

A COMMENTARY ON THE VERSE INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF THE FLAVII AT

CILLIUM

by

JESSE JAKE SAWYER

(Under the Direction of Naomi Norman)

ABSTRACT

This study provides a commentary on the 110-line poem inscribed on the tomb of Flavii located in North Africa. As an inscription the poem serves as a decoration on the tomb of the deceased but, because of his obvious ability, skill, and education, the poet and his composition deserve independent study. By examining the poet's composition both independently as a stand-alone poem and in relation to the monument on which it is inscribed, this commentary provides evidence for the poet's familiarity with Latin literature and shows how he manipulates common literary tropes and themes in order to apply them to the deceased and the Roman North African society of which he was a part.

INDEX WORDS: funerary monument(s), North Africa, Latin poetry

A COMMENTARY ON THE VERSE INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF THE FLAVII AT
CILLIUM

by

JESSE JAKE SAWYER

B.A., University of Massachusetts at Amherst, 2008

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2010

© 2010

Jesse Jake Sawyer

All Rights Reserved

A COMMENTARY ON THE VERSE INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF THE FLAVII AT
CILLIUM

by

JESSE JAKE SAWYER

Major Professor: Naomi Norman

Committee: Erika Hermanowicz
T. Keith Dix

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
August 2010

DEDICATION

for Evan

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Naomi Norman, and my committee members, Dr. Erika Hermanowicz and Dr. T. Keith Dix, for their time, effort, and insightful comments and suggestions in this thesis. I would also like to thank Eileen for all of her love and support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 THE TOMB OF THE FLAVII	4
The Flavii and Cillium	4
The Tomb	7
The Monument as a Tower Mausoleum	10
The Rooster	13
The Poem	14
Tradition and Innovation	18
3 THE INSCRIPTION AND TEXT	20
Meter	22
4 COMMENTARY	27
5 CONCLUSION	48
REFERENCES	52
APPENDICES	
A ENGLISH TRANSLATION	54
B FIGURES	60

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1: Map of the Kasserine region	60
Figure 2: Mausoleum of the Flavii.....	61
Figure 3: Prose inscriptions from the Mausoleum of the Flavii	62
Figure 4: Verse inscription from the Mausoleum of the Flavii	63
Figure 5: Pilasters on the north-east facade of the Mausoleum of the Flavii	64
Figure 6: Depiction of rooster on north-west wall of Tomb VIII (Djebel Mlezza).....	65
Figure 7: Depiction of rooster on north-east wall of Tomb VIII (Djebel Mlezza).....	65
Figure 8: Detail of lines A 28-32 of verse inscription	66

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The tower mausoleum of the Flavii at Cillium is perhaps best known for the unique poem inscribed around the first story doorway. The mausoleum is located just south of modern Kasserine, Tunisia and was erected in the late second century C.E. One hundred and ten lines long, the poem is the longest extant Latin *carmen epigraphicum* from the Roman Empire. Written by an anonymous poet, the poem has attracted the attention of scholars, who have published translations and some commentary on the text.

Johann Ernst Habenstreit, in the eighteenth century, produced the first significant account of the tomb of the Flavii and its inscribed poem. Ordered on a scientific mission by Augustus I, the Elector of Saxony, to observe various zoological, botanical, and mineralogical phenomena of North Africa, Habenstreit also documented the antiquities that he came across in his travels. Habenstreit's account is lost; its existence is only attested through references by later commentators.¹ A description of the monument, along with a brief description of the poem, appears in an 1862 work by Victor Guérin, a member of the French College of Athens who was put in charge of reporting on the variety of epigraphy in North Africa.² The first authoritative copy of the text itself appears in the first part of volume VIII of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* collected by G. Wilmanns and published in 1881.³ Franz Buchēler based his commentary on the poem in *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (1912), on Wilmanns' copy of the text.

¹ Wilmanns (see below) said that Habenstreit's account was useful (Groupe de Recherches sur l'Afrique Antique 1993, 16).

² Guérin 1862, 310.

³ *CIL* 8.212-3; *CLE* 1552.

Recent scholarship has yielded the most exhaustive study of the monument and the poem to date. The publication *Les Flavii de Cillium* not only included a literary and philological commentary on the poem accompanied by a French translation, but also information on architecture, epigraphy, paleography, and the history of Cillium and the Flavii.⁴ This work sheds light on the culture and social structure of Roman North Africa and has opened the door for further study of the monument and its epitaph.⁵ Most recently, Edward Courtney published an English translation and brief commentary on the poem in a selection of Latin verse inscriptions, *Musa Lapidaria*.⁶ Moreover, scholarship of the last two decades, which has reinterpreted provincial life in North Africa as a hybrid culture born from Roman and Africa contact, adds new dimension to the study of the Flavii and their tomb. This mausoleum and its *carmen epigraphicum* also provide evidence that can illuminate cultural, social, and economic aspects of the hybridized society of Roman North Africa.

While striking a balance between the breadth of *Les Flavii de Cillium* and the brevity of Courtney's commentary, this thesis provides a literal translation and an in-depth commentary on the 110-line poem inscribed on the tomb of the Flavii. The broad aims of this commentary are to illuminate the poem itself by examining the difficult readings, to discern the composer's intent and the various and nuanced ways in which he conveys it, and to understand the composer's view of the function of his composition both as a stand-alone poem and as decoration on a funerary monument. I look at a various types of evidence about the monument, the Flavii, the area surrounding Cillium, and Roman North Africa in general and relate this information, as much as possible, to the text. In chapter two I discuss how the poem reflects on and informs us about the Flavii, their monument and its architecture, the indigenous culture of Cillium and its

⁴ Groupe de Recherches sur l'Afrique Antique 1993, 220-1.

⁵ Hitchner 1995, 493-498.

⁶ Courtney 1995.

interaction with a Roman presence. In chapter three, I present the text of the poem; the text here is based on Courtney's edition, which in turn is based on the text in *Les Flavii de Cillium*. The commentary on the text appears as chapter four. After a brief concluding chapter, I include two appendices: one is a literal English translation of the poem and the other is a collection of important images that highlight various aspects of the monument.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TOMB OF THE FLAVII

The three story tomb of the Flavii, erected on the outskirts of Cillium, a small town on the southern frontier of Africa Proconsularis, is an impressive monument. Built by Titus Flavius Secundus and dedicated to his father, also Titus Flavius Secundus, the monument functions as a memorial both to the elder Secundus and to other family members and descendents who were subsequently interred in the tomb.

The tomb is a testament to the status and wealth that the elder Secundus had acquired for his family through agriculture, following his discharge as an auxiliary from the Roman army. In architectural terms, the tomb is a rather ordinary tower mausoleum, a standard type of funerary monument found throughout Punic and Roman North Africa. What sets the monument apart from others of its type is the anonymous verse epitaph inscribed over its first-story doorway. Composed in 110 lines, the poem is representative of the 110 years of Secundus' life. As the longest extant Latin funerary epitaph from antiquity,⁷ the poem in and of itself is unique; however, its addition to the tomb of the Flavii turns an otherwise traditional and typical mausoleum into a truly extraordinary monument – one that perpetuates the memory of the deceased Secundus and his family.

The Flavii and Cillium

Situated on the southern frontier of the Tunisian steppe, 220 kilometers south of Carthage, the small town of Cillium is located just south of modern Kasserine.⁸ It is well within

⁷ Courtney 1995, 400.

⁸ See figure 1 in appendix B for a map of the Kasserine region.

what would have been the territory of the Musunii Regiani,⁹ a nomadic tribe of the steppe.¹⁰ Positioned near important water sources and major passes through the Atlas Dorsel, it is likely that the area around Cillium would have been frequented by nomadic tribes during their seasonal migrations.¹¹ Its proximity to the major routes of these tribes has led to the suggestion that the town originated as a *castellum*, built by the Romans during their campaigns against Tacfarinas in the first century C.E.¹²

During the Roman period, Cillium and the surrounding area saw an intense expansion of settlement,¹³ and as a result the town achieved the status of *municipium* by the second century C.E.¹⁴ The town exported olive oil, which had become a flourishing and widespread industry throughout North Africa by the beginning of the second century C.E.¹⁵ Archaeological evidence uncovered in and around Cillium indicates that the expansion of the town was based largely on farm construction, particularly the development of olive presses.¹⁶ The importance of olive oil production and its effects on the local economy of Cillium may have been on the mind of the epitaph's poet, when he condemned a group of foreign commodities, including Spanish olive oil (*Hispania Pallados usu*), by describing them with the derogatory adjective *peregrinas*.¹⁷ By denigrating a foreign competitor in olive oil production,¹⁸ the poet subtly touts the superiority of

⁹ See Plin. *HN*. 5.3 for a discussion of the Musunii tribe in North Africa.

¹⁰ It is uncertain if the tribe occupied the area prior to the Roman period. See Hitchner 1995, 494.

¹¹ Hitchner 1994, 39.

¹² Hitchner 1995, 494. According to Tacitus, Junius Blaesus established *castella* and *munitiones* in strategic locations along the Tunisian steppe to defend against rebel tribes, including the Musunii, during the war with Tacfarinas. See *A*. 3.74. The strategic location of Cillium in relation to important water sources and passes used by nomadic tribes would make Cillium an ideal position for one of Blaesus' forts. See Gascou 1972, 86-9.

¹³ Mattingly 1988, 47. See also Hitchner 1988 and 1990.

¹⁴ Hitchner 1995, 494.

¹⁵ Kehoe 1988, 3. Also see Plin. *HN*. 15.3.8.

¹⁶ Mattingly 1988, 47. Also see Hitchner's Kasserine surveys cited above (footnotes 12 and 13) for discussion of archaeological evidence.

¹⁷ See commentary on lines 23-31.

¹⁸ See Plin. *HN*. 15.3.8, where he compares the quality of olive oil and its various exporters, including in that discussion, mention of both North Africa and Spain, ranking them in relatively close proximity in regard to quality and quantity.

local North African olive oil, the cultivation of which had a substantial impact on the development and growth of Cillium.

The elder Titus Flavius Secundus settled in Cillium during this period of agricultural expansion, following his discharge from the auxiliaries. Amidst this thriving and constantly growing agrarian economy, Secundus acquired his wealth and status through the cultivation of vines, as his funerary poem proudly claims: *dum munera Bacchi multa creat primasque cupit componere vites* (A 51-2).¹⁹

While viticulture itself reflects the influence of Roman influence on the steppe, irrigation systems, an agrarian technology unique to North Africa, were necessary to ensure the successful cultivation of vines in the harsh and arid climate of the steppe.²⁰ Secundus himself utilized such a system, as his epitaph attests: *et nemus exornat revocatis saepius undis* (A 53).²¹ This combination, of the Roman practice of viticulture and the local technology of irrigation to ensure its success, not only points to a unique integration of Roman and African agricultural practices, but to a larger process of cultural synthesis between the Roman and local populations on the southern frontier of the North African province between the first and second century C.E.²²

Recruited during the reign of Nero as an auxiliary from the Musunii tribe, whose homeland was in the area of Cillium-Theveste,²³ Titus Flavius Secundus upon his retirement would have occupied a unique position in the social structure of the North African frontier.

¹⁹ Note that references to the poem are cited throughout this introduction and commentary either as part A or B respectively. While comprised of 110 lines, commentators have traditionally placed a break between what would be lines 90 and 91 of the poem, lines 1-90 making up part A; 91-110 part B. For discussion of the break, see below and commentary on line 91.

²⁰ Hitchner 1995, 495.

²¹ "Often he provided the grove with rerouted streams."

²² Ibid.

²³ See Groupe de Recherches sur l'Afrique Antique 1993, 220-1. It was common practice for retired legionnaires to recount their associations with their legion: cf. the inscription on the mausoleum of the Petronii in North Africa, in which the deceased, an Italian veteran, boasts of his numerous public offices and service in thirteen different legions. Lassère suggests that the absence of any such statement linking Secundus with the Roman army proper implies that he was most likely an auxiliary. See the inscriptions on mausoleum of the Petronii (*CIL* 8.217, 8.218) which was located along the same road as the tomb of Flavii, just north of Cillium.

Presumably familiar with the area and having had extensive contact with Roman customs and practices over his 33 years of service, Secundus was representative of a class of local elites, who could serve as middle men in the process of cultural integration between Roman and North African practices, customs, and traditions—evidence of which we find both in Secundus’ tomb and throughout his epitaph.

The Tomb

The tomb of the Flavii is just to the north of Cillium, positioned alongside a road running from Sbeitla (ancient Sufetula) to Tebessa (ancient Theveste). Standing in contrast to the steppe’s broad valleys and limestone ridges, dominating the surrounding landscape and strategically located next to what would have been an old and well-traveled road in antiquity,²⁴ the three-story high tomb is as impressive to onlookers today as it would have been to passers-by in antiquity.²⁵

As a prose inscription on the tomb attests, Titus Flavius Secundus erected the monument for his father, also Titus Flavius Secundus, in the late second century C.E.²⁶ Although he dedicated the tomb specifically to his father, the younger Secundus intended the tomb be used first for his father’s remains and then for himself and other family members.²⁷ Accordingly, prose inscriptions on the tomb attest to the subsequent interments of the elder Secundus’ wife, Flavia Urbana, the younger Secundus, his sisters, Flavia Secunda and Flavia Sperata, and his brothers, T. Flavius Marcellus and T. Flavius Martialis, as well as other relations.²⁸

²⁴ Hitcher 1994, 39.

²⁵ See figure 2 in appendix B for a picture of the monument.

²⁶ See *CIL* 8.211 for prose inscription.

²⁷ For discussion of the younger Secundus’ intentions see commentary on line 72.

²⁸ See *CIL* 8.211 for the list of immediate family interred in the tomb. Although their specific relation to the immediate family is uncertain, interments of other relatives are attested on the monument. See *CIL* 8.214, 215, and 216. See figure 3 in appendix B for prose inscriptions. Note that while Secundus adopted the *tria nomina*, particularly the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the Flavians, from whom he had received citizenship following his discharge, the names of other family members, whose remains were also held in the tomb, maintained *cognomina*

The tomb itself is comprised of three superimposed stories rising from a square, three-step crepidoma. The verse epitaph draws attention to this aspect of the tomb, describing it poetically: *sic de radice levatos/ in melius crevisse gradus* (A 43-4).²⁹ The first story is approximately 3.6 meters high and largely unadorned, with the exception of the 110-line long verse epitaph, laid out in three columns over the first story doorway on the northeast facade.³⁰ Following the initial burials in the tomb, this original doorway was sealed. Later a second doorway was opened on the opposite side and subsequent interments were placed in the tomb.³¹

Each face of the second story of the tomb is adorned with Corinthian pilasters, one at each corner and two others at a slightly wider interval. Referring to the pilasters in lines A 47-48, the epitaph describes the amazement of passers-by, declaring that they would be stupefied as they looked upon radiant pillars hanging overhead: *vaga turba...lucentes stupeat pariter pendere columnas*.³² On the southwest facade, engraved between each of these pilasters, are a series of four prose inscriptions, which include the dedication to the older Secundus, as well the names of other deceased family members and relatives later interred in the tomb.

Crowned by an arch, the third story of the monument consists of a tall, rounded niche facing southwest. This niche stood 2.89 meters above the crepidoma and probably housed a statue of the elder Secundus.³³ Although the statue itself is not extant, the verse inscription, at

such as Faustinus, Receptus, Pacata, and Sperata, which were representative of specific African religious beliefs (See Groupe de Recherches sur l'Afrique Antique 1993, 221). This unique deployment of nomenclature, again, reflects the process of accommodation and legitimatization occurring between Roman and indigenous cultures in the second century C.E.

²⁹ "The stairs have grown more splendid, raised from their foundation in such a way." See figure 2 in appendix B for an image of the crepidoma.

³⁰ See figure 4 in appendix B for an image of the poem.

³¹ See Groupe de Recherches sur l'Afrique Antique 1993, 39.

³² "The wandering crowd is equally amazed by the shining columns that are suspended overhead." See figure 5 in appendix B for a picture of the pilasters.

³³ See figure 2 in appendix B for a picture of the niche.

the very least, preserves the impression that the statue would have left on a viewer:³⁴ *mobilibus signis hilaris scalptura novatur* (A 46).³⁵ The presence of both an image of Secundus and of the lengthy verse epitaph on this southwest facade suggests that this was the principal face of the tomb.

A rooster with outstretched wings sat atop the third story of the monument, or so the poem proclaims. The significance of this bird cannot be over-emphasized, as the sole reason for part B of the verse epitaph is to describe that very rooster (*tremulas galli alas* B 13) and to give the symbol its poetic due—just as the poet has done with all other aspects of the monument in the previous lines of the poem. That lines B 11-16 are devoted entirely to the treatment of the bird underscores the significance of the rooster in a funerary context and its importance to the commissioner of the monument, the younger Secundus.³⁶

The Monument as a Tower Mausoleum

The structure of the tomb of the Flavii, with its multiple levels, decorative columns, and niche for sculpture on the third story classifies it as a tower mausoleum.³⁷ One of the most common tomb types in North Africa,³⁸ tower mausolea are known from the third century B.C.E. to the third century C.E. Despite the evolution of the monument over time and regional differences in plan and structure,³⁹ certain aspects of tower mausolea remained constant over the

³⁴ While many tombs would have contained a statue of the tomb owner, these elements rarely survive; see Evans 2006, 86. The funerary statues of a charioteer and his wife from a similar tomb in the Yasmina Necropolis at Carthage do survive; these statues were probably locally sculpted and date ca. 217-238 C.E. (Haeckl and Norman 1993, 242.)

³⁵ “Light sculpture provides an innovation in mobile effigy.”

³⁶ For further discussion of the rooster, see below. Also commentary on lines B 1-20.

³⁷ Hitchner 1995, 493. For discussion of tower mausolea in general, with reference to the tomb of the Flavii, see Moore 2007.

³⁸ Tower mausoleums, as well as temple mausoleums are prominent throughout Africa Proconsularis (Moore 2007, 76).

³⁹ Evans 2006, 29.

centuries: a stepped base, multiple stories, often adorned with varying combinations of pilasters, columns, and sculpture, and on top often a pyramid, or other crowning element.⁴⁰

Although found in cemeteries outside of towns, tower mausolea are more often located in remote and visually prominent positions in the country-side.⁴¹ Strategically located on the outskirts of Cillium along routes that would have been frequented by travelers, farmers, and shepherds, the mausoleum of the Flavii fits this pattern. The importance of the positioning of the tomb was not lost on the poet. Throughout the poem, he refers to the surrounding landscape in a variety of ways. First, the poet discusses the importance of land in terms of its agricultural use, attributing Secundus' wealth and praiseworthy accomplishments to the cultivation of his land:⁴² *munera Bacchi/ multa creat primasque cupit componere vites/ et nemus exornat revocatis saepius undis* (A 51-3).⁴³ Second, the poet draws attention to the landscape as a backdrop to which the tomb is contrasted: *vincuntur in ordine colles/ si videas campos, infra iacet abdita tellus* (A 80-1),⁴⁴ describing it in picturesque and idyllic terms, reminiscent of pastoral poetry: *diximus...circuitus nemorum, currentes dulciter undas* (B 9).⁴⁵ Through these varied references the poet depicts a pastoral landscape that highlights both the practical and sentimental connections between the monument, the deceased, and the surrounding land. That land owners, including Titus Flavius Secundus, whose lives and fortunes were linked with agricultural and

⁴⁰ For a full description and treatment of individual tower mausolea, ranging from the pre-Roman period to the third century C.E., see Evans 2006, 23-52.

⁴¹ Moore 2007, 89. Also see Evans 2006 on mausoleum A and B at Sabratha (22); mausoleum at Dougga (23); tomb at Siga (26-7).

⁴² As discussed earlier in this chapter, Secundus had acquired his wealth and added to his family's prosperity through agricultural pursuits. The poet acknowledges that this family wealth enabled the building of the monument: *quis non hoc miretur opus fusasque videndo/ divitias stupeat tantos se cernere census/ per quoes aetherias surgunt monimenta per auras* (A14-16) ("Who would not marvel at this work and from seeing the riches that were spent, stand too awestruck to comprehend such wealth for himself, the very wealth by means of which the monument rises through the ethereal breezes?").

⁴³ "He produced the flourishing gifts of Bacchus and desired to lay the first vines and frequently provided the grove with rerouted streams."

⁴⁴ "If, by chance, the eyes should desire to survey the hills, their peaks are dominated each in turn. If you should glimpse the plains, the ground below lies obstructed."

⁴⁵ "We have spoken about the surrounding groves (and) the waters flowing pleasantly."

pastoral developments on their land, had their mausolea erected on their own property further emphasizes the intimate connection between the deceased and the landscape.⁴⁶ In erecting a monument extolling those very riches accumulated through agricultural pursuits, Secundus and other owners of tower-mausolea made a show of wealth that both enhanced their current status in the community and thereby ensured a longer-lasting *memoratio* (A 7). By strategically positioning their monuments in the very landscape that fostered their wealth and status, Secundus and other owners of tower mausolea associated themselves with the land that provided them with the means to achieve higher status in the community. Thus, the poet's description of the deceased Secundus living for eternity alongside his monument and residing in his familiar groves, underscores these associations: *mavolt haec monimenta sequi scriptisque per aevom/ vivere nominibus, solitis insistere lucis* (A 58-9).⁴⁷

While we do not know who was buried in the pre-Roman mausolea of the third and second centuries B.C.E. in North Africa,⁴⁸ some scholars have drawn connections between tower-mausolea of this period and important local individuals, who would have been exposed to Hellenistic culture from either the eastern Mediterranean or Sicily.⁴⁹ In some instances, these monuments, characterized as royal and dynastic, have been associated with kings.⁵⁰ By the Augustan and Julian-Claudian periods, however, tower mausolea were adopted, adapted, and reused by a different social stratum. Based on nomenclature inscribed on the mausolea of this

⁴⁶ Tower mausolea were frequently erected on their owners' property (Moore 2007, 89).

⁴⁷ "He prefers to attend this monument and to live for eternity amidst inscribed honors (and) to remain in familiar groves."

⁴⁸ The mausoleum at Dougga (ancient Thugga) is the only monument of this period that provides epigraphic evidence its inscriptions, however, only provide the name of the craftsmen and builder, not that of the deceased (Moore 2007, 78).

⁴⁹ Although the pre-Roman mausolea reflect a Punic influence, for example, in the two stories and a crowning pyramid, monuments in the area of Libya show influences from the eastern Mediterranean in decoration, style, and plan, while monuments in Tunisia and Algeria seem to have taken their inspiration from Sicily (Evans 2006, 29).

⁵⁰ The mausoleum at Dougga, for example, has been linked with the Numidian sovereign, Masinissa (201-149 B.C.E.). Erected as a cenotaph, the mausoleum would have served as a memorial for the king whose remains were buried elsewhere. See Moore 2007, 78; also Evans 2006, 23-4.

period and the military career of one of the deceased, Q. Annaeus Balbus Faventinus, some scholars have suggested that the owners of these tombs were not indigenous, but were from elites involved in the reorganization of the Roman province.⁵¹ These elites would have been involved in the increasing economic and cultural interchange between the Romans in the coastal cities and the African tribes of the interior during the period of Roman expansion between the first century B.C.E. and the first century C.E.⁵² Erected in the interior of the African province, tower mausolea of this period, because of the royal and dynastic qualities previously associated with them, would have provided an excellent status symbol for local elites, like the Flavii, who intended to highlight the importance of their role as cultural mediators between the Roman and North African cultures of the frontier.⁵³

The Rooster

While the rooster, perched atop the third story of the monument, has puzzled some scholars,⁵⁴ its addition to the monument is not unusual. In fact, the rooster is often depicted in association with tower mausolea dating back to the pre-Roman period. Most notably, in a tomb on Cap Bon, at Djebel Mlezza, there is, on one of the tomb walls, a depiction of a mausoleum flanked on one side by a lit altar and on the other by a rooster with a broad comb and

⁵¹ Only three mausolea in Africa Proconsularis have been dated to the first century C.E. They include the Anonymous Mausoleum, the tomb of T. Helvicius Papia at Zanzour (ancient Assuras), and the Mausoleum of Q. Balbus Faventinus at Thuburnica (Moore 2007, 82).

⁵² Literary sources attest to Roman expansion into the interior and contact with African tribes there in the period between the first century B.C.E. and first century C.E. Sallust, writing in the first century B.C.E., says that Jugurtha traveled southward into the Tunisian steppe recruit North African tribes for his war with the Romans and came upon tribes who had not heard the name of the Romans (Sall. *Jug.* 80.1-3). By the first century C.E., however, these same tribes were being driven from their land by the very Romans of whom they were ignorant but a century before (Oros. 6. 21.18). Moreover, the construction of a series of roads, beginning with a road linking the Roman army's winter quarters at Ammaedara in the interior with the coastal town of Tacapae in 14 C.E. and culminating in some 12, 000 miles of road by the third century C.E. (Raven 1984, 71), would have provided a vital infrastructure that could support expansion into the interior, as well as inevitable economic and cultural interchange between Romans and indigenous peoples as a consequence.

⁵³ Moore 2007, 82.

⁵⁴ See Courtney 1995, 400.

disproportionately large spurs.⁵⁵ A similar rooster appears on another wall in the same tomb above the representation of a town protected by a semi-circular wall.⁵⁶ This town has been interpreted as a celestial city toward which the soul of the deceased, here in the form of a rooster, makes its way.⁵⁷ Accordingly, it has been suggested that the rooster perched on the third story of the mausoleum of the Flavii might be representative of Secundus' soul and its departure to the celestial city; however, Courtney casts doubt on this interpretation.⁵⁸

What we can say about the rooster is that it had an apotropaic quality and was often depicted in antiquity on tombstones, urns, and weapons.⁵⁹ Similarly, in North African culture, the rooster was conceived of as a protector of the tomb and guardian of the deceased.⁶⁰ With its body parts—the beak, comb and formidable spurs—often exaggerated, the rooster ensures the tranquility of the dead.⁶¹ Just as the depiction of rooster, in the tomb at Djebel Mlezza, fits this profile, so too does the rooster perched on top of the mausoleum of the Flavii. Depicted with its wings outstretched almost in a menacing manner (*tremulas galli alas* B 13), the rooster could have served as a protector of the deceased.

The association of the rooster with mausolea in the pre-Roman period suggests that its connection with the funerary context here has an ancient African origin.⁶² That the Flavii attributed such importance and significance to a symbol of African origin,⁶³ speaks not only to the process of integration occurring in the first and second centuries C.E between Roman and North African customs, but also to the role the Flavii might have played in that process.

⁵⁵ See figure 6 in appendix B for image.

⁵⁶ See figure 7 in appendix B for image.

⁵⁷ Lancel 1995, 223-4. See figure 5 in appendix B for illustration.

⁵⁸ Courtney 1995, 400.

⁵⁹ Ael. *NA*. 3.31.

⁶⁰ Stone 2007, 61 and Camps 1992, 35-48.

⁶¹ Camps 1992, 48.

⁶² Lancel 1995, 224.

⁶³ See earlier discussion on the monument.

The Poem

As we have seen throughout this chapter, the verse epitaph supplements and, in some cases, illuminates the importance of Secundus, his family, and their monument within the town of Cillium and the broader region of North Africa. The epitaph also emphasizes the function of the tower-mausoleum as a funerary monument and both illuminates and enhances ideas about life and death. Let us turn to the first four lines of the poem: *Sint licet exiguae fugentia tempora vitae/ parva(que) raptorum cito transeat hora dierum/ mergat et Elysiis mortalia corpora terris/ adsidue rupto Lachesis male conscia penso.*⁶⁴ Discussing the fleetingness of life and the inevitability of death, these lines are poetic renderings of themes that recur throughout Latin poetry.⁶⁵ While time passes by quickly and Lachesis and the fates cannot be stopped from spinning and cutting the threads of life, the concessive use of the subjunctives (*sint*, *transeat*, and *mergat*) indicates that something can be done to alleviate the hardships that accompany mortality. The poem continues: *iam tamen inventa est blandae rationis imago/ per quam prolatos homines in tempora plura. Longior excipiat memoratio* (A 5-7).⁶⁶ Although man is unable to stop the passing of time or cheat death, the poem offers a consolation, namely that the memory of the deceased might continue after his death. In order to keep that memory alive, man invented a memorial (*imago*) through which the memory of the deceased could be preserved (*longior excipiat memoratio*). Referring to man's invention of the funerary monument, the *inventa imago* serves not only as a means to perpetuate the memory of the deceased,⁶⁷ but also as

⁶⁴ “Although the time of life is short and fleeting and the brief duration of days, quickly snatched, goes by and she submerges mortal bodies in the Elysian fields, Lachesis, who is gravely aware of the thread that is continually broken...” (A 1-4).

⁶⁵ See commentary for more detailed discussion.

⁶⁶ “In spite of these things a memorial of flattering craft was discovered, so that by it, men, who had already emerged into greater ages, a longer lasting memory could greet.”

⁶⁷ The notion of preserving the memory of the deceased through the erection of a monument was common amongst the Romans, cf. *monumentum est, quod memoriae servandae gratia existat* (Ulp. 11. 7.2.6).

a visual indicator both of the status of the deceased and the grandeur surrounding his ancestry.⁶⁸ The poet's choice of *imago* to describe a funerary monument and the association of that word with the *imagines maiorum* serves both of these purposes.

Just as the *imagines maiorum*, the wax masks of noble families' ancestors, served as a means for recalling one's ancestors,⁶⁹ so the mausoleum of the Flavii, dedicated to Titus Flavius Secundus, was intended to preserve the memory of the deceased veteran. Moreover, just as the *imagines maiorum* served as a public representation of the achievements, eminence, and social rank of a Roman family,⁷⁰ so the tomb of the Flavii served as a public status symbol of the family as a whole. Such status would also have been enhanced by the resemblance of the tower mausoleum to pre-Roman tombs linked to either royal or noble families and still visible in the landscape of Roman Africa. Thus while the reader can interpret the *inventata imago* as referring to the discovery of funerary monuments in general, the reader can also understand the mausoleum of the Flavii as one example of this type of monument, carrying with it the same associations of ancestry and visual spectacle. Indeed, throughout the poem, the vocabulary used of the tomb underscores these very sentiments (*pietas* A 9, *faciem* A 41).⁷¹ Characterized as an example of *pietas*, a pious dedication from son to father, the monument symbolizes the son's piety. This dedication demonstrates that the son's actions are aligned with tradition (*more Secundus agens patrio*). Moreover, the act represents a noble deed that adds not only to the honor of the elder

⁶⁸ The Roman biographer Suetonius, in his discussion of the noble origins of Vespasian's family, refers to the funerary monument as a visual indicator both of the status of an individual and the grandeur surrounding his noble family, *locus...in monte summo appellatur Vespasiae, ubi Vespasiorum complura monumenta exstant, magnum indicium splendoris familiae et vetustatis* (*Vesp.* 1).

⁶⁹ Cf. *ob earum rerum laborem et sollicitudinem fructus illos datos, antiquiorem in senatu sententiae dicendae locum...ius imaginis ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendae* (*Cic. Verr.* 5.36).

⁷⁰ Flower 1996, 62-3.

⁷¹ See commentary on respective lines.

Secundus, but to that of the son as well.⁷² Meanwhile, the use of *faciem*, meaning the face of the tomb, underscores the aspect of public display associated with the monument.

In both of these cases which refer to the monument, the poet also refers specifically to the verse epitaph, noting its addition to the monument as an innovation (*exemplo novo* A 11, *perpetua novitate* A 42). Thus while Secundus' filial dedication (*pietas*) is grounded in tradition, it also employs an innovation. It is the combination of the traditional tomb type with the unique 110 line inscription that makes the monument so worthy of praise: *Ecce recens pietas omni placitura favore/ ingentem famae numerum cum laude meretur/ exemplo plena novo* (A 9-11).⁷³ Indeed, it is the powerful combination of this monument and the innovative verse epitaph that causes the ghost of Secundus to spurn the other shades in the underworld: *gaudere parentem/ saepe, Secunde, tuum reliquas et spernere turmas/ quod sciat his tantam faciem superesse sepulchri/ perpetua novitate sui* (A 40-42).⁷⁴ The implicit message that the poet conveys in these lines is the importance of his poem to the monument as a whole. The composition of the poem, just as the erection of the monument, brings great fame and glory to the deceased Secundus, and to his son; its addition makes the monument stand out and garner a longer lasting memory than monuments without such an innovative and lengthy verse epitaph.

While the innovative poem provides a means by which the Flavii can earn additional fame, praise, and subsequently, a longer lasting memory, it is important to reiterate that the poet is conscious of his composition as an adornment and decoration of the monument as a whole. As

⁷² See Sall. *Jug.* 85.21-5. Marius attacks his adversaries, arguing that they tout the memorable deeds of their ancestors as if this were enough to increase their own honor and nobility, whereas, in reality, their inaction besmeared their ancestors' legacy. Marius' criticism of his adversaries' inaction and inability to live up to their ancestors' deeds betrays the proper relationship between the ancestors and their contemporaries. While the deeds of one's ancestors ennoble the present generation, there is an obligation for that generation to live up to those standards.

⁷³ "See the recent filial dedication about to meet with complete approval, recognize that it deserves a vast amount of fame accompanied by praise, pregnant with an extraordinary precedent."

⁷⁴ "Often your father rejoices...and spurns the rest of the shades because he knows that the great face of the tomb survives him with its eternal innovation."

we have seen in earlier sections, the poem describes the tomb itself and highlights most, if not all, of the architectural features that identify the tomb as a tower mausoleum. In addition to poetic description, however, the poet uses demonstrative language (*ecce, hoc, sic*) throughout the composition that encourages the reader to shift his attention from the poem to the actual monument.⁷⁵ *Ecce recens pietas* (A 9) asks the reader to step back and contemplate the younger Secundus' dedication. The demonstrative adjective *hoc* in the line *quis non hoc miretur opus* (A 14) directs the reader's gaze to the monument. The use of such language throughout the poem creates a series of deictic shifts in which the reader's attention is momentarily directed away from the composition and refocused on the monument as a whole. This constant refocusing underscores the appearance of the mausoleum by highlighting the features which the poem describes: its raised steps (A 43), its shining columns (A 48), its sculpture (A 46), the rooster (B 13), its dominant position in the surrounding landscape (A 79-81), and, of course, the poem itself. Thus the poet utilizes the visual component of the monument to enhance his own poetic composition and to "bind" the poem to the tomb.

Tradition and Innovation

In book three of his *Odes* Horace claimed to have discovered a monument more lasting than bronze and more grand than the pyramids, which would preserve his memory and grant him immortality.⁷⁶ That monument was his poetry. Composing poetry within the genre of lyric poetry, Horace was conscious of the literary tradition in which he was working. The immortality of which he boasts in the *Odes* was accomplished by establishing a place for his poetry amongst the great lyric poets. By recognizing the specific decorum of the genre at large and the particular

⁷⁵ See commentary for discussion on deictic shifts.

⁷⁶ *exegi monumentum aere perennius/ regalique situ pyramidum altius/ quod non imber edax, non Aequilo impotens/ possit diruere aut innumerabilis/ annorum series et fuga temporum/ non omnis moriar multaue pars mei/ vitabit Libitinam* (Hor. *Carm.* 3.30. 1-7).

expectations of the readers of that genre, he built upon that tradition and added his own unique innovations.⁷⁷ Created with the same purpose as Horace's poetry, the tomb of the Flavii was intended to grant both the deceased Secundus and his family not only a longer lasting memory, but a form of immortality. The length of that memory and the degree of that immortality, whether obtained by erecting a funerary monument, or through a poet's crafty verses, are dependent on the craft and skill with which their creators strike a delicate balance between tradition and innovation. Just as Horace composed his poetry, striking a delicate balance between the tradition of the genre as practiced by his predecessors and his own innovations, so the younger Secundus built his father's monument by drawing from the architectural tradition of tower mausolea in North Africa. By commissioning a poet to compose a lengthy verse epitaph, Secundus introduced an innovation that would make the monument stand out amongst others of its kind and provide both his father and his family with a greater reputation and longer lasting memory. As the poet himself observes, *non sic Romuleas exire Colossos in arces/ dicitur aut circi medias obeliscus in auras,/ nec sic sistrigeri demonstrat pervia Nili/ dum sua perspicuis aperit Pharos aequora flammis* (A 82-5).⁷⁸ Just as Horace claimed that his poetry was a monument more enduring than bronze and taller than the pyramids, so the anonymous poet of Secundus' epitaph claims that the mausoleum of the Flavii, with the addition of his composition, outstrips the grandeur of the Colossos, the height of Nero's obelisk,⁷⁹ and the prominence of the light-house on Pharos, thus providing a monument that ensures a longer lasting memory of the Flavii.

⁷⁷ Conte 1994, 303.

⁷⁸ "Not in such a way is the Colossos said to rise up into the Romulean hills, nor the obelisks of the circus into the middle of the air, nor in such a way do the channels of the sistrum-bearing Nile reveal themselves when Pharos exposes her waters with its discerning flames."

⁷⁹ See note on line 84 in commentary.

We have discussed the poem in terms of its language, themes running through the composition, and its function as an adornment to the tower mausoleum of the Flavii. We have seen a variety of ways in which the verse epitaph not only supplements and illuminates aspects of the monument, the deceased Secundus, his family, the town of Cillium, and the broader region of North Africa, but also how its addition to the monument is an innovation that enhances the monument and provides the Flavii with a longer lasting memory. Now, let us turn our attention to the text of the poem itself, its layout and composition on the monument, as well its presentation in this thesis, before commenting on the text in its entirety.

CHAPTER THREE

THE INSCRIPTION AND TEXT

Composed in dactylic hexameter, the poem is inscribed over the first-story doorway on the northeast facade of the tomb. It is laid out in three columns: to the left of the doorway, column one consists of lines A 1-60; column two, directly over the doorway, consists of lines A 61- B 14, while lines B 15-20 make up column three on the far right of the doorway.⁸⁰ The height of each column is uneven, with column one measuring 3.13 meters in height, column two 2.32 meters in height, and column three 0.29 meters in height. The length of the lines is relatively equal, with the lines of column one measuring 119 cm. in width, the lines of column two 119.5 cm., and the lines of column three 110 cm. Ligatures appear at the end of 8 different lines (A 10, A 22, A 27, A 32, A 38, A 41, A 44, and A 51) and the word AVRAS in line A 16 is squashed in at the end of the line to avoid overlap with the second column. That the columns of text are laid out relatively equally in regard to their width, that ligatures are deployed at the end of certain lines to prevent those lines from running into the second column, and that AVRAS is intentionally squashed at the end of line 16 to prevent a similar overlap, suggest that the mason intended to lay out the three columns on the facade of the tomb before ever inscribing the text.

The individual letters in the inscription range between 38 and 42 millimeters in height and are carved in an upper-case block style which was a popular epigraphic style from the first century B.C.E.⁸¹ The continuity in the style and height of the letters throughout the poem

⁸⁰ See figure 4 in appendix B for a picture of the verse inscription.

⁸¹ See figure 8 in appendix B for a detailed picture of the letters.

suggests that both parts A and B of the poem were inscribed at the same time.⁸² Interlinear marks between 8 and 9 millimeters in width are inscribed at particular points throughout the poem. Strategically positioned, these marks are intended to denote shifts in subject matter of the poem and thus articulate its structure. In the text below, I have indicated these marks with a - at the appropriate lines. A mark actually appears in the inscription after line 22, but Courtney suggests that the mason intended the mark to be placed instead between lines 20 and 21. He argues on paleographical grounds that the mark was misplaced, because of homoeoarchon.⁸³ If Courtney is correct, this suggests that the marks would have been present in the copy provided to the mason.⁸⁴ Given Courtney's interpretation and considering that the marks throughout the poem indicate a shift in topic, and a mark after 20 would correspond to such a shift, I have elected to place the mark after 20. Marks also appear in the inscription after line 30 and line 77. Assuming that they too were misplaced on paleographic grounds, I have placed them after 31 and 76 respectively, where they correspond to clear breaks in subject matter and provide for a cleaner transition in topic.⁸⁵ There is no mark in the inscription after line 37, but line 38 clearly opens a new compositional unit, and so in the text below I have indented the line. It is probable that the composer of the poem used the marks, as they are presented in the text below, to direct the mason to leave spaces at these particular points, not only to articulate the poem and indicate shifts in subject matter, but also (if not for the negligence of the mason) to divide the poem into three columns of more equal dimension: 1: A 1-37; 2: A 38-76; and 3: A 77-B 20.⁸⁶

⁸² For further discussion of part A and B, see below.

⁸³ Homoeoarchon refers to a specific mistake made by scribes when copying texts. It is caused by the close proximity of similar words at the beginning or ending of a line. In this case, the repetition of *viderit* at the beginning of line 20 and 22 would have caused the mason to place the mark other than where the poet indicated in the original copy of the poem.

⁸⁴ Courtney 1995, 401.

⁸⁵ This adjustment agrees with the hypothesized layout of the text, prior to its inscription, in *Les Flavii de Cillium*, 107.

⁸⁶ Groupe de Recherches sur l'Afrique Antique 1993, 107.

The text, as it appears below, is based on the text found in Courtney's *Musa Lapidaria*. Following the presentation of the text as it appears there and in *Les Flavii de Cillium*, I have split the poem into two distinct parts, A and B. The break between part A and B is a significant break in the content of the poem: at this point the poet claims the intervention of the Muse. He says in B 5-6 that the Muse has forced him to revisit themes he has already discussed (*quo nunc, Calliope, gemino me limite cogis,/quas iam transegi rusus adire vias*). This suggests a serious break from the original flow of the poem, caused, the poet claims, by an oversight on his part: his omission of the rooster. That the size and style of the inscription is consistent throughout all 110 lines of the poem, however, suggests that both parts A and B were inscribed at the same time. Accordingly, the poet's statement in lines B 5-6 that seems to point to the later addition of lines A 91 – B 20 should be read merely as a literary posture rather than as an admission of an oversight and an indication that part B was a later addition to the poem.⁸⁷

Meter

The metrics of the poem further underscore the break between part A and B: A is composed in dactylic hexameter, while B is written in elegiac couplets. The pentameter lines are inset by one letter. The fact that elegiac couplets would be the natural meter for an epitaph raises the question as to why the first 90 lines of the poem are composed in dactylic hexameter. While B focuses on the importance of the rooster, which could represent the soul of the deceased,⁸⁸ it is fitting that the poet would use elegiac couplets for these 20 lines. The question regarding dactylic hexameter, however, requires discussion of the content of A.

Throughout A, the poet praises the deceased Secundus for his accomplishments, particularly for his cultivation of vines and his introduction of irrigation to the area around

⁸⁷ For further discussion of the break between part A and B, see commentary on line 91.

⁸⁸ See earlier discussion of the rooster.

divitias stupeat tantos se cernere census per quos aetherias surgunt monimenta per auras?	15
-	
Haec est fortunae melius laudanda facultas, sic sibi perpetuas faciunt impendia sedes, sic immortales scit habere pecunia mores aeterno quotiens stabilis bene figitur usu.	20
-	
Viderit ille furor, nimio qui ducitur auro, quem trahit argenti venalis sanguine candor, viderit et fusae vanis in amoribus errans gloria luxuriae, peregrinas quaerere magno quae didicit vestes gemmasque nitore placentes aut ab Aeruthreo venientia munera fluctu, quam laedunt gentes vario certamine rerum, Graecia cum pueris, Hispania Pallados usu, venatu Libyae tellus, Orientis amomo, Aegyptos Phariis levitatibus, artibus actis Gallia semper ovans, dives Campania vino.	25 30
-	
Haec cito deficiunt et habent breve munus amoris momentis damnata suis, sed si quis ad omnes respiciat vitae casus hominemque laboret metiri brevitatem suam, tunc credere discet nil aliud melius fieri nisi viribus aevi quot possit durare diu sub honore deorum.	35
Nunc ego non dubitem tacitis Acherontos in umbris, si post fata manent sensus, gaudere parentem saepe, Secunde, tuum reliquas et spernere turmas quod sciat hic tantam faciem superesse sepulchri perpetua novitate sui, sic stare nitentes consensus lapidum, sic de radice levatos in melius crevisse gradus, ut et angulus omnis sic quasi mollitae ductus sit stamine cerae.	40 45
Mobilibus signis hilaris sculptura novatur, et licet atsidue probet hos vaga turba decores, lucentes stupeat pariter pendere columnas. Quit cum militiae titulos ipsumque parentem numinibus dederis haec gaudia saepe videntem quae quondam dedit ipse loco, dum munera Bacchi multa creat primasque cupit componere vites et nemo exornat revocatis saepius undis.	50
Permittant mihi Fata loqui noctisque timendae regnator Stygius: sic immortalis haberi iam debet pater ecce tuus Ditisque relictus tristem deservisse domum, dum tempore toto	55

mavolt haec monumenta sequi scriptisque per aevom
vivere nominibus, solitis insistere lucis,
adsidue patrias hinc cernere dulciter arces 60
quosque dedit natis prope semper habere penates.

-

Forsitan haec multi vano sermone ferentes
venturae citius dicant praesagia mortis
si quis dum vivit ponat monimenta futuris 65
temporibus. Mihi non tales sunt pectore sensus,
set puto securos fieri quicumque parare
aeternam voluere domum certoque rigore
numquam lapsuros vitae defigere muros.

Fatis certa via est neque se per stamina mutat
Atropos: ut primo coepit decurrere filo, 70
crede, Secunde, mihi, pensatos ibis in annos.
Set securus eris, set toto pectore dives,
dum nulli gravis esse potes nec plena labore
testamenta facis, tuus hoc dum non timet heres,
ut sic aedificet. Iam nunc quodcumque relinques 75
totum perveniet tua quo volet ire voluntas.

-

Sed revocat me cura operis celsique decores.
Stat sublimis honor vicinaque nubila pulsat
et solis metitur iter. Si iungere montes 80
forte velint oculi, vincuntur in ordine colles;
si videas campos, infra iacet abdita tellus.

-

Non sic Romuleas exire Colossos in arces
dicitur aut circi medias obeliscus in auras,
nec sic sistrigeri demonstrat pervia Nili 85
dum sua perspicuis aperit Pharos aequora flammis.

-

Quid non docta facit pietas? Lapis ecce foratus
luminibus multis hortatur currere blandas
intus apes et cerineos componere nidos,
ut semper domus haec Thymbraeo nectare dulcis 90
sudet florisapos, dum dant nova mella, liquores.

B

-

Huc iterum, Pietas, venerandas erige mentes
et mea quo nosti carmina more fove.
Ecce Secundus adest iterum, qui pectore sancto
non monimenta patri, sed nova templa dedit.
Quo nunc, Calliope, gemino me limite cogis, 5
quas iam transegi, rusus adire vias?

Nempe fuit nobis operis descriptio magni,
diximus et iunctis saxa polita locis,
circuitus nemorum, currentes dulciter undas
atque reportantes mella frequenter apes. 10

-

Hoc tamen, hoc solum nostrae, puto, defuit arti,
dum cadis ad multos, ebria Musa, iocos:
in summo tremulas galli non diximus alas,
altior extrema qui, puto, nube volat. 15

Cuius si membris vocem natura dedisset,
cogeret hic omnes surgere mane deos.

Et iam nominibus signantur limina certis,
cernitur et titulis credula vita suis.

Opto, Secunde, geras multos feliciter annos,
et quae fecisti tu monumenta legas. 20

CHAPTER FOUR

COMMENTARY

1. **exiguae:** for a similar sentiment cf. *in tam exigua brevitae vitae* Cic. *Tusc.* 4.37.

exiguae fugientia: for a similar sentiment cf. *quantus in exiguo tempore fugit amor* Prop. 1. 12. 12; *sed fugit interea, fugit inreparabile tempus* Verg. *G.* 3.284.

2. **parva hora:** *longior hora.* CLE 1069.4, 1082.

raptorum dierum: the phrase captures the brevity of life, the speed at which time passes, and the sudden and unexpected arrival of death. The passive participle underscores the inability to get those days back. Cf. *vinctus ad mortem raptor* Livy 23. 10.8.1.

cito: taken closely with *raptorum*, coloring the suddenness and immediacy with which the days are snatched away from the living.

transeat: cf. *nox ubi transierit* Ov. *Fast.* 4.165.

hora: cf. *fugiens semel hora vexit* Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.48.

4. **Lachesis:** of the three Fates, Lachesis apportions the thread spun by her sister, Clotho, and prepares it to be cut by her other sister, Atropos.⁹⁰ The distribution of the functions of the Fates was not strictly observed by Latin poets. In Ovid (*ad Liv.* 239), Vergil (*A.* 1.22), and Tibullus (1.8.1), all three Fates are described as spinning, although this should be the function of Clotho alone. See note on line 70 where Atropos appears.

conscia: following TLL 4.373.28, which cites Lucr. 3.1018 *mens sibi conscia factis*, I assume that *rupto* and *penso* are dative with *male conscia*, denoting inward awareness, “Lachesis, gravely aware of the broken thread.”

⁹⁰ Gantz 1993, 7.

5. imago: translated as “memorial”, it refers to man’s invention of the funerary monument, the construction of which preserves the memory of the deceased (lines 5-7). The poet’s word choice here is significant in that it calls to mind the *imagines maiorum*. See chapter 2 for discussion.

6. prolatos homines: could be taken in two ways. First, if we understood *profero* to mean “to advance,” the participial form could refer to the reputations of men, which have already become prolific and have begun to advance and penetrate the future ages (*in tempore plura*). These reputations are further supplemented by the long-lasting memory (*longior memoratio*), which is a direct result of the poet’s epitaph and its inscription. Understanding the other common meaning of *profero* (to display) we could take *prolatos homines*, “the men having been publicly displayed,” as referring to the funeral monuments of prolific individuals. The epitaph itself then becomes the crowning touch to supplement the memory of the deceased.

in tempora plura: contrasted with the preceding *tempora fugientia* in line 1. Cf. *CLE* 1604.9, *iacuit per tempora plura*. It is difficult to pin this phrase down to an exact sense. Courtney takes it closely with *excipiat*, but it is also possible to take it closely with *prolatos homines*.

7. memoratio: rare and otherwise late word, in poetry only at Maximianus 1.291.

9. pietas: the commissioning and dedication of his father’s mausoleum is a physical manifestation and public demonstration of the younger Secundus’ piety and respect for tradition (*more patrio*). See chapter 2 for further discussion.

10. numerum: Courtney notes that *numerus* (*OLD* 7a) appears elsewhere with the genitive singular denoting ‘quantity’ with nouns like *frumenti*, *vini*, and *harenae*. Here, however, the word seems to be referring to an uncountable quantity of fame. Courtney cites *corporis numerum* (Lucr. 1.436) for comparison. Note that the abstraction of fame and its inability to be

counted suggests a reputation that will endure beyond death. The younger Secundus' filial dedication (*pietas*), which we can assume is manifested in the erection of his father's mausoleum and the commissioning of this poem, elicit the limitless glory and praise needed to furnish the Flavii, both father and son, with immortality.

11. *exemplo...novo*: a specific reference to the poem and its inscription on the tomb as the innovation responsible for turning an otherwise ordinary mausoleum into an extraordinary monument. Cf. *novissima templa* (CLE 1255 (III s.)).

11-12. *alto...honore*: cf. *pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore* (Verg. *A.* 6.780). Courtney suggests that we ought to link *alto more* and *patrio honore* (although he admits that this is an 'extraordinary combination'); but in view of *sublimis honor* in 78, we ought to override this suggestion and take the echo of Vergil as purely verbal.

12. *more Secundus agens patrio*: the placement of *Secundus agens* between *more* and *patrio* is noteworthy. Here the reader is presented with Secundus literally fitting into the ancestral customs and tradition. Moreover, the close proximity of *more patrio* to *novo exemplo* in the preceding line is nicely crafted so as to highlight not only the innovation of the inscription, but the respectful and traditional manner in which the endeavor to build the mausoleum was undertaken. The line is reminiscent of Catullus 101.7, *nunc tamen interea haec, prisco quae more parentum/ tradita sunt tristi munere ad inferias*. Just as Catullus carries out funeral rights (*haec*) for his brother, honoring the custom of his ancestors (*more parentum*), so the younger Secundus honors his ancestors and fulfills the funeral rites of the deceased by erecting and dedicating the mausoleum to his father.

16. *aetherias...auras*: cf. *si vescitur aura/aetheria neque adhuc crudelibus occubat umbris* (Verg. *A.* 1.545-6).

18. sibi: the antecedent is the younger Secundus, indicating that he intends to use the tomb not only for his father, but himself.

perpetuas...sedes: the use of this noun adjective pairing is interesting, as it is used by Tacitus to describe the construction of a permanent theater in place of a temporary one, *perpetua sedes theatro locata sit potius* (*Ann.* 14.21.9). The use of the adjective here captures this same sentiment, drawing attention to the permanence of Secundus' monument and its ability to prolong his memory.

19. habere: *OLD* 15-“to maintain in a certain condition”; cf. *Italiam tutam habebamus* (*Man.* 55).

ln.21-24: in these lines the poet provides the reader with a list of desires by which men are enticed (*ducitur*). The list includes *aurum, argentum, amores vanes, vestes, gemmas, munera Aeruthrea*. These desires carry with them a negative connotation because they provide immediate but temporary gratification or decadent but fleeting displays of wealth when compared to Secundus' prudent expenditure on an enduring memorial and status symbol for his family.

21. viderit: perfect subjunctive used as present jussive. Cf. *Cic. Ac.* 2.19. Also see Allen and Greenough 279.

furor: the furious desire for needless extravagance and the subsequent wasteful expenditures on those empty passions is contrasted to the *pietas* of the younger Secundus demonstrated in the dedication of his father's funerary monument. Needless to say the conflict between *pietas* and *furor* is common throughout Latin literature, notably in Vergil's *Aeneid*; however, for clear evidence of their contrast cf. *pietas...victa furore* (*Hor. Carm.* 3.27.36).

24. gloriae luxuriae: objective genitives taken with their subject, *furor*. For redundancy of the phrase see Livy 2.48.3.2 *aspernati patres sunt; questi quoque quidam nimia gloria luxuriare*.

peregrinas: while agreeing with *vestes* and *gemmas*, the adjective is also meant to color the list of foreign merchants and their exports in 27-31. The word is always used as an insulting word for commodities at Rome, e.g. Verg. *A.* 11.772, Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.204, Juv. 14.187; however, while maintaining its insulting connotation, the word also reflects the interplay of tension between the Roman attributes in the poem, the local/pre-Roman identity of the area, and the so-called Romanized identity of those commemorated in the poem. Moreover, there is a certain degree of ambiguity surrounding its use here. Is the word used merely for stylistic purposes (a demeaning term applied to foreign commodities at Rome?), or could it be referring to extravagances foreign to Roman North Africa?

26. Aeruthreo...fluctu: refers to the Persian Gulf.; cf. Lygdamus 3.17, Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.18. Courtney suggests that the poet is not referring to pearls, but tortoise shells.⁹¹

In.27-31: picking up on the list of desires that entice men, the poet now provides a list of foreigners (*gentes*) who exploit these various desires with their own specific exports (*vario certamine rerum*). The list of foreigners and their merchandise provides the medium through which the wealthy can attain their *peregrinas vestes gemmasque*. The list of foreign exports touches on the major areas of the empire; Greece (*cum pueris*), Spain (*usu pallados*), Libya (*venatu*), the East (*amomo*), Egypt (*Phariis*), Gaul (*artibus actis*), and Italy (*dives Campania vino*). While some of the items included in the list are well known, some having pre-existing negative associations (see individual notes), other items seem slightly askew from a poetic perspective (Spain with her olive oil), or entirely ambiguous (Gaul with its works of art). The poet has alluded to every area of the empire, including both Roman North Africa (Libya) and

⁹¹ Courtney 1995, 402.

Italy itself, which suggests that in composing these lines the poet has chosen location over product in order to make a general statement concerning the negative impact that foreign luxuries have on the local population. The fruits of the local agricultural endeavors by which Secundus achieved his wealth and status are a stark contrast to the importation of foreign goods. While Campania exports its luxurious wine, Secundus makes his locally. While Spain exports olive oil, oleoculture flourishes in the area of Secundus' estate in Cilium (see chapter 2). The implication is that while foreign products negatively impact the indigenous population of North Africa, goods produced locally are beneficial to that community. By condemning foreign olive oil and wine, and implying the superiority of comparable products grown in North Africa, the poet subtly praises Secundus' native land.

The theme of praising one's native land is traditional and has precedents in Latin poetry, most notably in Vergil's *Georgics*, specifically the *laudes Italiae* (2.136-176). The *laudes* open with a contrast similar to the one presented here. Just as no land in the empire can compare with Italy's rich landscape (*Sed neque Medorum silvae, ditissima terra,/ ned pulcher Ganges atque auro turbidus Hermus/ laudibus Italiae certent, non Bactra neque Indi/ totaque turiferis Panchaia pinguis harenis* 2.136-9), so no foreign product of the empire can compare with one produced locally in North Africa.

27. vario certamine: cf. Verg. *A.* 3.128; Ov. *Her.* 16.361.

28. Pallados usu: refers to Spanish olive oil. *Pallas* acquires the meaning of olive oil through metonymy. See *OLD* 2b, e.g. *ut vigil infusa pallade flamma solet* (Ov. *Tr.* 4.5.4). According to Plin. *HN.* 15.3.7-9, after Italy the other competitors in production of olive oil were Istria, Baetica in Spain, and North Africa. Evidence for quantity and quality of olive oil production in Spain may be found in records of export from Rome. See *CIL* 6: 1625b; 1935; 29722. Also see Frank

1933-1940, 3:177. The poet's decision to mention Spain's olive oil and associate it with the *peregrinas vestes gemmasque* in line 25 is especially interesting in light of olive oil production in North Africa and, particularly, in the area surrounding Cillium, as it potentially undermines a foreign competitor in favor of a local producer.

29. venatu...Libyae tellus: Libya was a regular source of wild beasts for the *venationes* of the arena.

Libyae tellus: *terra Libyae* Mart. 5.74.2.

Orientis: *i.e. tellus*.

amomo: an eastern spice plant, typically associated with wealth and luxury, cf. Verg. *E.* 4.25.

30. Aegyptos Phariis: refers to Alexandrian slaves, who were widely known for their insolence. See Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.73-5 with Van Dam's note (Van Dam 1984 ad. loc.); also Mart. 11.13.3; Sen. *De Prov.* 1.1.6. The adjectival form *Pharius* is a poetic synonym derived from the island of Pharos (mentioned directly in 86) in the harbor of Alexandria. It was on this island that the light house of Alexandria stood.

artibus actis: the reference is ambiguous. Buchöler compares with *CIL*.8.134 *monumentum agendum curavit*; interpreting *artes* as 'works of art' (*TLL* 2.673.9) it may refer to Gallic metal work (Frank 1933-1940, 3:587; *RE* s.v. *Gallia* 649). It is suggested in *Les Flavii de Cillium* that the phrase is a reference to Gaul's production of terra sigillata.

31. Campania vino: the reference is to the Falernian vintage, a wine well-known for its high quality that grew in the area of Campania (see Plin. *HN.* 14). During the Punic Wars the agricultural prosperity and wealth of Campania became associated with luxury, an association often voiced as a criticism by Romans in an effort to undermine a potential threat to their own

city. Just as with Spanish olive oil (*usu Pallados*), the poet associates Campanian wine with foreign (*peregrinas*) luxuries. Again, these negative associations similarly undermine a potential competitor in favor of a local producer – in this instance, the deceased Secundus, who would have made his fortune in the cultivation of vines (see lines 51-3).

32. munus amoris: cf. Ov. *Fas.* 4.720 (Jupiter’s tribute of love to Io). While *munus* refers to tribute to the dead (cf. *vos quoque...fertis munera vestra, Lares* (Tib. 1.1.20)), the usage here also incorporates the aspect of a public spectacle and demonstration (*OLD* 5b): cf. *ubi muneribus nati sua munera mater addidit...marmore dives opus* (Ov. *Ars am.* 1.69). Just as the monument serves as a tribute to the deceased Secundus, it also serves as a public representation and demonstration of the family’s status. In this way, *munus* picks up on the same sentiment conveyed by the use of *imago* in line 5.

34: just as one reflects on *omnes casus vitae*, so he is meant to measure each and every man.

35. brevitatem: contrasted with *breve* in line 32. In the preceding lines, numerous examples of extravagance are described in the same fleeting terms (*cito, momentis*) as man’s life (*brevitate*). The ephemeral quality surrounding desires for *peregrinas vestes gemmasque* is contrasted with the fixed (*impendia*) and lasting (*perpetuas*) qualities of Secundus’ tomb. Coupled with the innovation of the poem (*exemplo novo*), the monument ensures that Secundus’ memory, no matter how brief his life, will endure.

35. tunc: *tunc* rather than *tum* before a guttural is unusual. Although commonly found on Christian epitaphs (at a point in time where *tum* is becoming obsolete) its only other appearance is in *CLE* 39.4.⁹²

36. viribus aevi: cf. *Lucret.* 5.314.

37. sub honore deorum: *OLD* 3.

⁹² Courtney 1995, 402-3.

38. Acherontos: an alternative genitive form for *Acherontis*; it is attested only in this inscription.

39. si post fata manent sensus: cf. *quod si etiam inferis sensus est* (Cic. *Ad Fam.* 4.5.6).

Expressing doubt about the afterlife is a common theme in Latin epitaphs, cf. *si vivunt anime corpora condito* (CE 2146: Thugga). See Lattimore 1942, 59 and Groupe de Recherches sur l'Afrique Antique 1993, 158-159 for more information.

41. faciem: consider in light of *imago* in line 5 and corresponding note. Underscoring the outward appearance of the monument, the poet's diction reflects his awareness that the monument is a public representation of the Flavii and intended to serve in some capacity as a status symbol for the family.

42. perpetua novitate: picking up *exemplo...novo* in line 11, this phrase refers specifically to the innovation of the poem. The noun adjective combination is an oxymoron underscoring the necessity of innovation to ensure the permanence of the monument.

sui: equals *sua*. See Courtney 1995, 403.

sic: in most textual contexts the demonstrative adverb *sic* anaphorically refers to some previously established condition, but that use here is impossible: it *must* refer outside the text to the monument as a whole. Accordingly, the poet's use of the demonstrative *sic* indicates a deictic shift from the textual description of the monument to its physical manifestation.

Accordingly, the reader is invited to contemplate not only the description of the stone slabs, but also the actual stone slabs themselves. For further discussion of demonstrative language in the poem and deictic references to the mausoleum throughout the text, see chapter 2.

stare: nicely captures the sentiment of this and the preceding line by conveying the act of surviving and outlasting death (*OLD* 17, e.g. *ingenio stat sine morte decus* (Prop. 3.2.26)) that is expressed by *superesse* in 41. Simultaneously, *stare nitentes* highlights the paradoxical reason

for that endurance: the eternal innovation (*perpetua novitate*) of the funerary monument (*OLD* 5c, cf. *Ov. Met.* 12.401).

42. nitentes: A conventional term of praise for the monument. While *nitentes* grammatically agrees with the well-fitted slabs (*consensus lapidum*), I would argue that the participle is also meant to reflect on the poem inscribed on the slabs. Accordingly, the poem stands out (*nitentes*) as the innovation of the monument and, therefore, a significant contributor to its endurance.

43. consensus: referring to the harmony and symmetry of the slabs, a direct result of skill and precision involved in the construction of the monument. Cf. *symmetria est ex ipsius operis membris conveniens consensus* (Vitruv. 1.2.4).

sic: the demonstrative adverb directs the reader's attention away from the poem's description of the *levatos gradus*, but to the stairs themselves. See above note on line 42.

levatos: See *TLL* 7.2.1236.27.

44-5: the poet is describing three steps that uphold the molded base upon which the first story of the monument sits.

45. ductus...stamina: picks up the weaving metaphor (cf. *tristes...sorores, stamina quae ducunt* Tib. 3.3.36) in line 4 involving the Fates. The same metaphor is picked up again in line 69. *Stamine mollitae cerae* is meant to underscore the precision with which the corners of the monument were crafted.

46: Courtney suggests that this line refers to the sculpture of the rooster on the top of the monument. Depicted with its wings outstretched as if it were flying (*tremulas galli...alas* B 3), the poet fittingly describes the rooster as cheerful statuary (*hilaris sculptura*) and draws attention to the fact that its design creates the illusion of movement (*mobilibus signis*).

48. lucentes: referring specifically to four Corinthian pilasters along each side of the monument's second story. Each pilaster's capital supports an architrave with bead-and-reel and leaf moldings between the fasciae.

49. militiae titulos: refers to the prose inscription located under the statue of Secundus (indicated in the text by *ipsum parentem*). The use of *titulos* here is interesting, especially in light of *imago* in line 5. Placed under the *imagines maiorum* in the *atria* of Roman families, the *tituli* were prose captions detailing the career and ancestry of the specific ancestor the *imago* represented. In the Forum of Augustus the presence of both *titulos* and *elogia* under the *imagines* of famous Republican Romans provide an example of the combination of *titulos* and *elogia* functioning together to describe the *imago*. Varro and Atticus also indicate that *elogia* were probably used to describe the *imagines* in the atrium, though it was by no means the normal practice.⁹³ In this context, in light of the use of *imago* in line 5 and the reference to *militia titulos* here, it seems that the poet means for the reader to understand the monument as the *imago* of Secundus, intending for his poem to read as an extraordinary *elogia* in conjunction with the *titulos* of Secundus' career.

51-3: Secundus is the first to plant grapevines in the region. The poet's use of agricultural language to describe Secundus' endeavor (*munera Bacchi; nemus*) further develops the contrast already established in 27-31 between Secundus' local agricultural pursuits and wasteful foreign luxuries. By portraying Secundus' agrarian practices in these terms, the poet engages with a common trope in pastoral poetry – the escape from the city. This idyllic escape would be quite real to the monument's observer, given the commanding position the tomb has over the surrounding landscape (80-82) and the relative remoteness of its location. See commentary on lines 80-86.

⁹³ Flower 1996, 183.

51. munera Bacchi: a georgic phrasing, cf. *atqui non Massica Bacchi munera, non illis epulae nocuere repostae* (Verg. *G.* 3.537).

53: the poet describes Secundus' use of irrigation. For further discussion, see chapter 2.

55. sic: the demonstrative adverb draws attention to the mausoleum as a whole. See note on line 42.

55-6. haberi...debet: the passive infinitive clarifies the poet's statement that the father is immortal and has escaped (*deservisse*) the underworld (*tristem domum Ditis*) in light of lines 39-41 where the poet clearly places the deceased amongst the shades. Here the poet is not asserting that the father has actually left the underworld, but merely that he ought to be viewed as immortal by the living. The use of *sic* immediately preceding the claim of immortality (*immortalis haberi*) as well as the dramatic insertion of *ecce*, closely following, draws the reader's attention to the monument as a whole. By directing the reader's attention to the monument, the poet suggests that the reader see the tomb as the embodiment of Secundus. The innovative combination of the monument's poetic and architectural elements achieves a public spectacle large enough to attain immortal renown for Secundus. This renown has made Secundus immortal (*immortalis haberi*).

56. ecce: the demonstrative suffix seems to point dramatically toward the mausoleum as the culminating representation of Secundus' achievements. See previous note and note on line 42 for further discussion.

58. mavolt: archaic form, cf. Pl. *As.* 835, *Cur.* 320. Archaisms in Latin literature are meant to impart solemnity and evoke antiquity. Balancing between themes of ancestral tradition and innovation throughout the poem, the poet's use of archaic language and his employment of this

stylistic device allow him to situate his poem as *novo exemplo* within the context of an established tradition.

monumenta: cf. *monimenta* elsewhere throughout the poem. That both forms of the word appear in the composition is puzzling, possibly underscoring the difficulties that arise in the process of inscription. Considering that *monimenta* appears repeatedly throughout the poem and the variant form appears here only, it is possible that the inscriber, working from the original copy of the poem,⁹⁴ lapsed and reverted to a more familiar form.

59. solitis...lucis: the phrase adds poetic coloring to the rural landscape surrounding the monument. That the groves are familiar stresses Secundus' affiliation and connection with the local landscape from which he made his living. See notes on lines 27-31 and following for a discussion of pastoral element in the poem.

60. adsidue: translate as "fixed/rooted:" cf. *OLD* 3c.

62-68: the poet's general praise, characterized by *securos* in 66, of those who, in their lifetime, build their own tombs is directed at the younger Secundus. For a similar sentiment, cf. *struxi mihi Marmora, feci secure* (*CIL* 9.4796). The notion of witnessing the construction and completion of one's own mausoleum was important to tomb owners in Africa Proconsularis. The advice that the poet offers here is not unusual, but is echoed in an inscription from the Mausoleum of Antigona and Tabellarius in Carthage: *quisque sapis, iuvenis, vivo tibi pone sepulchrum* (*CIL* 8.1027).⁹⁵

62-3. forsitan haec multi vano sermon ferentes/venturae citius dicant praesagia mortis : these lines presumably address a contingent of the Roman North African population subscribing to the supposed superstition that the erection of one's tomb in his own lifetime hastens death.

⁹⁴ See chapter 3 for discussion of the process of inscription and the possibility of an original copy of the poem.

⁹⁵ Moore 2007, 96.

63. venturae...mortis: cf. *venturam melius praesagit navita mortem* (Prop. 3.11.5).

64. dum vivit: for a similar sentiment cf. *dum sum vitalis et vivo, ego feci sepulchrum* (CLE 484 = CIL 8.1027, 12468).

64-5. futuris temporibus: cf. *in honorem hominis unius obligas tempora future* (Quintilian *Minor Declamations* 254.7.4). Also consider in light of *tempora plura* in line 6; both phrases underscore the purpose of the funerary monument – to preserve the memory of the deceased into future generations.

65. pectore sensus: cf. *tum pectore sensus vertuntur varii* (Verg. *A.* 12.914).

67. aeternam...domum: a common phrase used in Latin epitaphs to describe a funerary monument, cf. *haec domus aeterna est, hic sum situs, hic ero semper* (CLE 435, 15). Also see Lattimore 1942, 166. The phrase is also used of the home of the gods: cf. Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.41.11, *in domum aeternam patris*.

68. defigere: See the use of *figitur* in line 20.

69. stamina: by metonymy, refers to the duration of the spinning, drawing, and cutting of the thread. See note on line 4 for descriptions of Fates spinning in Latin poetry.

se...mutat: a strained phrase. It clarifies the Greek meaning of *Atropos* (A-tropos), “she who cannot be turned aside.” Cf. *quod si mutari potuissent fila sorores* (CLE 1248, 5).

70: the image is of Atropos preparing the thread she is about to cut.

71. pensatos: cf. *penso* in line 4.

ibis: OLD 22 (with in + acc.) “to pass into a certain condition/ to attain a stage of development.”

pensatos...annos: cf. *parcas quae vitam pensant* (CLE 1141.15-6). *Pensatos* refers to the thread measured out by Lachesis, which Atropos prepares to cut in the preceding line.

72. securus: cf. *securus* in line 66. *Securitas* depends on an individual building his own tomb, thereby relieving his heir of the laborious task (see note on lines 62-8). By calling Secundus *securus*, the poet insinuates that his patron must have built his own tomb during his lifetime. The implication is that Secundus built the tomb in question not only for his father, but for himself.

toto pectore: synonymous with the mind/soul (*OLD* 4b), cf. *toto ex te pectore*, *Theseu, toto animo, tota pendebat perdita mente* (Catull. 64.69; also see Verg. *A.* 9.276).

73. plena labore: cf. *plena laboris* (Verg. *A.* 1.460).

75. ut sic aedificet: the demonstrative adverb points to the monument. See note on line 42.

76. tua: supply *voluntas* in both the main and relative clause.

quo volet ire voluntas: indicates that Secundus, as the builder of his own tomb, not only can determine the finished product (*totum perveniet tua...voluntas*), but also the manner in which it is constructed.

79. et solis metitur iter: Taking this phrase as referring to telling time by the casting of shadows, the use of *metitur* also serves as a poetic embellishment of the monument's height and grandeur. This is in keeping with the preceding lines, which underscore the celestial height of the monument. Accordingly, the monument is able to observe the sun's progress because of its own tremendous height and proximity to the sun.

80-86: In the following lines the poet emphasizes the monumental aspects of the tomb, first describing the mausoleum's dominant position in the surrounding landscape (81-82) and then comparing its imposing position to that of famous monuments throughout the Roman world including the Colossos at Rome (83), the obelisk located within the Circus Maximus (84), and the lighthouse on the island of Pharos (86). While the image of the Colossos is meant to

underscore the height of the monument in contrast to the hills in the background, the image of the obelisk in the circus provides a comparison for the monument's reach into the sky, and the light house on Pharos highlights the vast distance at which the monument might be seen. That the latter is one of the wonders of the ancient world only furthers the embellished comparison.

82. sic: the demonstrative adverb compels the reader to refocus on the monument in relation to the surrounding landscape. In so doing, the poet has cleverly provided his audience with a real and concrete image of Secundus' tomb as the basis for a comparison between the grandeur and permanence of the mausoleum and that of other famous monuments in the empire.

Colossos: refers to the giant statue of Nero. Once located in the vestibule of his Golden House, Nero's head was replaced with that of the Sun and moved, during the rule of Hadrian, beside the Flavian amphitheater. It stood 100-120 Roman feet high.⁹⁶ See Plin. *HN*. 34.45; also Suet. *Ner.* 31.

Romuleas...arces: cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.4.

83. obeliscus: Two obelisks stood in circuses. The first was that of Augustus in the Circus Maximus, now in the Piazza del Popolo. Its base was 36.5 meters high. The second was that which stood in the Circus Gai et Neronis, now located in St. Peter's Square in the Vatican. It was about 1.5 meters higher than that of Augustus.⁹⁷ By designating the obelisk in question by its geographical relationship to the circus, the poet increases the probability of recognition by a Roman North African audience, whose passion for chariot racing in the Imperial period is evidenced by numerous and various representations of charioteers and the circus in sculpture, mosaics, and other art forms.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Courtney 1995, 404.

⁹⁷ Courtney 1995, 404-405.

⁹⁸ Norman 1988, 16.

84. sic: functions in the same way as in line 83. The repetitive deictic shifts from the text to the monument force the audience to reevaluate the mausoleum as each new comparison is presented. Thus the local audience of the tomb and its epitaph is left with a more permanent and lasting memory of the Flavii and their monument than they are of the more grandiose, but foreign and distant exempla which the poet uses for comparison. Accordingly, the poet's seemingly exaggerated claims of the superiority of the mausoleum over what would otherwise be considered more distinguished monuments of antiquity (83 and 85) would not necessarily be perceived as gross embellishments by the local audience, but as legitimate claims for a monument that dominates the landscape and would have been a landmark for travelers, shepherds, and farmers.

85. Pharos: an island located near Alexandria that was famous for its lighthouse, which was one of the wonders of the ancient world. The height of the lighthouse is estimated to be about 135 meters. In terms of height, its comparison to the mausoleum, which stands only 12 meters high, is absurd. Yet, such embellishment is in keeping with the comparisons in the preceding lines.

86. Pietas: Compare to *pietas* in line 9.

ecce: see note on *ecce* in line 56.

lapis ecce foratus: points to three embrasures that open behind the niche in the monument's third level where the statue of Secundus was located. There are no other openings in the tomb to which these words could refer. While the poet suggests that these openings are meant as an artificial hive intended to attract bees (88-9), there is no archaeological evidence to support such a claim. There is no evidence of a compartment set aside for bees, unless such a partition was created by a piece of wood, of which there is no trace; however, the possibility that wood or some other perishable material was used in the construction of an artificial hive would

be in keeping with standard bee-keeping practices in antiquity.⁹⁹ See Pliny *NH* 11. The poet's brief description of bees is reminiscent of *Georgics* 4, specifically lines 228-250 in which Vergil describes how bees gather their honey.

87. blandas: while grammatically it agrees with *apes*, in the context it should be attributed to the *lapis* and is best translated adverbially.

88. cerineos: an adjective unique to this inscription.

89. domus: cf. *domus* in line 67.

Thymbraeo: from *thymbra*, a Cretan herb used by bee-keepers. See Verg. *G.* 4.31.

90. florisapos: an adjective unique to this inscription meaning 'tasting of flowers.'

B

1. huc iterum: this phrase recalls the two earlier appearances of *pietas*. The previous occurrences of the word are clearly meant to be associated with Secundus and represent his filial respect and piety. In this place, however, the poet clearly associates *pietas* with himself. Accordingly, I take the phrase as an interjection and the signal for an invocation. For further discussion, see following note. The word seems to be the addressee in a poetic invocation; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.1-6, *Pietas...huc...ades*. Interestingly enough, the poet seems to be drawing a parallel between himself and Secundus by attributing a similar notion of *pietas* to himself. While Secundus exhibits his piety through the commissioning and erection of his father's monument, so the poet exhibits his piety through an invocation and prayer to its manifestation, *Pietas*, for the success of his poetry (*fove mea carmina*). Just as Secundus' commissioning of his father's monument is grounded in ancestral custom, so the poet's composition and invocation is grounded in poetic custom (*quo nosti more*).

⁹⁹ Groupe de Recherches sur l'Afrique Antique 1993, 84.

erige mentes: *OLD* 6: “to give new life/hope, reinvigorate;” e.g. Lucan 8.76 *erige mentem*.

2. quo nosti...more: the poet refers to the poetic convention of invoking the Muses. Although the addressee is not the Muse, *Pietas* functions in a similar manner as the recipient/addressee of the invocation.

3. ecce Secundus...iterum: cf. *ecce iterum Crispinus* (Juv. 4.1).

4. nova templa: resonates with the themes of precedent and innovation present throughout the poem. This phrase picks up on *exemplo novo* in line A 11, as well as *perpetua novitate* in line A 42. By labeling the tomb not merely as a memorial (*monimenta*) to the father, but as a *nova templa* the poet elevates the sacred status of the monument beyond what one might normally expect for a tomb. This elevation of sacred status is not peculiar to this epitaph, but rather it is a shared theme amongst several tower mausolea in North Africa.¹⁰⁰ Cf. *heres...hanc aedem posuit struxidque novissima templa/manibus et cineri posteriisque meis* (CLE 1255.5-8).

5. Calliope: the muse of Homeric poetry, she is also the mother of Orpheus. It is the latter association that the poet is invoking.¹⁰¹ Just as Orpheus traced his path through the underworld, he had to retrace it to return to the upper world. The poet himself is compelled to revisit previously traversed paths (B 6), summarizing the aspects of the monument he has already mentioned, but also adding a description of the rooster that crowns the monument. The poet’s association with Orpheus recalls *Georgics* 4, in which the singer’s descent into and return from the underworld is described.

6-7: refers to the subject matter contained in part A of the inscription.

8. iunctis saxa polita locis: referring to the *nitentes/consensus lapidum* in lines 42-3.

¹⁰⁰ Moore 2007, 91.

¹⁰¹ Groupe de Recherches sur l’Afrique Antique 1993, 85.

9. circuitus nemorum...undis: the pastoral imagery here harkens back to earlier images. See line A 53 for *nemus...saepius undis*. Also see notes on lines A 27-31 for discussion of the pastoral element of the poem.

10. reportantes...apes: see line A 88-90 for *apes*.

12. ebria Musa: an odd epithet for a Muse, it shifts the blame for the apparent oversight of failing to describe the cock (B 1-3) from the poet to the Muse.

cadis...iocos: the Muse's descent into trivial matters excludes the items discussed in lines A 98-100. The poet fails to specify what he considers trivial.

14. extrema...nube: the poet has already claimed that the monument reaches the clouds in line A 78. As the cock is depicted on the very top of the monument as if it were flying (*tremulas alas*), the notion that it can fly higher than the highest cloud is merely a further embellishment of the already exaggerated height of the monument expressed in the comparison of the tomb to the Colossos (A 83) and obelisk (A 84).

17. nominibus: referring to the titles and honors given to Secundus in the prose inscription. Cf. *militiae titulos* in line 49.

18. cernitur: the passive form of the verb reiterates the importance of public recognition (see notes on *imago*) and its role in maintaining the memory, and by extension, the immortality of the deceased. For further discussion see note 64 on *haberi debet*.

20: the poet's sentiment in the last line, that the younger Secundus might read the monument that he has erected, is in keeping with a common theme amongst mausoleums in Africa Proconsularis, namely that the advantage of building one's own monument is the control one has both over the process of construction and the final product (see notes on lines A 62-8 and on *secures*). That the poet concludes the epitaph with this line does suggest, as in other places

throughout the poem, that the younger Secundus intends this mausoleum to hold not only his deceased father, but also himself.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

As the longest extant *carmen epigraphicum*, the poem inscribed on the tower mausoleum of the Flavii is unique. Its inscription on the tomb constitutes a decoration, not unlike the other architectural adornments of the monument. The poet of the inscription even claims its addition constitutes an innovation (*novum exemplum*) that makes the monument stand out amongst others of its type. While tower mausolea, with their distinct architectural style and cultural associations, have a long tradition in North Africa and serve as memorials to the deceased, the addition of the poem to the tomb of the Flavii ensures that those interred within the monument will enjoy a longer lasting memory (*memoratio*) and grants an enhanced immortality to the deceased (*immortalis haberi debet*) because of its length, literary quality, and novelty.

While a passer-by could easily deduce the wealth that the commissioner of the monument, the younger Secundus, must have possessed in order to afford such a lengthy inscription, the poem's literary nature further underscores the quality and impact of Secundus' expenditure. The poet consistently uses language reminiscent of Latin pastoral poetry when describing the surroundings of the tomb, employs standard literary tropes such as the corruption associated with foreign commodities, and includes a poetic invocation in his composition. In addition the poet uses well-known literary techniques to draw attention to specific characteristics of the tower mausoleum, such as its various architectural elements, or its dominant position in the surrounding landscape. This suggests that the poet not only intended his poem to function as an additional decoration to the monument, but also as a medium to highlight certain aspects of

the monument. That the poet succeeds in this underscores his poetic ability and, again, the wealth of the commissioner of the monument who paid for his services. Furthermore, the skill with which the poet uses literary tropes and devices and deploys common themes found in Latin poetry, manipulating them to make them relevant to the monument, the Flavii, and contemporary Roman North African society, suggests that he was both educated and well-trained as a poet.

Similar to Propertius' ecphrasis of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine,¹⁰² our poet's composition contains an extended ecphrasis of the tomb of the Flavii. What makes the latter unique is that the poem itself is a decoration on the very monument which it describes. While Propertius' description of the temple of Apollo relies on the readers' independent experience and knowledge of the temple, an onlooker viewing or reading the epitaph of Secundus is also contemplating the monument upon which it is inscribed. The poet takes advantage of this by using demonstrative language throughout the composition to draw attention to the monument and supplement his description with a visual component – further evidence of his skill. The poet develops elaborate and grandiose images of widely known monuments in order to compare them to the tomb of the Flavii, which he consistently refers to with the demonstrative adverb *sic*. This demonstrative adverb stands in for a poetic description of the tomb. It directs the reader's attention away from the poem and back to the monument upon which the poem is inscribed. In so doing, it provides an awe-inspiring image that makes what would otherwise be absurd comparisons palatable. While the light-house of Pharos or the Colossos at Rome are certainly larger, better-known, and more significant than the tomb of the Flavii, the mere fact of the poetic comparison draws the tomb into the orbit of these more important monuments, making the tomb appear worthy of such a comparison and thus a significant monument in its own right. By extension, the poet of our inscription also places himself in the company of the poets of Rome

¹⁰² 2.31.

who extolled the virtues of buildings in the capital city. In other words, the poet utilizes the tomb to enhance his poetic composition and his stature as poet.

While the poet claims that his composition provides an innovative addition to the funerary monument, he is also aware of the reciprocal relationship between the monument and the poem. By using demonstrative and deictic language, the poet incorporates a strong visual component into his composition. Constantly directing the reader's attention to the monument, he uses its physical presence to supplement his poetic descriptions, not unlike the way the monument uses his poem as a physical decoration. In this way, the poem utilizes that same innovation, which it provides for the monument, for itself.

While the literary quality of the poem draws attention to the monument, it also reflects on the Flavii and the Roman North African society and culture of which they were a part. In some instances these reflections are explicit. The poem mentions how the deceased Secundus made his fortune in viticulture by using irrigation, a North African innovation, to ensure the success of his vines, whose cultivation in North Africa stemmed from Roman influence and intervention in the area. Moreover, the number of lines devoted to describing the rooster, an animal tied to Punic religion, and its prominence in the poem point to the importance of the Punic stratum of culture in North Africa and for families like the Flavii.

In other instances, the poem's reflections are more subtle. For instance, the poet's use of *imago* to describe the tomb of the Flavii reminds the reader of the Roman custom of the *imagines maiorum* and the role that the *imagines* played not only in preserving the memory of the deceased, but also in upholding an example against which one's descendents strove to match in honor and noble deeds. The poet's word-choice suggests that the poet was employing a Roman idea in a North African context. The monument of the Flavii served a function similar to that of

the *imagines maiorum*—a means to preserve the memory of the deceased, providing a visual image and representation of the nobility of one's family. Moreover, in his condemnation of foreign commodities, the poet subtly highlights products that are significant staples in Roman North Africa, specifically olive oil, the production of which was prevalent in the area around Cillium. By denigrating foreign imports, the poet indicates his support for the consumption of local products. In this way, the poem comments not only on the culture and economy of the North African province, but also on that of the local population around Cillium.

In regard to the poet's identity, we can say that the skill with which the poet uses literary tropes and devices and deploys common themes found in Latin poetry suggests that he was both well-educated and well-trained in Latin poetry; however, the manner in which he manipulates these tropes, themes, and devices to make them relevant to the Flavii, and contemporary Roman North African society suggests he was not only familiar with North African culture in general, but also the local culture in the area around Cillium. While his composition is highly polished and stylistically sound, odd phrasings, linguistic variants, and unique diction appear throughout the inscription, which would suggest that he was not a native Latin speaker. This combined with his familiarity with the culture of North Africa suggests the possibility that he could be identified as North African.

REFERENCES

- Broughton, T. R. S. 1968. *The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Buecheler, F. ed. 1895-7. *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*. Leipzig.
- Camps, Gabriel. 1992. Le Coq et la Coquille. *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*. 35-61.
- Cherry, David. 1998. *Frontier and Society in Roman North Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Conte, Gian Biagio. 1994. *Latin Literature: A History*. Translated by Joseph Solodow. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press.
- Courtney, E. 1995. *Musa Lapidaria: a Selection of Latin Verse Inscriptions*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Evans, Marilyn. 2006. *The Tertullus Monument: A Funerary Monument from Roman Carthage*. M.A. thesis, University of Georgia, Athens.
- Flower, Harriet. 1996. *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Frank, Tenney ed. 1933-1940. *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* 4. Baltimore.
- Gantz, Timothy. 1993. *Early Greek Mythology*. John Hopkins Press.
- Gascou, Jacques. 1972. *La Politique Municipale de l'Empire Romain en Afrique Proconsulaire de Trajan à Septime Sévère*. Rome.
- Groupe de Recherches sur l'Afrique Antique. 1993. *Les Flavii de Cillium: Étude Architecturale, Épigraphique Historique et Littéraire du Mausolée de Kasserine*. École Française de Rome.
- Guérin, Vincent. 1862. *Voyage Archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*. Paris.
- Haeckl, Anne, and Naomi Norman. 1993. The University of Georgia Excavations in the Yasmina Necropolis of Carthage, 1992. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6: 238-50.

- Hitchner, Bruce. 1988. The Kasserine Archaeological Survey, 1982-1986. *Antiquités Africaines* 24:7-41.
- , 1990. The Kasserine Archaeological Survey, 1987. *Antiquités Africaines* 16:231-260.
- , 1992-1993. The Kasserine Archaeological Survey (1982-1985). *Africa* 11-12:158-198.
- , 1994. Image and Reality: the Changing Face of Pastoralism. In *Landuse in the Roman Empire*, ed. Jesper Carlsen. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider: 27-44.
- , 1995. The Culture of Death and the Invention of Culture in Roman Africa. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 8:493-498.
- Kehoe, Dennis. 1988. *Economics of Agriculture on Roman Imperial Estates in North Africa*. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Lancel, Serge. 1995. *Carthage: A History*. Translated by Antonia Nevill. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Lattimore, R. 1942. *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Mattingly, D.J. 1988. Oil for Export? A Comparison of Libyan, Spanish, and Tunisian Olive Oil Production in the Roman Empire. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 1:33-56.
- Mommsen, T., et al. ed. 1871-. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
- Moore, Jennifer. 2007. The 'mausoleum culture' of Africa proconsularis. In *Mortuary Landscapes of North Africa*, ed. David L. Stone and Lea Stirling. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press.
- Norman, Naomi. 1988. The Architecture of the Circus in Light of the 1982 Season. In *The Circus and a Byzantine Cemetery at Carthage*, ed. J.H. Humphrey. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- Raven, Susan. 1984. *Rome in Africa*. New York, NY: Longman Press.
- Stone, David L. 2007. First Millenium B.C.E. Rock-cut Tombs of North Africa. In *Mortuary Landscapes of North Africa*, ed. David Stone and Lea Stirling. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Van Dam, Harm-Jan. 1984. *Silvae Book II: A Commentary*. Leiden: J. Brill.

APPENDIX A
ENGLISH TRANSLATION

A

Although the time of short life is fleeting

And the brief hour of snatched days quickly goes by

And she submerges mortal bodies in the Elysian fields,

Lachesis is gravely aware of the thread that is continually broken.

In spite of these things a memorial of flattering craft was discovered

Through which men, who had already emerged into greater ages,

A longer-lasting memory could greet

And with itself more resiliently preserve many things through inscriptions in the face of years
otherwise about to devour them.

See, the recent filial dedication, about to meet with complete approval,

Deserves a vast amount of fame accompanied by praise,

Pregnant with an extraordinary precedent,

Which Flavius Secundus, acting in accordance with ancestral custom, has marked with an
illustrious honor.

Who would not approve of the noble virtues of his mind?

Who would not marvel at this work and from seeing the riches that were spent

Stand too awestruck to comprehend such wealth for himself

The very wealth by means of which the monument rises through the ethereal breezes?
The effectiveness of this fortune must be praised more graciously,
In such a way, for himself, do his expenditures create a fixed and permanent abode,
In such a way does money know how to preserve customs - immortal -
So long as its expenditure is prudent and transfixed on its eternal use.
Let that furious desire beware, which is driven by excessive gold,
Which the radiance of silver, bought by blood, drags along as a captive
And let that deluded desire for extravagance which has been squandered on fleeting passions
beware,
Extravagance which has learned to seek foreign garments and gems, seductive in their luster,
Or gifts coming from the Aeruthrean water,
Such extravagance foreigners with their diverse competition of goods have exploited,
Greece with her boys, Hispania with the skill of Pallas,
The land of Libya with its animals for hunting, the Orient with its spice,
Egypt with her dainty Pharians,
Gaul always proud of its accomplished works of art, Campania rich in wine.
These things quickly fade and maintain but a brief show of affection,
Condemned by their own fleeting nature,
But if anyone were to reflect on all the disasters of life and strive
To measure each man by his own brief span, then he would learn to believe
That nothing is better
Except what is able to endure the resilience of aging in harmony with the blessing of the gods.
Now I should not doubt,

If the senses remain after death,
That often, Secundus, your father rejoices amidst the mute shades of Acheron
And that often he spurns the rest of the squadrons of shades
Because he knows that the great face of his tomb survives him with its eternal innovation,
That the shining congruity of slabs endure in such a way
That the stairs have grown more splendid, raised from their foundation in such a way
That even every angle has been fashioned in such a way, as if it were formed from a thread of
softened wax.
Light sculpture, with its mobile design, marks an innovation.
And – it is fitting – that the wandering crowd gives their approval to these adornments
And is equally amazed by the shining columns that are suspended overhead.
What about when you gave to the spirits of the dead the inscription of your father's military
career
And your father himself, who often sees these delights
Which he himself once gave to the region,
During the time when he produces the many gifts of Bacchus and desires to lay out the first vines
And provides the grove with rather frequently rerouted streams.
May the fates and Stygian ruler of dread night allow me to say:
Now, behold, in such a way your father ought to be considered immortal
And to have fled from the gloomy house of abandoned Dis,
While for the rest of time
He prefers to attend these monuments and to live for eternity
Amidst inscribed honors, to remain in the familiar groves,

Continuously to look fondly from here upon the buildings of his native heights
And to always keep the Penates which he gave to his children near.
Perhaps many, speaking in a manner of baseless gossip,
Might say that these things are the forebodings of a more swiftly coming death
If anyone puts up a monument for future generations while he still lives.
Such sentiments do not exist in my heart,
But, I believe that they are free from cares
Those who have resolved to prepare a lasting abode
And with the determined rigor of life to set up walls that will never fall.
Life's course has been determined by the Fates and Atropos does not change her mind in the
midst of her spinning;
As soon as she begins to draw out the first thread
Believe me, Secundus, so you will so you will have reached your allotted years.
But not only will you be free from care, but also rich throughout your whole spirit,
So long as you are able to be burdensome to no man and you make wills that are not filled with
obligation,
When your heir does not fear that he must build a monument such as this.
Whatever you leave behind even now - all of it will arrive, in whatever way your desire desires
to go about it.
But concern for the work and its lofty beauty calls me back.
Its glory stands uplifted and strikes the neighboring clouds
And measures the course of the sun.
If, by chance, the eyes should desire to survey the hills, their peaks are dominated each in turn.

If you should glimpse the plains, the ground lies obstructed, hidden below.
 Not in such a way is the Colossos said to rise up into the Romulean hills,
 Nor the obelisks of the circus into the middle of the airs,
 Nor in such a way do the channels of the sistrum-bearing Nile reveal themselves
 When Pharos exposes her waters with her discerning flames.
 What does piety not accomplish, once it has been taught by experience?
 Behold the stone perforated with many windows as it coaxingly invites bees to hasten inside
 And to construct their wax colored home within,
 So that this abode, sweetened by Thymbraean nectar
 Might exude the juices of sweet-smelling flowers while they produce fresh honey.

B

For the purpose of praising, here again, Pietas, reinvigorate my spirits, which have paid their
 homage.
 And in keeping with the custom you know so well, show favor to my songs.
 See here again is Secundus, who with a virtuous heart
 Gave to his father not just a monument, but a new type of shrine.
 Now for what reason, Calliope, do you compel me to go back down roads,
 Along an identical path, which I have already traversed?
 Truly, a description of the great work was accomplished by us,
 Indeed we mentioned the polished rocks fitted snugly in their places,
 The surrounding groves, the waters flowing pleasantly
 And the bees frequently bringing back their honey.
 This thing nevertheless, only this one thing, I think, escaped our craft,

Since you yield to many trifles, intoxicated Muse,
On top we did not mention the fluttering wings of the cock,
Which, I think, flies higher than the highest cloud.
If nature had given a voice to its body,
This cock would compel all the gods to rise in the morning.
And now the entrance is inscribed with the appropriate words,
And a life is clearly seen that can be confident in the record of its achievement
I hope that you, Secundus, can live out many years in happiness
And that you may peruse the monument which you have erected.

APPENDIX B

FIGURES

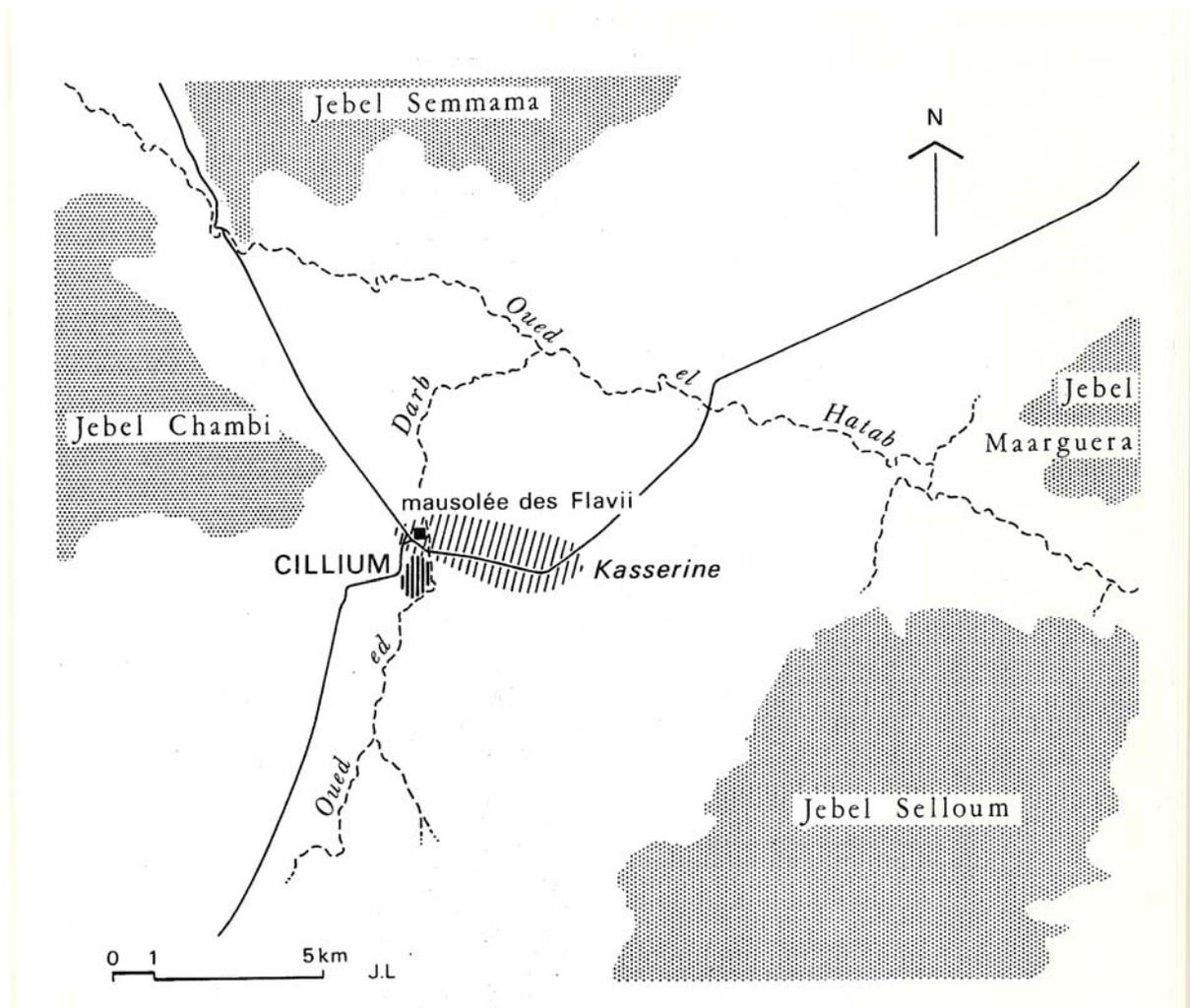


Figure 1 Map of the Kasserine region.

Reprinted from Groupe de Recherches Sur L'Afrique Antique, *Les Flavii de Cillium* (Ecole Française de Rome, 1993).

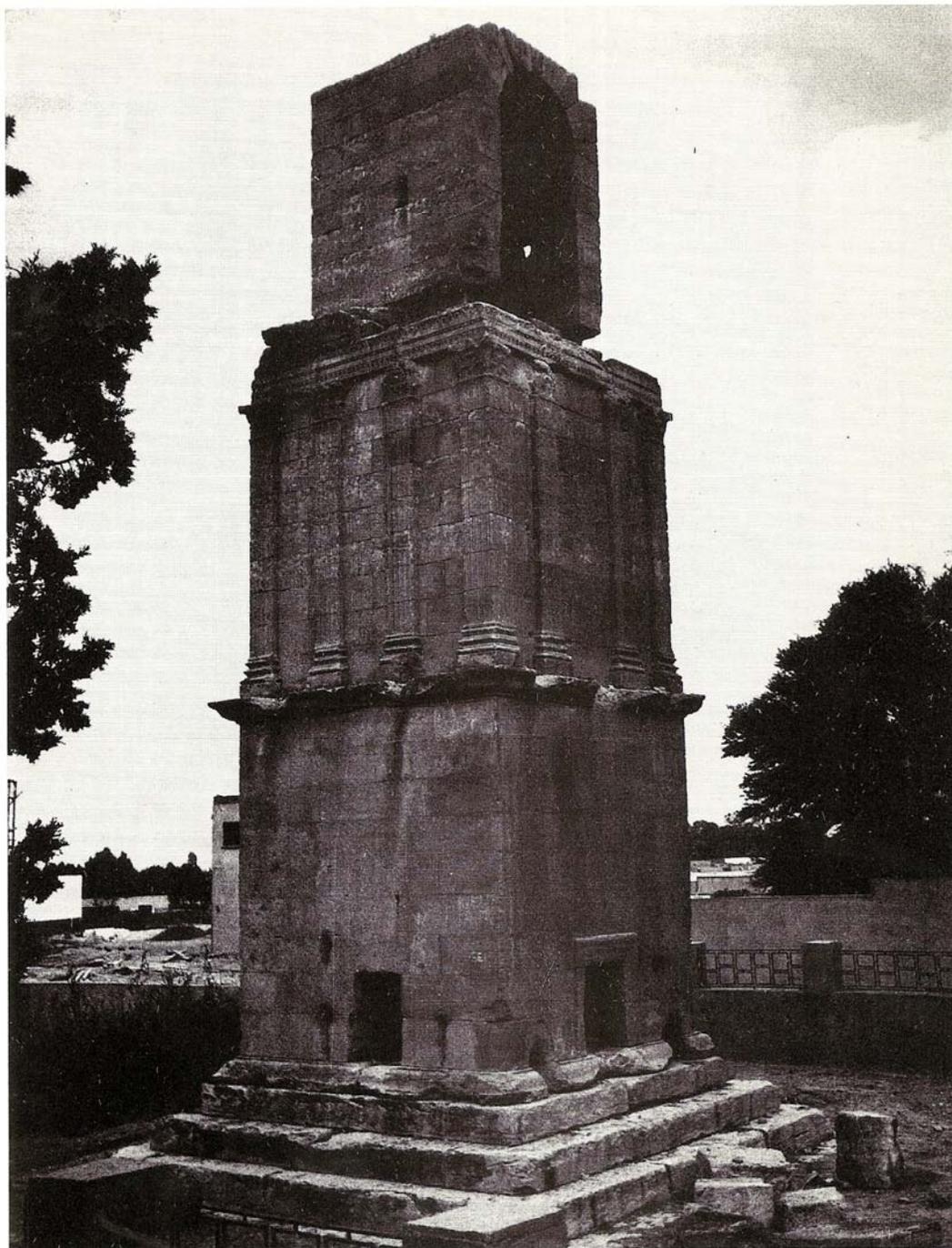


Figure 2 Mausoleum of the Flavii.

Reprinted from Groupe de Recherches Sur L'Afrique Antique, *Les Flavii de Cillium* (Ecole Française de Rome, 1993).

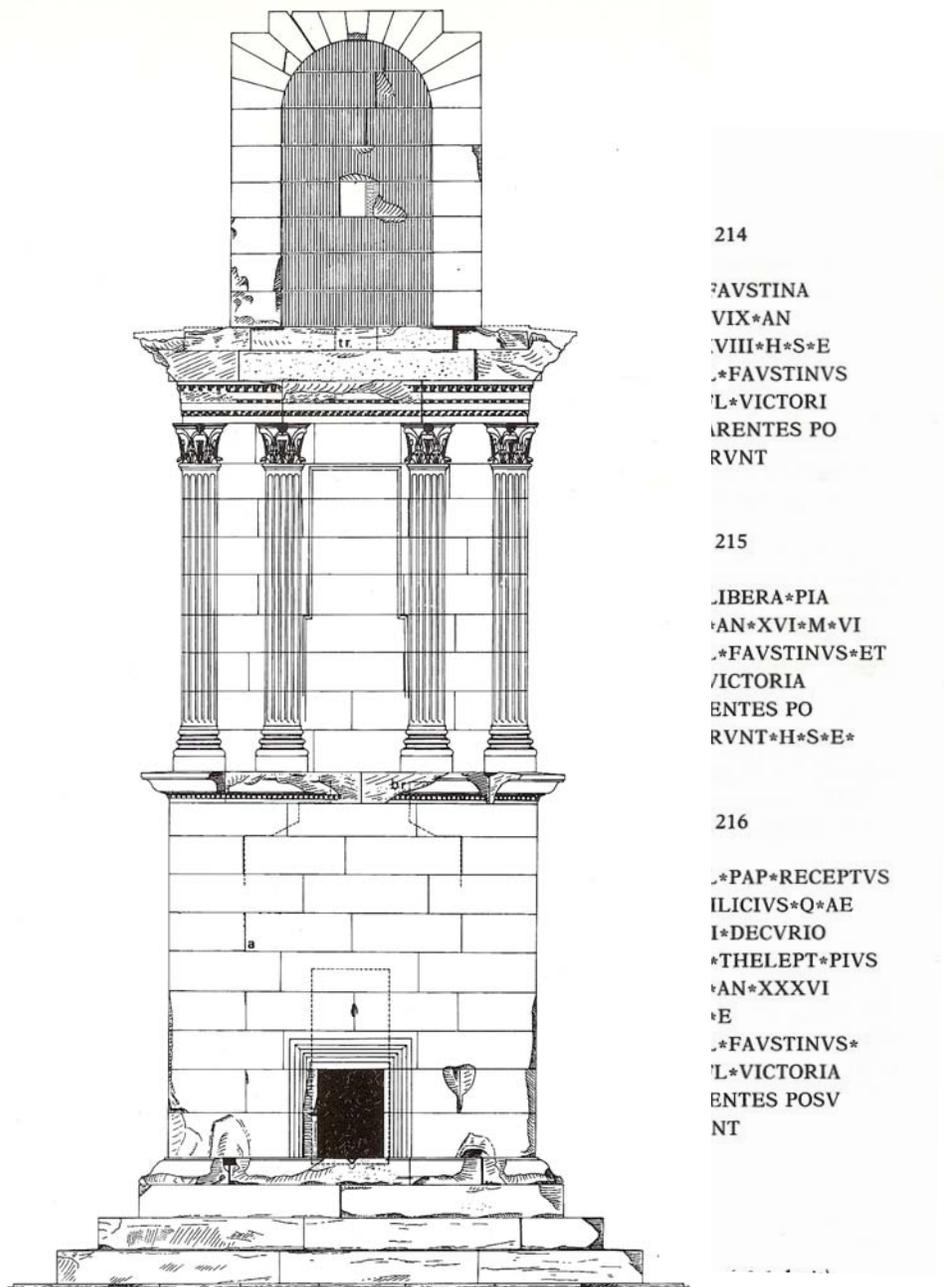


Figure 3 Prose inscriptions from the Mausoleum of the Flavii. 211 is located on the south-east façade of the monument; 214-16 are on the north-east side.

Reprinted from Groupe de Recherches Sur L'Afrique Antique, *Les Flavii de Cillium* (École Française de Rome, 1993).

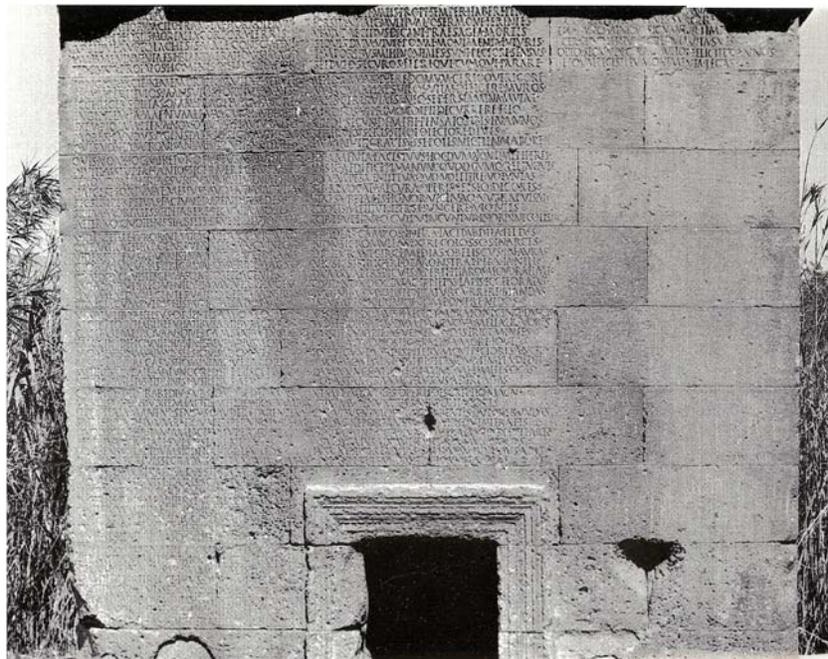


Fig. 35 — Le texte des deux poèmes gravés sur la façade (C.I.L. VIII, 212-213; cliché Lannier, 1993).

Figure 4 Verse inscription from Mausoleum of the Flavii.

Reprinted from Groupe de Recherches Sur L'Afrique Antique, *Les Flavii de Cillium* (École Française de Rome, 1993).

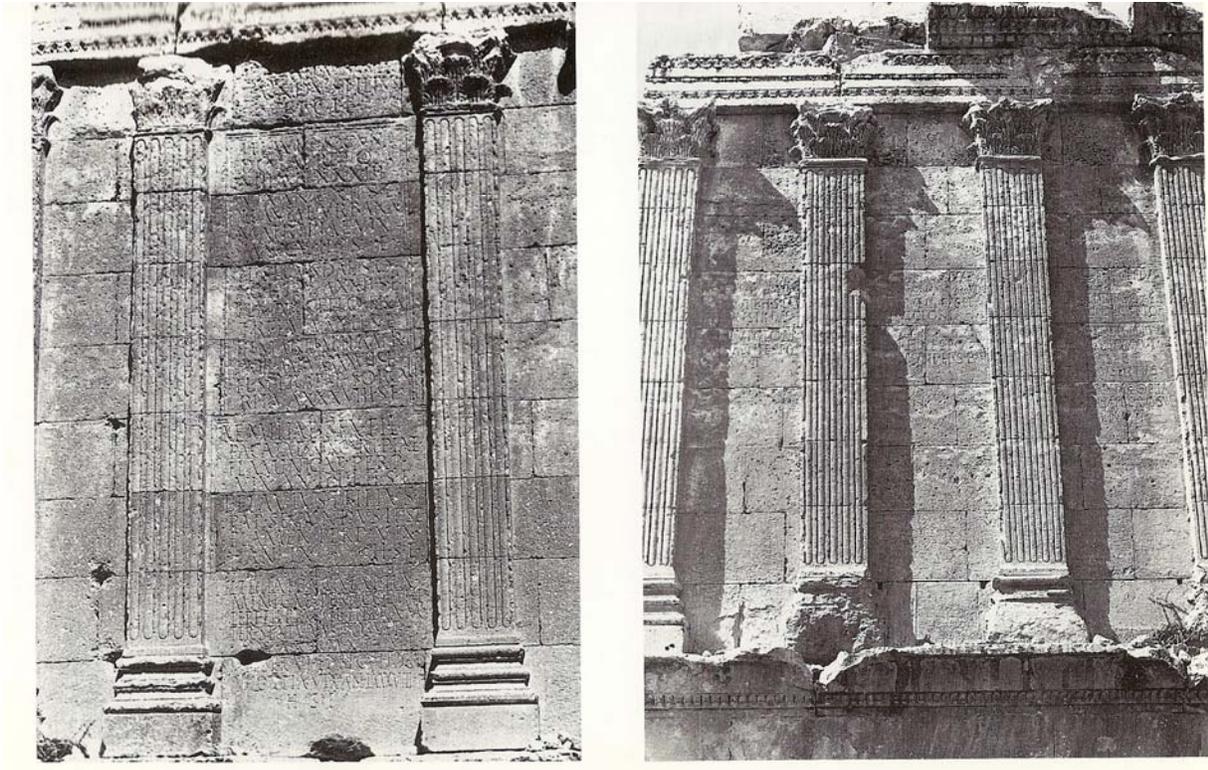


Figure 5 Pilasters on the north-east facade of the Mausoleum of the Flavii.

Reprinted from Groupe de Recherches Sur L'Afrique Antique, *Les Flavii de Cillium* (École Française de Rome, 1993).

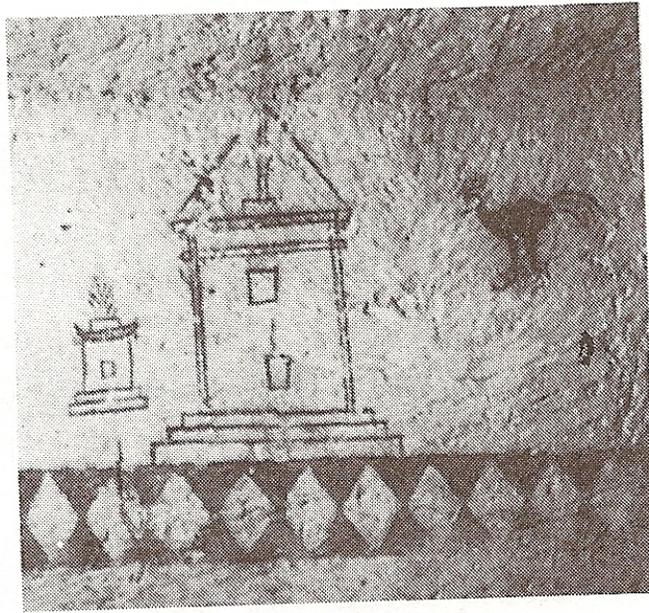


Figure 6 Depiction of rooster on the north-west wall of Tomb VIII (Jebel Mlezza).

Reprinted from Lancel, S., *Carthage: A History* (Cambridge, 1995).

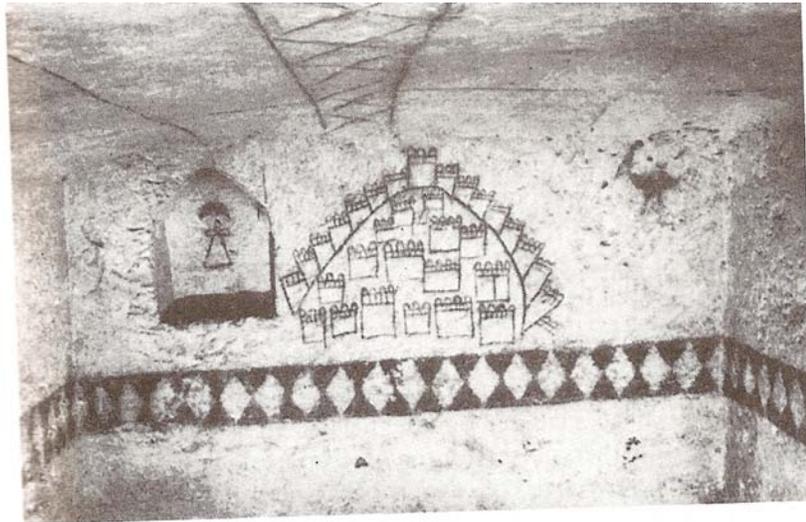


Figure 7 Depiction of rooster on north-east wall of Tomb VIII (Jebel Mlezza).

Reprinted from Lancel, S., *Carthage: A History* (Cambridge, 1995).

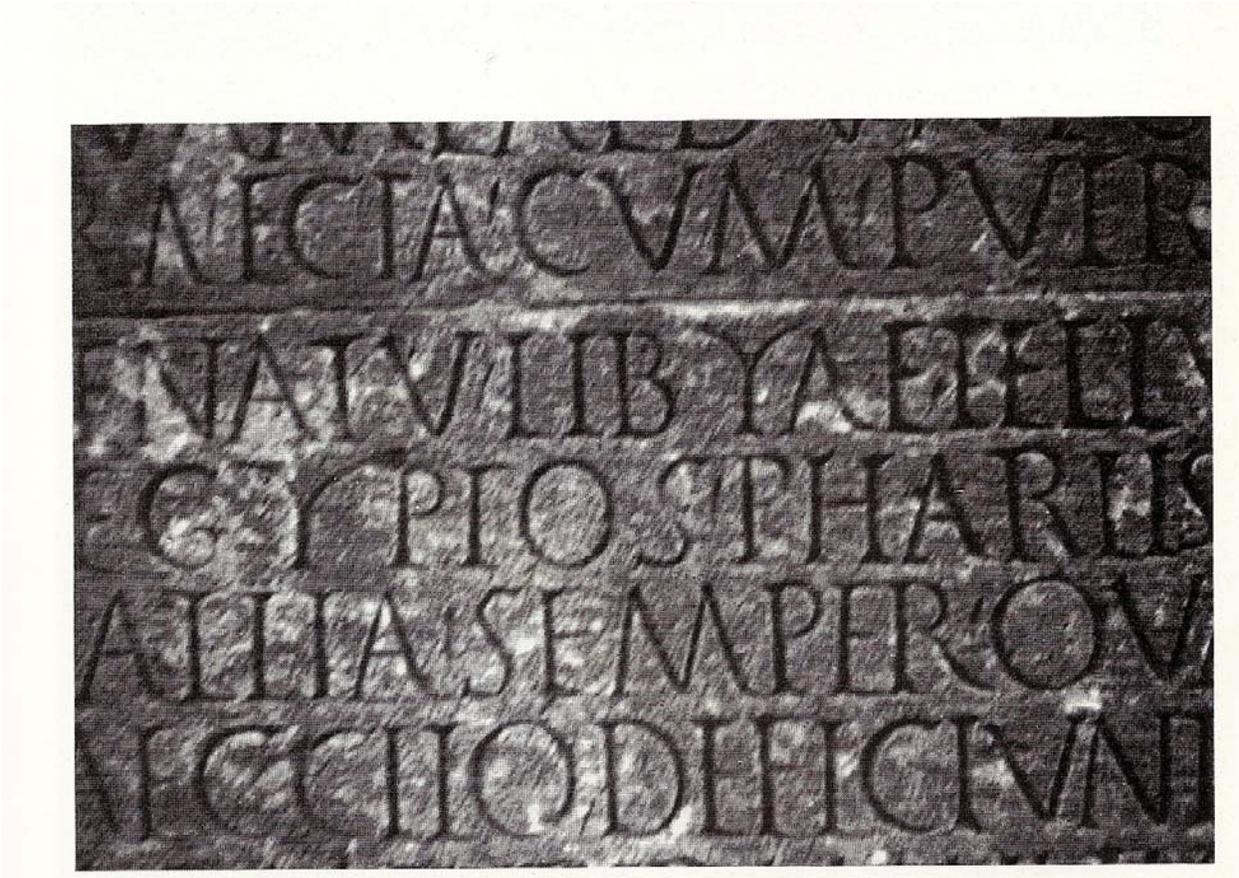


Figure 8 Detail of lines A 28-32 of verse inscription.

Reprinted from Groupe de Recherches Sur L'Afrique Antique, *Les Flavii de Cillium* (École Française de Rome, 1993).