

Manfred G. Schmidt
Inscriptions from Madauros
(*CIL* VIII, 28086-28150)

While preparing to celebrate the 150th anniversary of Hermann Dessau's birth in 2006, all kinds of interesting documents came to light. In the archive of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, when I was looking for *Africana*, I found among other things a large envelope addressed to "Herr Professor Dr. Dessau". The Berlin postmark is dated the 6th of December, in the year 1912. A note in pencil, in the unmistakable handwriting of the addressee, Hermann Dessau, marks the packet as having been sent by the printers, perhaps the Berlin printing company, Unger Brothers, who worked with the *Corpus* at that time. First, the name *Madauros* can be read in Latin characters, then an editorial note in German script: «Anfang bereits gesetzt (Bogen 203). In *CIL* VIII, Suppl. 4 nicht mehr aufgenommen». This information brings us up to the year 1916, to the period of the First World War, at which time Dessau published the final volume of the African inscriptions – without his French colleagues. A joint production by both French and German scholars was no longer to be contemplated, as the ongoing hostilities did not permit any scholarly collaboration between the supposed 'arch-enemies'. Therefore, Dessau had the fourth Supplement to the Africa-volume printed without stating any editor's name, as was perhaps unavoidable; the names of his French colleagues did not appear on the work, but then neither did Dessau's¹. In the preface, Dessau left no doubt that the publication of these inscriptions was principally due to the cooperation over

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¹. Cfr. J. IRMSCHER, *Genesi del CIL VIII: Inscriptiones Africae Latinae*, in *L'Africa romana* IV, esp. p. 327.

many years with the *viri docti Francogalliae*, that is, Cagnat, Gauckler and his successor Merlin, then Poinsot, Delattre and finally Stéphane Gsell, who had already described and compared the inscriptions from *Theveste* (Tebessa) on the spot on behalf of the *Corpus* (cf. *CIL* VIII, 22731).

A glance into the crammed envelope brought a minor sensation: after some slips with *addenda* to the inscriptions from *Madauros* already included in the *CIL* – then still named in the erroneous form *Madaura* (*CIL* VIII, p. 473) – came Dessau's Latin preface on this town, along with the draft editions of inscriptions nos. *CIL* VIII, 28086a–28150.

If you look for these inscriptions in the *Corpus*, however, you will be disappointed: the final fascicle ends at number 28085. With the end of the Franco-German collaboration 90 years ago, the edition of *Volumen octavum* was abandoned, that is, the volume which, for the first and only time, collected more than 28,000 Latin inscriptions of the African provinces in a single critical edition. The extensive indices, which provide access to the epigraphic material in exemplary fashion, were put together by the Berlin editorial staff in a separate volume *inter arma et post cladem alteram* up to 1949 – in the knowledge that no further inscriptions from the African provinces would follow in the context of the *Corpus*.

The discovery presented here therefore has a special interest for the history of scholarship: we hold the planned continuation of *Volumen octavum* in our hands, which, in a fifth fascicle, would have contained newly-discovered inscriptions from *Numidia* and the two *Mauretaniae*; at the start of this new volume – Nr. 203 in the continuous numbering of the printer's sheets – the inscriptions from *Madauros* would have appeared. Almost all the copies of inscriptions gathered here come from the hand of Charles-Albert Joly, who in 1906 and the following years documented the inscriptions from his excavations in M'Daourouch and the surrounding area. There are drawings, measurements of the monuments and the script, information on the find-spot, bibliographic notes, comments and restorations to these mostly fragmentary inscriptions. Gsell had taken up these drafts and mostly checked them against the original once more. His contributions are to be seen in marginal notes and improvements on Joly's drawings. Joly drew the monuments and inscriptions with white ink on blue paper, as for example this *tabula*, which bears a sepulchral verse inscription. Gsell's corrections are carried out in red ink.

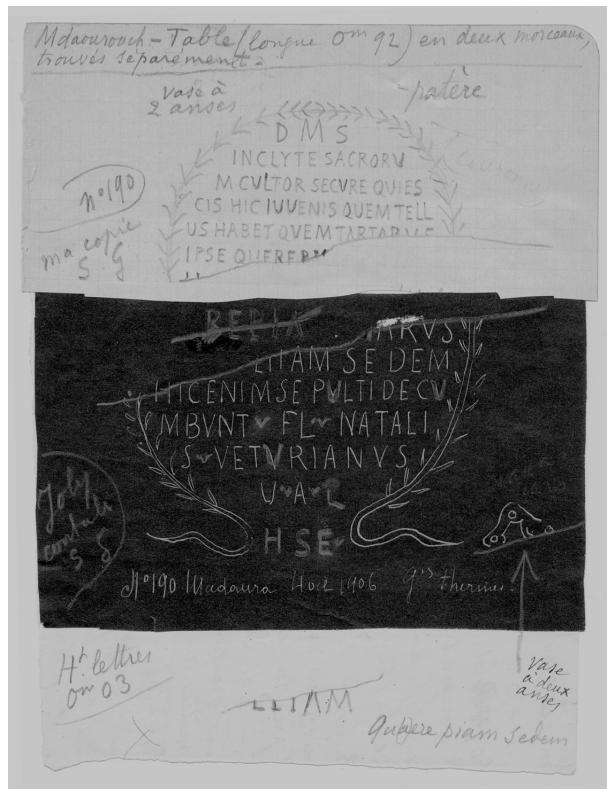


Fig. 1: Joly's drawing of *ILAAlg* I, 2221 [=CIL VIII, 28097].

This record was created by Joly in the *Grandes Thermes* on the 4th of October 1906 (Gsell found the upper part some years later) – and the two adjoining fragments have later been sent to Franz Cumont, the curator of the museum in Brussels, along with other monuments from *Madauros* (Gsell's note written on a letter, Joly had sent to him on 17th August 1913)².

As editor of the volume, Hermann Dessau then put these slips, edited by his *confrère*, into sequence and gave the descriptions of monuments and find-contexts a standard editorial form by cuts, re-

2. Cfr. «Recueil de la Société d'archéologie de Constantine», 40, 1906, p. 422, n. 410; F. CUMONT, *Catalogue des sculptures et inscriptions antiques (monuments lapi-daires) des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*, Bruxelles, 2nd ed. 1913, pp. 193f, n. 164. *Ibid.*, *The monuments from Madauros*: pp. 192-6, n. 163-166.

phrasing or small changes, whereas for the texts themselves he relied on Gsell's expertise and made only a few alterations. With the translation into Latin of the sections in French, the drafts were adapted to the appearance of *CIL* and were ready for printing – an impressive example of the way in which, in the collaborative scholarly project of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, the epigraphic labours of many co-workers were transformed into a standardised edition, with only a small number of skilful editorial interventions.

It was Stéphane Gsell, too, who, after World War I, took up the thread which had slipped from the hands of the Academy in Berlin and promptly started work on the continuation of the edition. For this purpose, in the spring of 1920, Gsell requested the return of his copies of inscriptions, which he had so generously made available to the Berlin Academy. Hermann Dessau supported this wish with a written request to Hermann Diels, then 'permanent secretary of the Prussian Academy of Sciences' (8th April 1920), though it is clear he was in no doubt about the consequences which this would have for the *Corpus*:

«Freilich bedeutet dies [i.e. the return of the copies of the inscriptions] einen Verzicht auf die Herausgabe unseres in Vorbereitung befindlichen Supplementums zu den römischen Inschriften der Provinzen *Numidia* und *Mauretania*, das sich an das im J. 1916 erschienene Supplementum der Inschriften der *Provincia proconsularis Africa* anschließen sollte. Aber ein solches Supplementum herauszugeben ist uns auch ohnedies zur Zeit unmöglich, da wir dazu doch der Mithülfe oder zum mindesten des Wohlwollens der Franzosen bedürften»³.

The supplement mentioned by Dessau must therefore have originally been planned to begin with the new discoveries from *Madauros*, more precisely with no. 28086, an inscription from the base of a statue of Aesculapius, as it seemed, the fragments of which have been found in the so-called 'Grandes Thermes'⁴.

Clearly, the draft editions of the inscriptions from this city were not returned to Gsell, as they had already been typeset on the 'Sheet 203' mentioned by Dessau but now lost. Perhaps they

3. *Akten der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1812-1945*, Sign. II-VIII, 119 n. 99: *Sitzung der phil.-hist. Klasse der Akademie am 8. April 1920*.

4. *ILAlg* 1, 2031 (= *CIL* VIII, 28086), see Gsell's note on the Berlin file: «On a retrouvé dans les fouilles des fragments d'une statue qui paraît avoir représenté Esculape».

were regarded as having been lost in the chaos of the First World War and its aftermath, and therefore were preserved in a box in the *CIL* archive, the label on which – ‘*Africa Varia*’ – is not a great help in identifying its contents.

The inscriptions *CIL* VIII, 28086-28150 therefore never appeared as such. A few years later, however, they were published by the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres in the edition *Inscriptions latines de l’Algérie* – an edition which had given up the comprehensive aim of viewing and collecting *all* inscriptions of Africa, in favour of a regional collection. However, it continued the ambitious work of the *Corpus* in this part of Roman Africa, that is, within the borders of Algeria. And the editor, too, remained the same – Stéphane Gsell.

Dessau made it absolutely clear that he regarded Gsell’s edition as a worthy *Continuator Corporis*. In his article on *Madauros* in the *Realenzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* of 1928 he cited Gsell’s more complete and also more compact edition as a matter of course, as it presents the town’s inscriptions in a single block – the advantage of a limited collection, as opposed to the complicated edition of the *Corpus* as it has developed historically, requiring continual supplements. The article ends unsentimentally with the reference to the town’s epigraphy in the new French edition: «die zahlreichen lateinischen Inschriften gibt Gsell, *Inscript. de l’Algérie* 1923 nr. 2031-2818, 4007-4009 (früher *CIL* VIII p. 473)».⁵

So how did Gsell succeed in producing the edition of the *tituli Madaurenses* without these preliminary studies? In his edition he does not refer to Joly’s drafts. In the chapter on *Madauros* in *Inscriptions latines de l’Algérie* (vol. I, p. 182) he does state: «J’ai eu à ma disposition un dossier épigraphique que M. Joly a constitué à Mdaourouch, comme il l’a fait pour Khamissa. M. Joly a aussi pris soin de faire exécuter de nombreux estampages, qui m’ont été communiqués».

However, this *dossier épigraphique* must have been a different work of Joly’s – perhaps some kind of excavation log with a detailed list of the inscriptions found. At any rate, Joly’s original drawings with Gsell’s notes remained in Berlin. Gsell himself subsequently visited *Madauros* and perhaps he used the opportunity to compare the inscriptions against the dossier once more.

5. *RE*, s.v. *Madauros* [H. DESSAU], XIV, 1 1928, col. 201f.

From this unpublished supplement I would like to single out at least two examples – both verse inscriptions. First the gravestone of a married couple, whose personal closeness, their *concordes animae*, is honoured by their children in a *carmen sepulcrale*. Along with Joly's drawing, we possess an early photograph, which was published in the Museum catalogue by F.-G. de Pachtère⁶. As the Guelma Museum is an open-air exhibit, it is to be feared that the documents presented here offer a better state of preservation than the present-day condition of the original – assuming that the original can even be found. In the early twentieth-century documentation, the poem – notable for its many borrowings from Vergil⁷ – had lost text only at the lower end, due to damage to the stone. After naming the two children, *Aemilius Aquilinus* and *Barbarus*, *fratres* or *ambo* should probably be restored, and the word *ibi* (as transmitted in publications up to now) should be changed to *ubi* on the basis of the newly discovered documents. The inscription reads as follows (I give it in stichic order with my supplements and modern punctuation, without regards of the many ligatures of letters):

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum).
Concordes animae quon|dam, cum Vita maneret, |
moribus eximi(i)s pariles et amo|⁵re iugali
sedibus his iunctae | per saecula longa quiescunt. |
Nam bonus – heu! – Marcus, generis | fastigia reddens,
Aemilius | Primus Flavianus nomine |¹⁰ pollens,
cum quattuor delcimos complessset nobilis annos, |
tertius huic post hos finem deldit annus inicus(!).
Post cuius letum | dulci viduata marito,
coniux |¹⁵ casta suum per se solata laborem,
Iulia, feminis exemplar moribus omne,
Seti|na excenso genere orta et gloria gentis,
hic sita, sed sedes |²⁰ meruit penetrare piorum: |
Elysios celebrat caro coniuncta marito.
Sexsies(!) huius decimum spatium compleverat annus.

6. F.-G. DE PACTHÈRE, *Musée de Guelma (Musées et collections archéologiques de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie)*, Paris 1909, pl. III, fig. 3; see also pp. 23f.

7. See R. P. HOOGMA, *Der Einfluss Vergils auf die Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, Amsterdam 1959, pp. 275, 294f., 297. Cfr. VERG., *Aen.*, VI, 608. 827 (commentary of E. NORDEN, p. 289).

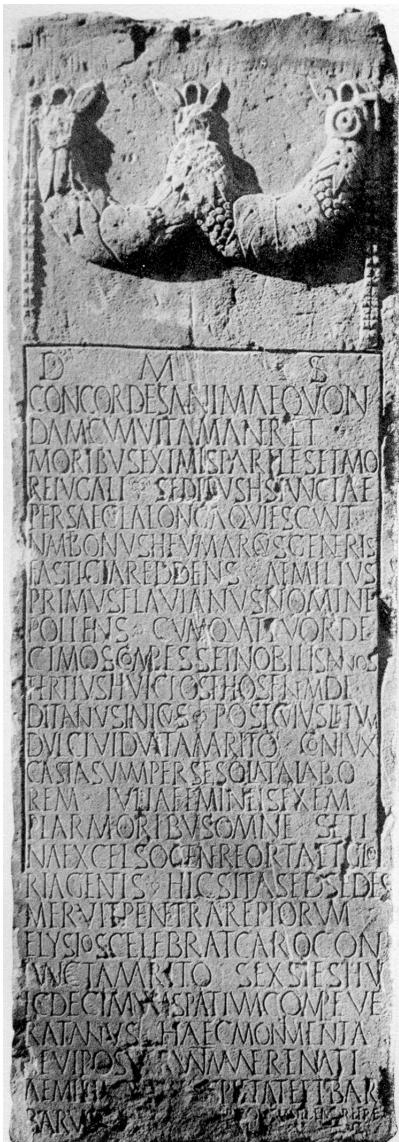


Fig. 2: Gsell's photo of *ILA*g 1, 2240 = *CLE* 1969 [= *CIL* VIII, 28135].

D M S
CONCORDES ANIMA QVONAM
DAM CVM VITA MANERET
MORIBVS EXIMIS PARILES ET AEM
RE JVGALI SEDIBVS HS INCTAE
PER SAECULA LONGA QVIESCWT
NA BONVS HEV MAROS GENERIS
FASTIGIA REDDENS AEMILIUS
PRIMVS FLAVIANVS NOMINE
POLLENS CVM QVATTVOR DE
CIMOS QVASS EINOBILIS NO
HRTIVS H VICTO THOSH FMDE
DITANVS INICVS POST QVINTVS
DVIC TVIDATA MARITO QVIVX
CASTAS VMPERSQVTA IABO
REM IUVIA FEMINEIS EXEM
PLAR MORIBVS OMNE SETI
INA EXCELSOCEN RQRTATI
RIACENTIS HIC SITA SED SED
MERVIT PENETRARE PIORM
ELYSIOS CELEBRAT CARO CON
VNTA MARITO SEXSTES HV
IC DECIMW SPATIV COMPE
RAT ANVS HAEC MONUMENTA
NEVI POSVIT MARE NATI
AEMILIUS AOV PIETATE ET BAR
BARVS

BI SOLLEMNI DE MORE FRE
H S S

Fig. 3: Gsell's drawing of *ILA*g 1, 2240 = *CLE* 1969 [= *CIL* VIII, 28135].

Haec monimenta ¹²⁵ *aevi posuerunt munere nati,* |
*Aemilii Aquili[n]us pietate et Bar[barus] [ambo]*⁸,
*[reliquias?]*⁹ *ubi sollemni de more frel[quentant].*
H(ic) s(iti) s(unt).

ILAAlg 1, 2240 = Engström 218 = *CLE* 1969 [= *CIL* VIII, 28135]

As another example, let us consider three adjoining fragments (and a forth loose piece) of a square plaque, the original full measurements of which must have been around 1.30m by 1.30m. Unfortunately, the only evidence for this seems to be the drawing presented here (drawing by H. Dessau, preserved in the Berlin files for *CIL* VIII 28110)¹⁰.

The phrase *Saepae(!) sacrum sanctis Mauris facias libens* is repeated in horizontal, vertical and diagonal script on a chess-board-like grid which originally made up 36 squares (each with sides of 3.5 cm). Gsell first considered this a *tabula lusoria*, but later corrected this view in his edition, in which he raised the point that the many small squares were scarcely suitable for a game: «Notre table, probablement placée sur le forum de Madauros, était un avertissement donné aux dévots sous une forme ingénieuse: eu égard au nombre très élevé des cases, je doute qu'elle ait pu servir à un jeu». Gsell rightly restored the whole piece on the basis of the likelihood that the first and last horizontal lines will have repeated the entire phrase: «il est probable que la 1^{ère} ligne horizontale (comme la dernière) repétrait toute la formule»¹¹. The grid it-

8. For the name *Aquelinus*, that does not fit in the metrical scheme unless pronounced *Aquili[n]us*, and for the restauration of the line in general, see the sepulchral inscription for a third brother *Aemilius Setinus*: *ILAAlg* 1, 2241, 8f. [= *CIL* VIII, 28136], i.e.: *et Aemili Aquilinus | et Barbarus fratri.*

9. Or a similar expression like *exuvias*, see v. 19-21 for the contrast of body and soul. The term *exuviae* in this sense is used by a famous *Madaurensis*: APUL., *met.*, 2, 30. A different reading by E. ENGSTRÖM, *Carmina Latina epigraphica post editam collectionem Buechelerianam in lucem prolata*, Göteborg-Leipzig 1912, n. 218: *[lexequaque] ibi sollemni de more f(ece)re.*

10. Letter by Ch.-A. Joly sent to St. Gsell from Guelma, 17th August 1913 (preserved with the 'Berlin files' on *Madauros*): «Nous n'avons pas revu non plus le No. 28 "Saepae Sacrum Sancti" [sic!] mais nous en avons {re}trouvé deux nouveaux fragments: Je vous les envoie». In his edition, GSELL (*ILAAlg* 1, p. 189) states: «le 3^e fragment, comprenant la moitié de dr. de ce qui restait de la table, est égaré».

11. On a postcard sent on 17th September 1913 to H. Dessau, included with the draft editions.

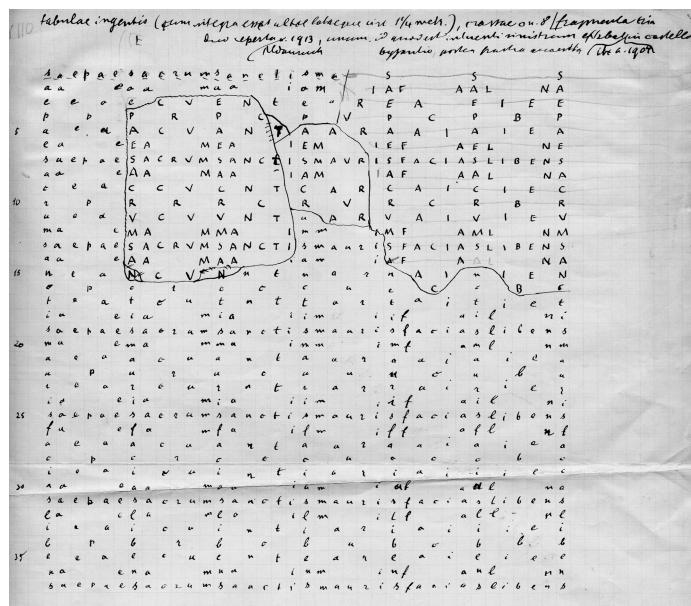


Fig. 4: Dessau's reconstruction drawing of the magic square *ILAlg I, 2078* [= CIL VIII, 28110].

self is thus composed of 1,369 (= 37 by 37) small squares, each of which holds one letter.

But neither Gsell nor Dessau provide an adequate explanation of this inscription, its unusual spelling or its composition. I see it as a magic square of letters, which presents a sophisticated play on the number six: the six words *Saepae sacrum sanctis Mauris facias libens* appear written variously in horizontal, vertical and diagonal script. Three of these words begin with S, three end with this letter. These words, in turn, each contain six letters: *sacrum*, *Mauris*, *facias*, *libens* and also *saepae*. Only the form *sanctis*, with seven letters, does not conform to this pattern, as it not only begins with S, but also ends with a seventh letter, S – intentionally. For, to present six times six interlinked squares, not six but seven horizontal and vertical lines are required to form the sides of the squares. Therefore, the acrostic formula on, for example, the left-hand-side requires not 36 but 37 letters to provide the same reading on the lowest, horizontal line of letters.

Further – something which has not been noticed either – the phrase presented in these variations forms an iambic *senarius* – i.e.

a play on the number six in poetic form, too. Thus the spelling *saepae* reflects not only a wish for a word with six letters, but also an attempt to insist on a *longum* in the second syllable of the first iambus by spelling *saepe* as *saepae*:

Saepae sacrúm sanctís Maurís faciás libéns.

ILAlg 1, 2078 [= *CIL* VIII, 28110]

The conclusion: in six times six squares, an iambic senarius is repeated vertically, horizontally and diagonally, the *senarius* made up of six feet and six words each with six letters (all except *sanctis*).

Whether this number has a connection with the cult of the *Dii Mauri*, perhaps even refers to the number of them, cannot at present be stated for sure¹². An inscription from *Rapidum* names after the higher *numen Iovis* six deities frequently worshipped in *Africa Romana*: first the three male gods *Silvanus*, *Mercurius*, *Saturnus*, then three female deities *Fortuna*, *Victoria* and *Caellestis*, followed by *diis Mauris*, perhaps in apposition¹³. Whether this type of *interpretatio Romana* of the Maurian gods is permissible is a question which, admittedly, I can only offer as a discussion-point.

But to return to our new discoveries: Almost all the inscriptions contained in this collection of slips were subsequently published by Gsell in his *ILAlg* and – *mutatis mutandis* – presented in the same form as had been planned for the *CIL*. Only two inscriptions appear to have been overlooked: one fragment with a reference probably to a *praefectus* [= *CIL* VIII, 28120], and also a stele with a double inscription which had already been published in the *Recueil de Constantine*¹⁴. Aside from that, Gsell was able to include all the new finds which came to light in quick succession

12. The evidence of this ‘divine collectivity’ is presented by G. CAMPS, *Qui sont les Dii Mauri?*, «AntAfr», 26, 1990, pp. 131–53, who identifies the anonymous *dii Mauri* with local deities. But the fact that the dedications to the *dii Mauri* were mostly made by governors, imperial procurators or soldiers (81, 25% in Camps’ calculation) gives way to an *interpretatio Romana* on the basis of the following inscription:

13. *CIL* VIII, 9195, cfr. p. 1971 = *AE* 1993, 1781 from *Rapidum*: *[D]iis deabusque consecratis u[niversis:] l[et] Numini Iovi[s]; Silvan[o] / Mercurio Saturno Fortunae l Victoriae Caelesti] (intellege:) diis Mauris l M(arcus) Furnius Donatus eq(ues) [R(omanus)] fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus) l ex praefecto g(ensis) Masac[esben]or[um] l cum suis fecit e[t] dedicavit.*

14. Cfr. «Recueil de la société d’archéologie de Costantinie», 40, 1906, p. 419, n. 386; *ibid.* 41, 1907, p. 222.

in the first two decades of the 20th century in *Madauros*, and thus present the epigraphic material from this town and its territory *in toto*. Later Hans-Georg Pflaum continued Gsell's work¹⁵.

Yet today we still find ourselves with an incomplete work: 90 years after the abandonment of work on the Africa volume of the *Corpus* and 75 years after Gsell's death (1st January 1932), and also nearly 30 years after Pflaum's death (26th December 1979), the collection of the inscriptions of *Numidia* and *Mauretania* – monuments which can be regarded as at risk¹⁶ – remains an important goal of epigraphic research. It is to be hoped that the inscriptions of Algeria can be collected and edited through a combined effort by Algerian scholars and the international scholarly community – with the support of the Agence nationale pour l'Archéologie – or whatever organisation is now in charge of the preservation of Algeria's antiquities. To remind us all of this obligation was not the least of the aims of this paper.

15. *ILAAlg*, I: *Inscriptions de la Proconsulaire*, recueillies et publiées par S. GSELL, Paris 1922; *ILAAlg*, II. 1-2: *Inscriptions de la confédération Cirtéenne, de Cuicul et de la tribu des Suburbures*, recueillies par S. GSELL, publiées par H.-G. PFLAUM, Paris 1957 (II.1) – Alger 1976 (II.2); II. 3: recueillies; II.3 recueillies et éditées par H.-G. PFLAUM, publiées par X. DUPUIS, Paris 2003.

16. Think of the various mementos given by Nacéra Benseddik in articles as well as in statements in the internet, i.a.: N. BENSEDDIK, *Lambèse (Algérie) ou l'archéologie du bulldozer*, «ZPE», 135, 2001, pp. 287-94; *Lateinische Epigraphik und Ideologien: der Fall Algerien*, lecture given on the international congress *Archäologie und Epigraphik. Ein Dialog zum 150 jährigen Bestehen des Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, (Berlin 21-22 Nov. 2003) [forthcoming].

