Saturnalia* exhibits pagan nostalgia and continuing vitality of the symposiac form, both African traits. Few would want to read the *Saturnalia* at a sitting, but it is a marvellous thing...
to dip into, especially for its collections of jokes, above all (2.5.1–9) those of the wickedly witty Julia.

The fifth century also housed Martianus Capella, though this may be a matter of African shame rather than pride. The opening sentence of his De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii is all too typical: ‘You who play the strings in marriage chambers, who, they say, was born from a Muse, sacred coupler of the gods, who draw together the warring elements with secret embrace, for you join the elements in their transformations and associate the breath of the mind with bodies in that pleasing bond by which Nature is yoked ...’ Even if we follow those who seek to exculpate him by calling his book Menippean satire, Martianus remains an intolerable windbag. Yet he had an enormous influence from the Carolingians to the Renaissance, his frequently unique vocabulary is part of the evolving history of Latin, and as leader of a coterie of allegorising critics with their own hermeneutic jargon extending to Fulgentius and the weird and wonderful Virgil of Toulouse he anticipated in many ways the modern scourge of structuralism — I speak as one who prefers the reader to Derrida!

In recurring coda, lost works redress the balance. There is no African collection of speeches comparable to the Gallic Panegyrici Latini. But the mirror of society that is Augustine’s collection of letters again reminds us of what there was — the rhetoricians Democrates and Eulogius, respectively his teacher and successor at Carthage, and many others.

Roman Africa had long nurtured a taste for Latin poetry. Utica is one of the two places to which Horace says his Epistles will go (Ep. 1.20.13); Ilerda is the other destination. Apuleius (Apol. 57) mentions a man who kept his library locked and guarded — perhaps he feared a visit from Lucian’s marauding ignorant bookworm! From the second century on, Africa visibly starts to produce its own poetry, in many forms at many levels.

There are more verse inscriptions from Africa than any other province; some 300 have so far been published. Their wide range of metrical competence, classical allusion and artistic skill argue for amateur production as well as the efforts of professional hacks. Africa is to later Latin poetry what Egypt was to Greek (remembering the mordant claim of Eunapius, VS 493, that Egyptians are crazy over poetry but care for nothing important). Yet-scholars have been less than kind. Mommsen thundered, ‘We do not meet in the whole field of African-Latin authorship a single poet who deserves to be so much as named.’ whilst Raby pronounced that ‘The African temperament would seem to have been on the whole unfavourable to the production of verse.’ Despite some welcome dissent, this remains the prevailing view.

These verse inscriptions encompass several centuries, and are both pagan and Christian in sentiment. Naturally, some are not very good, but to say that is to say nothing; compare the very different qualities found in English
country graveyards. Bücheler's constant snide remarks in his CLE notes are quite beside the point. The poems, both small and elaborate, offer many pleasures. Content is obviously one. Who could resist old Flavius from Madaura who died at 83, a John Peel who hunted hares (shades of Virgil, Georg. 1.308!) until his last year (CIL 8.28082 = CLE 1967). Distinctive African contributions to funerary language and imagery come to light. New words, for one thing; the same poem (CIL 8.4681 = CLE 511) furnishes both the unique 'munidator' and confirmation of a local cult of Liber mentioned by Augustine (Ep. 17). Variants on old clichés, for another; thus the deceptively trite-looking formulae 'terra tibi levis sit' and 'ossa tibi bene quiescant' turn out to be restricted to Africa. There is also a local emphasis on the soul near the crescent moon after death, perhaps engendered by the African sky. At another level, one wonders about the quality of African married life in view of the absence of the standard husband-wife compliment 'vixerunt sine ulla querela' and the rarity of cognates — one distinctive exception is 'sine febris'; again suggesting an image from African life.

The African poets could handle all the classical metres. More to the point, from the third century, they exhibit a range of novelties. Not just verbal and ocular novelties such as acrostics, but lines that conflate hexameters with quantitative and accentual verse, with much syllable shortening and emphasis on rhyme. Apart from its own sake, this sets the scene for one of today's prime pleasures, the Christian Commodian. For reasons to be published elsewhere, I accept the view that he was a Palestinian immigrant to Africa in the mid-third century. His two volumes of short poems called Instructiones and a more ambitious Carmen de duobus populis are written in the form just described. His rancid attacks on Jews, pagans, and Rome are in the apocalyptic style of (e.g.) Lactantius with whom he shares the theme of Nero 'redividus' (Instr. 1.41.7 f.; Carn. 891f.; De mort. pers. 2.5.9). His visionary style is in tune with African predilection for prophetic dreams. He often cites or echoes other African writers, notably Cyprian with whom he shares concern for the 'lapsi'. He has phrases (e.g. 'vivere semper') paralleled only in African inscriptions. His vocabulary abounds in unique words (e.g. 'caeliloquax', 'crucistultitia', 'transfluvio'), some of which he will have invented. I suppose it is a moot point whether neologisms connote a person of learning or desperate illiteracy — children are great coiners of words when they don't know the right ones — but facility in them is pronounced in African authors from Apuleius to Martianus.

Commodian has always enjoyed a bad press, from Gennadius to Barnes 'If the word poetry can be used of so hispid a writer.' Beare (242) saw him as a freak, coming from nowhere leading to nowhere. This is nonsense. He is firmly in the tradition of African literary Christianity. An especially illuminating point of comparison is Augustine's Psalm Against
Augustine stresses that his piece was written to be understood and sung by the ordinary people, hence it was written in acrostics, with regular metre eschewed to keep out unfamiliar words, and with each line ending in -e. Earlier in the fourth century, Arius had composed in Greek his Thaleia to reach (in the words of his enemy Athanasius) the roughest of folk in the roughest of places. One very practical reason for metrical innovation was that on Augustine's own evidence the African ear could not distinguish long and short vowels. Commodian has his trick of ending every line in a poem with -e, and extends it to other vowels.

Beare, then, was quite wrong in isolating Commodian. He fits not only the secular versifiers but the African Christians. Just as Augustine wrote his Psalm in defiance of his own classicism, so Commodian (who would have made a good TV evangelist) chose to write in a way that would reach a mass audience. It is quite clear that he knew how to write standard hexameters and the plethora of allusions to classical authors confirms his education.

We may not like metrical trickeries, but Commodian and company should be credited for going beyond the strict and limited repertoire of 'classical' Latin. Likewise, when scholars upbraid his 'bad' Latin, they are not only being reactionary in the manner of the French Academy. I'm all for grammar and structure, but language must evolve; new forms and words must be treated on merit, pragmatically not ideologically. These novelties, indeed, are yet more welcome facets of 'ex Africa aliquid novi.'

The line between Christian and pagan African poetry sometimes becomes as blurred as in early Byzantium. Nominally Christian poets can operate in classicising terms. Dracontius, for instance, is best remembered for his elegiac Satisfactio, composed in a Vandal prison; along with Boethius in Gothic gaols, this is a precedent of sorts for Koestler's Darkness at Noon. But Dracontius was equally at home composing pagan rhetorical exercises (in his Romulea). Then there is Corippus. Having stood before the procers of Carthage to deliver his classicising epic on the exploits of John Trogilta against the Berbers, he followed the grammarian-poet Priscian to Constantinople where he produced a new style of epic, the pagan-Christian of his Praises of Justin II. It is quite appropriate that African Latin poetry goes out with two men, Corippus whose verses herald the dawn of a new age, and Verecundus (bishop of Junca) whose De satisfactione poenitentiae bemoans his own sins and the impending end of the world. These extremes of optimism and pessimism are, of course, as misplaced as their modern equivalents, African or otherwise!

For finale, a brisk run through secular poetry, with three major stopovers. Hosidius Geta produced a playlet Medea in Virgilian cento, thus helping to inaugurate that popular late genre. To judge from the familial reference to him in Tertullian (De praescr. heret. 39), he may have had African connec-
tions. It would be pleasant to claim for Africa, as some do, that congenial squib *The Contest of the Cook and Baker* of Vespa\(^{124}\) and the *Pervigilium Veneris*,\(^{125}\) but evidence and time are lacking. A late Plautine pastiche, *Querolus*, might be African: it certainly passes the test on linguistic and metrical grounds. It would have been nice to have the poems that a certain Audax sent to his friend Augustine (*Epp.* 260-1) for comment. Less regrettable may be the loss of the many epics on mythological themes ridiculed by Nemesianus (*Cyneg.* 15-41).

Nemesianus of Carthage is, indeed, our first pit stop. He survives the doubtful credit of a compliment from the *HA* (*Carus* 11.2). A latterday Virgil in that he wrote eclogues, didactic, and epic, he was two-thirds a Squire Weston in that huntin’ and fishin’ were amongst his enthusiasms. A promised epic celebrating the brother emperors Numerian and Carinus may or may not have materialised. Poems on fishing and sailing are sadly lost. We are left with four eclogues, 325 lines of hunting, and two disputed fragments on bird-catching whose social comment and quiet humour make me hope that they are authentic.\(^{126}\) It is notable that all the metrical licences\(^{127}\) invoked against them by modern sceptics are paralleled in another African poet, Luxорius. More Africitas, perhaps. Both in the *Eclogues* (e.g. 4.50-4) and the *Cynegetica* (251-78) Nemesianus imparts a native flavour with allusions to African heat, Marmaric lions, and the Numidian Mazaces’ horses. It is a shame we cannot compare the lost idyls and eclogues of a polymath from Cirta known to us only from his epitaph (*CIL* 8.18864). Did he also incorporate African scenery amidst the traditional Arcadian? One final thing about Nemesianus; he is the last Latin poet to write on paederastic themes (*Eel.* 4.56, ‘quisquis amat pueros’, etc.), thus providing a landmark of sorts.\(^{128}\)

To judge by the frequency of his name on African inscriptions,\(^{129}\) the presence of his *versus anacycli* in the Codex Salmasianus (*Anth. Lat.* 81), and the references to him in Fulgentius (*Myth.* 40.20-1; *VC* 100,19-101.4), Porphyrius Optatianus almost certainly came from Africa to win high office under Constantine. Whether Africa wants him is another matter. For if Martianus can be seen as a pioneer of structuralism, then Porphyrius is a precursor of concrete poetry, his *carmina quadrata* paving the way for Eugen Gomringer’s *Wind* (1953).\(^{130}\) As his best modern critic Levitan\(^{131}\) remarks, ‘he is not a good poet; he is not even a bad poet. His poems are prodigies, monsters in the literal sense.’ It is hard to do Porphyrius any sort of verbal justice, his tricks being more for the eye than the ear. Poem 15 is a good example. Line 1 is all disyllables, line 2 trisyllables, line 3 tetrasyllables, and so on. Other effects include reverse hexameters and pentameters and lines that scan backwards into other metres. Levitan chatters on about ‘the workings of abstract form and the difficult relationship between expansion and limit’ — I have no idea what this means.
Porphyrius is ultimately silly, but harmless, and one has to admire his dexterity.

Finally, Vandal Africa, which enjoyed a century or so existence from Gaiseric’s invasion in 429 to the Byzantine conquest in 533/4. Given the modern use of ‘vandal’, we should note that this unfortunate equation derives from their carrying-off works of art from Rome to Africa in 455 — they were cultural predators, not philistines. Vandal Africa encompassed two fusions: pagan-Christian and Vandal-Roman, like the Goths in Italy. Prevailing images are the Arian persecution and the vignettes Romanising urban pleasures. Encouragingly, both literary visions have been confirmed by recent archaeology, e.g. a mass burial in a villa near Carthage can be linked to Victor’s account (HP 3.56-7) of famine and disease in 484, whilst the seaside villas disclose a Luxorian life style.

Luxorius is the giant of the poets of Vandal Africa. Thanks to Rosenblum’s edition, he is the most accessible and thereby needs the least attention here. Suffice it to say that, although I am wary of any poet who chooses the execrable Martial as his main model, Luxorius is good fun both as lampooner and as describer of works of art. The other major figure is Symphosius, whose Aenigmata comprise 100 small items. His riddling humour, in modern terms, is pitched somewhere between that of the schoolboy and that of the Christmas cracker, neither of which is to be despised. He provides (no. 14) an early example of the chicken or egg conundrum, hits off (no. 25) a good pun on mouse and Decimus Mus, and neatly introduces the ‘tinea’ (bockworm, no. 16) with a clue, ‘exedi Musas’, that is good in itself and perhaps a play on Horace’s ‘exegi monumentum’. Other contributors are often negligible in quantity, but there are nuggets to be had. Lindinus’ (no. 28) 12-line résumé of the nine ages of man (most beginning with a numeral) inevitably provokes comparison with Shakespeare’s As You Like It. Those who have written on Cleopatra’s death (one asp or two?) have usually failed to adduce Ponnanus’ epigram (no. 274) on the subject, giving one snake and also the cliché of the lifelike painting, often wrongly regarded as uniquely Byzantine in its banality. Similarity of theme between the Vandal poets and their early Byzantine counterparts is well exemplified by Calbulus’ verses (no. 378) on a baptismal font, and Euclerius’ prayer (no. 789) for God’s help in his legal work which is comparable to Agathias’ request (Anth. Graec. 1.35) to the Archangel for a bright future in law for himself and friends, both nice thoughts in themselves.

A nicer thought for you is that I should conclude, which I now do without any peroration, in the predictable hope that I have tolerably re-imported ‘aliquid novi’ to Africa.
NOTES

* This paper was composed as keynote address for the 18th biennial conference of the Classical Association of South Africa, held in Grahamstown, January 1989. A few frivolities have been retained to capture the flavour of a delightful occasion. I am most grateful to Professors Ken Matier and Ursula Vogel for the invitation, also to Jo-Marie Claassen, Terence Rapke, and Hagith Sivan for the arrangements that made my visit a memorable one.


2. In the London Sunday Times, quoting the American underwater archaeologist Robert Marx.

3. 120 miles south of Tripoli, excavated by Graeme Barker and Barri Jones; I owe this item to the Toronto Globe & Mail.


5. In his sketch of African characteristics, NH 5.1–45, blasting Nepos for accepting 'portentosa Graeciae mendacia'.


8. Plutarch, Caes. 23.3.


10. Frs. 10–11 Warmington, 'testes sunt/lati campi quos gerit Africa terra politos'.

11. Apol. 39, 'omnibus ut Clupea praestat mustela marina'.

12. 310 Skutsch = 396 Warmington.


14. 768 Warmington, 'At what price he likes, rather than the bran and porridge from a Mago's head,' a version that may go better than the suggested emendation 'magonis'.


18. Justin 32.4.11, an obvious doublet on Alexander and the royal women of Persia.

19. Livy 30.12–15; Pliny, NH 7.61; one thinks of Charlie Chaplin and Thomas Dewey!

20. Pliny, NH 7.33; Columella 3.8.1.

21. Who hung herself after desertion by Diomedes, having killed her father Lycos of Libya; cf. Jacoby, FGrH 275, F 5.


23. Ep. 118.2.9, 'latiarum litterarum artifices Roma atque Carthago'.

24. Anth. Lat. 376, 28–36, with Carthage's name beginning each line.

25. HA, SS 24.3, 'ut ex Africa venientibus suum opus occurreret'.


27. P. Flavus Pudens Pompomianus is commemorated in CIL 8.2391, one of several such epitaphs; cf. Champlin (n. 16) 148, n. 84.

29. For the evidence, literary and inscriptive, see F. Millar, "Local Cultures in the Roman Empire: Libyan, Punic, and Latin in Roman Africa," *JRS* 58 (1968) 126–51.

30. Sallust, *Jug.* 17.7; Diodorus Sic. 34.5–35; cf. Rawson (cf. note 9) 17.


32. *HA*, SS. 19.9, 'Afrum quiddam usque ad senectutem sonans'; cf. *id.* 1.4, also *Epit. de Caes.* 20.8, and pertinent remarks in Apuleius (*Met.* 1.1) and Macrobius (*Sat.* 1, praef. 12) on the wider issue.

33. *HA*, Hadr. 3.1 (before he became emperor).

34. E.g. 20–23 Van Den Hout = Haines 1, 130–6, quoted later.

35. E.g. *CIL* 8.2391, 8500, 17910; cf. Champlin (n. 16) 148, n. 84 for more.


38. And African monasteries were not intellectual outposts; cf. the brilliant survey of Averil Cameron, *Byzantine Africa — The Literary Evidence,* *University of Michigan Excavations at Carthage* 7 (Ann Arbor, 1982), 52.


42. Juba wrote in the second century AD on Greek and Latin metre.


44. As Von Albrecht 158 puts it, 'African authors are fond of quoting their countrymen, even when there are chronological or ideological barriers. Consider Augustine's reference to Apuleius. It is then that the provinces begin to develop a literary and artistic life of their own.' For Fulgentius, see my 'Fulgentius and his Sources,' forthcoming in *Traditio.*


46. Or did Domitian agree with Antony (Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 4.2) that African origins were a matter for contempt?

47. It remains a lively issue, to judge from a report in the *Times Literary Supplement* (June 3–9, 1988) of an international symposium at Lagos in May 1988 on African literature before and after Wole Soyinka's 1986 Nobel Prize for literature. A majority endorsed the view of the Nigerian poet Chinweizu that Europophone African literature should take second place to the Afrophone tradition.

48. See the admirable study of A.R. Birley, *Septimius Severus,* London 1971, which includes a résumé of modern visions (greatly exaggerated) of the emperor as a new Hannibal on the throne of the Caesars.


50. Augustine, *Comm. in Jerem.*, Prol., also 4, pro! (text in *CCL* 74. 925–6, 967–8).
51. I am not convinced by the (as yet) unpublished paper, 'Utraque Roma: Priscian and the West,' of M.T. Davis arguing that Priscian comes from an eastern Caesarea rather than the African one.

52. A distinctly African nexus may be traced between the aforementioned Flavius Pudens Pomponianus cited by Julius Romanus who in turn is exploited by Charisius whose habit (amongst other things) of citing Fronto and Apuleius may make him African. Between them, Romanus and Charisius preserve thirteen quotations from the commentaries on Terence's Eunuch and Adelphi by the second-century AD Helenius Acro, himself a probable African. The information providing the basis for these connections is conveniently gathered in Teuffel-Schwabe's History of Roman Literature, English trans. by G.C.W. Warr, London 1900, 2, 274, 360.


55. Thereby comporting a clue as to the identity of the unnamed emperor in line 1 of the poem; both Hadrian and Domitian have their champions. There was also Julianus' pupil, Caecilius Africanus.

56. Seneca, Apocol. 12, draws a distinction between them and 'iuridici'.

57. In any event, we should compare this remark to the one in Sat. 15.111, 'Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos', which has evoked much less surprise than its due. Pace Tacitus (Agr. 21) and Martial 11.3.5, 'dicitur et nostros cantare Britannias versus' — for the sake of my country's reputation for literary taste I hope this is not true — Britain produced no man of letters until Pelagius. It should be noticed that the 'Africa nutricula' line also begins with 'Gallia'.


63. R. Marache, Lustrum 10 (1965) 213, in his bibliographical survey of Fronto and Gellius.

64. 'Poetae Novelli,' HSCP 84 (1980) 160.

65. Studies in Aulus Gellius, Lawrence, Kansas 1975, where (6) I may have undervalued the significance of 8.13 as a clue.

66. And what follows here is abbreviated from my Anthology of Later Latin Literature, Amsterdam 1987, 33–5.

67. The frequent illegibility of the text must be stressed as a further mitigation.

68. Quotable, albeit neither original nor always true; cf. Alan Cameron, Circus Factions, Oxford 1976, 174, n. 3.


71. Cf. Salvian, De gub. 6.12.69–71, on the fatal folly of the inhabitants of Carthage and Cirta in being at the theatre whilst the Vandals were at their very gates.

72. See A. Audollent, Defixionum Tabellae, Paris 1904, nos. 216, 232–46, 252, etc.

74. Cf. Champlin (n. 16) 87.

75. To Domitia Lucilla, 23.4 Van Den Hout = Haines 1.135.


77. *Cloë, Alb.* 12.12 in a fabricated letter with some concoction from the opening words of the *Metamorphoses*.

78. In Constantinople, Apuleius is only one of the two Latin authors (Vigil being the other) whose statues appeared in the *Zeuxippus* Baths collection described by Christodorus in Book Two of the Greek Anthology.


81. *HA, Hadr.* 13.4; 22.14. The latter event no doubt fertilises the doublet of a miraculous rain storm in Africa registered in the *HA's Life* (16.2) of the three Gordians.

82. Sulpicius penned metrical arguments to Plautus, Terence, and Virgil.

83. I have argued this at length in 'Literature and Society in the Later Roman Empire,' in E.K. Gold (ed.), *Literature and Artistic Patronage in Ancient Rome*, Austin 1982, 57–86.


86. I.e. the other western provinces, save Spain which produced the one non-African martyrology.

87. Jerome, *Chron. ad a. Abr.* 2343 = AD 326, commended him as 'rhetor in Africa clarus'.

88. It was also the basis for the Anglo-Saxon *Phoenix*, a poem in alliterative accentual verse, possibly by Cynewulf; cf. the discussion of J.W. & A.M. Duff in their Loeb *Minor Latin Poets*, 643–7, along with the doubts of J.L. Creed in his edition of the *De mort. pers.* Oxford 1984, xxvii, n. 76.

89. Uniquely amongst Christian apologists, Minucius never mentions Christ by name; cf. Von Albrecht (n. 43) 165.


91. In the *Cambridge History* (details in n. 79 above), 2, 5, 47.

92. See S.T. Stevens, 'The Circle of Bishop Fulgentius,' *Traditio* 38 (1982) 327–41, for his secular education, his knowledge of Greek, and importance for showing African influence on the sixth century church in Rome and its personnel there.

93. Such as the incarnation, the nature of evil, and so on — in marked contrast to the old-style symposiac riddles posed by the contemporary poet Symphosius Scholasticus ({Inth. Lat.} 276).

94. See the various studies of R.W. Mathisen, notably 'Epistolography, Literary Circles and Family Ties in late Roman Gaul,' *TAPA* 111 (1981) 95–109. *De vir. ilustr.* 18, 'in divinis litteris eruditus et in sacやらbilibus non ignarus'.

95. Cf. my *NMS* article, cited in n. 31 above.

96. See Alan Cameron, 'The Date and Identity of Macrobius,' *JRS* 56 (1966) 25–38.

99. Mainly in *CIL* 8 and redeployed in such collections as *CLE* and R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, Urbana 1982.


104. E.g. on *CLE* 112 = *CIL* 8, 5370, *barbarismos* Africanos non censui emendandos.

105. E.g. on *CLE* 112 = *CIL* 8, 5370, *barbarismos* Africanos non censui emendandos.

106. Lattimore (n. 99) 19, 68–9, 72–3.

107. Lattimore (n. 99) 38.


109. *CIL* 8, 9050, earning an exclamation mark from Lattimore.


111. Less accurately called *Carmen Apologeticum*; Commodian is edited by J. Martin in the *CC* (Latin) series, vol. 128 (Turnhout 1960).

112. *Instr.* 1.34.19; *Carm.* 763; *CIL* 8.7228 = *CLE* 561 (Cirta) and *CIL* 8.1247 (Vaga).

113. *De vir. illustr.* 15, 'scripsit mediocri sermone quasi versu'.

114. Thus, when Beare (n. 110) 245 asks 'Is Commodian then the pioneer of the new rhythmic poetry?' and when Raby, *Christian Latin Poetry* (n. 102) 15 wonders 'if Commodian wrote the rude verses of the half-educated classes consciously or not,' the answer in both cases is a resounding Yes.

115. Cf. Beare (n. 110) 248–50 for a good analysis, though again failing to draw the right conclusions, also Raby, *Christ. Poet.* (n.102) 20.

116. *De doctr. Christ.* 4.24, 'Afrae aures de correptione vel productione non judicant.'

117. See *Instr.* 2.4; 2.23; 2.35 for poems ending in -e, -i, and -o. He has no -a or -u endings, and no tricks of any sort in the first book.

118. Notice the rhyming hexameters *De Sodoma* and *De Jona*, often ascribed to Tertullian or Cyprian — Africans again!

119. Lindsay (n. 100) 48 puts it well: 'Commodianus is then the first sign in verse of a large-scale upheaval from below. In rough form he sketches out the disruptive elements that are going to shake and reinvigorate the imperial culture.'

120. See Martin's Index. Virgil predictably predominates, but notice much use of Ovid and Lucretius, and some satirical authors — Horace, Persius, and Petronius,

121. The Latin and Greek Anthologies contain roughly contemporary sub-collections of poems from Vandal Africa and Constantinople. The Codex Salmasianus seems to have been made c. 533, though whether before or after the Vandal overthrow is much debated. Over in Constantinople, Agathias put together his Cycle collection from the period of Justinian and Justin II, albeit details are again controversial.


125. Readers should be alert to the promised edition of Alan Cameron.

126. The fragments are owed to a 16th century Dialogus de avibus by Gybertus Longolius, conveniently discussed in the Duffs’ Minor Latin Poets, 512–3.

127. Notably the long -u in gula.

128. Cf. R. McMullen, ‘Roman Attitudes to Greek Love,’ Historia 31 (1982) 499. In Greek literature the theme lasts until Nonnus, being then hastened into oblivion by the moral legislation of early Byzantine emperors.

129. CIL 8. 624, 631, 679, 2393, 4198, etc.


132. Augustine died on August 28, 430, during their siege of his native Hippo.

133. Or reconquest, depending upon how one views the Byzantine claims to the old Roman empire.


135. Exactly who should be counted into this group remains debatable in some details; the list of (e.g.) Rosenbium (n. 110) 25–6 is shorter than the total accumulated in PLRE 2.


137. An aspect sometimes unduly neglected by commentators on the Greek Anthology; one hopes that Susan T. Stevens will publish her good papers on this and cognate topics presented at various of the Byzantine Studies Conferences in North America over the past few years.
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