

the houses of the poor, in Cairo,<sup>8</sup> in Greece,<sup>9</sup> and in medieval England.<sup>10</sup> Donatus, explaining how the *hirundo* resembles Juturna, calls it *domestica*, which suggests that he thought it was nesting in the house.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Derek Goodwin, *Birds of Man's World* (University of Queensland Press, 1978), 25.

<sup>9</sup> D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (London and Oxford, 1936), 316.

<sup>10</sup> Brunsdon Yapp, *Birds in Medieval Manuscripts* (London, 1981), 112. Alexander of Canterbury, companion of St Anselm, mentions two swallows nesting indoors, in *cenaculo*; quoted under *HIRUNDO* in *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (Oxford, 1975–). See also Alexander Neckam, *De Naturis Rerum* 2.52.

<sup>11</sup> I warmly thank the anonymous referee who urged me to consult *BWP* and the books by André and Capponi.

## TWO UNIDENTIFIED SENATORS IN

JOSEPHUS, *A.J.* 19

Names of Romans in Josephus are notoriously liable to corruption. Two minor characters in his account of the assassination of Caligula have so far defied plausible emendation, 'Timidius' in *A.J.* 19.33–4 and 'Bathybius' in 19.91. The sources of Josephus' account of this dramatic episode were unquestionably high class—two, rather than one, Latin historians, as Wiseman has demonstrated, the main one (rather than the only one) being Cluvius Rufus, the other possibly Fabius Rusticus.<sup>1</sup>

### I. 'TIMIDIUS'

καὶ ἦν γὰρ Πομπήδιος συγκλητικὸς μὲν, τὰς ἀρχὰς δὲ διεληλυθὼς σχεδὸν ἀπάσας, Ἐπικούρειος δ' ἄλλως καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἀπράγμονος ἐπιτηδευτῆς βίου. τοῦτον ἐνδείκνυσιν Τιμίδιος ἐχθρὸς ὢν ὡς λοιδορίᾳ χρησάμενον ἀπρεπεῖ κατὰ τοῦ Γαίου μάρτυρα παραλαμβάνων Κυντιλίαν γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπιφανείᾳ τοῦ ὡραίου περιπούδαστον πολλοῖς τε οὖσαν καὶ τῷ Πομπηδίῳ. καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου, ψεῦδος γὰρ ἦν, δεινὸν ἡγουμένης μαρτυρίαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ παρασχεῖν, βασάνων ἐχρηζεν ὁ Τιμίδιος.

There was a certain Pompe dius, a man of senatorial rank who had held almost all the magistracies, but who otherwise was an Epicurean and because of that pursued a life free from state-affairs. He was accused by his enemy Timidius of having uttered disgraceful slanders against Gaius. As witness, Timidius called Quintilia, a stage performer, whose youth and beauty gave her many admirers, including Pompe dius. The charge was false, and the girl refused to give evidence that would send her lover to his death. Timidius demanded torture.

(trans. Wiseman, slightly modified)

Chaerea, who was to be the assassin, was obliged to carry out the torture, which Quintilia bravely withstood: in the event, she and Pompe dius were pardoned by Gaius.

<sup>1</sup> T. P. Wiseman, *Death of an Emperor* (Exeter, 1991), xii ff., 111ff. He attributes to Cluvius 24–61, 62–7, 70–93, 96–105, 109–57, 161–96, 198–211, 269–73, to the other source(s) (?Fabius Rusticus) 2–14, 17–23, 94–5, 158–60, 212–36, 237–45, 246–68, with minimal additional comment by Josephus himself (1, 15–16, 61, 68–9, 106–8, 196–8). He identifies in the second source 'a particular hatred of Claudius' over-powerful freedmen, and a disenchanting view of the rapacity, arrogance and incompetence of senators which contrasts conspicuously with the attitude of the main source' (xiii). If this is right, could not 62–7, or even 62–9, also come from this source, sc. Fabius Rusticus? The anti-Claudian freedmen motif is very pronounced here; and the whole section looks rather like an insertion.

'Pompeditus' has been plausibly emended to 'Pomponius', none other than the celebrated tragedian Pomponius Secundus, subject of a biography by the Elder Pliny and highly thought of by Tacitus.<sup>2</sup> Nothing much has been been offered for 'Timidius'. Wiseman comments that 'Timinius' is 'the closest attested Roman name'.<sup>3</sup> No senatorial Timinii are known. One might, instead, offer 'Tigidius'. But the Guard Prefect under Commodus, Perennis, is the first (and only) prominent bearer of that *gentilicium*.<sup>4</sup>

One might instead suggest a known senator from the period, C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus, quaestor in A.D. 14, praetor in 18, and, among other posts, later proconsul of Cyprus, governor of Lusitania in 37, suffect consul c. 40, governor of Dalmatia under Claudius and of Syria from 51 until 60, when he expired there.<sup>5</sup> The rare name 'Ummidius' is in fact transmitted in a variety of forms in the MSS: a presumed forebear is 'Immidius' and 'Minidius' in the MSS of Varro, *De Re Rustica* 3.3.9, and perhaps is the 'Ummius' in Cicero, *Ad Fam.* 16.14.1;<sup>6</sup> he himself is *Οὐμμίδιος* and *Νουμμίδιος* in Josephus, *Ant.* 20.125 and *B.J.* 2.239. Variants in Tacitus are even more numerous: 'Ummidium' in *Ann.* 12.45.4 is transmitted as 'Tummidium', 't. umidium', 't. humidium', 't. uinidium', 'tum umidium', 'tum midium', 'tum humidium', 'tum midum', 'tum nudium';<sup>7</sup> in 13.8.2 'umidium', 'numidium', 'humidium' and 'uinidium' are reported; and in 14.26.2, for 'Ummidii', 'umidii', 'humidii', 'uinidii', 'iumidii'.<sup>8</sup> For his great-grandson the MSS of Pliny, *Epp.* 6.11.1 have 'Umidium', 'Vinidium', 'nummidium', 'Tummidium';<sup>9</sup> he is 'Umidius' in *HA Hadr.* 15.7; and a later descendant is 'Mummius' in *HA M. Ant. Phil.* 7.4.<sup>10</sup> For Ummidia Quadratilla, the long-lived and spritely granddaughter of C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus, the readings 'nVmidia', 'Vimnidia', 'Valmidia' and 'Commidia' are found in Pliny, *Epp.* 7.24.1.<sup>11</sup>

A reading 'Tumidius', which might go back to 'C. Ummidius' via 'Cumidius' in Josephus' source, could surely be the explanation for 'Timidius'. Ummidius was presumably at Rome in January 41. If the identification be acceptable, this would be a further item to the discredit of a senator about whom Tacitus took a dim view: for him the governor of Syria was 'the sponsor of an inglorious policy in Armenia and later

<sup>2</sup> P. M. Swan, 'A consular Epicurean', *Phoenix* 30 (1976), 54–60, followed by *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 754. The story is also in Dio 60.26.4, who calls this man 'Pomponius', and Suetonius, *Cal.* 16.4, who does not name him. The identification is not cited by Wiseman (n. 1), 51, who notes that 'Pompeditus' is 'sometimes identified with the Pompeius Pennus mentioned by Seneca (*De Beneficiis* 2.12)'. He suggests 'Poppaedi' as a possible correction, comparing Diodorus, 37.2.9 for this name being transmitted as 'Poppaedi'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (Berlin, 1933<sup>2</sup>), 242, who compares this passage.

<sup>4</sup> *HA Comm.* 4.7, cf. *PIR*<sup>1</sup> T 146, and *AE* 1971. 534 (the *tabula Banasitana*). Note also 'Tibidius', Schulze (n. 3), add. to 374 (a single case), and 'Titidius', *ibid.* 198.

<sup>5</sup> On him most recently, E. Dąbrowa, *The Governors of Roman Syria from Augustus to Septimius Severus* (Bonn, 1998), 49–53.

<sup>6</sup> Thus F. Münzer, *RE* 9A.1 (1961), 597; rejected by D. R. Shackleton Bailey in his *Commentary*, ad loc.

<sup>7</sup> As reported by H. Weiskopf, *P. Cornelii Taciti Annalium libri XI–XII adnotationibus criticis ex omnibus codicibus qui exstant hausti* (Vienna, 1973), 102.

<sup>8</sup> The fullest apparatus available seems to be that in the Budé edition, vol. 4, *Annales (livres XIII–XVI)*, ed. P. Willeumier (1978), 10, 93.

<sup>9</sup> In the Budé edn, vol. 2 (*livres IV–VI*), ed. A.-M. Guillemin (1967), 109.

<sup>10</sup> This might be a misreading of 'M. Umm<id>ium', since this man, nephew of M. Aurelius and *cos. ord.* 167, was Marcus.

<sup>11</sup> Budé edn, vol. 3 (*livres VII–IX*), 35.

conceiving bitter envy of Corbulo'.<sup>12</sup> It may readily be supposed that Tacitus had occasion to refer to the accusation of 'Pompedius' in his own account of the conspiracy against Caligula; and if 'Pompedius' was indeed the Pomponius Secundus whom he so much respected, he no doubt had all the more reason to give an unfavourable portrayal of the role of 'Timidius' or Ummidius in A.D. 41.<sup>13</sup>

## II. 'BATHYBIUS'

συγκαθημένης δὲ τῆς πληθύος καὶ τοῦ Χαιρέου σὺν τοῖς χιλιάρχοις οὐκ ἄπωθεν τοῦ Γαίτου, δεξιὸν δὲ τοῦ θεάτρου κέρας ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶχεν, Βαθύβιος τις τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἀνὴρ ἐστρατηγητικῶς ἤρετο Κλούϊον παρακαθεζόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτον ὑπατικόν, εἰ δὴ τις αὐτῷ νεωτέρων πραγμάτων περὶ ἀφίκοιτο πύστις, προμηθῆς γενόμενος τοῦ μὴ ἐξάκουστος εἶναι τάδε λέγων. τοῦ δὲ φαμένου μηδὲν πεπύσθαι σημείον 'τοιγαροῦν, ὦ Κλούϊε, τυραννοκτονίας ἀγὼν πρόκειται.' καὶ ὁ Κλούϊος 'ὦ γενναῖε', φησὶν, 'σίγα, μή τις τ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν μῦθον ἀκούσῃ.'

The audience settled down. The emperor occupied the right-hand extremity of the theatre; Chaerea and the other tribunes were not far away. Bathybius, a senator of praetorian rank, was sitting next to Cluvius, an ex-consul. Taking care not to be overheard, he asked him whether any news of revolution had come to his ears. Cluvius replied that he had heard nothing. 'Well, Cluvius, today's contest is a tyrannicide.' To which Cluvius answered, 'Friend, hold thy peace, lest other of the Greeks should hear thy word.'

(trans. Wiseman)

As it happens, in this passage, which provided the initial impetus for identifying Cluvius Rufus as Josephus' source, the name is transmitted as Κλούϊος. Hence some doubt about the identification.<sup>14</sup> Be this as it may, 'Bathybius' is certainly a problem: 'the name is unparalleled, un-Roman, and clearly corrupt, but no likely emendation has yet been offered'.<sup>15</sup> 'Vatinius' seems to have held the field, reasonably enough, since the MSS have not only Βαθύβιος but also Βατίβιος.<sup>16</sup> But no Vatinius of the period who was a senator (or even a knight) is known. An alternative might be 'Pacuvius', which would become Πακύβιος in Greek. 'Pacuvius' in Josephus' source could have been misread as 'Pativius' and perhaps misheard as 'Bativius'.

At any rate, there is a known character in this period who might fit what the Josephus passage reveals about 'Bathybius': an ex-praetor making a learned joke, to which Cluvius replied with a modified quotation from Homer (*Iliad* 14.90–1). Seneca has a story about

<sup>12</sup> R. Syme, in his paper 'The Ummidii', *Roman Papers* 2 (1979), 659–93, at 661, repr. from *Historia* 17 (1968), 72–105, at 75, the first of two major contributions of his on this family (following a brief item in 'Missing persons III', *Historia* 11 [1962], 146–55, at 154 = *Roman Papers* 2.530–40, at 538): cf. also 'Ummidius Quadratus, capax imperii', *HSCP* 83 (1979), 287–310 = *Roman Papers* 3 (1984), 1158–78. The Ummidii crop up again often in *Roman Papers* 4–7.

<sup>13</sup> It may be registered that the form 'Numidius' must have been responsible for the naming of a Rome Metro station—Linea A, on the via Toscolana—as 'Numidio Quadrato'. It is difficult to see how this could be justified. Even if the name were correct, surely none of the Ummidii deserve this accolade, otherwise given to e.g. 'Furio Camillo' and 'Giulio Agricola'. One's first inclination might be to enquire whether an inscription naming an Ummidius Quadratus had been found at the site. But Silvio Panciera kindly writes as follows: 'Numidio era evidentemente per Ummidio e forse per confusione con nomi come Numa Pompilio, Numanzia, Numidia. I miei allievi mi fanno notare che si trova in un quartiere (il Quadraro) la cui toponomastica è tutta derivata da personaggi della storia romana, più o meno noti. Non credo che abbia rapporti con particolari rinvenimenti.' Perhaps the name 'il Quadraro' made 'Quadrato' seem particularly attractive.

<sup>14</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1202, 1206; R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford, 1958), 287.

<sup>15</sup> Wiseman (n.1), 59.

<sup>16</sup> Thus *PIR*<sup>1</sup> V 208; *RE* VIIIA.1 (1955), 520, no. 5. The conjecture goes back to J. Hudson (1720).

Pacuvius, qui Syriam usu suam fecit, cum vino et illis funebribus epulis sibi parentaverat, sic in cubiculum ferebatur a cena, ut inter plausus exoletorum hoc ad symphoniam caneretur: *βεβιωται, βεβιωται*. nullo non se die extulit. (Epp. 12.8)

Tacitus registers him as legate of the Syrian legion VI Ferrata in A.D. 19 (Ann. 2.79.2). He probably governed the province *de facto* for long years in the absence of the official legate Aelius Lamia (Ann. 6.17.2).<sup>17</sup> At all events, he was likely to have been an ex-praetor if still alive in January 41, and was a likely enough person to have had the exchange with Cluvius.

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<sup>17</sup> R. Syme, ZPE 41 (1981), 130 = Roman Papers 3 (1984), 1380; PIR<sup>2</sup> P 46.

#### SIX NOTES ON THE TEXT OF SENECA, NATVRALES QVAESTIONES

The most recent and by far the best edition of this work is that of H. M. Hine (Stuttgart/Leipzig, 1996), to which I refer for full bibliographical information. Many passages of the text are most helpfully discussed in the same scholar's *Studies in the Text of Seneca's Naturales Quaestiones* (Stuttgart/Leipzig, 1996).

ut nubes infici possint, . . . sol ad hoc apte ponendus est; non enim idem facit undecumque effulsit, et ad hoc opus est radiorum idoneus *ictus*. (1.5.9)

Seneca is dealing with rainbows. Hine (*Studies*, 24–5) shares Axelson's suspicion of *ictus*, but is unhappy both with Axelson's *situs* ('seems too static a word for the sun's rays') and with my *tractus*, 'direction' ('in this sense seems to be used only of concrete physical objects'); very tentatively he suggests *angulus*. Much more credible palaeographically and still yielding good sense and a good clausula would be *i<mp>etus*, a noun which is very common in this work of Seneca's.

Hostius fuit Quadra obscenitatis in *scaenam* usque perductae. (1.16.1)

Hine (*Studies*, 31–2) defends *scaenam*, in my view unsuccessfully; I am not convinced by 'obscenity carried right to the point of publicity', that is, brought right into the open rather than kept private and little known. In my view *scaenam* is due to perseveration from *obsценitatis* and has displaced another noun, probably one which bore some resemblance to it. I suggest *summam*; for *in* (or *ad*) *summam* (or *summum*) *perducere* TLL 10.1.1287.63ff. adduces Cicero, *Brut.* 161 *iam ad summum paene esse perductam* (sc. *artem dicendi*); id., *Leg.* 1.25 *perfecta et ad summum perducta natura*; Seneca, *Epp.* 90.46 (*animo*) *edocto et ad summum assidua exercitatione perducto*; Quintilian, *Inst.* 12.11.28 *perductae in summum artes*; ibid. 10.7.18 (*facilitatem*) *a parvis initiis paulatim perducemus ad summam*; add Seneca, *Dial.* 2.5.4 (*uirtus*) *in summum perducta*. 'Obscenity carried right to extremes' is an apt headline to introduce the account of the outrageous sexual shenanigans that occupies the rest of the chapter.