

Callisthenes' placement of his lines is sufficient to prove that 855 at least was in the latter's text of the *Iliad*. But there is more. Not only is the second of the Callisthenic lines itself only a variant of 854 but, more importantly, Callisthenes' description of the Eneti as τὸ τῶν Ἑνετῶν . . . τῶν ἔχόντων τὸ Κύτωρον in his explanation of his proposed reading clearly reflects a text in which both 852 and 853 were present.¹⁴ There can, therefore, be no doubt that the text of the *Iliad* used by Callisthenes contained the Paphlagonian entry in the same form as does ours. One final point. Fragment 53 almost certainly comes from Callisthenes' history of Alexander, a work intended for as broad a reading public as possible.¹⁵ Inclusion of a textual discussion of the sort contained in fragment 53 in such a work presupposes that Callisthenes expected it to be intelligible to his audience. In other words, the text of the *Iliad* he wished to modify cannot have been an unusual one, but instead one that was in general circulation during the fourth century B.C.¹⁶ It is thus clear that lines 853–55 were not added to the *Iliad* during the Hellenistic period, but rather deleted from it during the third century B.C. by some editor, most likely Zenodotus.¹⁷ Accordingly, since there are neither textual nor historical grounds for rejecting these lines,¹⁸ historians in the future may not justify their failure to consider the implications of 853–55 in their reconstructions of the process of Greek penetration of the Black Sea simply by referring to Allen's discussion.

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14. That Strabo adhered closely to Callisthenes' wording in 12. 3. 5 is revealed by his appending to the latter's mention of the Leucosyrians the gloss οὗς καὶ ἡμεῖς Καππάδοκας προσαγοροῦμεν.

15. L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great* (New York, 1960), pp. 43–44.

16. Further evidence pointing to the general inclusion of these lines in copies of the *Iliad* before 300 B.C. is provided by a Cromnian inscription, published by E. Kalinka, "Aus Bithynien und Umgegend," *JOAI*, Beibl. 28 (1933): 44–111, at 60, no. 6, and discussed by L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (Paris, 1937), pp. 262–65, which reads "Ὀμηρος / Κρομνεύς. The claim is obviously based on the mention of Cromna in 855, and, although the inscription is undated, the tradition is most likely to have arisen before ca. 300 B.C. when Cromna became part of the new city of Amastris (Memnon *FGrHist* 434 F 4. 9; Strabo 12. 2. 10) and lost its independent identity.

17. Two facts point to Zenodotus' edition as the one that omitted 853–55: (1) the use of such a text by both Eratosthenes and Apollodorus; and (2) Apollodorus' approval of Zenodotus' reading Ἑνετῆς instead of Ἑνετῶν in line 852 (Apollodorus *FGrHist* 244 F 171 = Strabo 12. 3. 24–25).

18. Only proof that the Greeks could not have sailed the Black Sea in the eighth century B.C. would suffice to impeach these lines. Rhys Carpenter's attempt ("The Greek Penetration of the Black Sea," *AJA* 52 [1948]: 1–10) to provide such proof, by showing that the Greeks could not have overcome the problems of sailing through the Bosphorus before the invention of the penteconter ca. 700 B.C., has been refuted by B. W. Labaree, "How the Greeks Sailed into the Black Sea," *AJA* 61 (1957): 29–33 and A. J. Graham, "The Date of the Greek Penetration of the Black Sea," *BICS* 5 (1958): 25–42, at 26–31.

A NOTE ON JULIUS CAESAR'S GREAT-GRANDFATHER

Some time ago, in an article on "The Lex Annalis under Caesar," I ventured to offer a stemma for the patrician Iulii of the Republican period.¹ In it the great-grandfather of the dictator Caesar was identified as Sex. Iulius Caesar, the consul of 157. Further reflection suggests that this detail needs to be corrected. The basis for deducing a different identification is given by the action of Augustus in naming his adoptive sons *Gaius* and *Lucius* Iulius Caesar (*PIR*² I 216, 222).

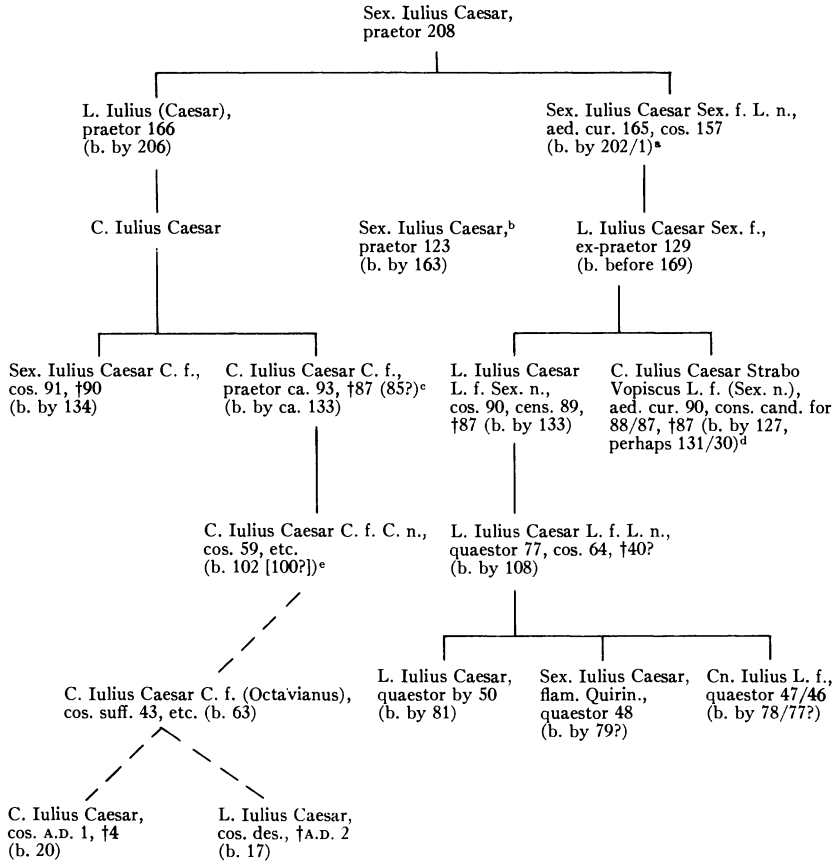
1. *Phoenix* 25 (1971): 246 ff. (at 264).

Normally, among the Republican aristocracy, an adopted son took or was given the *praenomen* of his adoptive father, just as a first-born son was given the *praenomen* of the father. Cases of adoption of *two* sons seem to have been extremely rare. Apart from Augustus' action, the only example that comes to mind is that of the two adoptive brothers Q. Fabius Q. f. Q. n. Maximus Aemilianus and Q. Fabius Q. f. Q. n. Maximus Servilianus, coss. 145 and 142 (Münzer, *RE* 6 [1909]: 1792–94 [s.v. "Fabius 109"], 1811–14 [s.v. "Fabius 115"]; *MRR*, 1:469, 474). Both received the *praenomen* of the adoptive father, and they could only be distinguished by their extra *cognomina*, Aemilianus and Servilianus. Self-evidently Augustus did not follow this precedent. He conferred different *praenomina* on his adoptive sons, exactly as if they had been his own first-born and second-born. They were, of course, his first-born and second-born grandsons. As was to be expected, the first of the two boys was given Augustus' own *praenomen*, Gaius. What of the second-born, who received the *praenomen* Lucius?

Observation suggests that a second-born son was normally given the *praenomen* of his grandfather, or (if that was the same as the father's *praenomen*) of his great-grandfather or, in fine, of his nearest patrilineal ancestor who does not bear the same *praenomen* as the father. For example, L. Domitius Cn. f. Cn. n. Ahenobarbus, cos. 94, the younger brother of Cn. Domitius Cn. f. Cn. n. Ahenobarbus, cos. 96, was descended from three generations of Cn. Domitii Ahenobarbi, and his *praenomen* Lucius evidently came down from his great-great-grandfather (cf. Suet. *Nero* 1, and the filiation of the consul of 192 and the suffect of 162: *MRR*, 1:350, 442). C. Claudius M. f. M. n. Marcellus, cos. 49, younger brother of M. Claudius M. f. M. n. Marcellus, cos. 51 (*MRR*, 2:240, 256), was descended from an even longer line of M. Claudii Marcelli, and it is apparent that the *praenomen* Gaius comes down all the way from the father of M. Claudius C. f. C. n. Marcellus, cos. 331 (*MRR*, 1:143). P. Clodius Pulcher (tr. pl. 58) and his brothers illuminate the system in model fashion. Their line of descent is to be drawn as follows: P. Claudius Ap. f. C. n. Pulcher (cos. 249); Ap. Claudius P. f. Ap. n. Pulcher (cos. 212); C. Claudius Ap. f. P. n. Pulcher (cos. 177); Ap. Claudius C. f. Ap. n. Pulcher (cos. 143); Ap. Claudius Ap. f. C. n. Pulcher (cos. 79). Thus the eldest brother, Appius (cos. 54), is named after his father (cos. 79); the middle brother, Gaius (pr. 56), goes back for his name to the great-grandfather (cos. 177); and the third brother's name, Publius, comes down from the great-great-great-grandfather (cos. 249). Such seems to have been the orthodox mode of nomenclature among the Roman upper classes in the Republic.

If Augustus, then, was following the orthodox system of naming (the nomenclature of Gaius Caesar indicates that he was, and there is no reason to suppose the contrary), the *praenomen* Lucius given to the second of his two adoptive sons ought to descend from the nearest patrilineal ancestor not bearing the *praenomen* Gaius. And since Augustus was son of Gaius through his testamentary adoption by Caesar (*PIR*² I 215), while Caesar's father and grandfather too were both named Gaius (*MRR*, 2:187), it should follow that the father of Caesar's grandfather C. Iulius Caesar was either another Gaius or else a Lucius, and surely not a Sextus. Now no Gaius Iulius Caesar survives in the record for that generation. It seems, on the whole, a reasonable hypothesis that Caesar's great-grandfather was L. Iulius Caesar, and it is economical to assume (with Münzer, who appears tacitly to have followed this line of reasoning) that he was the L. Iulius who was

TABLE 1



* Cf. G. V. Sumner, *The Orators in Cicero's "Brutus": Prosopography and Chronology* (Toronto, 1973), pp. 6 and 10, n. 3, on the minimum age for the curule aediles in this period.

^b His filiation is not attested (*MRR*, 1: 513). He is clearly grandson of the praetor of 208, but there is no overwhelming motive for preferring the consul of 157 to the praetor of 166 as his father.

^c Cf. Sumner, *The Orators in Cicero's "Brutus"*, p. 135, on the question of the date of death of Caesar's father.

It is not necessary to suppose that the orthodox system of naming is broken by the case of Sex. Caesar C. f. and his younger brother C. Caesar C. f. Death, especially in childhood, must often have affected the choice of *praenomina* (cf. Sumner, *The Orators in Cicero's "Brutus"*, p. 65). The name Gaius was used twice for sons of Germanicus, first for a son who died before the birth of the more famous Gaius (*PIR*² I 218). The sequence of *praenomina* for sons of Caesar's grandfather would, *ex hypothesi*, be Gaius-Lucius-Sextus. There is no difficulty in assuming that the first-born, Gaius, died in infancy soon after the birth of Sextus, so that the name Gaius became available for a fourth son. (Lucius, the second son, who did not survive to be recorded for us, presumably died young, too, though not necessarily in infancy.) An unusual but instructive case of the re-use of a *praenomen* is afforded by the two M. Porcii Catones, sons of M. Cato the Censor (see the elaborate explanation in Gellius *NA* 13. 20).

^d Cf. Sumner, *The Orators in Cicero's "Brutus"*, pp. 105 f., on Caesar Strabo's birthdate.

^e *Ibid.*, pp. 134-37, on the problem of Caesar's date of birth.

elected praetor for 166 (Livy 45. 44. 2) but never reached the consulship. It is by no means certain that L. Iulius was also the praetor Caesar who died in office at Rome (Pliny *NH* 7. 181),² but this point is not essential to the identification.

In the light of all this, the relevant portion of my stemma of the Iulii had better be emended. Table 1 gives the corrected stemma (females and *adfines* are omitted for the sake of clarity).³

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2. See Münzer, s.v. "Iulius 127," *RE* 10 (1917): 183; cf. "Iulius 28," *ibid.*, 111. The conjecture that L. Iulius was urban praetor depends on the order of names in Livy 45. 44. 2. Pliny does not give a praenomen in his reference: "nullis evidentibus causis obiere, dum calciantur matutino, duo Caesares, praetor et praetura perfunctus dictatoris Caesaris pater—hic Pisis exanimatus est, ille Romae." It is noticeable that Pliny does not actually identify the former of the two Caesares as a direct ancestor of the dictator; Sex. Iulius Caesar, urban praetor in 123 (Cic. *Dom.* 136), seems a possible alternative candidate (cf. Table 1, n. b).

3. They can be found in Münzer's proposed stemma (s.v. "Iulius 127," *RE* 10 [1917]: 183–84).

THE SETTLEMENT OF ARTAPHRENES

... κατὰ δὴ τούτους μέτρησας φόρους ἔταξε ἐκάστοισι, οἱ κατὰ χώραν διατελέουσι
ἔχοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου αἰεὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὡς ἐτάχθησαν ἐξ Ἀρταφρένεος.
ἐτάχθησαν σχεδὸν κατὰ ταῦτὰ τὰ καὶ πρότερον εἶχον [Hdt. 6. 42. 2].

"The statement as to the tribute is defective and difficult," comment How and Wells,¹ and certainly it has aroused as much argument as any remark of Herodotus. Grote's² interpretation was that Artaphrenes' assessment remained valid for the Ionian cities in the sense that the Great King continued to claim tribute from them even after these cities revolted and joined the Delian League; however, he failed to collect it. This view, or variants of it, has always found a degree of scholarly support,³ and there is evidence from both Greek and Persian sources that the Great King did maintain a residual claim to tribute. Thucydides (8. 5. 5) reports that Darius II in 412 B.C. pressed Tissaphernes for payment of tribute which the latter had been unable to produce because he could not collect from the Greek cities; and on the Persian side, we have a foundation tablet from the terrace at Persepolis where Xerxes enumerates among the countries which bore him tribute "the Ionians who live on the salty sea, and those who live beyond the salty sea."⁴ Clearly Xerxes preferred to ignore his defeat. But is it this residual, but unenforced, claim to tribute from the Greek cities to which Herodotus refers in 6. 42. 2?

The majority of scholars have inclined to the view that it is not. Herodotus describes the *phoroi* of Artaphrenes as "valid" or "in force" (κατὰ χώραν),⁵ and this seems to preclude a levy, or even the assessment of a levy, which could not be enforced in Herodotus' own time. But it will not do to suggest that Herodotus

1. W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford, 1912), 2:78. For a general bibliography, see O. Murray, "'Ο ἀρχαῖος δασμὸς," *Historia* 15 (1966): 142–56; R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 53–62.

2. G. Grote, *History of Greece*⁶ (London, 1888), 4:425, note.

3. E. M. Walker, *CAH*, 5:470; J. L. Myres, *Herodotus, Father of History* (Oxford, 1953), p. 200; cf. A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1945), pp. 334–35.

4. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, edited by J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1955), p. 316. The translation is by A. Leo Oppenheim.

5. J. E. Powell, *Lexicon to Hdt.*, s.v. *χώρα*; cf. *ATL*, 3:275, n. 6.