

threads gave, generations later, Leibniz, Russell, and others many an hour of hard work. Plato seems to come face to face with a set of problems, bequeathed to him by his philosophical grandfathers, which

he passes on, without comment, to his progeny.

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VERBS COMPOUNDED WITH *TRANS-* IN LIVY'S TRIUMPH REPORTS

In the course of his history Livy is careful to report the triumphs of victorious Roman generals on their return to the city. One of the noteworthy features of these reports is the frequency of verbs compounded with *trans-* in the booty lists. The generals are often said *transferre*, *transvehere*, or *traducere* the spoils.¹ The meaning regularly assigned to the three verbs in the context of a triumph report is "to parade," "to carry in procession."² But these versions do not appear to give full force to the *trans-* prefix. Across what are the captured prisoners, money, weapons, and so forth being led or conveyed?

Central to the triumph was the ritual crossing of the *pomerium*. Even after he had been granted permission to triumph by the senate, the successful commander had to wait outside the *pomerium* until the ceremony itself.³ Only in the triumph ceremony could he come into Rome with his military *imperium* intact; if he entered the city otherwise than in the triumph, he automatically reverted to a merely civilian magistrate. Entry with complete military authority was an essential feature of the triumphal celebration.⁴

In his book *Triumphus*, H. Versnel explores in great detail this aspect of the Roman

triumph, which he explains as a rite that allows a person endowed with an extraordinary favor from the gods, derived in part from his unlimited *imperium militiae* and in part from his success in campaign, to pass on this favor to the community to which he returns. For Versnel the celebration thus is not only, nor perhaps chiefly, an honor for the general, but a means of benefiting the city by welcoming within it a person of superior divine gifts.⁵ The great value of the explanation for our purposes is the attention it redirects to the triumph as a solemn entry into the city. The Romans themselves made much of the actual entry, as the role of the *pomerium* in the triumphal ceremony shows; other indications are the use of the expression *triumphans urbem inire* (*invehi*) in the general's request to the senate, and the passage through a particular gate, the Porta Triumphalis.⁶

It seems reasonable to suggest that the specific connotation of the *trans-* verbs in triumph reports is a reference to the crossing of the *pomerium*. Their use focuses attention not on the fact of a parade or procession but on the initial significant act of the triumphal ceremony, the ritual entry into the city across the sacred boundary. We should understand

1. The usual verb is *ferre*: 6. 29. 8, 10. 46. 14, 26. 21. 7, 28. 9. 16, 30. 45. 3, 31. 20. 7, 31. 49. 7, 33. 23. 4 and 7, 33. 37. 11, 34. 10. 4 and 7, 34. 46. 2, 37. 46. 4, 37. 59. 3, 39. 5. 4, 39. 7. 1, 39. 42. 3, 40. 34. 8, 40. 43. 6, 41. 13. 7. *Transferre*: 33. 23. 9, 34. 52. 4 and 8, 36. 39. 2, 36. 40. 12, 37. 58. 4, 40. 16. 11, 40. 34. 8, 40. 59. 2, 41. 7. 2, 45. 40. 1, 45. 43. 4. *Transvehere*: 10. 46. 5, 33. 23. 4, 33. 37. 11, 36. 40. 11, 39. 7. 2. *Traducere*: 36. 40. 11. *Trans-* verbs also in descriptions of booty in triumphal processions in Plin. *NH* 33. 16, 141, 148, and 151, and 37. 13; Quint. 6. 3. 61; Florus 2. 12.

2. E.g., Lewis and Short, s. v.; F. Calonghi, *Dizionario latino-italiano* (Turin, 1950), s. v.; Weissenborn-Müller's edition with commentary (7^{te} Aufl., Berlin, 1883), on 23. 14. 4; the Loeb translation of Livy by E. Sage (London, 1936) at 33. 23. 5 or 34. 52. 4; the Budé translation of Livy by P. Jal (Paris, 1971), at 41. 7. 2; the Loeb translation of Pliny *NH* by H. Rackham (London, 1952), at 33. 16.

3. Cass. Dio 39. 65. 1, 55. 8. 1; Joseph. *BJ* 7. 123-31;

T. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*³, I (Leipzig, 1887), 127, n. 2; H. Versnel, *Triumphus: An Inquiry into the Origin, Development, and Meaning of the Roman Triumph* (Leyden, 1970), p. 163.

4. In addition to the references in the preceding note: Mommsen, *Staatsr.*³, I, 132; Von Blumenthal, s. v. "Pomerium," *RE*, XXI (1952), 1871 and bibliography there. On the differences between *imperium militiae* and *domi*: Cic. *Rep.* 1. 63, *Legg.* 3. 6 and 8.

5. Versnel, *Triumphus*, pp. 151-63, 384 ff.

6. *Triumphans urbem inire* (*invehi*): Versnel, *Triumphus*, p. 163. Whatever we make of the Porta Triumphalis, it seems unlikely to be other than on (or perhaps inside) the *pomerium* somewhere; for the most recent review and discussion of the problem, see F. Coarelli, "La Porta Trionfale e la Via dei Trionfi," *DArch.*, II (1968), 55-103, esp. 60 and notes. Further on the Porta: Versnel, *Triumphus*, pp. 132-34.

them as meaning, for instance, that the triumphator "brought across" or "brought in" sums of money and quantities of precious objects, that captives and sacrificial victims "were led in." Some further support for the association of *trans-* verbs and the *pomerium* may be found in two passages in Cicero, in both of which he is discussing a delicate religious and constitutional problem faced by the consul Ti. Gracchus (163 B.C.), when he omitted to take the auspices after crossing the *pomerium* in the course of holding the consular elections. Cicero says *pomerium transgressus esset* (*Div.* 1. 33) and *pomerium trans-*

iret (*Nat. D.* 2. 11). In this context there is certainly no question of a procession or parade. Likewise, we ought to consider the connotation of parading as secondary at best in the triumph notices; the first meaning of the *trans-* verbs has to do with crossing the *pomerium* of Rome.⁷ In the booty lists Livy is not so much giving a description of a holiday festival as reporting the performance of a religiously and constitutionally significant act.

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7. *Transfere* appears in one notice of a triumph *in monte Albano* (Livy 33. 23. 9); here, of course, the *triumphator* does not enter the city, but the verb may be explained as so standard in booty lists that Livy used it even when it was not strictly correct.

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