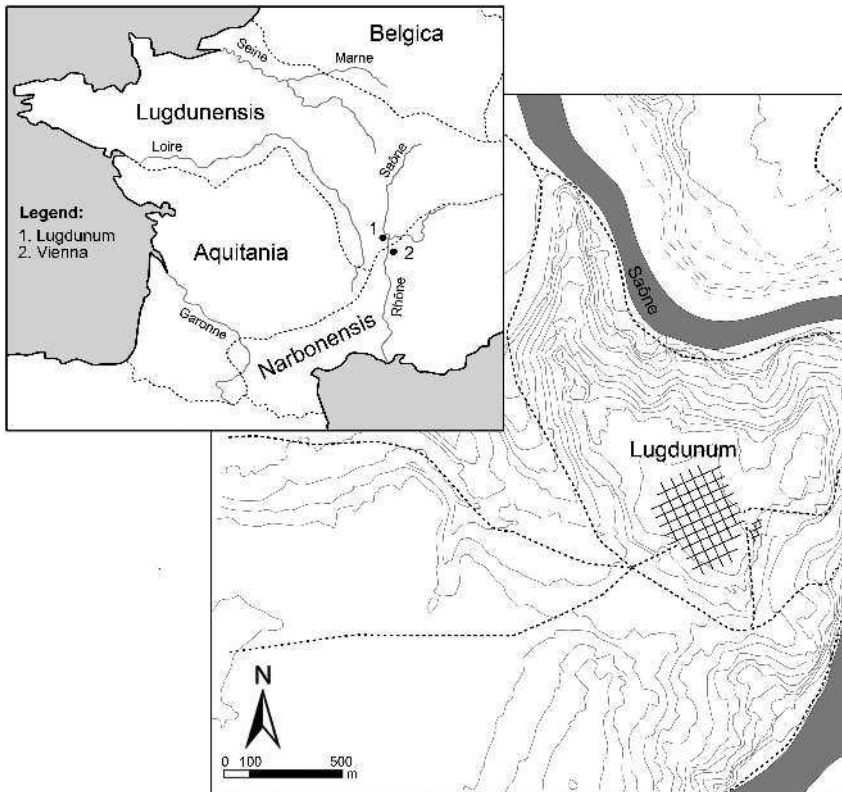


INTRODUCTION



Map 1 Gallia Comata (the Three Gauls) and the Roman colony of Lugdunum at the confluence of the Rhone and Saone

I THE *TABVLA LVGDVNENSIS*

1 *Copying and Editing the Tabula*

In November 1528, during renovations to his vineyard ('la Vinagère') on the south slope of La Croix-Rousse (formerly Saint-Sébastien) in Lyon, the merchant and hotelier Roland Gribaud unearthed two large bronze tablets elegantly inscribed with Latin.¹ When Claude de Bellièvre (1487–1557), a city alderman and antiquarian, inspected Gribaud's discovery he realised that the two tablets joined to form part of one tablet;² that the tablet preserved a speech; and that the speaker mentioned Lugdunum itself in the second column (II 29 *ex Luguduno*). Grasping the importance of the discovery to the ancient history of Lyon, de Bellièvre arranged for the tablet to be purchased by the city in the following March, and the *Tabula Lugdunensis* has been on display in a variety of locations there ever since.³

In 1529 de Bellièvre produced the first transcription of the *Tabula* for his unpublished *Lugdunum priscum*, a digest of literary and material evidence about the ancient city.⁴ De Bellièvre's minuscule text contained only a handful of errors, respected the original line-lengths of the *Tabula*,⁵ and, crucially, distinguished between his attempts at restoration and the preserved text: his transcription reveals that a small amount of text has since been lost during the inscription's peregrinations.⁶ On the other hand, de Bellièvre's work on the *Tabula* brought him no closer to understanding the historical setting of the speech it records. He first associated the Drusus of II 35 with M. Livius Drusus,

¹ For the date see further Fabia 13; Allmer–Dissard 61. For the location see below, section I.2.

² Badoud (2002) 172.

³ The *Tabula* is now in the Musée Gallo-Romain in Lyon, inventory number AD 12. For the display locations see Allmer–Dissard 63–8; Hirschfeld 233; Fabia 15–18.

⁴ Badoud (2002) 171. The *Lugdunum priscum* survives in manuscript as Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de médecine, MS H 257 (transcript of the *Tabula* at fos. 63v–65r), and was published in the nineteenth century: see de Bellièvre 96–9 for the printed transcript of the *Tabula*.

⁵ Badoud (2002: 171 n. 21) notes the following transcriptional errors, I 13 *erat* (*erat et*), I 22 *appellatus* (*appellitatus*), I 22 *Mastarda* (*Mastarna*), I 25 *illorum* (*florum*), I 33 *rursus* (*rusus*), I 35 *seni* (*seni et*), I 37 *bella* (*bella a*), II 13 *queso* (*quaeso*), II 30 *familiares* (*-que*). De Bellièvre (100) shifted the responsibility for the quality of his transcription to the *Tabula*: 'si quid his tabularum exemplaribus scriptum uideatur inepte, non me accuset, dum sum sequutus tabulas istas'. The text in 1846 does not reproduce line-lengths or indicate de Bellièvre's editorial interventions.

⁶ At I 25 de Bellièvre transcribed *ei[u]s* where now stands only *ei-*. See Badoud (2002) 171–2, 194–5. See also below on Maludan.

the tribune of 91 BC, and later, in 1536, with the elder Drusus, the father of Claudius and Germanicus: this connection led him to identify the speaker with the prince rather than the *princeps* and to place the inscription on a monument Germanicus allegedly raised to his father.⁷

A better understanding of the speech and its context was demonstrated by two scholars who studied the *Tabula* in the following decade. The Swiss statesman and scholar Aegidius Tschudi (1505–72) saw the *Tabula* perhaps on his visit to Lyon in 1536 and between 1545 and 1555 wrote two transcriptions with notes and marginalia as part of his research into an ancient history of Gallia Comata, particularly from epigraphic sources.⁸ Tschudi realised that the text of the *Tabula* formed part of the speech of the emperor Claudius recorded by Tacitus, whose *Annals* 11–16 had debuted in print in the early 1470s.⁹ He misdated the occasion of the speech to 49, however, and harboured initial doubts about the identity of the speaker that had disappeared by the time he produced the second transcription.¹⁰ Meanwhile, the Lyonnais antiquarian Guillaume du Choul (1496–1560), claiming to be working ten years after Gribaud's discovery (i.e. in 1538), produced for his unpublished *Antiquités romaines*, which he finished in 1547, a transcription that he copied out from de Bellièvre's, a popular source of the text among contemporaries.¹¹ Like Tschudi, du Choul identified the text of the *Tabula* correctly as a 'quasi semblable' version of the speech of Claudius in Tacitus.¹²

The scholarship of Tschudi and du Choul demonstrates that between 1536 and 1547 the *Tabula* was recognised as preserving part of a speech by the emperor Claudius which was reproduced by Tacitus.¹³ Their views, however, languished in contemporary obscurity because their works remained

⁷ For the later identification see de Bellièvre 175–7; Badoud (2002) 171–2.

⁸ Badoud dates Tschudi's acquaintance with the *Tabula* to 1536. The two transcriptions are held by the Abbey Library of St Gall: MS 668 dates to c. 1545 (Badoud (2002) Figure 1), MS 1089 (evidently from the same archetype) to between 1546 and 1555. Tschudi reproduced almost all line-lengths exactly, but ignored epigraphic features and did not distinguish text from restoration. He omitted the first surviving line of column II and erred about twice as often as de Bellièvre. Tschudi's work on Gallia Comata was not published until the middle of the eighteenth century. See Badoud (2002) 173–5, 177–82.

⁹ Malloch (2013) 16.

¹⁰ Badoud (2002) 176.

¹¹ Badoud observes that du Choul omitted the first surviving line of column II, did not mark his restorations to the text, often omitted the first letter of diphthongs, and to de Bellièvre's nine errors added triple that number of his own. The 1537 transcription of S. Champier relied heavily on de Bellièvre's, and G. Paradin used Champier's text in his *De antiquo statu Burgundiae liber* (1542: 115–19). See Badoud (2002) 183–5.

¹² Badoud (2002) 182–4 (quotation from du Choul at 183).

¹³ Badoud (2002) 192.

unpublished.¹⁴ Around 1559, for example, Jean Maludan, the tutor of Henri de Mesmes (1532–96), wrote a transcription which stands as a useful witness to the first surviving line of column I, but which arranges the fragments of the *Tabula* in the incorrect order and shows no awareness of the identification of the speech espoused by Tschudi and du Choul.¹⁵ It would fall to a contemporary Lyonnais jurist and philologist, approaching the subject afresh, to establish in print the connection between Tacitus and the *Tabula*.

M. Vertranius Maurus was the first to include a text of the *Tabula* in a work devoted to Tacitus, his *Notae* to the *Annals* and *Histories* published in 1569.¹⁶ After misidentifying the speaker in an earlier study,¹⁷ Vertranius now correctly associated the *Tabula* with Claudius and with the speech Tacitus gives him in *Annals* 11. In his note on 11.25.1 he refers the reader to his diplomatic text of the *Tabula*, which he appears to have transcribed himself.¹⁸ Vertranius produced the most accurate text to date, represented the T longa, the I longa, the interpuncts, and the paragraphs, but not the line-lengths.¹⁹ He was evidently the first to propose that the *senatus consultum* following Claudius' speech (Tac. 11.25.1) was also displayed with it.²⁰

Vertranius' text enjoyed an influential afterlife. It was reprinted by G. Paradin in his *Mémoires de l'histoire de Lyon* (1573),²¹ which supplied the text published

¹⁴ Badoud (2002) 173, 186.

¹⁵ Badoud (2002) 188–9. Maludan wrote his transcription in minuscule (but for *MAE* at I 1), reproducing some paragraph-breaks, including punctuation, but ignoring the first surviving line of column II and line-lengths. His text of the first surviving line of column I, *mae rerum nostra*, is a useful witness: if accurate, it suggests that the letters *-stra-* from (probably) *nostrarum* (Hirschfeld) were subsequently lost (see I 1 n.). On the other hand, the transcription contains a number of errors, and their frequency and character suggest to Badoud (2002: 188 n. 118) that Maludan worked from a lost copy of the text.

¹⁶ The edition of 1569 includes a dedicatory letter dated 1559. Ulery (1986: 100) records an edition printed in Lyon in 1560 ('May be the 1569 edition') and an edition of 1565. On Vertranius' notes see also Bartera (2016) 118.

¹⁷ In the context of a short quotation of II 10–14 in his *De iure liberorum liber singularis*, Vertranius identified the speaker as Claudius' nephew, Drusus (1558: 134–5; Badoud (2002) 186).

¹⁸ Fabia (30) reasonably deduced from the *exscripsimus* of Vertranius (123, on Tac. 11.25.1) that he produced his transcription directly from the *Tabula*.

¹⁹ Errors: I 8 *ne*, I 12 *Demarato*, I 33 *rursus*, II 8 *recipiendos*, II 15 *palestricum*, II 17 *beneficium*, II 29 *Lugduno*. Of the fragmentary extant first lines of each column Vertranius represented only I 1 *nostr* and II 1 *sane*.

²⁰ See below, section I.4.

²¹ In an appendix Paradin printed Vertranius' majuscule text, adjusted from his own examination of the *Tabula* to include a fuller I 1 (*mae rerum nostr...sii...*) and to reflect e.g. line-lengths, but in his main text, according to Badoud (2002: 186–7), he

by J. Gruterus in his monumental *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani* (1602),²² and by J. Lipsius (1547–1606) in his commentary on Tacitus (1581).²³ Thereafter Lipsius used other copies of the *Tabula* to emend the text of Vertranius.²⁴ The enormous influence Lipsius exerted over Tacitean studies guaranteed the influence of Vertranius on the text of the *Tabula* into the nineteenth century. Lipsius' copy of the *Tabula* was reprinted with adjustments, for example, by J. A. Ernesti in the eighteenth century and by G. A. Ruperti in 1834.²⁵

G. Brotier (1723–98) was unusual among eighteenth-century editors of Tacitus: he sidestepped Lipsius and procured a fresh transcription of the *Tabula*. Brotier's text is free from almost all the errors of Vertranius, and, in his second edition, he filled a gap at I 33 in *[pl]uris*. The deserved popularity of this restoration renders his transcription close to the standard text printed today, and his inclusion of brief notes on select topics also looked forward to developments in the following century.²⁶

When, early in the nineteenth century, B. G. Niebuhr (1776–1831) turned his penetrating mind to the *Tabula*, the results were that mixture of truth

reprinted in minuscule the transcription of Champier (with omissions at the top of the columns).

²² In his diplomatic text, Gruterus observed line-lengths, the T longa, and I longa, and, according to Fabia (32), was the first editor to indicate the find-site, *Tabulae aerae duae Lugduni erutae ad latus aedis S. Sebastiani*...

²³ Lipsius first printed a text of the *Tabula* in his *Commentarius* of 1581 'Vertranii fide' (Lipsius *Comm.* 302–6, on Tac. 11.25.1). He included many interpuncts and the I longa, but ignored line-lengths and the T longa.

²⁴ From 1585 onwards, Lipsius printed the *Tabula* 'exscriptorum fide' (Lipsius *Comm.* 1585, 116). In his posthumous edition of 1607 the *Tabula* was printed in *Excursus A to Ann.* 11 (Lipsius 1607, 528–30). These excursuses were often reprinted (see below). One influence on his text was Brissonius, who printed I 33–4 *quid imp...|uris*, but otherwise reproduced the text of Vertranius (Fabia 31). Lipsius printed *imp-* from his edition of 1585 onwards, and in his 'Auctarium' to Smetius printed the *Tabula* 'e Brissonio' (Lipsius, *Auctarium* 23).

²⁵ Ernesti and Ruperti replicated Lipsius' excursus containing the *Tabula*, but both made adjustments. Ernesti, following Gruterus, added a (corrected) title and printed ...*nostr...sii...* at I 1. Ruperti also printed *sii*, but read *noster* in the same line.

²⁶ In his 'notae et emendationes' to Tac. 11.24.1 Brotier¹ remarked that he was supplied with a transcription of the *Tabula* by one Cl. Beraud, who worked from the inscription. Brotier¹ printed a diplomatic text that observed paragraphs, interpuncts, the T longa and I longa, but not line-lengths. Brotier² printed the text in minuscule and included glosses on the text *in situ*. Brotier¹ avoided the errors of Vertranius but for II 29 *Lugduno*, added a new one, the complete omission of II 17 *beneficium* (omitted also in Brotier²), and included no more of the extant first line of column II than Vertranius. As the restoration at I 33 occurs only in Brotier², it was presumably not the suggestion of Beraud. The notes in Brotier² are fuller and sounder.

and error so characteristic of innovative scholarship. While Niebuhr's main interest in the inscription was historiographical, he made four pronouncements on the state of the text. Three were very perceptive indeed: he proposed I 22 *appellitauit* for the ungrammatical *appellitatus* and II 37–8 *a census* for the nonsense of *adcensus*,²⁷ and, comparing the speech of the *Tabula* with the version of Tacitus, he inferred that the *Tabula* lacked much more text than it preserved – up to three-quarters of the original speech.²⁸ Less successfully, he attempted to overturn the conventional arrangement of the two columns. Proceeding from the same comparison of the *Tabula* and Tacitus, he judged it more credible to assume that column II preceded column I than to assume that Tacitus had rearranged the structure of Claudius' speech.²⁹ Niebuhr seems never to have laid eyes on the *Tabula*. He worked with C. F. Menestrier's diplomatic text, which had the virtue of observing the exact line-lengths of the text, but, not unusually for the time, did not represent the outlines of the two fragments of the tablet.³⁰ Niebuhr could not have known that there was an irrefutable material basis for the conventional arrangement of the columns.

This neglect of the material medium of Claudius' speech characterised the first monograph devoted to the *Tabula*, C. Zell's edition of 1833.³¹ Zell (1793–1873) argued for the same rearrangement of the columns as Niebuhr: reversing their order would remove the structural discrepancy between the *Tabula* and Tacitus.³² Nonetheless he printed a text based on those of J. Sponius³³ and Menestrier according to the traditional arrangement,³⁴ and by 1857 he had

²⁷ Less convincing was his proposal of *inter plures* for *in pluris* at I 33–4.

²⁸ Niebuhr (1811) = (1843) 30. See below, section I.3.

²⁹ Niebuhr (1811) = (1843) 31; Fabia 34.

³⁰ Menestrier represented the interpuncts, dispensed with the I longa, and shared the errors of Vertranius but for a fuller representation of I 1 (*mae rerum nostr....sii...*) and a variation of that at II 8, *reiciendos*. See also Fabia 27.

³¹ As it did the otherwise fine (and far superior) text of F. Artaud, a transcription in majuscule observing line-lengths, T longa, I longa, and interpuncts. Its only errors are II 17 *beneficium* and (probably) I 33 *im-*. See also Fabia 33.

³² Zell 17; Zell 1850, 295 n. 1. Zell did not mention the theory of Niebuhr, which he would not have seen in print until 1843.

³³ Sponius printed a diplomatic text which avoided Vertranius' errors at I 8, I 12, II 15, II 29, paid some attention to interpuncts and I longa, but ignored line-lengths, printed only *sii* from I 1, omitted *nouo* from II 2, and misplaced the T longa. See also Fabia 25–6.

³⁴ Zell 9 = Zell 1857, 102–3; Fabia 35 n. 2. In his edition of 1833 Zell followed the text of Menestrier more closely than the superior one of Sponius. He printed I 8 *nec* after Sponius and otherwise shared the errors of Menestrier (I 12 *Demarato*, I 33 *rursus*, II 8 *reiciendos*, II 15 *palestricum*, II 17 *beneficium*), but for II 29 *Lugduno* (see corrigenda). Zell's 1850 text differed in printing II 29 *Lugduno*. The revision of

recognised that this arrangement was correct.³⁵ In his commentary, the fullest to date, Zell concentrated on textual and historical matters in a treatment which became an important source for future study of the inscription.³⁶

A. de Boissieu (1807–86) was responsible for the first of three significant editions of the *Tabula* to appear in the second half of the nineteenth century. He directly supervised the copying of the *Tabula* and printed it as a diplomatic and majuscule text.³⁷ The diplomatic text was not a precise copy, but the presentation of the outlines of the two fragments of the *Tabula* made a crucial point.³⁸ By showing that the fragments joined along their damaged edges and that some letters of column I survive on the fragment bearing column II, de Boissieu decisively demonstrated that the traditional arrangement of the columns was correct.³⁹

Secondly, A. Allmer (1815–99) and P. Dissard (1852–1926) produced the most comprehensive treatment of the *Tabula* prior to Fabia in their *Musée de Lyon: inscriptions antiques* of 1888.⁴⁰ They improved on de Boissieu in their discussion of the discovery, display, and textual condition of the

the 1833 monograph for his *Opuscula academica Latina* of 1857 produced a slightly fuller (II 1 *esi sane*) and more accurate text (errors: II 8 *reiciendos*, II 15 *palestricum*, and in the diplomatic text at II 29 *Lugduno*).

³⁵ Zell 1857, 114 (in a new note to p. 17 of his 1833 monograph): ‘tabularum binarum vel potius columnarum ordo, qualem editiones monumenti exhibent recte habet, ut externam fragmentorum binorum speciem intuenti nunc denuo conglutinatorum continuo apparet’.

³⁶ Fabia 34–5.

³⁷ Fabia 36–7.

³⁸ De Boissieu represented the fragmentary first lines of both columns inexactly and only ten of the eighteen places where text from column I survives on the fragment containing column II: I 18 *u-i*, I 19 *pos-t*, I 22 *Mastarn-a*, I 23 *r-ei*, I 28 *consulari i-e*, I 31 *con-u*, I 32 *po-ea*, I 36 *imper-i*, I 37 *quibu-s*, I 38 *nimi-o* (omitted: I 8 *succ-es*, I 9 *ext-er*, I 10 *qu-i*, I 20 *Caelian-i*, I 30 *tu-r*, I 33 *in...-u*, I 34 *militu-m*, I 40 *ciuitat-em*). The majuscule text is comparably imprecise. It departs in two places from the diplomatic text without any notation (II 8 *reiciendos*, II 17 *beneficium*). De Boissieu printed *appellitatus* and recorded Niebuhr’s *appellitauit* in a note, but at I 33 he printed Brotier’s *in pluris* without attributing it to him.

³⁹ De Boissieu 136–7. Shortly after de Boissieu, A. Comarmond published a diplomatic text which also showed the outline of the fragments. He represented the text more accurately than de Boissieu in several places where column I is defective (I 1 *-mae rerum no...sui u...s*, I 5 *et*, I 7 *succ-s* (omits *e*), I 10 *qu-* (omits *i*), I 30 *tu-r*, I 33 *in...-u*; omitted altogether: I 9 *ext-er*, I 20 *Caelian-i*, I 34 *militu-m*, I 40 *ciuitat-em*) and in the surviving top line of column II (II 1 *iesi* [or *te-] sane*), but his treatment of the *Tabula* was otherwise inferior (Fabia 36, 37–8).

⁴⁰ M. Dissard assisted with the collation of their copy of the *Tabula* (Allmer–Dissard 71).

Tabula, and the diplomatic text they produced was more accurate;⁴¹ less satisfactory was their disregard of line-lengths in the transcription (because they were clear in the diplomatic text?), their handling of the Latin of the *Tabula*, and their translation.⁴²

Thirdly, at the end of the century, O. Hirschfeld (1843–1922) produced for the *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* (1899) what became the standard modern edition of the text of the *Tabula*.⁴³ The diplomatic text, the most accurate to date, illustrates the edges of the two fragments of the *Tabula* where they affect the preservation of the text, and the minuscule transcription also improved on Allmer–Dissard by observing line-endings. Hirschfeld contributed brief textual notes which reveal that he judged the *appellitatus* of the *Tabula* wrong but not where he found *appellitauit*, or indeed the source of the readings *in pluris* and *a census*. He is more candid about his own textual proposals, and they were impressive: he made a fine guess at part of the first surviving line of column I, [*sum*] *mae rerum no[straru]m sit u[tilis]*, where the sixteenth-century transcript of J. Maludan (if accurate) shows that *nostrarum* must be right, and he reprinted from a note of 1881 a compelling restoration of the first surviving line of column II, *nouo m[ore] t[er]m[in]i d[i]u[er]s[i] Aug[ustinus] au[tem] on[is] m[un]d[us]*.⁴⁴

The independent texts of the *Tabula* published by nineteenth-century scholars contributed to liberating contemporary editors of Tacitus from the grip of Lipsius. Advances in the understanding of the manuscripts of Tacitus had caused editors to put aside Lipsius' editions and place the text and commentary on a new footing.⁴⁵ Now they reached for fresh copies of the *Tabula*. J. G. Orelli printed his text first from Zell and then, in a superior reproduction, from de Boissieu.⁴⁶ K. Nipperdey, displaying his characteristic independence, printed a text based on F. Ritschl's collation of Gruterus' text with T. Mommsen's squeeze of the *Tabula* itself – the best presentation of the *Tabula* in an edition of Tacitus, according to Hirschfeld.⁴⁷ He wrote an original commentary which addressed

⁴¹ The line drawing represents the fragmentary extant first lines of both columns and all eighteen places where text from column I is preserved on the fragment containing column II.

⁴² Fabia 42–3.

⁴³ Hirschfeld's text, *CIL* XIII 1668, was reprinted e.g. by Dessau (and evidently thence Barrow; Questa corrected and collated Smallwood with Dessau for his edition); Charlesworth; Andresen (see below, n. 48).

⁴⁴ See commentary II 1–3 nn.; Fabia 43–4. On Maludan see above, n. 15.

⁴⁵ See Malloch (2013) 18–20.

⁴⁶ Orelli hazarded one emendation, I 11 *Tarquinius*. [*Is*], which is possible, but not necessary.

⁴⁷ Nipperdey¹ 243; for corrections to Nipperdey see Ritschl and Mommsen (1854). Best presentation of the *Tabula*: Hirschfeld 234.

historical, linguistic, and textual questions.⁴⁸ In 1891 H. Furneaux, evidently unaware of the edition of Allmer-Dissard and the textual work of Hirschfeld, reprinted the text of de Boissieu and expanded on the notes of Nipperdey in the first commentary on the *Tabula* in the English language.⁴⁹ It would soon be joined by the first widely available, and rather loose, English translation, with introduction and selective notes, by E. G. Hardy, who evidently designed his edition to be read by undergraduates alongside the Latin text of C. G. Bruns.⁵⁰ The invocation of Bruns points up Hardy's interest in the *Tabula* as an historical and constitutional document, and Hardy's pronouncements in these areas would prove controversial.⁵¹

Understanding of the *Tabula* and the scholarship which had grown up around it were placed on a new footing by P. Fabia (1860–1938), Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Lyon (1893–1930).⁵² Already an authority on Tacitus,⁵³ and maintaining the venerable local tradition of scholarship on the *Tabula*, Fabia marked the quatercentenary of the discovery of the *Tabula* with the publication in 1929 of *La table claudienne de Lyon*. This elegantly printed large quarto, an *opus perfectum et absolutum*, in the opinion of J. Carcopino, offered the most detailed treatment of the *Tabula* to date.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Nipperdey expanded the commentary modestly in his second edition with, e.g., perceptive notes on I 3 *maxime primam* and I 7 *diducta sit*, and in the third edition, in which he removed the *apparatus criticus* and transferred some textual notes to the commentary. In his last revision of Nipperdey's edition in 1908, G. Andresen printed Hirschfeld's text from the *CIL* (Nipperdey⁶ 317) and added brief notes, on I 22 *Mastarna* and on I 25 *qua ... qua ...*

⁴⁹ Small changes occurred from Furneaux¹ to Furneaux² in the notes to II 13 *fruuntur*, II 15–6 *ante ... quam*, II 29 *Lugduno*. Pelham made important revisions to Furneaux's historical notes on Tacitus (see below section II.1).

⁵⁰ Hardy included the *Tabula* in *Three Spanish Charters and Other Documents* (Oxford, 1912) and there observed (iv) that the introduction to and translation of the *Tabula* were reprinted from the *Journal of Philology* (= Hardy (1913)). He evidently based his translation on the sixth edition of C. G. Bruns' *Fontes iuris Romani antiqui* (Freiburg, 1893), in which the *Tabula* is printed as no. 52 after Hirschfeld. Also in 1912, Hardy's *Three Spanish Charters* was bound together with his *Six Roman Laws* (Oxford, 1911) and the two books given the general title *Roman Laws and Charters* (Oxford, 1912). Hardy's design is set out at (1911) iii–iv, and the remarks appear again at the front of the combined volume of 1912.

⁵¹ See below, section II.3.

⁵² D'Amat (1975) 369–70 (B. Barbiche); Picard (1939) 26 (dating the chair from 1892).

⁵³ Fabia (1893).

⁵⁴ Carcopino (1930) 70 = (1961) 175 (Fabia replied at (1931)); note too concurrently Last (1930: 37): 'a magnificent and comprehensive production'. Other reviews: Jullian (1929); Reinach (1930). Oddly, Fabia was not reviewed in *CR* or *JRS*.