GÉRARD OF MOMMSEN, THE HISTORIAN AND SCHOLAR.

FROM THE GERMAN OF MOMMSEN, THE HISTORIAN AND SCHOLAR.


quamcumque munifici]entiam vol[etis pro hoc vestro pio]
[proposito petere iam nunc hoc facere et accepisse]
[vos credere ut] et impetraturi iam sine mora quae
[in omne aevum iam nostram iuxta deos immortales pie-
5 [latem testabatur quam vero condigna praeminia vos es-
[se a nostra clementia consecutos liberis ac po]steris
[declarabit]

Tois sovroun] pantos anhrovov onous kal genous
Sekastrois Kal staron Taler. Odalor. Maziemein kal (leerer Raum)

Konnastenin] kal Odalor. Dikinnan Dikinnos. Papa tov

Dikos kal Pinarvou onous desies kal ikeia. "Ergos apo-
dedwron twn theon ton onovns ovmos filanovprios

10 [pasos, o thei] pantos basileias, ois thorkeia melamiantai

abtan uper tis ovmos ton pantov nektonov deostov

aiwovn swtorias, kalov oxein edokamasmen katafegin

pros thn abatpantos basileias kai deisynai tov pala

manikos Xristianos kai eis deipro thn athen vostov
THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

The following little monograph on a recent FIND has excited considerable interest in Germany and the Continent generally. It seems expedient to introduce it to the readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES by making it "speak English." The capable student will at once see how important a recovery this slab-document is, as shedding a ray of welcome light on an obscure period of Christianity. The attitude of the heathen world toward the "new religion" is not without a certain pathos of resistance to the inevitable; while the abundant learning of Mommsen enables him in various ways to illustrate and confirm the great ecclesiastical historian Eusebius. Nor is it without significance to find this illustrious scholar pronouncing unmistakably and bravely on the Heathen world toward the "new religion" is not without a certain pathos of resistance to the inevitable; while the abundant learning of Mommsen enables him in various ways to illustrate and confirm the great ecclesiastical historian Eusebius. Nor is it without significance to find this illustrious scholar pronouncing unmistakably and bravely on the Heathen world toward the "new religion." The attitude of the epoch to which the inscription belongs, but the correspondence is bad and vile. The writing, however, thanks to the efforts of Viennese friends, apart from that of a few broken letters, can be positively and decisively agreed upon. There is missing the upper part and the left edge, as well as

The writing—the Latin as well as the Greek—is of the first six lines of the right. The remaining lines are complete to the end. Below nothing is missing. There could hardly be a continuation on another slab.

Preserved on the slab is the conclusion of an imperial rescript in Latin, and a supplication addressed to the Emperor in the Greek tongue. We may stamp the former as an imperial edict, both from the language and the expression, line 4.,—am nostram. Indeed, according to its position it might be considered as an answer to the memorial appended to it, similar in both to what we find united in the records of the Skaptoparenians. Besides, the missing portions appeared so small in quantity that I had an idea of attempting a conjectural supplement. But when I placed the Document before Harnack, he drew attention to the striking agreement of this Latin appendix, with the concluding words of the similar—and subsequently to be mentioned—edict, addressed to the Tyrians and preserved in a Greek translation by Eusebius; and an examination of the cast undertaken by Bormann, established it as a certainty that the similar but slightly modified editing of this edict and ours must have been in the province of Lykia and Pamphylia.

I place here the concluding words as they appear in comparison, and remark that the Latin supplements are just as far suited to the exigencies of space as that of the matter in question is. Where, as usual and also here, the supplements to the text can not be restored in detail, and very different forms of the same things are possible, it seems expedient to confine oneself to the rough filling-up of gaps, and as far as possible to the simple restoration of the thought-connexion, especially as for the most part, scientifically, very little depends on whether they or that of the possible wordings deserves the preference.

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[quamcumque munificentiam voletis pro hoc vestro pro proposito petere,]

etiam nunc hoc facere et acceptisse vos credere licet, etiam sine mora. 

[quam vero condigna praemia vos esse a nostra clamentia consequitos]

The Greek Document permits in contents, although by no means in wording, of being supplemented with sufficient safety, and it is sufficiently noteworthy. The province of Lykia and Pamphylia begs the Emperor Maximinus and his co-regents to root out the godless Christians as dangerous to the existing religion. We know the historical connexion of this event. After Galerius had granted the Toleration Edict in favour of the Christians, his under-rulers also, from his side, admonished the magistrates to discountenance the persecution of the Christians. But when, after the death of Galerius, he had made himself ruler from Asia Minor to the Hellespont, and had at a council (=conference) on the Hellespont attained to a union, according to agreement, with Licinus the potentate of Eastern Europe, he then felt himself safer, and changed his conduct towards the Christians. 

Imprimis, relates the contemporary of the writing, De mortibus persecutorum, c. 36, indulgentiam Christianis communi titulo datam tollit subornatis legationibus civilatum, quae penterent, ne intra civilitates suas Christianis conventicula extruere licet, ut quasi coactus et impulsus facere videretur quod erat sponte facturus, quibus annuens, u. s. w. Eusebius is in agreement with this (H. Eccl., 9, 4, 7). After the higher officials had convinced themselves as to how the Emperor was in reality disposed towards the new religion, they caused a petition-storm for the renewal of the Christian hunt (N.B.—Cf. the present-day Juden Hetze in Russia—Jew hunt), to which the Emperor consented. Eusebius, after he has adduced as a proof the edict addressed to the Tyrians, concludes ταύτα δὲ καθ' ἡμῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπαρχίαν ἀνεστράλευτο. Therefore we have in this Document the original proof. Intrinsically analogous to this petition others had been, as put forth by the Government. Justifiably, then, Harnack urges that the train of thought of our Document agrees in general with the Tyrian, so far as this is revealed by the imperial answer. Just as in the Tyrian Document the advantages and blessings which the prompt and undisturbed divine service grants, are displayed in broader colours, in a similar manner the memorial of the Lykians begins, and probably also closed thus.

According to time the memorial falls in the year A.D. 311, or more probably A.D. 312, as a comparison with both the above-adduced historical reports shows. When the memorial arrived, Galerius was already dead. He died in A.D. 311, soon after the promulgation of the Toleration Edict of 30th April; and as the address of the Document shows, the union between Maximinus, Licinius, and Constantine, which, without doubt, was settled in the very same year, took place, and was not yet broken. The breaking took place after the betrothal of Licinius with Constantine’s sister, A.D. 312–13. Between Maximinus’s last religious edict—again in favour of the Christians (Eusebius, H. E. ix. 10)—which cannot have preceded the end of the catastrophe, A.D. 313—and his edicts promulgated against the Christians, which edicts were called forth by these and analogous memorials, lies, according to Eusebius (H. E. ix. 10, 12), less than a year. This leads to the above-given juxtaposition. This estimate is manifestly not irreconcilable with the juxtaposition of our Document in A.D. 311; but it suits better for the year following. After the death of Galerius, the ruling potentates appear, from what has been said, to have been Constantine, Licinius, and Maximinus. This was the succession prescribed by
Galerius (De mort. persec. secs. 32–43); and it corresponds with the epoch of nominations.

Constantinus was already, A.D. 306,—after his father's death,—summoned by Augustus. Together with him Licinius was recognised at the Congress in Carnuntum; whilst Maximinus only after this Congress was first proclaimed by his troops, and was then recognised by Galerius (De mort. persec. 32). But Maximinus had certainly already been summoned to Congress in A.D. 305 (De mort. persec. 32); (proscriptione temporis pugnat se priorem esse debere qui prior sumpsit purpuram) and, therefore, names him also in Egypt. He really succeeded in the Hellespontine treaty in securing that the first place should be granted to him among the three rulers, as both the writers record this (De mort. persec. 44), primi nominis titulum . . . sibi Maximinus vindicabat (Eusebius, H. E. ix. 10), kata twn ths basileias koumwn . . . tolmv nhmpt . . . prvaton evanv evai tivn anagorwv; and also the inscriptions confirm. Not merely those of the East, but also of the West (Inscription by Pratting in Noricum, c. i. lib. iii. 5565, celebrating a victory, 27th June, A.D. 310, won after the death of Galerius, probably in A.D. 311). Consequently, if our Document places him in the first position, Licinius to the third, so is conformity with doubtful (unsafe) supplementations: Line 7 [vestris declarabit], line 8 [tovs losithrav tov svm].-pantos anbropwv thnus, kai givos; line 16 [pros thn umwv abadwvov basileiv]; line 21, alwv[nevmati pantap]svn. It is not to be denied that the demanded brevity leads to more harshness in the proposed supplements. They were, doubtless, better in the original than what is placed above, but I cannot acknowledge smoothness as more convincing than safer supplements.

In a Document of this kind it cannot be decided that by accepting this gap the isolated word in the last line does not come to stand exactly in the middle, as would be demanded by more careful writing. By the nature of the Document we are precluded from reckoning up the exact space.

Line 9. After kai there is on the stone, as the drawing shows, an empty space, sufficient for the reception of five or six letters. I had considered this space on the casting which was submitted to me as an erasure; but I have been mistaken in this conception. "We have," Berndorf writes to me, "examined critically all three casts; the circumstance cannot be in doubt. The name of Maximinus has suffered a series of scratches, which make it indistinct, but they are such as otherwise subsequently, gladly read an advance in the tone and culture of this district.

In detail, I find the following, as regards the text, worthy of note. For fixing the size of the gap, both of the supplemental lines 10 and 11 are authoritative. The word Κω(n)σταντ(ινος) is wanting in the first, seeing that for the patronymic name space is left at the end of line 9. In the second, the supplemental Δικαίων καὶ Π does not also allow of being lengthened for the districts so far as administration firmly combined, and unmolested in their internal independence, are always to be understood as more simply an administrative circle, a province or ἔθνος. There is only one province, Ponti et Bithyniae (C. V. 5262, ix. 4985, xiv. 2925), ἐπαρχεῖα Πόντου καὶ Βιθυνίας (C. I. G. 1813δ), not provinces or ἐπαρχεῖα. We may also, probably, insert τον after καὶ. The usage of the language also prevents (as Berndorf rightly reminds us) the insertion of the article before both the national names. There are also wanting in line 10, ten or twelve; in line 11, ten letters, of which, however, as the break does not flow along quite uniformly, some terminate. Accordingly, the rest of the wording must be in conformity with doubtful (unsafe) supplementations: Line 7 [vestris declarabit], line 8 [tovs losithrav tov svm].-pantos anbropwv thnus, kai givos; line 16 [pros thn umwv abadwvov basileiv]; line 21, alwv[nevmati pantap]svn. It is not to be denied that the demanded brevity leads to more harshness in the proposed supplements. They were, doubtless, better in the original than what is placed above, but I cannot acknowledge smoothness as more convincing than safer supplements.
seen in the inscription, viz. in the first line of the Greek, without giving any impression of being intentional. The empty place following at the end of the second Greek line is, on the contrary, quite unscratched and smooth. If an erasure had been here, then not only would the complete smoothness have been unexplained, but also it would have been incomprehensible that the flatness could have now raised itself as a relief over the boundary lines, which are quite intact.” I have supposed this ought to be given again; for the acceptance of the erasure of a name (=extirpation) concerns not merely the extrinsic, but the out-chiselling of the name of Constantinus at the unscratched Licinius would probably be justified historically. But as this way out of the matter is not to be thought of, the omission, therefore, of ΦΛΑΟΥ or also ΦΑ ΟΥΛΑ, for which the place is sufficient enough, only leads us back to this, that the concipiant probably knew the name of the Eastern Emperor as well as that of his nearest neighbours, but not that of Constantinus. Whoever remembers the inconceivable confusion in which the interior Asiatic monuments of the third and fourth centuries introduce to us the imperial names, will not look at this solution—in my judgment the only one open—as inadmissible.

Lines 11–15 where the stone has ΙΗΠΙΑΚ, according to the proposals of Willamowitz. The motives precede: “The gods have shown that they bless those who protect them (=favour) in the interest of the empire.” This turn has here its especial grounds; also in the edict of Maximinus to the Tyrians, which Eusebius has preserved in the Greek translation (H. E. ix. 7), is the blessing on agriculture, and otherwise fully realised. Ὁμογενεῖς, the gods are called Jove and Hercules (Seneca, Ad. Marc. xv. 1) . . . diis geniti et deorum creatores (c. i. lib. iii. 710). Tertullian (Ad. Scap. 2), colimus . . . imperatorem . . . ut hominem a deo secundum . . . et solo deo minorem . . . . . Maiore formidine (Apolog. 28. Tert.) et calidore imitabat Cassarum observatis quam ipsum de Olympo Iovem. “We must honour the gods because the emperors are also gods, which the Christians certainly contest” (Tertullian, Ad. Scap. 2). Loyalty runs throughout, strongly tinctured with piety.

Line 15. Maximinus, Edict, c. 6. ἡ ἴμετέρα πόλις . . . ὅτε πάλιν ἰσχύσας τῶν τῆς ἐπαρχίας ματαιώσας γεγονότας ἔρειν ἀρχεσθαι . . . εἰδὼς πρὸς τὴν ἴμε­τέραν εὐσεβείαν . . . κατέργην.


Line 17. ἴμετέρους, according to the proposals of Gebhardt, in order to prepare in this first member of the clause for the following νότος. The Tyrians also request from the Emperor ταῖς τινι καὶ βοη­­θείαι (Euseb. ix. 7. 6). “The distinction,” remarks Harnack, “from πάλαι . . . εἰς δεύορ plays above all a part in the Tolerance resp. Persecution Edicts of that year.”

Lines 18, 20. The supplements are partly arranged according to the proposals of Harnack and Gebhardt.

Line 19. Similarly the same as passed in the edict to the Tyrians, c. 7, became determined μετὰ τοῦ ὀφειλομένου σεβάσματος τῆς θρησκείας καὶ τῶν ἱεραρρηκίων τῶν ἄδανατῶν θείων προσώπων; and c. 12, pronounced the hope that, after the expulsion of the Christians, the town will devote itself μετὰ τοῦ ὀφειλομένου σεβάσματος τῶν ἄδανατῶν θείων ιεραρρηκίως. Also in the writing of the pref. pretorio to the Stadthalter (Euseb. ix. 1. 3) the care of the Emperor for the same is framed so that καὶ οἱ ἄλλοτριοι Ρωμαίων συνθηκεῖα ἀκολουθεῖ τοις ὀφειλομέναις θρησκείαις τῶν ἄδανατωσ θείως ἐπιτε­λεῖν.

Line 22. There is the question as to the withdrawal of the permission granted to the Christians for a free divine worship. The letter is on the Toleration Edict of Galerius (Euseb. viii. 17; ix. 10) by συγχώρησις distinguished, in that of Constantinus oftener by ἔξοντα (Euseb. x. 5. 2, 3, 7, 8). “The letter and shorter word proposed by Gebhardt can be allowed here” (Harnack). It is known that Christians were designated ἄθεοι (Sybel’s Histor. Zeitsch., Bd. 64, 1890, s. 407); Euseb. i. 10. 12: παρ’ δ’ γε (Maximinus) μικρῷ πρόσθεν δυναστεῖς ἐδοκοῦντο καὶ ἄθεοι καὶ παντὸς ὀλέθρου τοῦ βίου.

Lines 23, 24. According to proposal of Willamowitz. The reference to the compulsory Emperor cult is plain.

Line 25. συμφερέντων, according to Harnack’s proposal. Cf. Maximinus (Euseb. ix. 10. 9): διατάξειν τοὺς ἴμετέρους ἄνθρωπος περὶ τὰ προσταγματα τὰ ἴμετερα.