

NOTES

Julianus of Laodicea: rhetor or trader?

J. Pouilloux recently published a funerary epigram from Lyon,¹ which he dates on palaeographical grounds to the late second or early third century A.D.; the inscription refers to one Ioulianos Euteknios of Laodicea (hereafter Julianus):

Col. I

εἰ γνῶναι ποθέεις ὅστις βροτὸς ἐνθάδε κείται,
οὐδὲν σειγῆσει τάδε γράμματα, πάντα δὲ λέξει.
Εὐτέκνιος ἐπικλήν, Ἰουλιανὸς τοῦνομα τῶδε,
Λαοδίκια πατρίς, Συρίας περίβλεπτον ἀγαλμα·
ἐντίμος πατρώθεν, μήτηρ δ' ἔχε δόξαν ὁμοίην, 5
χρηστὸς καὶ δίκαιος, πᾶσιν πεφιλημένος ἀνὴρ,
οὐ Κελτοῖς λαλέοντος ἀπὸ γλώσσης ῥέε πειθῶ·
ποικίλα μὲν περιήλθεν ἔθνη, πολλοὺς δέ <τε> δῆμους
ἔγνω καὶ ψυχῆς ἀρετὴν ἤσκησεν ἐ<ν> αὐτοῖς·
κύμασιν καὶ πελάγει συνεχῶς ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτόν, 10
δῶρα τὰ πάντα φέρων εἰς Κελτοὺς καὶ Δύσεως γῆν
[ὄ]σσα θεὸς προσέταξε φέρειν χθόνα πάνφορον Ἴουῖς·
[τοῦνε]κα τὸν φιλέ[ε]σκε βροτὸν τριπλὰ φύλα τὰ
Κελτῶν.

(the second column is fragmentary).

The indications of his occupation are not entirely coherent: οὐ Κέλτοις λαλέοντος ἀπὸ γλώσσης ῥέε πειθῶ (7) seems to indicate a rhetor or advocate, or even, as Pouilloux suggests, an eloquent philosopher, if coupled with ψυχῆς ἀρετὴν ἤσκησεν in line 9. But what then of lines 10–11 where he seems to be plying the sea with all the gifts of the bounteous East?

Pouilloux prefers to leave the question of what precisely Julianus was bringing to be explained in the missing portion of the text. Rather implausibly he suggests that δῶρα τὰ πάντα contains an allusion to Christianity or other oriental cults, but without adequate supporting evidence elsewhere in the text.² C. P. Jones on the other hand adopts the most natural interpretation of lines 10–11, that Julianus is a merchant boasting of his wares. But this in turn creates a difficulty in line 7: even when we have been told in the previous line that he is χρηστὸς καὶ δίκαιος, it seems odd for Julianus to commend his sales-patter before even identifying his profession.³ Parallels for Syrian activity

¹ In J.-F. Reynaud, A. Audin, J. Pouilloux, 'Une nouvelle inscription grecque à Lyon', *JSAV* (1975) 58–75 (= *SEG* xxvi 1214). I print the text of C. P. Jones, 'A Syrian at Lyon', *AJP* c (1978) 336.

² Pouilloux (n. 1) 74. This interpretation is rightly challenged by Jones (n. 1) 348–9, who argues that it is better to take τριπλὰ φύλα τὰ Κελτῶν and not θεός as the subject of φιλέεσκε (342); this removes the most specific possibility, of a Christian god who loves Julianus. Jones easily refutes the further pro-Christian arguments of M. Guarducci, 'Il missionario di Lione', *MEFRA* lxxxviii (1976) 843–52, *ibid.* 351–2.

³ So Pouilloux (n. 1) 67: 'il est clair que s'il eût été marchand de toile ou d'aromates, on eût dit autrement le succès de cet homme'. Jones dismisses the difficulty (n. 1) 348, suggesting that professional intellectuals would have travelled by land and so would not have fitted κύμασιν καὶ πελάγει συνεχῶς ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτόν (10). Philostratus occasionally happens to mention sophists travelling by sea (*VS* 603, 618); but the subject scarcely admits of generalisation, given that a sophist might choose to commute between far-flung major centres by sea, and reach the hinterland of each by land.

in Gaul can be cited to suit both sorts of occupation: Pouilloux compares another Julianus, Thaim son of Saad, from Canôtha, as a respectable trader; while Lucian is the obvious example of a Syrian rhetor in Gaul in the second century (*Apol.* 15).

But Julianus' activities can be reconciled. We can accept both that an intellectual could dabble in trade, and that a merchant could bring gifts from the East and acquire a reputation for eloquence. For the former we can cite Lucian's philosopher Adimantus, who daydreams that he is to bring an Egyptian ship to Athens, complete with Eastern delicacies (*Navig.* 13, 15). If that example was conceived as an adynaton, Philostratus provides an instance from experience. Proclus of Naucratis not only practised as a sophist and became a significant benefactor at Athens, but engaged in a sideline which the biographer precisely specifies (*VS* 603: ἐφοῖτα δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου λιβανωτὸς ἐλέφας μύρον βίβλος βιβλία καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τοιαῦδε ἀγορά, καὶ ἀποδιδόμενος αὐτὰ τοῖς διατιθεμένοις τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐδαμοῦ φιλοχρήματος ἔδοξεν). Philostratus perhaps protests too much in the remainder of the sentence that this was a strictly non-profit-making concern; but the conjunction of activities is clearly illustrated.⁴

As for open-handed and eloquent merchants, we have an almost ideal parallel from contemporary literature, right down to the echo of Eupolis. Alciphron makes a correspondent praise a merchant who has just brought a ship from Istria to Athens (*Ep.* iii 29 Schepers). Not only is he a patron of local parasites and courtesans and a connoisseur of the arts; we are told that he τὴν διατριβὴν ποιεῖται χαρίτων καὶ ἀφροδίτης γέμουσαν καὶ ὑβρίζει οὐδὲν . . . καὶ τὴν Πειθῶ τῶ στόματι ἐπικαθῆσθαι εἴποις ἄν· προσπαίξειν τε γλαφυρὸς καὶ λαλήσαι στωμίλος, οὐνεκά οἱ γλυκὴ Μοῦσα κατὰ στόματος χέε νέκταρ.

Perhaps the correspondent's occupation is important here: he is himself a parasite, with an interest in praising the culture of his benefactor. We are reminded of how the parasitical rhetor Agamemnon greeted Trimalchio's 'quid est pauper?' with 'urbane' (*Sat.* 48.5). Both Alciphron and Petronius strove for 'realistic' detail, in varying degrees. It would have been perfectly natural for a successful merchant to strive for social and cultural acceptance—and to be persuaded rightly or wrongly that he had attained it: after his wine-trading ventures Trimalchio bought his books by the yard, commissioned murals associating himself with Mercury and Minerva, and even tried his hand at comparing Cicero and Publilius (*Sat.* 48.4; 29.3; 55.5).⁵ Julianus might fairly be credited with similar aspirations and acclaim, whatever the reality.

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⁴ It might of course be argued that Proclus' example was unique; but Philostratus' account of him also contains unique information about classroom procedure: it is reasonable to assume that the biographer (as a pupil and beneficiary) was in a better position to observe Proclus' conduct than he was in most other cases.

⁵ An anonymous referee draws my attention to a rather different progression (Peek *GV* 1049 = Kaibel 613): the μουσικός who became ἔμπορος εὐμόρφων . . . γυναικῶν!